



THE  
PHILOSOPHIE,  
commonlie called,  
THE  
MORALS  
WRITTEN BY  
the learned Philosopher  
PLUTARCH  
of Cheronea.

Translated out of Greeke into English, and conferred  
*with the Latine translations and the French,*  
by PHILEMON HOLLAND of  
Coventrie, Doctor in  
*Physicke.*

*Whereunto are annexed the Summaries necessary to be  
read before every Treatise.*



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1603



# TO THE MOST HIGH AND MIGHTY

PRINCE, JAMES, BY THE

Grace of God, King of England, Scotland,  
France and Ireland, Defender of  
the Faith, &c.

**I**n this generall joy of affectionate and loyall  
subjects, testified by their frequent confluence  
from all parts, longing for nothing so much as  
the full fruition of that beautiful starre, which  
lately upon the shutting in of the evening with  
us after our long Summers day, immediatly  
by his radiant beames mainteined still a twi-  
light from the North, and within some few  
houres appeared bright shining above our Horizon, suffering nei-  
ther the dark night and confused Chaos of Anarchie to overspread  
and subvert, nor the turbulent tempests and bloody broiles of facti-  
ous sidings to trouble and pervert our State: I also, for my part  
could not stay behinde, but in testimony of semblable love and alle-  
geance shew my selfe; and withall, most humbly present unto your  
Highnesse, This Philosophie of PLUTARCH: which being  
first naturally bred in Greece; then, transplanted in Italie, France  
and other regions of the continent; after sundry Nativities, if I  
may so speake, reserved (not without some divine providence) unto  
these daies, is now in this our Iland newly come to light; ready both  
to congratulate your Majesties first entrie upon the inheritance of  
these Kingdomes, and desirous also to enjoy the benefit of that happy  
Horoscope and fortunate Ascendent, under which it was borne;  
even the favourable aspect of your gracious countenance: by vertue  
whereof, it may not onely be marked to long life, feeble otherwise of  
it selfe, but also yeeld pleasure with profit to the English nation.

Vouchsafe therefore, my deere Lord and dread Sovereaine, to

# THE EPISTLE

accept that now at my hands, whole & entire, which in part Trajanus the best Romaine Emperour that ever was, received sometime from the first Authour and Stock-father himselfe: Protect the same in English habit, whom in French attire Amiot dedicated to the late most Christian King: and deigne unto her no lesse favour and grace, than her yoonger sister, to wit, the History or Parallele Lives, hath already obtained: which being transported out of France into England by that woorthy Knight Sir Thomas North our countryman, was patronized by our late Sovereigne Lady of famous memory Elizabet. And the rather, for that considering the prerogative of birth-right, and the same accompanied with more variety and depth of knowledge, I may be bold to pronounce as much in her commendation, as the Poet wrote of Iupiter in comparifon of his brother Neptune:

ἢ μὲν ἀμφοτέρων οὐκ ἴσθ' ἡ δ' ἴα μέγας,  
αἰὲν ἀντὶ πατρὸς γένηται, ὁ δ' αἰεὶ ἴδμεν.

Homer.  
Iliad. r.

These regards, albeit they were sufficient motives in themselves to induce me, for to attempt none other patronage than the Name of my Liege Lord so gracious; nor to submit my labours to the censure of any person, before a King so judicious: yet was I more animated to enterprise the same, by the former experience that I had of a Princes benignity in that behalfe: what time as I consecrated my English Translation of the Romane Historie written by Titus Livius, unto the immortall memory of the said Noble and renowned Queene. Now, seeing that with her Realmes and Dominions, the best parts and gifts that were in her, be likewise hereditarily descended upon your roiall person, and the same multiplied in greater measure, proportionable to the dignity of sex, the addition of scepters and diademes, and the weighty charge of so puissant and populous an Empire; it were in me a grosse absurdity, if not meere impiety, to make any doubt of that excellent vertue of all others, whereby Princes come neereſt unto the Nature of God, whose Majesty beere upon earth they represent. To say nothing, how the world hath taken knowledge already, as well by your vertuous life and politicke regiment hitherto, as also by the prudent and religious designements delivered in those sage and learned Compositions of  
your

# DEDICATORIE.

your Highnesse penning, That your blessed intention is to holde on the same course still, not onely *secundum*; a point that the Indian Potentate Porus required of Alexander the Great: but also *ἐκαστος*; the singular note that our present Author set upon all the actions of the said mighty Monarch; *in tempore & in loco*.

Plutarch.  
De fortun.  
vel Virtut.  
Alexandri.  
Orat. 1.

Since then both these attributes concur in your Noble person, just cause have we, in all devout thankfulnessse to acknowledge the goodnessse of the Almighty, who from heaven above hath sent us so wise a Prince, under whose reigne we (if ever any Nation under the Sunne) may assuredly expect that felicity and happinesse, which the divine Philosopher Plato so much recommendeth: and in due reverence unto your Majesty, with one heart and voice, both sing and say:

Dialog. 5.  
Derep.

Hic ames dici Pater atq; Princeps:  
Serus in cœlum redeas, tuoq;  
Lætus interfis populo, Britannum  
Prime Monarcha.


Horat. 1.  
Carm.  
od. 2.

Your Majesties most

humble and obedient subject,

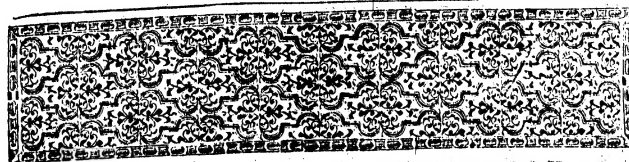
Philémon Holland.

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*whole worke : with a direction to the page,*  
*where any one of them beginneth.*

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## OF THE NOV RITVRE AND EDVCATION OF CHILDREN.

The Summarie.

**H** E very title of this Treatise discovereth sufficiently the intention of the author; and whosoever he was that reduced these *Maxims* and mixt works of his into one entire volume, was well advised, and had great reason to range this present Discourse in the first and forme place: For unlesse our minds be framed unto vertue from our infancie, impossible it is that we should performe any worthy act so long as we live. Now, albeit Plutarck (as a mere Pagan) hath both in this booke and also in others ensuing, where he treateth of vertues and vices, left out the chiefe and principall thing, to wit, The Law of God and his Truth, (wherein he was altogether ignorant) yet never thelesse, these excellent precepts by him delivered like raies which proceed from the light of nature remaining still in the spirit and soule of man, as well to leave sinners inexcusable, as to shew how happie they be, who are guided by the heavenly light of holy Scripture; are able to commence action against those, who make profession in word how they embrace the true and soveraigne Good, but in deed and effect do annihilate, as much as lieth in them, the power and efficacie thereof.

Moreover, in this Treatise he proveth first of all, That the generation of infants ought in no wise to be defamed with the blot either of adulterie or drunkenness: Then, he entreteth into a discourse of their education: and after he hath shewed, that Nature, Reason & Usage ought to concur in their instruction he teacheth how & by whom they should be nurtured brought up and taught, where he reprovet sharply the sloth, ignorance and avarice of some fathers. And the better to declare the excellencie of these benefis, namely, good instruction, knowledge and vertue, which is the studie of Philosophie doth promise and reach, he compareth the same with all the greatest goods of the world: and so consequently setteth downe what vices especially they are to shun and avoid, who would be capable of sincere and true literature.

But before he proceedeth further, he describeth and limiteth how far forth children well borne and of good parentage should be urged and forced by compulsion; deciphering briefly the praises of morall Philosophie: and concluding withall, That the man is blessed, who is both helpfull to his neighbour as it becometh; and also good unto himselfe. All these points above rehearsed, when he hath enriched and embelished with similitudes, examples, apophegmes, and such like ornaments, he propoundeth divers rules pertinent to the institution of young children: which done, he passeth from tender child-hood to youthfull age, shewing what government there ought to be of young men: farre from whom, he banisheth and chaseth flatterers especially: and for a small conclusion discourses of the kinde behavior of fathers, and the good example that they are to give unto their children.



A

THE

## THE EDUCATION OF CHILDREN.



Asinmuch as we are to consider what may be sayd as touching the education of children free borne and descended from gentle blood, how and by what discipline they may become honest and virtuous, we shall perhaps treat hereof the better, if we begin at their very generation and nativitie. First and formost therefore, I would advise those who desire to be the fathers of such children, as may live another day in honour and reputation among men, not to match themselves and meddle with light women, common courtesans I meane, or private concubines. For a reproch this is that followeth a man all the dayes of his life, and a shamefull stain which by no meanes can be fetched out, if haply he be not come of a good father or good mother: neither is there any one thing that presenteth it selfe more readily unto his adversaries, and sooner is in their mouth when they are disposed to checke, taunt and revile, than to twit him with such parentage. In which regard, wisely sayd the Poët *Euripides*:

*When as the ground is not well laid  
as first, for our nativity;  
With parents fault, men will upbraid  
both us, and our posterity.*

A goodly treasure then have they who are well and honestly borne, when in the confidence and assurance thereof, they may be bold to beare their heads aloft, and speake their minds frankly wherefoever they come: and verily they of all others are to make the greatest account of this blessing, who wish to have faire issue of their bodies lawfully begotten. Certes, a thing it is that ordinarily daunteth and casteth downe the heart of a man, when he is privie to the baseness of his birth, and knoweth some defect, blemish and imperfection by his parents. Most truly therefore, and to the purpose right fity spake the same Poët:

*The privitie to fathers vice  
or mothers fault reprochable,  
Will him debase who otherwise  
is haucie, stout and commendable.*

Whereas contrariwise, they that are known to be the children of noble and worthy parents, beare themselves highly, and are full of stomacke and generositie. In which conceit and loftie spirit it is reported, that *Diaphantus* the sonne of *Themistocles*, was wont to say, and that in the hearing of many, That whatsoever pleased him; the same also the people of *Athens* thought well of: for, that which I would have done, quoth he, my mother likewise sayth Yea unto it: what my mothers minde stands to, *Themistocles* my father will not gainsay it: and looke what likes *Themistocles*, the *Athenians* all are well contented therewith. Where by the way, the magnanimitie, 40 and brave mind of the *Lacedemonians* is highly to be praised, who condemned their king *Archidamus* in a great fine of money, for that he could finde in his heart to espouse a wife of little stature, alledging therewith a good reason: Because, say they, his meaning is to get, not a breed of Kings, but Kinglins, or divers Kings, to reigne over us.

Well, upon this first advertisement concerning children, there dependeth another, which they who wrote before us of the like argument, forgot not to set downe; and what is that? namely, That they who for procreation of children will come neere unto women, ought to meddle with them, either upon empty stomacks, and before they have drunke any wine at all, or at leastwise, after they have taken their wine in measure, and soberly: for such will proove commonly wine-bibbers and drunkards, who were engendered when their fathers were drunken: according 50 to that which *Diogenes* sayd upon a time unto a youth whom he saw beside himselfe, and farre overseene with drinke: My ladde, quoth he, thy father gat thee when he was drunke. And thus much may suffice for the generation of children.

As touching their nourture and education, whereof now I am to discourse: That which we are wont generally to say of all Arts and Sciences, the same we may be bolde to pronounce of

vertue,

vertue, to wit, that to the accomplishment thereof, and to make a man perfectly virtuous, three things ought to concur, Nature, Reason and Viage. By reason, I understand doctrine and precepts: by usage, exercise and practise. The first beginnings we have from nature: progresse and proceeding come by teaching and instruction: exercise and practise is performed by diligence: And all three together bring forth the height of perfection. If any one of these faile, it cannot otherwise be, but that vertue also should have her defect and be maimed: For nature without learning is blind: Doctrine wanting the gift of nature is defectuous; and exercise void of the other twaine, imperfect. And verily, it fareth in this case much like as in Husbandrie and tillage of the earth. For first and formest requisite it is, that the ground be good: Secondly, 10 that the Husbandman be skillfull; and in the third place that the seed be cleane and well chosen. Semblably, Nature resembleth the soile: the Master who teacheth, representeth the labouring Husbandman; and last of all, the rules, precepts, admonitions and examples are compared to the seede. All these good meanes (I dare with confidence avouch) met together, and inspired their power into the mindes of these woorthy personages, who throughout the world are so renowned, *Pythagoras* as I meane, *Socrates*, *Plato*, and all the rest who have attained to a memorable name and immortall glorie. Blessed then is that man and entirely beloved of the gods, whose hap it is by their favor and grace to be furnished with all three. Now if any one be of this opinion, that those who are not endued with the gift of naturall wit, and yet have the helpes of true instruction and diligent exercise to the attaining of vertue, cannot by this meanes recover 20 and repaire the foresaid defect: Know he, that he is much deceived, and to say more truly, quite out of the way: for as idleness and negligence doth marre and corrupt the goodnesse of nature: so, the industrie and diligence of good erudition supplieth the defect, and correcteth the default thereof. Idle and slothfull persons (we see) are not able to compasse the things that be easie: whereas contrariwise by studie and travell, the greatest difficulties are achieved. Moreover, of what efficacie, and execution, diligence and labour is, a man may easily know by sundrie effects that are daily observed. For we do evidently perceive that drops of water falling upon the hard rocke, doe carve the same hollow: yron and brasie we see to weare and consume onely by continuall handling: The felines in chariot wheelles which by labour are bended and curbed, will not returne and be reduced againe, do what you can to their former straightnesse: Like as it is impossible by any device to set straight the crooked staves that Stage-players 30 goe withall. And evident it is, that whatsoever against nature, is by force and labour changed and redressed, becometh much better and more sure, than those things that continue in their owne kinde. But, are these the things onely wherein appeareth the power of studie and diligence? No verily. For there are an infinite number of other experiments, which proove the same most cleerely. Is there a peece of ground naturally good? Let it lie neglected, it becometh wilde and barrain: Yea, and the more rich and fertile that it is of it selfe, the more waste and fruitlesse it proveth for want of tillage and husbandry. Contrariwise, you shall see another plot hard, rough, and more stonie than it should be: which by good ordering and the careful hand of the husbandman, soone bringeth forth faire and goodly fruit. Again, what trees are 40 there which will not twine, grow crooked and proove fruitlesse, if good heed be not taken unto them? Whereas, if due regard be had, and that carefulnes employed about them which becometh, they beare fruit, and yeeld the same ripe in due season. Is there any body so found and able, but by neglect, riot, delicacie, and an evill habit or custome it will grow dull, feeble and unloftie, yea and fall into a misliking and consumption? On the other side, what complexion is there so faint and weak, which is not brought to great strength and perfection in the end, by continual travell and ordinary exercises? Are there any horses in the world, which if they be well handled and broken while they are colts, will not proove gentle in the end and suffer themselves easily to be mounted and manned? Contrariwise, let them remaine untamed in their youth: strong-headed, stiffnecked and unruly will they be alwaies after, and never fit for service. And why 50 should we marvell at these and such like matters, considering that many of the most savage and cruell beasts that be, are made gentle and familiar, yea and brought to hand by labour and paines taken about them? Well said therefore that *Thessalian* whosever he was, who being demanded, which *Thessalians* of all others were most dull and softest of spirit, Answered thus, Even they that have given over warfare. But what need we to stand longer upon this point? For certaine it is, that our manners and conditions are qualities imprinted in us by tract and continuance

A 2

continuance

\* *Græcizantibus*  
*whence comes*  
*the word*  
*Academy*  
 continuance of time: and whosoever saith that \* Morall vertues are gotten by custome, in my conceit speaketh not amiss but to very great purpose. And therefore with one example and no more produced by *Lycargus* as touching this matter, I will knit up and conclude my discourse thereof. *Lycargus*, him I meane who established the lawes of the Lacedæmonians, tooke two whelpes of one litter, and nursing both from the same fire and damme: Those he caused to be nourished and brought up diversly, and unlike one to the other; that as the one proved a greedie and ravenous curie and full of shrewd turnes: so the other was given to hunting and minded nothing but to quest and follow the game. Now upon a certaine day afterwards, when the Lacedæmonians were met together in a frequent assembly, he spake unto them in this manner, My Masters, citizens of Lacedæmon, Of what importance to engender vertue in the hart of man, custome, nourture, discipline and education is, I will presently shew unto you by an evident demonstration: and with that he brought forth in the sight of them all, those two whelpes, and set directly before them a great platter of sopps in broth, and therewith let loose also a live hare: but behold, one of them followed immediately after the hare, but the other ranne straight to flap in the platter aforesaid. The Lacedæmonians wist not what to make of this, nor to what purpose he shewed unto them these two dogs before said, untill he brake out into this speech, These two dogs (quoth he) had one damme and the same fire, but being bred and brought up diversly, See how the one is become a greedy cur, and the other a kinde hound. And thus much may serve as touching custome and diversitie of education.

It were meete now in the next place to treat of the feeding and nourishing of infants newly borne. I hold it therefore convenient, that mothers reare their babes, and suckle them with their owne breasts: For feede them they will with greater affection, with more care and diligence, as loving them inwardly, and (as the proverbe saith) from their tender nailes, whereas milch nources and fostermothers carie not so kinde a hart unto their nourcelings, but rather a fained and counterfet affection, as being mercenarie and loving them indeed for hire onely and reward. Furthermore, even nature her selfe is sufficient to proove, that mothers ought to suckle and nourish those whom they have borne and brought into the world: For to this end hath the given to every living creature that bringeth forth yong, the foode of milke: and in great wisdom the divine providence hath furnished a woman with two teats for this purpose, that if happily she should be delivered of two twinnes at once, she might have likewise two fountaines of milke to yeeld nourishment for them both. Moreover, by this meane more kinde and loving they will be unto their children: and verily not without great reason: For this fellowship in feeding together is a bond that knitteth, or rather a wrest that straineth and stretcheth benevolence to the utmost. The experience whereof we may see even in the very brute and wilde beasts, which hardly are parted from their companie, with whom they have bene nourished, but still they love and move after them. Mothers therefore (as I have said) ought especially to endeavour and do their best for to be nources of their owne children, if it be possible. But in case they cannot, by reason either of some bodily infirmitie and indisposition that way (for so it may fall out) or that they have a desire and do make haft to be with childe againe, and to have more children: then a carefull eie and good regard would be had, not to entertaine those for nources and governesses that come next to hand, but to make choise of the very best and most honest that they can come by, and namely for faire conditions and good behavior, to choose Greekish women before any other. For like as the members and limmes of little infants, so soone as ever they be borne, are of necessity to be formed and fashioned, that afterwards they may grow straight and not crooked: even so, at the very first their harts and manners ought to be framed and set in order: For this first age of childhood is moist and soft, apt to receive any impression: whiles the heart is tender every lesson may be soone infilled into it, and quickly will take hold, whereas hard things are not so easie to be wrought and made soft. And as signets or seales will quickly take a print upon soft wax; so the tender hearts of yong children take readily the impression of whatsoever is taught them. In which regard, *Plato* that heavenly and divine Philosopher, seemeth unto me to have given a wise admonition for nources, when he warned them not to tell foolish tales, nor to use vaine speeches inconsiderately in the hearing of yong infants, for feare least at the first their minds might apprehend folly and conceive corrupt opinions. Semblably the Poet *Phocylides* seemeth to deliver sage counsaile in this behalfe when he saith:

*A child of yong and tender age  
 Ought to be taught things good and sage.*

Neither is this precept in any wise to be forgotten or passed by, That other children also who are either to attend upon them, whiles they be nourced and brought up, or to beare them companie and be fedde together with them, be chosen such as above all things are well manned and of good conditions: Then, that they speake the Greeke tongue naturally, and pronounce the same most plainly and distinctly, for feare, least if they sort with such feeders as either in language be barbarous, or in behaviour lewd and ungracious, they catch infection from them, and be tainted with their vices. For such old lawes and proverbes as these, are not so rife with our good reason, *If thou converse and cohabite with a lame creature, thou wilt soone learne to limpe and halt thy selfe.*

Now when children be grown to that age, wherein they are to be committed unto the charge of Tutors, Schoolemasters and governors: then, parents ought to have an especial care of their state, namely, under whom they set them to be trained up: least for want of good providence and foresight, they betray them into the hands of some vile slaves, base barbarians, vaine and light-headed persons. For most absurd and ridiculous is the practise of many men in this point: who if they have any servants more vertuous or better disposed than others, some of them they appoint to husbandry and tillage of their ground; others they make Masters of their ships. They employ them (I say) either in merchandise to be their factours, or as stewards of their house to receive and pay all; or else to be banquers, and so they trust them with the exchanging and turning of their monies. But if they meete with one slave among the rest that useth to be cuphotten, given to gluttony & belly cheere, or otherwise is untoward for any good service, him they set over their children to bring them up: Whereas indeed a governour over yong should be wel given, & of a right good nature himselfe, such an one as *Phænx* was, who had the breeding and education of *Achilles*. The principal point therefore and most important of all that hitherto hath bene alledged is this, That choise men be sought out for to be teachers & masters of our children; who live in good name and without challenge, whose cariage and behaviour is blameless; & who for their knowledge & experience of the world are the best that may be found. For surely the source & roote of all goodnes and honesty, is the good education and training up of our children in their tender age. And like as good husbandmen and gardeners are wont to pitch props & stakes close unto their yong plants, to stay them up and keepe them straight: even so, discrete and wise teachers plant good precepts and wholesome instructions round about their yong scholars, to the end that thereby, their manners may bud forth commendably, and be framed to the rule of vertue. But contrariwise, you shall have some fathers now adies, that deserve no better than to be spit at in their very faces; who either upon ignorance, or for want of experience, before any triall made of those masters, who are to have the conduct and charge of their children, commit them hand over head to the tuition of lewd persons, and such as beare shew and make profession of that which they are not. Neither were this absurditie altogether so grosse and ridiculous, if so be they faulted herein of mere simplicitie & default of foreknowledge. But here is the heights of their folly and errour, that themselves knowing otherwhiles the insufficiency, yea and the naughtines of some such Masters, better than they doe who advertise them thereof; yet for all that, they commit their children unto them, partly being overcome by the flatterie of claw-backes, and partly willing to gratifie some friends upon their kinde and earnest entreatie. Wherein they do much like for all the world to him, who lying verie sicke in bodie, for to content and satisfie a friend, leaveth an expert and learned physician who was able to cure him, and entertaineth another blind leech, who for want of skill and experience quickly killeth him: or else unto one who being at sea, forgoeth an excellent pilot whom he knoweth to be very skilfull, and for the love of a friend maketh choise of another that is most insufficient: O *Jupiter* and all the gods in Heaven! Is it possible that a man bearing the name of a father, should make more account of a friends request, than of the good education of his owne children? Which considered, had not that ancient Philosopher *Crates* (to make you) just occasion to say oftentimes, that if possibly he might, he would willingly mount to the highest place of the citie, and there cry out aloud in this manner: What meane you my Masters, and whether mine you headlong, carking and caring all that ever you can, to gather goods and take riches together as you doe whales in the mean time you make little or no reckoning at all of your children,



children, unto whom you are to leave all your wealth? To which exclamation of his, I may adde thus much moreover, and say, That such fathers are like unto him that hath great regard of his shoe, but taketh no heed unto his foot. And verily, a man shall see many of these fathers, who upon a covetous minde, and a cold affection toward their owne children, are grown to this passe, that for to spare their purse, and ease themselves of charge, chuse men of no worth to teach them: which is as much as to seeke a good market where they may buy ignorance cheapest. Certes *Aristippus* said verie well to this purpose, when upon a time he prettily mocked such a father who had neither wit nor understanding, and jibed pleasantly with him in this manner: For when he demanded of him how much he would take for the training up and teaching of his sonne? He answered, An hundred crownes: A hundred crownes! quoth the father: by 10 *Hercules* I sweare, you aske too much out of the way; For with a hundred crownes I could buy a good slave. True quoth *Aristippus* againe, Lay out this hundred crownes so, you may have twaine, your sonne for one, and him whom you buy for the other. And is not this a follie of all follies, that ourles should use their yong infants to take meate and feed themselves with the right hand, yea and rebuke them if haply they put forth their left: and not to forecaft and give order that they may learne civility, and heare sage & holefom instructions? But what befalleth afterward to these good fathers, when they have first nourished their children badly, & then taught them as lowly? May I will tell you, When these children of theirs are growne to mans estate, and will not abide to heare of living orderly, and as it becommeth honest men: but contrariwise fall headlong into outrageous courses, and give themselves wholly to sensuality and servile pleasures: Then such fathers all repent for their negligence past, in taking no better order for their education: but all too late considering no good ensueeth thereupon: but contrariwise, the lewd pranks which they commit daily, augment their griefe of heart and cause them to languish in sorrow. For some of them they see to keepe companie with flatterers, parasites, and smellscats, the lowdest, basest, and most cursed wretches of all other, who serve for nothing but to corrupt, spoile, and marre youth: Others, to captivate and spend themselves upon harlots, queanes and common strumpets, proud and sumptuous in expence; the entertainment of whom is infinitely costly. Many of them consume all in delicate fare, and feeding a daintie and fine tooth: Many of them fall to dice, and with mumming and masking hazard all they have. And divers of them againe entangle themselves in other vices more hardy and adventurous, courting faire dames, 30 and making love to other mens wives: for which purpose they walke disguised in the night, like the franticke priests of *Bacchus*, to commit adulteries, buying sometimes one onely nights pleasure with the price of their life: Whereas if such as these had conversed before with any Philosopher, they would never have taken such waies as this, and give themselves to like vanities: but rather they would have turned over a new lease and learned a lesson of *Diogenes*, who in words not very civill and seemely, howbeit to the point not untruly, gave this counsell and said, Go thy waies to the Stewes (I advise thee) and enter into some brothell house, where thou maist know how the pleasure that costeth little or nothing, differeth not from that which is bought full secretly.

To knit up therefore all in one summe I will conclude, and this my conclusion ought 40 of right to bee esteemed for an oracle, rather than a simple counsell and admonition; That the beginning, mids, and ende of all these matters, lieth onely in virtuous nourture and honest education, which I avouch are the very meanes that be operative and powerfull for the attaining both of vertue and true happinesse. As for all other things which we count good in this world, are in comparison hereof, mortall, transitorie, small, and not worth the seeking after with such care and studie. Nobilitie, I confesse to be a goodly thing; but it is the gift of our ancestors. Riches who doubteth that they be gay and pretious matters? Howbeit, lying in the power of fortune onely, who taketh the same many times from those that possesse them, and giveth them away to such as never looke for them. Moreover, much wealth is the very marke whereat they thoo who are common cut purses, privie & domestically thieves, Sycophants and 50 promoters, and that which is most, the wickedest persons in the world oftentimes mete therewith. Glorie and honor be things venerable, howbeit uncertaine and mutable. Beautie is lovely and verie much desired, but it continueth a small while: Health is worth much, and yet you see how soone it changeth. Strength of body who wisteth not? but quickly it is decayed and gone, either by sickenes or yeeres: in so much, as whosoever vaunteth and beareth himselfe in his

his able bodie, is greatly deceived, and commeth farre short of his reckoning: For what is mans force, compared with that of other beasts, I meane Elephants, Bulls and Lions? It is learning and knowledge onely, which in us is divine, heavenly and immortall. For in mans nature two parts there are to be considered of all other most principall, to wit, understanding and speech. And of these, understanding is as it were the maister that commandeth: Speech, the servant that obeyeth. Now the foresaid understanding is not exposed to the injurie of fortune: no flanders raised by Sycophants can take it away: Sicknesse hath no power to corrupt and destroy it; neither doth it decay or perish by olde age: For it is the onely thing that being in yeeres, waxeth yong and fresh. Length of time which doth diminish and impair all things else, addeth still 10 more knowledge to our understanding, the elder that we are. So violence of warre which in manner of a streame casteth downe and carrieth all away with it, is not able to make havocke and spoyle of knowledge and learning: that onely is not in danger thereof. And in my conceit, *Stripo* the Megarian Philosopher gave a most woorthy and memorable answer unto *K. Demetrius*, who having forced, sacked and rased the citie of Megara to the very foundation, demanded of him what losses he sustained in that generall lacking? None at all (quoth he) For warre can make no spoile of vertue. To which answer of his, accordeth and foundeth well the Apophthegme of *Socrates*, who (as I take it) being asked of *Gorgias*, what opinion he had of the great King and Monarch of the Persians in those daies, whether he deemed him Happie or no? I wot not (quoth he) how he is furnished with vertue and learning: as if he judged, that true 20 felicitie consisted in these two things, and not in the transitorie gifts of fortune.

But as my counsell and advice unto parents is, to hold nothing in the world more deere and pretious, then to traine up their children in good letters and vertuous manners: so I say againe, that they ought to have an eie unto that literature and institution which is found, pure and uncorrupt: furthermore, to sequester and withdraw their children as farre as possibly they can, from the vanitie and foolish desire to be seene and heard in the frequent and publicke assemblies of the people. For commonly we finde, that to please a multitude, is to displease the wiser sort. And that I speake truth herein *Euripides* giveth good testimonie in these verses:

*No siled tooing I have nor eloquence,  
To speake in place of frequent audience:  
Among my feeses and those in number few,  
I love to give advise and make no shew:  
For those whose speech doth please a multitude,  
With learned men are foolishly bought and rude.*

For mine owne part, I observe those men who endeavour to speake to the appetite and pleasure of the base and vulgar sort, that ordinarily they become loose and dissolute persons, abandoned to all sensuality. And verily not without great apparance of reason: For if to gratifie and content others, they have no regard of honesty: more likelyhood there is a great deale, that for to do a pleasure to themselves, and feede their owne humour and appetite, they will forget all honor and devoir; yea and sooner give the reines to their owne delights, than follow the 40 streight rules of temperance and sobrietie.

But now, what good thing is there moreover, that we are to teach our children? and whereto should we advise them for to give their minds? A goodly matter no doubt it is to do nothing rashly, nor to speake a word unadvisedly: But (as the old Proverbe saith) whatsoever is faire and goodly, the same also is hard and difficult. As for these orations which be made *extempore* and without premeditation, they goe away with great facilitie, and are verie rash and full of vanitie: And such commonly as so speake, know not well either where to begin or when to make an end. Also, over and above other absurdities and faults which they commit, who are accustomed in this wise to parle at adventure, and to let their tooing runne at randome, know not how to keepe any meane or measure of speech, but fall into a marvellous superfluitie and excessive of wordes: Whereas on the contrarie side, when a man thinketh before hand what hee 50 should say, he will never overshoot him so farre as to passe beyond the bonds of temperate and proportionable language. Periles, as we have beene given to understand, being oftentimes called upon & importuned by the people, and that exprelly by name, for to deliver his opinion as touching a matter in question, would note so much as rise from his place, but excused himselfe and said, I am not provided to speake. Semblably *Demosthenes*, one who greatly affected the

the said *Pericles*, and followed his steps in policy and managing of State affaires, being called by the Athenians to sit in counsell with them, & requested to give his advise in certain points, refused and made the same answer, saying, I have not yet thought upon it, neither am I prepared. But peradventure some man will say, this is an headles tale and a devised report received by tradition from hand to hand, and not grounded upon any certaine testimonie. Listen then, what he saith himselfe in that oration which he made against *Midias*, wherein he setteth evidently before our eyes, the profit that commeth by premeditation: For in one place thereof, these be his words: My Matters of Athens, I confesse plainly, and cannot denie or dissemble, that I have taken as much paines in composing of this oration as possibly I could: For an idle wretch I had bene if having suffred, and suffering still such indignities as these, I would not confider and studie before hand, what I had to say in reason concerning these matters. Neither alledge I this, as one who condemned altogether the promptitude and readinesse of the tongue, and the gift of utterance *extempore*, but the ordinary custome and exercise thereof in everie final matter, and of no great importance. For otherwhiles it is tolerable; provided alwaies that we use it so, as we would take a purging medicine. And to speake more plainly, my meaning is, that I would not have young men before they bee grown to mans age, for to speake ought without good advise and consideration. But after they bee well grounded and have gathered sufficient roote which may yeelede pithie speech, then if occasion be offered, and that they bee called unto it, I thinke it convenient, they should bee allowed to speake freely. For even as they who have benee fettered a long time and worne yrons on their feete, when they are loosed from their givies, cannot goe well at the first, because they have continued such a while with clogs at their heeles, but ever and anone are ready to trip and stumble: so it fareth with those that of long time have benee too long tied (as it were) and restrained of their libertie of speech: For if haply there be presented some matter, whereto they are to speake on a sudden, they will retaine still the same manner and forme of stile, and speake no otherwise than they did before with premeditation. Mary, to suffer young boies to make subitanie and inconsiderate orations, is the next way to bring them to vaine babling, and causeth them to utter many words altogether impertinent to the matter. It is reported that upon a time a vaine and foolish painter came to *Apelles*, and shewed him a picture, saying withall, This Image I drew thus and thus soone. I wot well (quoth *Apelles*) at the first sight, although thou saidst never a word that it was quickly painted and in halfe. And I marvell rather that thou hast not painted many more such in the same time. But to retorne againe to my former discourse which I began withall, as touching speech, like as I would give counsell to beware of glorious and brave words, and to avoide that manner of haughtie voice which becometh tragedies, and is meete for Theaters: So I advise and admonish againe to flie as much that kinde of language which is too finall and over-lowly: For that the one which is so loude and aloft, exceedeth civillitie: and the other that is as much beneath, bewrayeth overmuch fearfulness. Moreover, as the bodie ought not onely to be found and in health, but also in good plight and well liking: so our speech should be not onely cleere from sickness as it were and malady, but also strong and able: For that a thing that is found and safe only, we do but barely praise: whereas that which is hardy and adventurous, we admire and wonder at. That which I have said, as touching the tongue and speech, the same opinion I have of the heart and the disposition thereof. For I would not have a youth to be overbold and audacious: neither do I like of him, if he be too timorous and fearful: For as the one turneth in the end to presumption and impudencie; so the other into servile cowardise. But here lieth all the maiestie and cunning, as well in this as in all things else, namely, to cut even in the mids, and to hold the golden meane. And since I am entred thus far into the discourse as touching the literature and erudition of youth, before I proceed any farther, I will deliver mine opinion thereof generally in these termes: Namely, That to be able to speake of one thing and no more, is first and foremost in my conceit no small signe of ignorance. Then, I suppose that the exercise and practise thereof, soone bringeth facietie. And againe, I hold it impossible to continue evermore in the same: For so to be ever in one song, breedeth tediousnes, and soone a man is weary of it: whereas varietie is alwaies delectable both in this, and also in all other objects as well of the eie as the care. And therefore it behooveth, that a childe well descended and free borne, be not sufficed to want either the sight or the hearing of all those arts and liberall sciences, which are linked as it were and comprehended within one circle, and thereupon

thereupon called *Encycelia*. i. Circular. These would I have him to runne through every one superficially, for a taste onely of them all: for as much as to attaine unto the perfection thereof were impossible. Yet so, as his chiefe and principall studie be employed in Philosophie: which opinion of mine I may very well confirme by a proper similitude. For all one it is, as if a man would say, a commendable thing it were to faile along the coasts, and see many a cite: but expedient and profitable to make abode and dwell in the best: and much like to that pleasant and pretie conceited speech of *Bion* the Philosopher, who said, That even as the lovers and wooers of Lady *Penelope*, when they could not enjoy the Mistresse herselfe, went in hand with her waiting maidens, and companied with them: so, as are not able to attaine unto Philosophie, spend and consume themselves in the studie of other Arts, which in comparison of it are nothing worth. And therefore we ought to make this account, that Philosophie is the principall head (as it were) of all other learning and knowledge whatsoever. True it is, that for the maintenance and preservation of the body, men have devised two Arts, to wit, Physicke and bodily exercise: of which twaine, the one procureth health; the other addeth thereto a good habitude and strong constitution: but for the infirmities and maladies of the soule, there is no other physicke but onely Philosophie: For by the means of it and together with it, we may know what is good, what is badde, what is honest and dishonest, what is just, and generally what to choise and what to refuse, how we ought to beare our selves towards the gods, and towards our parents, what our demeanour should bee without our elders, what regard we are to have of lawes, what our cariage must be to strangers, to superiours: how we are to converse with our friends, In what sort we ought to demeanour our selves towards our children and wives, and finally, what behaviour it becometh us to shew unto our servants and familie: For as much as our dutie is to worship and adore the gods, to honour our parents, to reverence our ancients, to obey the lawes, to give place unto our superiours and betters, to love our friends, to use our wives chastly and with moderation: to be kinde and affectionate to our children, and not to be outrageous with our servants, nor to tyrannize over them. But the principall and chiefe of all is this, not to shew our selves over joious and merrie in prosperitie, nor yet exceeding heave and sad in adversitie: not in pleasures and delight dissolute, nor in anger furious, and transported or rather transformed into brutish beasts by choler. And these I esteeme to be the soveraigne fruits that are to be gathered and gotten by Philosophie. For to carrie a generous and noble heart in prosperitie, is the part of a brave minded man: to live without envie and malice, is the signe of a good and tractable nature: to overcome pleasures by the guidance of reason, is the act of wise and sage men: and to bridle and restraime choler, is a mastery that every one cannot skill of: But the height of perfection in my judgement those onely attaine unto, who are able to joine and intermingle the politicke government of weale publike with the profession and studie of Philosophie: For by this means (I suppose) they may enjoy two of the best things in the world, to wit, the profit of the common weale by managing State affaires: and their owne good, living so as they doe in tranquillitie and repose of mind, by the means of Philosophie. For whereas there be amongst men three sorts of life, namely, Active, Contemplative, and Voluptuous: This last named, being dissolute, loose, and thrall to pleasures, is brutish, beastly, base and vile: The contemplative wanting the active is unprofitable: and the active, not participating with the speculation of Philosophie, committeth many absurd enormities, and wanteth ornaments to grace and beautifie it. In which regard, men must endeavour and assay as much as lieth in them both to deale in government of the State, and also to give their mindes to the studie of Philosophie, so farre forth as they have time, and publike affaires will permit. Thus governed in times past noble *Pericles*: thus ruled *Archias* the Tarentine: thus *Dion* the Syracusan, and *Epaminondas* of Thebes swaied the State where they lived; and both of them aswell the one as the other conversed familiarly with *Plato*. As touching the Institution of children in good literature, needlesse (I suppose) it is to write any more. This onely will I adde unto therest that hath benee said, which I suppose to be expedient or rather necessarie: namely, that they make no small account of the workes and bookes of the ancient Sages and Philosophers, but diligently collect and gather them together: so as they do it after the manner of good husbandmen: For as they doe make provision of such tooles as pertaine to Agriculture and husbandrie, not onely to keepe them in their possession, but also to use them accordingly: so this reckoning ought to be made, that the instruments and furniture of knowledge and learning, bee good bookes, if they



they be read and perused: For from thence as from a fountaine they may be sure to maintaine the same.

And here we are to forget the diligence that is to be employed in the bodily exercise of children: but to remember that they bee sent into the schooles of those masters who make profession of such feats, there to be trained and exercised sufficiently, as well for the straight and decent growth, as for the abilitie and strength of their bodies: For the fast knitting and strong complexion of the bodie in children, is a good foundation to make them another day decent and personable old men. And like as in time of a calme & faire season, they that are at sea, ought to make provision of necessarie meanes to withstand foule weather and a tempest: even so, verie meete it is, that tender age be furnished with temperance, sobrietie and continencie, and even sometimes reserve and lay up such voyage provision, for the better sustenance of old age. Howbeit in such order ought this labour and travell of children to be dispensed, that their bodies be not exhaust and dried up, and so by that meanes they themselves be overwearing, and made either unmeet or unwilling to follow their booke afresh and take their learning: For as *Plato* said very well, Sleepe and lassitude be enemies to learning. But why do I stand hereupon so much, being in comparison so small a matter?

Proceed I will therefore and make haste to that which is of greatest importance, and passeeth all the rest that hath beene said before: For this I say, that youth ought to be trained to militarie feats, namely, in launcing darts and javelins, in drawing a bow and shooting arrows, in chafing also and hunting wilde beasts. Forasmuch as all the goods of those who are vanquished in fight, be exposed as a prey and bootie to the conquerours: neither are they fit for warfare and to beare armes, whose bodies having beene daintily brought up in the shade and within house, are corpulent, and of a soft and delicate constitution.

*The leane and dry, the raw bone soldier force,  
Who strain'd hath beene in armes and warlike toile,  
In field wholer ankes of enemies will pierce,  
And in the lists all his concurrents foile.*

But what may some men say unto me? Sir, you have made promise to give us examples and precepts, concerning the education of all children free borne and of honest parentage: and now, me thinks you neglect the education of commoners and poore mens children, and deliver no instructions but such as are for gentlemen, and be suitable to the rich and wealthie onely. To which objection, it is no hard matter to make answer. For mine owne part, my desire especially is, that this instruction of mine might serve all: but in case there be some, who for want of meanes cannot make that use and profit which I could wish, let them lay the weight upon fortune, and not blame him who hath given them his advice and counsell in these points. And yet for poore men thus much will I say, Let them endeavour and straine themselves to the utmost of their power, to bring up their children in the best manner: and if they cannot reach unto that, yet must they aime thereat, and come as neere as their abilitie will give them leave.

I have beene willing to insert these points by the way, into this present argument, and to charge my discourse over and above therewith, that I might prosecute other precepts remaining behinde, which concerne the education of young men. Thus much therefore I say moreover, that children must be trained and brought to their duty in all lenity, by faire words, gentle exhortations, and milde remonstrance, and in no wise (pardon me) by stripes and blows: For this course of swinging and beating seemeth meete for bondslaves, rather than persons of free condition. And to say a truth, by this meanes they become dull and senselesse, may they have all studie and labour afterwards in hatred and horreur: partly for the smart and paine which they abide by such correction, and in part by the contumely and reproch that they sustaine thereby. Praise and dispraise be farre better and more profitable to children free borne, than all the whips, rods and boxes in the world: the one for to drive them forward to well doing, the other to draw them backe from doing ill: but both the one and the other are to be used in alternative course. One while they would be commended as another while blamed and rebuked: and namely, if at any time they be too jocund and insolent, they ought to be snibbed a little and taken downe, yea and put to some light shame: but soone after, raised up againe by giving them their due praises. And herein we must imitate good nurses, who when they have set their infants a crying, give them the breast for to still them againe. Howbeit, a measure would be kept, and

great

great heed taken that they be not too highly commended, for feare least they grow proude and presume overmuch of themselves: For when they be praised exceedingly they waxe careless, dissolute and enervate: neither will they be willing afterwards to take more paines. Moreover, I have knowne certaine fathers, who through excessive love of their children have hated them afterwards. But what is my meaning by this speech? Surely I will declare my minde and make my words plaine anon by an evident example and demonstration. Some fathers (I say) there be, who upon a hot and hasty desire to have their children come soone forward, and to be the formost in every thing, put them to immoderate travell and excessive paines: in such sort, that they either sincke under the weight of the burden, and so fall into greivous maladies, or else finding themselves thus surcharged and overladen, they are not willing to learne that which is taught them. And it fareth with them as it doth with young herbes and plants in a garden, which so long as they be watered moderately, are nourished and thrive very well: but if they be overmuch drenched with water, they take harme thereby and are drowned: Even so we must allow unto children a breathing time betweene their continuall labours: considering and making this account, That all the life of man is divided into labor & rest: and for this cause Nature hath so ordained, that as there is a time to be awake, so we finde a time also to sleepe. One while there is warre, and another while peace: It is not alwaies winter and foule weather, but sommer likewise and a faire season. There be appointed not onely worke daies to toyle in, but also feastivall holidays to solace and disport our selves. In funne, rest and appoyse, is (as it were) the sauce unto our travaile. And this we may observe as well in senselesse and livelesse things, as in living and sensible creature. For we unbend our bowes, and let slacke the strings of Lutes, Harpes, and such muscicall instruments, to the end that we may bend and stretch the same againe. And in one word, as the bodie is preserved and maintained by repletion and evacuation successively, so the minde likewise by repose and travell in their turnes.

Furthermore, there be other fathers also woorthy of rebuke and blame, who after they have once betaken their children to Masters, Tutors and Governors, never deigne afterwards themselves, either to see or heare them, whereby they might know how they learne: wherein they do faile verie much in their dutie. For they ought in proper person to make triall how they profit, they should ever and anon (after some few daies passed betweene) see into their progresse and proceeding, and not to repose their hope and rest altogether upon the discretion and disposition of a mercenarie master. And verily this careful regard of the fathers, will worke also greater diligence in the masters themselves, seeing that by this meanes they are called to account, as it were to account and examine how much they plie their schollers, and how they profit under their hands. To this purpose may be well applied a pretty word spoken sometimes by a wife estuary of a stable, Nothing (quoth he) feedeth the steele so fat as doth the masters eie.

But above all things, the memorie of children ought daily to be exercised: for that it is as a man would say, the Treasury & Storehouse of all learning. Which was the cause that the ancient Poets have feigned, That Lady *Memosyne*, that is to say *Memorie*, was the mother of the Muses: Whereby they would seeme under an enigmaticall and darke speech to give us to understand, that nothing availeth so much either to breed, or to feed and nourish learning, as *Memorie*. And therefore great diligence would be used in the exercise thereof everie way: whether the children be by nature good of remembrance and retentive: or otherwise of a sickle memorie and given to oblivion. For the gift of nature in the one, by exercise we shall confirme and augment; and the imperfection or default in the other, by diligence supplie and correct: in such sort, that as they, shall become better than others; so these, shall prove better then themselves. For verie wisely to this purpose said the Poet *Hesiodus*:

*If little still to little thou do ad  
a heape at length and mickle will be had.*

Over and besides, I would not have fathers to be ignorant of another point also, as touching this memorative part & faculty of the mind: namely, that it serveth much not onely to get learning and literature, but also is a meanes that carrieth not the least stroke in worldly affaires: For the remembrance of matters past, furnisheth men with examples sufficient to guide and direct them in their consultations of future things.

Furthermore, this care would be had of young children, that they be kept from filthy and unseemly speeches: For words (as *Democritus* saith) are the shadowes of deeds. Trained also they

they must be to be courteous, affable, & faire spoken, as well in intertainment of talke with every one, as in saluting and greeting whomsoever they meete: for there is nothing in the world so odious as to be coy and furlly of speech; to make it strange and to disdain for to speake with men. Again, yoong students shall make themselves more lovely and amiable to those with whom they converse, in case they be not so opinative and stiffe that they will not relent nor give place one jot in disputations, if they have once taken a partie against others. For a commendable and goodly matter it is for a man to know, not only how to overcome, but also to suffer himselfe otherwhiles to be overcome: especially in such things wherein the victorie bringeth hurt and dammage: For verily such a conquest may well and truly be called according to the common Proverbe, A Cadmian victorie, that is to say, which turneth to the detriment and losse of the winner. In confirmation whereof I may well alleage the testimony of the wise Poet *Empidides*, who in one of his tragedies hath these verses:

*When one of twaine that argue and dispute,  
grooves into heat of words and will not rest:  
I hold him much the wiser who is mute  
and staies his tongue, that he do not contest.*

Now come I to other points wherein youth is to be instructed, and those of no lesse importance, nay rather I may be bolde to say, of greater consequence than all those whereof I have discoursed hitherto: And what be they? Namely, that yoong men be not riotous, and given to superfluity of expence: That they holde their tongue: That they master their anger: and finally, That they keepe their hands pure & cleane. But let us consider these precepts particularlie, what ech of them in severall doeth import: and more easily may they be understood, if we illustrate the same by lively examples. To begin then first with the last: There have bene knowne great personages, who being once permitted to put forth their hands for to take bribes and money unjustly, lost all the honor which they had woen the rest of their life time: As for example, \* *Gylippus* the Lacedæmonian, who having once opened those bagges or coffers of money by turning their bottomes upwards, and taken forth what pleased him, was shamefully banished out of *Sparta*, and lived obscurely in exile. As touching the gift of bridling choler, and not to be angrie at all, it is a singular vertue, and perfect wile men they are indeed who can so do: Such as *Socrates* was, who being greatly abused by an insolent, audacious and gracelesse youth, that spared him not, but had spurned & kicked him with his heeles, seeing those about him to be very angrie and out of patience, stamping and faring as though they would run after the partie, to be avenged of such an indignitie; How now my masters (quoth he) what if an asse had flung out, and given me a rap with his heeles, would you have had me to haue yerked out and kicked him againe? Howbeit, this ungracious impe went not clere away with impunity: for being rated for his insolence & leud demeanour, and reproched by every man with the termes of Wining asse, Kicking colt, and such like nick-names, he fell into such a fit of melancholie, that he strangled himselfe in a halter. Also when *Aristophanes* the Poet exhibited the Comedie called *Cloudes*, wherein he let sife and discharged upon *Socrates* all manner of slanders and contumelies that he could devise, inso much as one of them who were present at the very time when he railed thus 40 licentiously, demanded of him, and said, Art thou not nettled, o *Socrates*, to heare and see thy selfe thus blasoned and noted in publique place? Not a whit (quoth hee againe) for well I wot, that I am in a Theatre, where I make sport, and am laughed at, no otherwise than at some great feast: and glad I am that I can make the audience so merie. The like for all the world, is reported of *Archytas*, the Tarentine, and *Plato*: the one being returned home from the warre, wherein he was L. Generally, found his land forlet, neglected and untilld; whereupon he sent for his Bailife of husbandrie, who had the charge thereof: and when he was come before him, W ere I not exceeding angrie (quoth he) I would make thee feele my fingers, and give thee thy desert. And *Plato* being upon a time displeased with a servant of his, who had a licourous tooth, and had done some ungracious pranke, called unto him *Spensippus* his sisters sonne, and said, Goe 50 by your waies, take me this knave aside, and swing him well: for I my selfe am verie angrie. But some man perhaps will say unto me, These be hard matters to do and imitate. True it is, I wote well; howbeit, endeavour we must and strive with our selves what we can, according to the example of these worthy men, to cut off somewhat of our impatience, and to curbe our excessive anger: for we may not looke to be equall and comparable in any respect to them, either in experience

\* Vide *Plutarch*, in vita *Lysandri*.

rience and skill or in vertue. Howbeit, let us neverthelesse, like the Priests and Torch-bearers (if I may so say) of the gods, ordeined to give light, and shew unto men the reliques of their wisdom and learning, no lesse than if they were verie gods, assay to follow them, and tread in their steps, endeavouring as such as lieth in us, to be furnished with their examples for our better instruction. As for the rule and government of the tongue (for of it, according to my promise, I am to discourse) if there be any man, who thinketh it to be no great matter, but a small and frivolous matter, he is verie wide and farre out of the right way. For a point it is of great wisdom, to know in time and place to keepe silence, and farre better by many degrees than any speech whatsoever. And for this cause (I suppose) it was, that our ancestors in times past instituted 10 those precise ceremonies of sacred mysteries, to the end that being used to holde our peace by that meanes, we might transerre that feare which we learned in the service of the gods, to the delicie and secrecie which we are to observe in mens affaires; and verily never was there man that repented for holding his tongue, but many a one hath often bestrewed himselfe for speaking. Again, that word which a man hath held in at one time, he may easilie utter at another well enough; but a word once passed out of the mouth, he cannot possibly recall it againe. I remember that I have heard of an infinite number of men, who by occasion of an intemperate tongue of their own, have fallen headlong into exceeding great calamities, among whom I will select one or two by way of example, to illustrate the theame that I have in hand, & overpasse the rest. *Ptolomæus* King of *Aegypt*, him I meane who was surnamed *Philadelphus*, espoused 20 his owne sister *Arfinoë*, and married her: at what time one *Sotades* came unto him and sayd, You put your aglet, sir, thorow the oilet that is not made for it: For this one word, he was cast into prison, where he remained a long time in miserie, and rotted in the end, suffering condigne punishment due for his lauish tongue and foolish words: and for that he thought to make other men laugh, himselfe wept for it a long time after. The like, and in a manner the same, both did and suffered another, named *Theocritus* the Sophister, save that the punishment which he abid was much more grievous. For when King *Alexander* the Great had by his letters missive given commandment that the Greekes should provide Robes of purple against his returne, because upon his coming home he minded to celebrate a solemne sacrifice unto the Gods, in token of thanksgiving for that he had achieved a victorie over the Barbarians: by reason 30 of which commandment the States and cities of Greece were enjoyned to contribute money by the poll, Then this *Theocritus*, I have ever to this day (quoth he) doubted what *Homer* meant by this word Purple death: but now I know full well that this is the Purple death which he speaketh of. By which words he incurred the high displeasure of King *Alexander*, and made him his heave friend ever after. The same *Theocritus* another time procured to himselfe the deadly hatred of *Antigonus* King of the Macedonians, by reproching him in way of mockerie with his deformity and defect, for that he had but one eie. For the King having advanced *Eutropius* his Master Cooke to a place of high calling and command, thought him a meete man to be sent unto *Theocritus*, as well to give account unto him, as also to take account of him reciprocally. *Eutropius* gave him to understand so much from the King, and about this businesse, repaired 40 often unto him. In the end, I know well (quoth *Theocritus*) thou wilt never have done untill thou have made a dish of meate of me, and serve me up raw to the table before this Cyclops to be eaten: twitting the King with his one eie, and *Eutropius* with his cookerie. But *Eutropius* came upon him againe presently and said: Thou shalt be then without a head first, For I will make thee pay for thy prating and foolish toong, and wiche that he went immediately to the King, and reported what he had said, who made no more adoe but sent his writ and caused his head to be smitten off.

Over and besides all these precepts before rehearsed, children ought to be inured from their very infancie in one thing which is most holy and becoming religious education, and that is, to speake the truth: For surely, lying is a base and servile vice, detestable and hateful among all 50 men, and not pardonable so much as to meane slaves, such as haue little or no good in them. Now as touching all that which I have delivered and advised hitherto which concerneth the honest behaviour, modestie and temperance of yoong children, I have delivered the same frankly, resolutely, and making no doubt thereof. Mary, for one point which now I am to touch and handle, I am not so well resolved, but much distracted in my mind, hanging to and fro as it were in æquall balance, and know not which way to incline, whether to the one side or

to another: Inſomuch as I am in great perplexitie and feare: neither wote I whether I were better to go forward and utter it, or to turne backe and hold my peace. And yet I will take heart, and boldly declare what it is. The queſtion to be debated is this, Whether we ought to permit thoſe that love young boies, to converſe with them and haunt their companie, or contrariwiſe, keepe them away and debar them that they neither come neere nor have any ſpeech with them? For when I behold & conſider the aſperitie nature & feveritie of ſome fathers, who for feare that their ſonnes ſhould be abuſed, wil in no wiſe abide that thoſe who love them ſhould in any ſort keepe cōpanie, or talke with them, but thinke it intolerable, I am afraid either to bring up ſuch an order or to approve & maintaine the ſame. But when on the other ſide I propound before mine eyes the examples of *Socrates, Plato, Xenophon, Aſchines, Cebes*, and all the ſuit and ſort of thoſe woorthy men in times paſt, who allowed the maner of loving young boies, and by that meanes brought ſuch youthes to learne good ſciences, to ſkill of government & State matters, and to frame their maners to the rule and ſquare of vertue, I am turned quite and altogether of another mind, yea and inclined wholly to imitate and follow thoſe great perſonages, who have the teſtimonie of the Poet *Euripides* on their ſide, ſaying in one place after this maner,

*All loves do not theſeſh groſſly reſpect:  
One love there is which doth the ſoule affect,  
With juſtice beſtified and equitie,  
With innocence likewiſe and chaſtite.*

Neither ought we to overpaſſe one ſaying of *Plato*, which he delivereth betweene mirth and good earnest in this wiſe, Good reaſon it is, quoth he, that they who have done woorthy ſervice and achieved great prowefſe and victory in a battaile, be privileged to kill whom it pleaſeth them among their captives. And for thoſe who deſire nothing but the bewty and freſh flour of the bodie, mine opinion is they ſhould be put backe & kept away: but ſuch in one word as love of the bewtie of the minde are to be choſen & admitted unto them. Alſo I hold, that ſuch kind love is to be avoided and forbidden, which they praſiſe in *Thebes* and *Elis*, as alſo that which in *Candy* they call Ravifhment: but that which is uſed in *Athens* and *Lacedæmon*, we ought to receive and allow, even in young and faire boies. Howbeit concerning this matter every man may for me opine what he thinketh good, and do as he ſeeeth cauſe and can finde in his heart.

Moreover, having ſufficiently treated of the good nourtur and modeſt behaviour of children, I purpoſe to proceed unto the age of young men: but firſt I will ſpeake my mind briefly once for all as touching one point. For many a time I have complained of thoſe who have brought up divers ill cuſtomes & this above the reſt, namely to provide for their children whiles they be very young and little, maſters, teachers and governors: but after they are grown once to ſome yeeres, they give them head and ſuffer them to be caried away with the violent heat of youth: whereas contrariwiſe it were meet and needfull, to have a more carefull eye unto them, and to hold a ſtreighter hand over them at that time, than during their infancie and childhood. For who knoweth not, that the faults of young children are but ſmall, light and eaſie to be amended, as for example, ſome throwneſſe and little diſobedience to their tutors and governors, or haply ſome negligence and default in not giving care to their teachers, and not doing as their Maſters appoint them: But contrariwiſe the offences that yonkers commit, are many times outrageous and heinous, as gouting and ſurſetting, robbing of their fathers, dice play in masks and mummeries, exceſſe in feaſting, banqueting, quaffing and carouſing, wanton love of young maidens, adulteries committed upon married wives, & thereby the overthrow of houſes and confuſion of families. In regard of which enormities, it behooved parents to reſſeſſe and bridle their wilde and untamed affections with great care and vigilance: For this flour of age having no forecaſt of thrift, but ſet altogether upon ſpending, and given to delights and pleaſures, wineth and fingeth out like a ſkirtiſh and frampold horſe, in ſuch ſort that it had need of a ſharpe bit and ſhort curb: And therefore they that endeavor not by all good meanes forcibly to hold in and reſſeſſe this age, but give young men libertie and ſuffer them to do after their own mind, plunge them ere they be aware into a licentious courſe of life and all maner of wickedneſſe. Wherefore good and wiſe fathers ought in this age eſpecially to be vigilant and watchfull over their ſonnes, they ought I ſay to keepe them downe, and inure them to wiſedome and verue, by teaching, by threatening, by intreatie and prayers, by adviſe and remonſtrances, by perſwaſion and counſell, by faire promiſes, by ſetting before their eyes the

examples

examples of ſome who being abandoned to their pleaſures and all ſenſualitie, have fallen headlong into great calamities and woſull miſeries: & contrariwiſe, of others who by maſtering their luſts and conquering their delights, have wonne honor and glorious renowne. For ſurely theſe be the two Elements and foundations of vertue, Hope of reward, and Feare of puniſhment: For, as hope inciteth and ſetteth them forward to enterprize the beſt and moſt commendable acts, ſo feare plucketh them backe, that they dare not enter upon lewd and wicked pranks. In ſumme, Fathers ought with great care to divert their children from frequenting ill companie, for otherwiſe they ſhall be ſure to catch infection and carie away the contagion of their leandnes. This is that *Pythagoras* expreſſly forbiddeth in his Aenigmaticall precepts under covert and dark words, which becauſe they are of no ſmall efficacie to the attaining of vertue, I will briefly ſet downe by the way, and open their meaning. Taſte not (quoth he) of the black tailed fiſhes, *Adelmanni*, which is as much to ſay, as, Keepe not company with infamous perſons, & ſuch as for their naughtie life are noted (as it were) with a blacke coale. Paſſe not over a balance, That is, we ought to make the greateſt account of equitie and juſtice, and in no caſe to tranſgreſſe the ſame. Sit not upon the \*meaſure Choenix, That is to ſay, we are to ſlie ſloth and idlenes, that we may forecaſt to make proviſion of things neceſſarie to this life. Give not every man thy right hand, which is all one with this, Make no contracts and bargaines indifferently with all perſons. VVear not a ring ſtreight upon thy finger. Live in freedom and libertie; neither intangle and clog thy life with troubles as with gives. Dignot nor rake into the fire with a ſword: where-  
by he giveth us a caveat, not to provoke farther a man that is angrie, for that is not meete and expedient; but rather to give place unto thoſe that are in heat of choller. Eat not thy heart, that is to ſay, offend not thine owne ſoule, nor hurt and conſume it with penſive cares. Abſtaine from beanes, i. Intermeddle not in the affaires of State and government: for that in olde time men were wont to paſſe their voices by beanes, & ſo proceeded to the election of Magiſtrates. Put not viands in a chamber-pot: whereby he ſignifieth, that we ſhould not commit good and civill words to a wicked minde; becauſe ſpeech is the nutriment of the underſtanding, which becommeth polluted by the leudneſſe of men. Returne not backe from the limits and confines when thou commeſt unto them, that is to ſay, If wee perceive death approaching, and that wee are come to the uttermoſt bounds of our life, we ought to beare our death patiently, and not  
be discouraged thereat.

But now is it time to returne againe to my matter which I propoſed before in the beginning, namely, as I have already ſaid, we are to withdraw our children from the ſocietie and companie of leud perſons, and flatterers eſpecially: for that which many a time and often I have ſaid to divers and ſundry fathers, I will now repeat once againe, namely, That there is not more miſchievous and peſtilent kinde of men, or who doe greater hurt to youth, and ſooner overthrow them, then theſe flatterers, who are the undoing both of fathers and ſonnes, cauſing the olde age of the one, and the youth of the other, wretched and miſerable, preſenting with their leud and wicked counſels an inevitable bait, to wit, Pleaſure, wherewith they are ſure to be caught. Fathers exhort their ſonnes that be wealthie, to ſobrietie; and theſe incite them to drunkenneſſe.  
Fathers give them counſell to live chaſte and continent; theſe provoke them to luſt and looſeneſſe of life. Fathers bid them to ſave, ſpare, and be thriftie; theſe will them to ſpend, ſcatter, and be waſters. Fathers adviſe their children to labour and travell; theſe flatterers give them counſell to play or ſit ſtill and doe nothing; What? all our life, ſay they, is no more but a moment and minute of time, to ſpeake of: we muſt live therefore, and enjoy our owne, whiles wee have it: we muſt not live beſide our ſelves, and languish. What need you regard and care for the menaces of a father, an olde doting foolle carying death in his face, and having one foot in the grave, we ſhall ſee him one of theſe dayes turne up his heeles, and then will we ſoone have him forth, and cary him aloft bravely to his grave. You ſhall have one of theſe come, and bring unto a youth ſome common harlot out of the ſtinking ſtewes, having borne him in hand before, that the iſe ſome brave dame and citizens wife, for to furniſh whom, he muſt robbe his father, there is no remedie. Thus fathers, good men, in one houre are bereaved and ſpoiled of that which they had ſaved many a yeere for the maintenance of their olde age. To be ſhort, a wretched and curſed generation they be; hypocrites, pretending friendſhip, but they can not ſkill of plaine dealing and franke ſpeech. Rich men they claw, ſooth up and flatter: the poore they contemne and deſpiſe. It ſeemeth they have learned the Art of ſinging to the Harpe, for

\*Chrenix eſt-  
reined a lex-  
tars, or atter  
ſonne a ſextar  
& half, which  
was dimes ſum  
quodlibetum.  
Fide Cat. Rhet.  
dig. lib. 11. cap.  
17. antiquorum.

to seduce young men: for when their young masters, who mainteine and feed them, begin to laugh, then they set up by and by a loud laughter, then they yawne & shew all their teeth; counterfeite cranks, fained and suppoled men; baltard members of mankind and this life; who comfort themselves, and live to the will and pleasure of rich men: and notwithstanding their fortune is to be free borne, and of franke condition; yet they chuse voluntarily to be slaves: who thinke they have great injurie done unto them, if they may not live in all fulnesse and superfluitie, to be kept delicately, and doe nothing that good is. And therefore all fathers that have any care of their childrens good education and wel-doing, ought of necessitie to chafe and drive away from them these gracelesse imps and shamelesse beasts: they shall doe well also to keepe from them such schoole-fellowes as be unhappie and given to doe throwd turnes: for such as they, are enough to corrupt and marre the best natures in the world.

All these rules and lessons which hitherto I have delivered, do concerne honestie, vertue and profit: but those that now remaine behinde, pertaine rather to humanity, and are more agreeable to mans nature. For in no case would I have fathers to be verie hard, sharpe and rigorous to their children: but I could rather wish and desire that they wink at some faults of a young man, yea and pardon the same when they espie them; remembering that they themselves were sometimes young. For like as Physicians mingling and tempering otherwhiles some sweete juice or liquid with bitter drugs and medicines, have devised that pleasure and delight should be the meanes and way to do their patients good: Even so, fathers ought to delay their eager reprehensions and cutting rebukes with kindnesse and clemencie: one while letting the bridle loose, and giving head a litle to the youthfull desires of their children: another while againe reigning them short and holding them in, as hard: but above all, with patience gently to beare with their faults. But if so be fathers cannot otherwise doe, but be soone angrie; then they must allsoone have done and be quickly pacified. For I had rather that a father should be halfe with his children, so he be appeased anon: then slow to anger, and as hard to be pleased againe. For when a father is so hard harted, that he will not be reconciled, but carieth still in minde the offence that is done, it is a great signe that he hateth his children. And I hold it good that fathers sometime take not knowledge of their childrens faults, and in this case make some use of hard hearing and dimme sight, which old age ordinarily bringeth with it, as if by reason of these infirmities, they neither saw somewhat when they see well youngeth; nor heard that which they heare plainly. We beare with the faults of friends; what strange matter is it then to tolerate the imperfections of our owne children? Many a time when our servants have overdrunk themselves, & surfeited therewith, we search not too narrowly into them, nor rebuke them sharply: therefore keepe thy sonne one while short, be franke another while, and give him money to spend freely. Thou hast bene highly offended, and angrie with him once, pardon him another time for it. Hath he practised secretly with any one of thy household servants, and beguiled thee? Dissemble the matter and bridle thine yre. Hath he bene at one of thy farmes, met with a good yoke of oxen & made money thereof? Commeth he in the morning to do his dutie and bid thee good morrow, belching fowre and smelling strongly of wine, which the day before he drunken at the taverne with companions like himselfe? seeme to know nothing. Senteth he of sweete perfumes and costly pomanders? Hold thy peace and say nothing. These are the means to tame and breake a wilde and coltish youth. True it is, that such as naturally be subject to wantonnesse or carnall lust, and will not be reclaimed from it, nor give care to those that rebuke them, ought to have wives of their owne and to be yoked in marriage: for surely this is the best and surest meanes to bridle those affections, and to keepe them in order. And when fathers are resolved upon this point, what wives are they to seeke for them? Surely those, that are neither in blood much more noble, nor in state farre wealthier than they: For an old said saw it is and a wife, Take a wife according to thy selfe. As for those that wed women farre higher in degree, or much wealthier than themselves, I cannot say they be husbands unto their wives, but rather slaves unto their wives goods.

I have yet a few short lessons to annexe unto those above rehearsed, which when I have set downe, I will conclude, and knit up these precepts of mine. Above all things fathers are to take heed, that they neither commit any grosse fault, nor omit any one part of their owne dutie: to the end they may be as lively examples to their owne children; who looking into their life as into a cleere mirrour, may by the precedents by them given, forbear to do or speake any thing that

that is unseemely and dishonest: For such fathers who reprove their children for those parts which they play themselves, see no how under the name of their children they condemne their owne selves. But surely, all those generally who are ill liveres, have not the heart to rebuke so much as their owne servants; much lesse dare they finde fault with their children. And that which is worst of all, in living ill themselves, they teach and counsell their servants and children to do the same: For looke where old folke be shamelesse, there must young people of necessitie be most graceles and impudent. Endeavour therefore we ought for the reformation of our children, to do our selves all that our dutie requireth: and heerein to imitate that noble Ladie Eurydice, who being a Slavonian borne, and most barbarous, yet for the instruction of her owne children, she tooke paines to learne good letters when she was well steeped in yeeres. And how kinde a mother she was to her children, this Epigram which she her selfe made and dedicated to the Muses, doth sufficiently testifie and declare:

*This Cupid here of honest love a true Memoriall is,  
Which whilom Dame Eurydice of Hierapolis  
To Muses nine did dedicate: where by in soule and mind  
Conceiv'd she was in later daies and brought forth fruit in kind.  
For when her children were well grown: good ancient Lady shee,  
And careful mother tooke the paines to learne the A.B.C.  
And in good letters did so far proceed, that in the end  
She taught them those sage lessons which they might comprehend.*

But now to conclude this Treatise, To be able to observe and keepe all these precepts and rules together which I have before set downe, is a thing happily that I may wish for, rather than give advice and exhort unto. Howbeit, to aff. & follow the greater part of them, although it require a rare felicitie and singular diligence; yet it is a thing that man by nature is capable of, and may attaine unto.



## HOW A YOUNG MAN OUGHT TO HEARE POETS, AND HOW HE MAY TAKE PROFIT BY READING POEMES.

### The Summarie.

**E**rasmuch as young Students are ordinarily allured as with a baite by reading of Poets in such sort, as willingly they employ their time therein, considering that Poësie hath I wot not what Sympathie with the first heats of this age: therefore by good right this present discourse is placed next unto the former. And albe it, to speake properly it pertaineth unto those onely who read ancient Poëts, as well Greeke as Latin, to take heede and beware how they take an impression of dangerous opinions, in regard either of religion or manners: yet a man may comprehend likewise under it all other profane authors, out of which a minde that is not corrupt may gather profit, so they be handled wisely and used with discretion. To which effect Plutarch delivereth in this treatise good precepts: And after he hath shewed generally, that in Poësie there is delight and danger withall: he refuteth briefly those who flatly condemne it: Then, as he proceedeth to advertise that this ground and foundation is to be laide, namely, that Poëts are liars; he describeth what their fictions be, how they ought to be considered, and what the scope and marke is whereat Poësie doth aime and shoot: Afterwards he adviseth, to weigh & ponder well the intention of Poëts, unto which they addresse & accomodate their verses: to beware of their repugnant

ces and contradictions: and so the end that we be not so soon damned by any dangerous points which they deliver one after another, to oppose against them the opinions and counsels of other persons of better make. Which done, he addeth moreover and saith, That the sentences intermingled here and there in Poets, do reply sufficiently against the evil doctrine that they may seeme to teach elsewhere: also, in taking heed to the diverse significations of words to be rid and freed from great encumbrances and difficulties: discoursing moreover how a man may make use of their descriptions of vices and virtues: also, of the words and deeds of those personages whom they bring in: searching unto the reasons and causes of such speeches and discourses: thereunto to draw in the end a deeper sense and higher meaning, reaching even to Morall Philosophie, and the gentle framing of the minde unto the love of vertue. And for that there be some hard and difficult places, which like unto forked waies, may leave the mindes of the Readers doubtfull and in suspence: he sheweth that it is an easie matter to apply the same well, and that withall, a man may reforme those sentences ill placed, and accommodate them to many things. And in conclusion, framing this discourse to his principall intention, he treateth how the praises and dispraises which Poets attribute unto persons, are to be considered: and that we ought to conforme all that which we finde good in such authors by testimonies taken out of Philosophie, the onely scope whereunto young men must tend in reading of Poets.

## READING AND HEARING of Poemes and Poets.



That which the Poet *Philoxenus* said of flesh, that the sweetest is that which is least flesh: of fish likewise that the most favorie is that which is least fish, let us, O *Marcus Sedatus*, leave to be decided and judged by those, who as *Cato* said, had their palats more quicke and sensible than their hearts. But, that young men take more pleasure in those Philosophicall discourses, which favour least of Philosophie, and seeme rather spoken in mirth than in earnest, and are more willing to give care thereto, and suffer themselves more easily to be led and directed thereby, is a thing to us notorious and evident. For we see, that in reading not onely *Aesop* fables and the fictions of Poets, but also the booke of *Hercules* entituled *Abaris*, and that of *Ariston*, named *Lycas*; wherein the opinions of Philosophers as touching the soule, are mingled with tales and feigned narrations devised for pleasure, they be ravished as one would say with great contentment and delight. And therefore such youtnes ought not onely to keepe their bodies sober and temperate in the pleasures of meate and drinke, but also much more to accustom their minds to a moderate delight in those things which they heare and read, using the same temperately as a pleasant and delectable sauce to give a better and more favorie taste to that which is healthfull, holsome and profitable therein. For neither those gates that be shut in a city do guard the same and secure it for being forced and won, if there be but one standing open to receive and let in the enemies: nor the temperance and continencie in the pleasures of other senses preserve a young man for being corrupted and perverted, if for want of forefront and heed taking he give himselfe to the pleasure onely of the care. But for that the hearing approacheth neerer to the proper feat of reason and understanding (which is the braine) so much the more hurt it doth unto him that receiveth delectation thereby, if it be neglected, and not better heed taken thereto. Now forasmuch happily, as it is neither possible nor profitable, to restraîne from the reading and hearing of Poemes, such young men as are of the age either of my sonne *Sedatus*, or of your *Cleander*, let us I praie you, have a carefull eye unto them, as standing more in need of a guide now to direct them in their readings, then they did in times past to stay and dade them when they learned to go. This is the reason, that I thought in dutie I was bound to send unto you in writing, that which not long since I discoursed of by mouth, as touching the writings of Poets: to the end that you may reade it your selfe, and if you find that the reasons therein delivered be of no lesse vertue & efficacie than the stones called *Amethysts*, which some take before and hang about their necks, to keepe them from drunkenness as they sit at bankets, drinking wine merily; you may impart and communicate the same to your sonne *Cleander*, to preoccupate and prevent his nature, which

which being not dull and heavey in any thing, but every way quicke, lively and pregnant, is more apt and easie to be led by such allurements.

*In Polytes head there is to be hid,*

*One thing that good is, and another as bad,*

for that the flesh thereof is pleasant and favorie enough in taste to him that feedeth thereupon: but (as they say) it causeth troublesome dreames in the sleepe, and imprinteth in the fantasie strange and monstrous visions. Semblable, there is in Poetrie much delectation and pleasure, enough to entertaine and feed the understanding and spirit of a young man: yet nevertheless, hee shall meet with that there which will trouble and cary away his minde into errors, if his hearing be not well guided and conducted by sage direction. For verie well and fitly it may be said not onely of the land of *Aegypt*, but also of Poetrie;

*Mixed drugs plentie, of well good as bad,*

*Medicines and posions are there to be had,*

which it bringeth forth and yeeldeth to as many as converse therein. Likewise:

*Therein sweet lone and wantonnesse,*

*with dalliance, you shall finde;*

*And sugred words, which do beguile*

*the best and wisest minde.*

For that which is so decentfull and dangerous therein, toucheth not at all those that be witty, lesse fots, fooles, and grosse of conceit. Like as *Simonides* answered upon a time to one, who demanded of him, Why he did not beguile and circumvent the Thebaisians as well as all other Greeks; Because, quoth he, they are too fortith for me to deale withall, and so rude, that I can not skill of deceiving them. *Gorgias* also the Leontine was wont to say of a Tragedie, That it was a kinde of deceit, whereby he that deceived became more just than he who deceived not; and he that was deceived, wiser than another who was not deceived. What is then to be done? Shall we constrain our youth to goe aboard into the Brigantine or Barke of *Epicurus*, to faile away and flie from Poetrie, by plaistering and stopping their eares with hard and strong waxe, as *Vlisses* sometimes served those of *Ithaca*? or rather by environing and defending their judgement with some discourse of true reason, as with a defensive band about it, to keepe and guard them, that they be not caried away with the allurements of pleasure, unto that which might hurt them: Shall we reforme and preserve them?

*For sure, Lycurgus, though he was*

*The valiant sonne of stout Dryas,*

shewed himselfe not wise nor well in his wits, when he went throughout his whole realme and caused all the vines to be cut downe and destroyed, because he saw many of his subjects troubled in their braines and drunken with wine: whereas he should rather have brought the nymphes (which are the spring waters) neerer, and keepe in order that foolish, furious and outrageous god *Bacchus* as *Plato* saith, with another goddesse that was wise and sober. For the mingling of water with wine, delaith and taketh away the hurtfull force thereof: but killeth not withall the holsome vertue that it hath: Even so we ought not to cut off, nor abolish Poetrie, which is a part and member of the Muses and good literature: But when as the strange fables and Theatricall fictions therein, by reason of the exceeding pleasure and singular delight that they yeeld in reading them, do spread and swell unmeasurably, readie to enter forcibly into our conceits so farre as to imprint therein some corrupt opinions: then let us beware, put forth our hands before us, keepe them backe and staie their course. But where there is a Grace and Muse met together, that is to say, delight conjoined with some knowledge and learning: where I say, the attractive pleasure and sweetnesse of speech, is not without some fruit nor void of utilitie, there let us bring in withall the reason of Philosophie, and make a good medly of pleasure and profit together. For as the herbe *Mandradoras* growing neere unto a vine, doth by infusion transmit her medicinable vertue into the wine that commeth of it, and procureth in them that drinke afterwards thereof, a more milde desire and inclination to sleepe soundly: Even so, a Poeme receiving reasons and arguments out of Philosophie, and intermingling the same with fables and fictions, maketh the learning and knowledge therein contained to be right amiable unto young men, and soone to be conceived. Which being so, they that would be learned and Philosophers indeed, ought not to reject and condemne the works of Poetrie, but rather search for



for Philosophie in the writings of Poets: or rather therein to practise Philosophie, by using to seeke profit in pleasure, and to love the same: otherwise, if they can finde no goodnesse therein, to be displeased and discontented, and to fall out therewith. And truly this is the very beginning of knowledge and learning: for according to the Poet *Sophocles*,

*Lay well thy ground, what ever thou intend:*

*For a good beginning, makes an happy end.*

First and foremost therefore, the young man whom we would induct and traine to the reading of Poësie, ought to have nothing in his heart so well imprinted, nor so readie at hand, as this common saying,

*Poets all so say a sooth*

*Are Liers stout, and speake untruth.*

And verily as Poets sometimes lie wilfully, so otherwiles they do it against their wils: wilfully and of purpose, for that being desirous to tickle and please the eares, a thing which most Readers desire and seeke after, they thinke that simple and plaine veritie is more auilful for that purpose then leasing: For truth recounting a thing as it was done, keepeth to it still, and albeir the issue and the end thereof haply be unpleasant, yet nevertheless she goeth not aside but reporteth it outright: whereas a tale or lie devised for delight, quickly diverteth out of the way, and soone turneth from a thing which greiveth, unto that which is more delightfome. For there is no song in rime and metre, no trope or figurative speech, no losie stile, no metaphor so fitly borrowed, no harmonie, no composition of words, how smoothly soever they run, that catcheth the like grace, and is either so attractive or retentive, as a fabulous narration well couched, artificially entrelaced, and aptly delivered. But as a picture drawn to the like, the colour is more effectuall to moove & affect our sense, then the simple puttraying and first draught, by reason of a certaine resemblance it hath to the personage of man or woman, which deceiveth our judgement: Even so, in Poëmes, a lie intermingled with some probabilitie and likelihood of a truth doth excite and stirre more, yea and please better by farre, than all the arte and studie that a man is able to employ either in composing excellent verses, or ending any polished prose, without entrelarding fables and fictions Poëticall. Whereupon it came to passe, that *Socrates* who all his life time made great profession to be a defender and maintainer of the truth, being minded upon a time to take in hand Poetrie, by occasion of certaine dreames and visions, appearing unto him in his sleepe: in the enterprise whereof finding himselfe to have no apprehension nor grace at all in devising lies, did unto verse certain fables of *Aesop*, supposing verily there could be no Poësie where there were no lies. Many sacrifices we know to have bene celebrated without piping and dauncing. But never was there known any Poetrie, but it was grounded upon some vaine fables & loud leasing. The verses of *Empedocles* and *Parmenides*, the booke of *Nicander* entituled *Theriacal*, where he treateth of the biting and stinging of venomous serpents, and of their remedies, The morall sentences of *Theognis* are writings which borrow of Poetrie their lositnesse of stile and measure of syllables, to beare them up mounted on high to avoid the bale foote pace (as it were) of prose. When as we read therefore in Poeticall compositions, any strange and absurd thing, as touching the Gods, demy-gods, or vertue, spoken by 40 some worthy personage of great renowne, he that beleeveth such a speeche and receiveth it as an undoubted truth, wandereth in error and is corrupted in opinion: but he that ever and anon remembreth and setteth before his eyes the charmes and illusions that Poetrie ordinarily useth in the invention of lying fables, and can esteemes blisse himselfe and say thus thereto,

*O queint device, & shee and craftie gin  
more changeable than spotted Unices skin:*

*Why yett'st thou and yett thy browes dost knit?*

*deceiving me, yett seem'st to reach me wit.*

He I say, shall never take harme, nor admit into his understanding any evill impression, but reprehend and reprove himselfe when he feareth Neptune, and standeth in dread, least he shake cleave and open the earth, and so discover hell: he will rebuke also himselfe when he is offended and angrie with *Apollo* the principal \* man of all the Greekes, of whom *Thetu* complaineth thus in the Poet *Aeschylus*, as touching *Achilles* her sonne.

*Himselfe did sing and say at good of me:*

*himselfe also at wedding present was:*

\* *Alyste*.

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*Yet for all this, himselfe and none but he,*

*hath slaine and done to death my sonne Ajax.*

He will likewise repress the teares of *Achilles* now departed, and of *Agamemion* being in hell, who in their desire to revive and for the love of this life, stretch forth their impotent and feeble hands. And if it chauce at any time that he be troubled with passions, and surprised with their enchantments and forcerie, he will not stick nor feare to say thus unto himselfe,

*Make hast and speed, without delay,*

*Recover soone the light of day;*

*Beare well in minde what thou seest here:*

*And all report to thy bed seere.*

*Homer* spake this in mirth and pleasantly, sitting indeed the discourse, wherein he describeth hell as being in regard of the fiction a tale fit for the eares of women and none els: These be the fables that Poets do feigne voluntarily. But more in number there are which they neither devise nor counterfeit, but as they are persuaded and do beleve themselves, so they would beare us in hand and infect us with the same untruthes, as namely when *Homer* writeth thus of *Jupiter*,

*Two lasses then of long sleeping death, he did in balance put,*

*One for Achilles hardy knight, and one for Hector stout:*

*But when he p's'd it just in mid, behold, for Hector death*

*weigh'd downwar' unto hell beneath: Then Phoebus stout his breath.*

To this fiction *Aeschylus* the Poet hath aptly fitted one entire Tragedie, which he intituled *Psychostasia*, that is to say, the weighing of Soules or ghosts in balance. Wherein he deviseth to stand at these scales of *Jupiter*, *Thetu* of the one side, and *Aurora* of the other, praying each of them for their sonnes as they fight. But there is not a man who seeth not clearly, that this it but a made tale and meere fable devised by *Homer*, either to content and delight the Reader, or to bring him into some great admiration and astonishment. Likewise in this place:

*'Tis Jupiter that mooveth warre:*

*He is the cause that men do jarre.*

As also this of another Poet:

*When God above some house will overthrow,*

*He makes debate, twixt mortall men below.*

These and such like speeches are delivered by Poets, according to the very conceit and beleife which they have, whereby the error and ignorance which themselves are in as touching the nature of the gods they derive and communicate unto us. Semblably, the strange wonders and marvels of Hell; The descriptions by them made which they depaint unto us by fearefull and terrible termes, representing unto us the fantasticall apprehensions and imaginations of burning and flaming rivers, of hideous places and horrible torments: there are not many men but wot well enough that therein be tales and lies good store: no otherwise than in meates and viands, you shall finde mixed otherwiles hurtfull poyson, or medicinable drugs. For neither *Homer* nor *Pindarus*, nor *Sophocles*, have written thus of Hell, beleiving certainly that there 40 were any such things there:

*From whence the dormant rivers dead*

*of blacke and shady night,*

*Cast up huge mists and clouds full darke,*

*that overthrowe the light:*

Likewise,

*The Ocean coast they sailed still along,*

*Fast by the cliffs of *Leucas* rocke among.*

As also,

*Here boyling waves of gulfe so deepe do swell,*

*Where lies the way and downfall into hell.*

And as many of them as bewailed and lamented for death as a most piteous and woful thing, or feared want of sepulture as a miserable and wretched case, uttered their plaints and griefes in these and such like words:

*For sake me nor unburied so,*

*Nor unbewailed when you go.*

Semblably,

Semblably,  
And then the soule from body flew,  
and as to hell she went,  
She did her death her losse of strength  
and yout'full yeeres lament.

Likewise,  
Doe not me kill before my time,  
for why? to see this light  
Is sweet: force me not under earth,  
where nothing is but night.

These are the voices I say of passionate persons, captivate before to error and false opinions. And therefore they touch us more neerely, and trouble us so much the rather, when they finde us likewise possessed of such passions and feebleness of spirit, from whence they proceed. In which regard we ought to be prepared betimes, and provided alwaies before hand to encounter and withstand such illusions, having this sentence readily evermore resounding in our eares as it were from a trunke or pipe, That Poetrie is fabulous, and maketh smal reckoning of Truth. As for the truth indeed of these things, it is exceeding hard to be conceived & comprehended even by those who travell in no other business, but to search out the knowledge and understanding of the thing, as they themselves do confesse. And for this purpose these verses of *Empedocles* would be alwaies readie at hand, who saith that the depth of such things as these

No eye of man is able to perceive:  
No eare to heare, nor spirit to conceive.  
Like as these also of *Xenophanes*.  
Never was man nor ever will be,  
Able to sound the veritie  
Of those things which of God I write,  
Or of the world I do endite.

And I assure you, The very words of *Socrates* in *Plato* imply no lesse, who protesteth and bindeth it with an oath, that he cannot attaine to the knowledge of these matters. And this will be a good motive to induce yong men to give lesse credit unto Poets, as touching their 30 certain knowledge in these points, wherein they perceive the Philosophers themselves to doubtfull and perplexed, yea and therewith so much troubled.

Also the better I shall we stay the mind of a yong man & cause him to be more warie, if at his first entrance into the reading of Poets, we describe Poetrie unto him giving him to understand that it is an art of Imitation, & a science correspondent every way to the feat of painting; and not onely must he be acquainted with the hearing of that vulgar speech so common in every mans mouth, that Poësie is a speaking picture, and picture a dumbe Poësie: but also we ought to teach him, that when we behold a Lizard or an Ape wel painted, or the face of *Thersites* lively drawn, we take pleasure therein & praise the same wonderfully; nor for any beautie in the one or in the other, but because they are so naturally counterfeited. For that which is foule of it selfe & ill favo- 40 red in the owne nature, cannot be made faire & seemly: but the skill of resembling a thing wel, be the same faire or be it foule, is alwaies commended: whereas contrariwise, he that takes in hand to portray an illfavoured bodie, and makes thereof a faire & beautifull image, shall exhibite a sight neither seemly nor decent. Some painters yott shall have to delight in painting of strange, foolish and absurd actions: as for example *Timomachus* represented in a table the picture of *Medea*, killing her owne children: *Theon* painted *Orestes* murdering his owne mother: *Parrhasius* described with his pensill, the counterfeit race and madnesse of *Plisses*, and *Cherephanes* portrayed the wanton dalliance, and dealing of men and women together unseemly. With which arguments and such like, a yong man is to be made acquainted, that he may learne thereby how the thing it selfe is not praise worthie, whereof he seeth the expresse resemblance, 50 but the art and cunning of the workeman who could so artificially draw the same to the life. Semblably, for asmuch as Poësie representeth many times by way of imitation, filthie actions, leaud affections, and vicious manners: it is the part of a yong man to know thus much, That the thing which is admired therein and found to be singular, he ought not either to receive as true, or proove as good, but to praise it so far forth onely as it is befitting the person, or appro-

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prate to the subject matter. For like as when we heare the grunting of a swine, the creaking of a cart wheele, the whistling noise of the winde, or the roaring of the sea, we take no pleasure therein, but are troubled and discontented: but contrariwise, if a merie fellow or jester can prettily counterfeit the same, as one *Parmeno* could grunt like a swine, and *Theodoros* creake like the said wheeles, we are delighted therewith. Also, as we shun a diseased person, and a Lazar full of filthy ulcers, as an unpleasant and hideous spectacle to beholde: but when we looke upon *Philactetes* portrayed by *Aristophanes*; and queene *Isasta* by *Silanian*: namely, how they be described to pine away, and ready to yeeld up the ghost, we receive no small contentment thereby: even so a yong man when he shall read what the ridiculous jester *Thersites*, or the amorous and 10 wanton spoiler of maiden, *Sisyphus*, or the beastly bawd *Betrochus*, is brought in by Poets to say or doe; let him be advertised and instructed to praise the art and sufficiency of the Poet, who knew how to paint the same so lively and naturally: but withall to blame, reject, and detest the acts and conditions which are thus represented. For there is a great difference betweene resembling a thing well, and a thing that is simply good: for when I say Well, I meane aptly, decently and properly: and so acts filthie and dishonest, are fit and becomming for lewd and dishonest persons. For the shoes of that lame creple *Demonides*, which he prayed to God might serve his feet that had stolen them from him, were in themselves mishapen and illfavoured; howbeit, proper and fit for him: As for this speech,

If lawes of right and equitie  
In any case may broken be,  
What man alive would not begin  
To do all wrong, a crowne to win?

And this:

Put on the face, I thee advise,  
Of him that is just and right wise:  
But see no deeds thou do for let,  
Whereby thou maist some profit get.

Also:

Unless I may my talent gaine  
As cleve as gift, I am in paine.

Likewise:

How shall I live or take repose,  
In case this talent I do lose?  
Nay sleepe I will and feare no hell,  
Nor torments there, but thinke all well:  
What wrong I do, what plots I set,  
My silver talent for to get.

Wicked words they be all, and most false; howbeit, becomming such as *Eteocles* and *Ision* were, and becomming well an olde Vicer. If therefore wee would advertise yong men, that 40 Poets write thus, nor as if they praised and allowed such speeches, but as they know full well that they be lewd and naughtie, so they do attribute them unto as wicked and godlesse persons, they should never take harme by any evill impressions from Poets: but contrariwise, the prejudicate opinion insinuated first, of such & such a man, will presently breed a suspicion both of word and deed to be bad, as spoken and done by a bad and vicious person. Such an example is that of *Paris* in *Homer*, who flying out of the battell, went presently to bed unto faire *Helena*. For seeing that the Poet reporteth of no man els, but only of this unchast adulterous *Paris*, that he lay with his wife in the day time: it is an evident prooffe that he reputed and judged such incontinencie to be reprochfull, and therefore made report thereof to his blame and shame both. In these ca- 50 ses also it would be well considered whether the Poet himselfe do nor give some plaine demor- strations implying thus much, that he misliketh such speeches, and is offended therewith, as *Menander* did in the Prologue of that Comedie, which he entituled *Thais*.

O ladies Mase now helpe me to endite  
Of this so bolde and unshamefaced queene,  
Yet beautifull: who also hath a spite  
Perswaive, and with words can eare cleane

The

*The wrongs that she unto her lovers all  
Doth offer; whom she thrusteth out of dores,  
And yet for gifts she still of them doth call,  
And picks their purse, which is the cast of whores,  
She none doth love, and yet she semblance makes  
That she will, poore heart, for all their sakes.*

And verily in this kinde, Homer among all other Poets doth excell, and useth such advertisements with best discretion: for it is ordinarie with him both to premise some reprehension and blame of evill speeches, and also to recommend the good. And for an instance heereof, in this wise he giveth commendation of a good speech,

*And then anon, this speech right commendable  
He spake, which was both sweet and profitable.*

Againe,  
*Approching then, he stood unto him nere,  
And staid him soone with words that gentle were.*

Semblably on the other side, reprooving bad and lewd speeches, he in a manner doth protest that he himselfe misliketh of them, and therewith denounceth likewise, and doth intimate unto the readers thus much in effect, That they should make no use thereof, nor take regard, otherwise than of wicked things and dangerous examples: as namely when he purposed to describe the rude and grosse termes that Agamemnon gave unto the Priest of Apollo, when he abused him unmercifully, he premised this before;

*This nothing pleased Atreus sonne, K. Agamemnon hight;  
But him he badly did intreat, and use with all despite.*

By this word Badly, he meaneth rudely, proudly, disdainfully, without regard of dutie or decency. As for Achilles he attributeth unto him these rash and outrageous speeches,

*Thou drunken for and dogs face that thou art  
Thou courage hast no more then fearfull Hart.*

But he inferred withall his owne judgement as touching those words in this manner,

*Achilles then for Peleus sonne, still boiling in his blood  
Gave Agamemnon words againe unseemely and not good.*

For it is not like that any thing could be well and decently spoken proceeding from such anger and bitter choler, he observeth the same not in words only but also in deeds. For thus he saith,

*No sooner had he spoke the word, but presently he ment  
To worthy Hector much disgrace, whose body up he hent,  
He stript and spoiled it full soone, and then hard by the bed  
Of sir Patrochus he it laid, and groveling there it sped.*

He useth also fitly to the purpose pretie reprehensions after things be done, delivering his owne sentence, as it were by way of a voice given, touching that which was either done or said a little before: As for example, after the narration of the adultery betweene Mars and Venus, he reporteth that the gods spake in this sort:

*Lewd Acts do never better speed; Lo how the slow and lame  
Can overtake him him who for strength and swiftness hath the name!*

And in another place, upon the audacious presumption and proud vaunting of Hector, thus he saith,

*These words he spake in braverie and swelling pride of heart,  
But Lady Iuno was displeas'd, and took them in ill part.*

Likewise as touching the arrow that Pandarus shot,

*No sooner Pallas said he word, but foolish minded man,  
He was perswaded, and therewith straight waies to shoote began.*

And these be the sententious speeches, &c. opinions of Poets, by them expressly uttered, which any man may soone find & easily discern, if he will but take heed & give regard unto them. But yet over & besides these testimonies, they furnish us also with other instructions by their owne deeds. For thus it is reported of Euripides, that when up a time some reviled Ixion & reproched him by the termes of Godlesse, Wicked & Accursed: he answered, True indeed quoth he, and therefore I would not suffer him to be brought fro the Stage, before I had set him fast upon the wheele,

wheele, & broken both his armes & legs. True it is that this kinde of Doctrine in Homer is after a sort mute & not delivered in plaine & expresse termes: but if a man will consider more neerely, even those fables & fictions in him, which are most blamed & found fault withall, there may be found therein a profitable instruction & covert speculation: And yet some there be who wret & writhe forcibly the said fables another way by their Allegories, (for so they call in these daies those speeches wherein one thing is spoken & another ment, whereas in times past they were termed *Hyponae*, for the hidden meaning couched under them) whereby they would make us beleieve that the fiction as touching the adulterie of Mars & Venus signifieth thus much, That when the Planet of Mars, is in conjunction with that of Venus in some Horoscopes and Nativities, such persons then borne shall bee enclined to adulteries: but if the Sun do then arise, passe, and overtake them, then such adulteries are in danger to be discovered and the parties to be taken in the very act. Now as touching Iuno how she embellished and adorneth herselfe before Jupiter, as also the fiction and forcene about the needle worke girdle and Tissue which she borrowed of Venus, they would have it to signifie a certaine purging and clearing of the aire, as it approacheth neere to the fire: as if the Poet himselfe gave not the interpretation and exposition of such doubts: For in the tale of the adulterie of Venus, he meaneth nothing els, but to reach them that gave care thereto, how wanton musick, lascivious songs, and speeches grounded upon evill arguments and conceining naughtie matters, corrupt our manners, induce us to a luxurious, loose and effeminate life, and cause men to be subject unto pleasures, delights, sensuality and lust, and given over to the love of women: as also

*To change oft soones their beds of costly price,  
Their rich array, hote baimes and ech device.*

And therefore the same Homer bringeth in *Vulffes*, commanding the Musician who sung to the Harpe, in this wise

*Digresse good sir from such lewd songs, and ballads vaine as these,  
Sing rather of the Trojan horse: you shall us therein please.*

Giving us thereby a good instruction, that Minstrels, Musicians and Poets should receive the matter and argument of their compositions from wise men, sober, sage and virtuous. And as touching that fable of Iuno, he sheweth how the love, favor, and acquaintance which women win of men by charmes, forceries and enchantments with fraud and deceit, is a thing not onely transitorie and of small continuance, unsure, and whereof a man hath soone enough and is quickly weary, but also that which many times turneth to hatred, anger and enmitie, so soone as the present pleasure is once past: For thus threatneth Jupiter and saith,

*Thou shalt then know that wanton love and dalliance in bed,  
Whereby thou earst hast me deceived, shall serve thee in small sted.*

For the shew and representation of wicked deeds, if there be propounded withall the shame and losse which befalleth unto them that have committed the same, doth no hurt at all, but rather much good unto the hearers. As for Philosophers verily, they use examples taken out of histories, to admonish and instruct the readers, even by such things as be at hand, and either are or have beene really so: but Poets do in deed the same, and in effect, howbeit they devise and invent matter of their owne heads, they feigne fables I say, fitting their purpose. Certes like as Melanhus laid, betweene bord and good earnest, that the citie of Athens stood upright on foote and was preserved by meanes of the division, discord and trouble which was among orators and Politicians; for that all the citizens leaned not altogether to a side, nor barelly upon one and the same wall, and so by reason of the variance which reigned among the States men, there was evermore some one counterpoise or other, weighing even against that which endangered the common weale: even so the contradictions that are found in the writings of Poets, which draw the assent and beleefe of the readers reciprocally to and fro, and leave matters ambiguous and doubtfull, are a cause that they be not of so great moment and weight, as to endanger or endanger much. When as therefore we meet with such repugnant places among them, which being laid neere together do imple evident contrarieties, we ought to encline to the safer side and favor the better part, As namely in these verses,

*The Gods in many things, my sonne,  
Have men deceived and them undone.*

But contrariwise, what saith the sonne againe?



*Sir, that's soone said: mens fault's excuse,  
Nothing more ready, than Gods fault excuse.*

Likewise in one place:

*In store of gold thou should'st have joy:  
And count all knowledge but a toy.*

But elsewhere:

*Aburd it is in goods to flow,  
And no good thing besides to know.*

Moreover when we read:

*How then? should I die? For Gods cause die?*

We must be ready with this

*What else? for love of God I judge  
We ought no service for to grudge*

These and such like diversities of doubtful sentences, are soone assailed and dissolved, in case, as I have before said, we direct the judgement of young men to adhere unto the better part. But say, we light upon some wicked and ungodly speech, without any answer adjoyned thereto for to reffell the same presently: what then is to be done? Surely we must confute it, by opposing contrarie sentences of the same author in other places: neither are we to be angrie or offended with the Poët in this case; but rather thinke they be words either merily spoken, or only to represent the nature of some person, & with him only to be displeased. Moreover, against these fictions in *Homer*, when he reporteth how the gods fall together by the eares, and throw one another downe: or that they be wounded in some battell by the hands of mortall men: also that they beat variance and debate: you may if you will by and by oppose that which he himselfe speaketh in another place, and so beat him with his owne rod: saying thus unto him,

*You know sir if you list, you  
Toll us better tales than this.*

And verily you both utter better wordes, and thinke of better matters otherwise in these places:

*The Gods in heaven do live at ease:  
They know no trouble nor disease.*

Also:

*Whereas the Gods in blisse and joy  
Do ever live, without annoy.*

Likewise:

*The Gods themselves are void of care:  
Sadnesse and sorrow mens lot they are.*

For these are the true and safe conceptions which we ought to have as touching the Gods: And for all other fabulous fictions and attributes given unto them, they have beene devised only to give contentment to the readers, or to move their affections. In like case whereas *Enripides* saith:

*Gods over men, having power and masterie,  
Abuse and deceive them with wiles and sophistrie*

It were not amisse to alledge and inferre that which he writeth better and more truly in another place:

*If Gods do harme, or what doth not becomme,  
No Gods in truth, we are them for to deceme.*

Also when *Pindarus* speaketh verie bitterly and eagerly in one place, tending altogether to revenge:

*All meanes and plots we may addeffe,  
To worke and compass our foes disreffe,*

We may come upon him againe and answer thus: But you good Sir elsewhere affirme, That  
*The joy we gaine by fraud and trecherie,  
Turnes in the end to woe and miserie.*

Moreover, when we heare *Sophocles* in this song:

*Lucie alwaies full pleasant is and sweete,*

10

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Although

*Although it come by false meanes and unmeere.*

Reply we ought and say thus: We have heard you sing in another tune:

*Deceitfull lies and false language,  
Bring forth no fruit, that will beare age.*

Furthermore to encounter these speeches which are delivered as touching riches:

*Powr-full in riches to win fort: steepe and high,  
As well as places most plaine and accesseible,  
Whereas those pleasures, which rich be and nigh  
To hold and enjoy, for poore is impossible.*

*And why? a toong that smooth and filed is  
Will cause a man soule and unpersonable,  
Of no regard, whose parts be all unis  
Fare for to seeme full wife and commendable.*

The Reader may alledge many opposite sentences of *Sophocles*, and these among the rest:

*I see no cause, but men in povertie,  
May be advaunc'd to place of dignitie.*

Also:

*A man is not the worse for his povertie,  
In case he have both wise dame and honestie.*

Likewise:

*What joy, what grace can come of worldly pelfe,  
If first by busis a man to it attaine:  
And then with restlesse cares torment himselfe,  
And take bad courses the same to maintaine?*

And *Menander* verily in one place hath highly praised and extolled sensuall lust and concupiscence, whereby he set them forward who are of an hot nature, and of themselves prone to voluptuoulines, namely, in these and such like amatorious words:

*What creatures never do live and see  
The sun light joy, that common treasure,  
Are all, have beene, and ever shall be  
Subject and thral to fleshly pleasure.*

Howbeit, in another the same Poët hath turned us about, and forcibly drawn us unto honestie, repressing and bridling the insolent furie of a loose and luxurious life, saying in this wise:

*A filthy life, though pleasam for the while,  
With shame at last, doth all delights defile.*

These sayings are in some sort contrarie to the former, but far better and more profitable every way. And therefore the setting together and consideration of such contradictorie sentences, will bring forth one of these two effects: for either it will draw young men to the better way, or at leastwise derogate the credit of the worse.

But if peradventure it come to passe that the Poëts themselves do not solve and solve those strange and absurd sayings, which they seeme to set abroad: it were not amisse to oppose against them, the contrarie sentences of other famous authors: and when wee have weighed and compared them in balance, to make proofe thereby which are the better. As for example, if haply *Alexis* the Poët hath prevailed with some by these verses of his:

*If men be wise above all they will chuse  
By all meanes their pleasures to compass and use.  
Whereof there be three most powrfull and wise,  
Which wholly possesse and accomplish our life  
To eat, to drinke, to follow venerie:  
As for the rest, I hold accessarie.*

We must call to minde and remember, that the sage *Socrates* was of another opinion and spake the contrarie: for he was wont to say, that the wicked lived for to eat and drinke; but the vertuous did both eat and drinke, to live. Semblably, to meete with this verse of the Poët who ever it was that wrote thus:

*To make thy part good with a person lewd*

C 2

Fight

*Fight with like lewdnes, and be thou as strewd.*

Bidding us in some fort to accommodate and frame our selves like to the lewd and wicked: we may be readie with that notable Apophthegme of *Diogenes*, who being asked how a man might be revenged best of his enemy, answered thus, If (quoth he) thou shew thy selfe a good and honest man. The wisdom also of the said *Diogenes* we must set against the Poet *Sophocles*, who troubled the minds and consciences of many thousands, with distrust and dispaire, by writing these verses as touching the religion and confraternity in the Mysteries of *Ceres*:

*How happie men and thrice happy are they  
Whose fortune it is, the secrets to see  
Of Mysteries so sacred: and straight way  
Downe into hell, for to descend with glee:  
For they alone in blisse shall live for ay:  
The rest in bale, must suffer paine alway.*

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How now, quoth *Diogenes*, when he heard such verses read: Saist thou so indeed? And shall *Paracian* the notorious theefe be in better state after this life when he is once departed, only because he was entred and professed in the orders of this confraternitie, than good *Epimondas*? As for *Timothem*, when upon a time in the audience of a full Theatre, he chaunted a Poeme which he had compiled in the honor of *Diana*, wherein he stiled her with the Attributes and Epithets, of *Aeneas*, *Thyas*, *Phæbas* and *Zyffas*, which signifie, Furious, Enraged, Possessed, and starke Mad: *Cinnus* presently cried presently aloud unto him, I would thou haddest a daughter of thine owne with such qualities. The like elegant answer *Bion* is reported to have made unto *Theognis*: For when *Theognis* came out with these verses,

*A man held downe with povertie  
can nothing do or say:  
For why? his tongue wants libertie,  
and somewhat doth it stay.*

*Bion* hearing them, How commeth it then to passe quoth he, that thou thy selfe being but a beggar keepst such a prating as thou doest, and with thy vaine babling and garrulitie troublest our eares?

Moreover we must not in any wise omit and let passe the occasions which are ministred out of the words and sentences either adjoining, or intermingled with those speeches, for to reforme and correct the same: But like as Physicians are of opinion, that notwithstanding the Greene Flies *Cantharides* be of themselves venenous and a deadly poison; yet their wings and feete are helpfull and holisome: yea and of vertue to frustrate and kill the malice of the said flies: even so in the Poemes and writings of Poets, if there be one Nowne or Verbe hanging to a sentence that we feare will do harme, which Nowne or Verbe may in some fort weaken the said hurtfull force, we are to take hold thereof, and to stand upon the signification of such words more at large, as some do in these verses,

*This honour ducto wretched men we keepe  
Our haire to cut, and over them to weepe.*

40

As also in these,  
*We men, Alas most miserable, live  
In paine and griefe, this lot the gods do give.*

For the Poet doth not simply affirme that the gods have predestinate all men simply to live in woe & sorrow, but this he speaketh of foolish and witlesse folke, who being ordinarily lewd and naughty, and therefore miserable and wretched for their wickednes, he is wont to call *δαρδαι* & *δυστυχ*.

Another way there is besides, to turne the doubtfull and suspected sentences in poetical writings to the better sense, which otherwise might be construed in the worse part: namely, by interpreting words to the signification wherein they are usually taken: wherein it were better to exercise a yong man, than in the interpretations of obscure termes, which we call Glosses. And verily a point this is favouring of great learning, and full besides of delectation: as for example, To know how the word *πρωταυτη* in Poets signifieth, is as much to say, as ill death or a bad end; for that the Macedonians use to call death *πρωταυτη*. Likewise the Acolians do terme victorie which is achieved by long suffering, continuall perseverance and abiding, *πρωταυτη*. Also among the Dryopians,

Dryopians, those be named *Πρωται*, who with other are called *Damones*. i. Saints or Heavnelic wights. Furthermore, it is not only expedient, but necessarie also, if we would receive good, and not harme, by the reading of Poets; to know certainly, how and in what signification they take the proper names of gods, as also the appellative words of good and evil things. Likewise what they mean by the vocables *κατα*. i. the foule; or *μακα*. i. fatall destinie. Namely, whether these termes be taken by them in one sence, or have many significations? The same is to be said of many other words besides: for example sake, this Nowne *δωκε* sometimes signifieth an edifice or dwelling house, as when *Homer* saith,

*δωκεν οὐρανὸν ἑκατόπυλον. To the house built with an high roofe.*

10 otherwhiles it betokeneth goods and substance: as in this piece of a verse.

*ἰδὲ νῆα καὶ ἄνδρας. My house is eaten. i. My goods are wasted and consumed.*

Also this word *δωκε* is taken in one place for life; as namely in these verses;

*δωκεν οὐρανὸν ἑκατόπυλον.*

*καὶ οὐρανὸν ἑκατόπυλον.*

*God Neptune with his haire so blacke,*

*enjoying him long life,*

*Despightfully his daies cut short,*

*and ended all the strife.*

But in another for goods and riches: to wit,

*δωκεν οὐρανὸν ἑκατόπυλον. Meane while do others spend my goods.*

20 Semblably the Verbe *δωκε*, you shall finde put for to fret, be discontented and ill apaid: as when the Poet writeth thus;

*ὅς τις αὖτ' ἴδ' ἀδύνατον ἀνέστηναι, τοῖσιν δ' αὖτις.*

*Which said, she seemed male-content,*

*And wounded so; away she went.*

And yet it is used sometime, for to joy and vaunt: as namely in the same Poet;

*ἡ δ' αὖτις ὅν' ἴδ' ἄνδρας τὸν ἀνέστηναι.*

*And do you brag and boast so much in deed,*

30 *Poore Ius that you beas in beggers weed.*

In like sort the Verbe *δωκε*, signifieth either to moove or stirre with great violence: as in *Euripides*. *Κίρην δ' αὖτ' ὅς τις ἀνέστηναι ἀνός.*

*A whale out of the Atlanticke sea, we might describe from Land*

*Most forcibly to swimme, and then to shut him selfe on Land.*

or to sit downe and take repose: as for example, when *Sophocles* saith thus,

*πρωταυτὶ δ' αὖτ' ὅς τις ἀνέστηναι ἀνός.*

*My friends what mean you in this wise so strangely for to sit,*

*With branches dight about your heads, which supplants doe beset?*

40 Moreover, it is verie pretie and commendable, when a man meeteth with words of divers acceptions, to make use thereof accordingly, and to accommodate them to the present occasions and subject matters: like as the Grammarians teach us to doe in vocables that admit sundry senses; as for example,

*πρωταυτὶ δ' αὖτ' ὅς τις ἀνέστηναι ἀνός.*

*You may well praise a little barke or barge,*

*But see with wares, a mightie hulke you charge.*

Here the Verbe *πρωταυτὶ*, signifieth *πρωταυτὶ*. i. to praise: and yet now in this place (to praise) is as much to say, as to refuse and reject: Like as in our common and daily speech wee use to say, *καλὸς ἔχει*. i. 'Tis wel: or when we bid *καλὸς ἔχει*. i. Farewel it: meaning by these terms, that we like not of a thing, or will none of it, nor accept thereof. And hereupon it is that some say, *Proserpina* is called *πρωταυτὶ*, which is as much to say as a goddesse blamed and to be found fault with. This difference then, and distinction in the significations of words, is principally to be observed in matters that be more serious and of greater consequence, to wit, in the names of gods. To beginne therefore with them, let us advertise and teach yong men, that Poets in using the names of gods, sometimes meane thereby their very nature and essence: otherwhiles they attribute

the homonymie of the same names, to the powers & vertues which the gods do give, and whether they be the authours. And here there presenteth himselfe unto me the Poet *Archilochus*, when in his praier he saith thus;

*Καὶ δὲ δαίτι ἱππας, &c.*

*O Vulcan king be gracious unto me,  
And heare my praies, thus kneeling on my knee  
Devoutly: Grant, I say, this my request,  
As thou art wont, to whom thou lovest best.*

It is verie cleere and evident that he doth invoke the god *Vulcan* himselfe, and calleth him by his proper name. But when he bewaileth his sisters husband, who perished and was drowned in the sea, by which accident he wanted his due sepulture, he saith, that he could have borne this calamitie and misfortune the better,

*If that his head and lovely limmes  
in pure white clot besetled,  
As doth besee me a faire dead corps,  
Vulcan consumed had.*

By which word *Vulcan*, he meaneth fire, and not the god himselfe. Again, when *Euripides* in his orh useth these words,

*By love I sweare and bloodie Mars him by,  
Who beare great sway among the stars in sky.*

Certaine it is, that he speaketh of the verie gods *Jupiter* and *Mars*: But when *Sophocles* saith:

*Full blind is Mars faire Dames (I say) and nothing he doth see,  
But like wilde bore he havoocke makes and works at miserie.*

You must understand that he speaketh of war: Like as in these verses of *Homer*:

*Whose blood along Scamanders streame, so deeply died in red,  
That blacke againe it is therewith now Trenchant Mars hath shed.*

It is meant the edge of the sword and other weapons made of brasse and Steele: which being so, and considering that there be many other wordes of double and divers significations, we ought to learne and beare in mind, that the very names of *Δις* and *Ζευς*, which signifie *Jupiter*, in one place they attribute to the god himselfe, in another to Fortune, and oftentimes to Destiny and Fatall necessitie. For when they say

*Ζεὺς μάλα τίς κεν οὐκ ἔστιν.*

*O Jupiter who from Ida hill  
Do st reigne as King and worke thy will.*

Also:

*Ὁ Ζεὺς τίς τίς οὐκ ἔστιν οὐκ ἔστιν.*

*O Jupiter who dare avow  
That he can wiser be than thou?*

Plaine it is that they meane nothing else but the god *Jupiter* himselfe. But when they give the Denomination, *Δις*, to the causes whereupon all things depend, and do say in this wise:

*And many a stout and valiant knight who sought in pitched field,  
Before due time there lost their loves and with all breath did yeeld.*

*Δις δ' ἐπὶ τῶνδε βαδίζω.*

i. *This was the wit of mightie Iove*

*Who wrought all this from heaven above.*

Surely we must understand by *Iove* Fatall destinie: For we must not imagine that the Poet thinketh God to devise and practise any evil against men: but he giveth us to understand by the way as touching the Fatall necessitie of all humane affaires, that Cities, Armies, and Generall Captaines are predestined to fortunate successe and victorie over their enemies, if they be wise and governe their affections well. But contrariwise, if they be passionate and fall into errors and misdemeanors, growing to quarrels and debates one against another, as these did, of whom the Poet spake, it cannot be avoided but they shall commit many outrages, breed troubles and confusion, and at the last come to an unhappy end:

*For by Fatall necessity,*

*And*

*And Destinie inevitable:*

*Bad counsels of iniquitie*

*Bring forth fruits thereto answerable.*

Now whereas the Poet *Hesiodus* bringeth in *Prometheus*, perswading his brother *Epimetheus*

*To take no gifts in any wise*

*Which Jupiter from heaven hath sent:*

*But s hem alwaies for to despise*

*And end them backe as discontent.*

He useth the name of *Jupiter* for the puissance of Fortune: for by the gifts of that god, meeth the goods of Fortune, to wit, Riches, Mariages, States and Dignities, and generally all outward blessings: the possession whereof is unprofitable unto those that know not how to use them well. Esteeming therefore no better of *Epimetheus* than of a lewd & foolish fellow, he supposeth that he ought to take heed, & beware of prosperitie whereby he was like to receive hurt and losse: yea and to come unto a mischief in the end. Semblably, when the same Poet saith:

*Reproch no man while that you live*

*With povertie which gods do give.*

He understandeth hereby the gift of the gods, a thing meere casuall and comming by Fortune: implying thus much, that those men are not to be blamed and accused, who by some misfortune are become poore: but rather, that povertie proceeding by occasion of sloth, idleness, ease, delicate wantonnesse, wastfull and foolish expences, is shame-woorthie and reprochable. For Poets and others being not acquainted with the word Fortune, which as yet was not in use, and knowing full well, that the power of this variable and inconstant cause, ranging disorderly as it did without any certaine purpose and determinate ende, was mightie, and could not possibly be avoided by any humane wit, reason and policie, they expressed the same by the names of the gods: much like as we in our daily speech and ordinary language, are wont commonly to give unto divers actions and affaires, to the conditions, naures and manners of sundry persons, to speeches and orations; yea and (beleeve me) to men themselves, the termes of Heavenly and Divine. Well, a very good and expedient meane this is whereby we are to reforme and correct many sentences and verses, which seeme at the first sight to carrie with them any absurditie and incongruity, as touching *Jupiter*: as namely these,

*Two names within the entrie stand*

*Of Iove his house with lots both fall:*

*One hath successe and winning hand,*

*The other losses sorrow-full.*

Also:

*As judge aloft sat Jupiter without regard of oth*

*Or covenant: and shewed signes of mischief to them both.*

Likewise:

*And thus began the mischiefs all of Greekes and Trojans both,*

*For Jupiter his pleasure wrought, and with each side was wroth.*

All this we must interpret either of Fatall destinie or of Fortune, potent causes both, which neither are comprehensible within our understanding, nor yet evitable within the compasse of our power. But where we read of any thing attributed unto *Jupiter*, which is conformable to reason, hath semblance of truth, and is becomming his person, there we are to thinke that the said name signifieth the god himselfe: as for example,

*Sir Hector then advanc'd himselfe, and all the ranks beside*

*Of Greeks did brave, expecting who his challenge would abide.*

*Onely the sonne of Telamon, Ajax that worthy knight,*

*He did avoid: for Jupiter unto him had a sight.*

Also:

*Such great affaires of mortall men*

*Are manag'd ay by Jupiter:*

*But smaller matters now and then*

*To petty-gods he doth refer.*

Furthermore, we ought to have a diligent eie to other words, which may be turned and transferred

ferred to many things, and are taken in divers senses by Poets. Of which sort is the name of *Agēthē*. i. Vertue. For by reason that vertue not only causeth men to be wise, prudent, just, & honest both in word and deed: but also purchaseth ordinarily unto them, honour, glorie, authoritie and reputation in the world: therefore they give the name of Vertue unto renowne, power, and might: like as the Olive fruit, they call by the name *Oliva*. i. Olive tree, and the Beech-mast they terme also *Agēthē* as well as the Beech tree. Our yong man then, as he readeth in a Poet,

*The gods before vertue have set  
Labour, travail, and painfull swee.*

Or thus,

*The Greeks by vertue then downe bare  
Their Squadron thicke and battell square.*

Likewise,

*If die we must, most glorious is death,  
For vertue, when we spend our vitall breath,*

presently ought to conceive thus much, That all is spoken of the best, most excellent, and diviniest habitude in us, which we understand to be the verie rectitude and rule of reason and judgement, the height and perfection of our reasonable humane nature, yea, and the disposition of the soule, accordant with it selfe. But when he readeth againe these other verses there,

*Vertue in men Love causeth for to grow  
And fade: by him it doth both ebbe and flow.*

As also,

*Where worldly wealth and riches are,  
Vertue and fame follow not farre.*

let him not by and by set him downe, and by occasion of these words have the rich in woonderfull great admiration, as if they could anon buy vertue for money, and with their wealth have it at command: let him not thinke, I say, that it lieth in the power of Fortune, either to augment or to diminish vertue: but rather deeme thus, and make this construction, that the Poet under the name Vertue, signifieth Worthip, Authoritie, Power, Prosperitie, or some such matter. For to the word *Agēthē* is sometimes taken by them in the native and proper signification, for a naughty and wicked disposition of the minde, as when *Hesiodus* writeth thus,

*Of wickednesse a man may evermore  
Have sojron great and plenteous store.*

But otherwise it is used for some other evill calamitie or infortunite, as by *Homer*,

*Men quickly age and waxen olde,  
In yagitions, with hunger and cold, &c.*

And much were he deceived, who should perfwade himselfe that Poets take beatitude and blessednesse, which in Greeke is called *Eudaimonia*, so precisely as Philosophers doe; who understand thereby, an absolute habitude, and entire possession of all good things, or rather an accomplished perfection of this life; holding on a prosperous course according to nature: for many times Poets abuse this word, calling a man blessed and happie, who is rich in world goods; and 40 giving the terme of felicitie and happinesse unto great power, fame and renowne. As for *Homer*, he useth verily these termes aright and properly in this verse,

*Although much wealth I do holde and enjoy,  
Yet in my heart I take no blessed joy.*

So doth *Menander* when he writeth thus,

*Of goods I have and money great store,  
And all men call me rich therefore.*

*But yet how rich soe ever I seeme,  
Happie and blest none doth me deeme.*

*Euripides* maketh great disorder and confusion, when he writeth in this sort;

*I would not have that blessed life  
Wherein I finde much paine and griefe.*

Also in another place,

*Why do'st thou honor tyranny,  
Happie injustice and villany?*

unlesse a man, as I said before, take these termes as spoken metaphorically or by the figure *metonymie*. i. the abuse of them; otherwise than in their proper sense. And thus much may serve as touching this point.

Now for this that remaineth behind, yong men would be put in remembrance and admonished not once but oftentimes, that Poetrie, having for her proper subject an argument to be expressed by imitation; howsoever she useth the ornaments & beautiful furniture of figurative speeches, in setting out and describing those matters and actions which are presented unto her, yet nevertheless she doth not forgo the resemblance and likelihood of truth. For that imitation indeed delighteth the Reader so long onely as it carrieth some shew of probability. And therefore that imitation which seemeth not altogether to square and depart from the rule of veritie, doth expresse the signes of vertues and vices both at once, entermingled one with another in actions. Such is the Poeme and composition written by *Homer*, which resteth not in the strange opinions and paradoxes of the Stoicks, who holde, That neither any evill at all can sort with vertue, ne yet one jot of goodnesse with vice: but he hath bidden farewell to such precise positions; namely, That a foolish and lewd person, in all his actions, when and wheresoever, doth offend and sinne: and semblably, the wise and vertuous man, at all times and in all places, can not chuse but do every thing well. These are the principles which the Stoicks schooles resound withall. Howbeit, in the affaires of this world, and in our dayly life and conversation, as *Euripides* saith,

*It cannot be in everie point,  
That good and bad should be disjoint:  
But in all actions we daily see,  
One with another medled will be.*

But the Art of Poetrie setting apart the truth in deede, useth most of all varietie and sundry formes of phrases. For, the divers imitations are they, that give to fables that vertue to move affections & passions in the readers: these are they, that worke strange events in them, even contrarie to their opinion and expectation: upon which ensueth the greatest woonder, and astonishment, wherein lieth the chiefe grace, and from whence proceedeth the most delight and pleasure, whereas, contrariwise, that which is simple and uniforme, is not pathetical nor hath in 30 it any fiction. Hereupon it is that Poets bring not in the same persons alwaies winners, alwaies happy and doing wel: and that which more is, when they feigne that the gods themselves meddle in mens affaires, they describe them not without their passions, nor yet exempt from errors & faults, for feare, lest that part of their Poetrie which stirreth up the affection, & holdeth in suspense and admiration the mindes of men, should become idle and dull, for want of some danger and adversarie as it were to excite and quicken it: which being so, let us bring a yong man to the reading of Poets works, not fore-stalled and possessed before with such an opinion as touching those great and magnificall names of ancient worthies, as if they had bene wise and just men, or vertuous Princes in the highest degree of perfection, and as a man would saie, the very Canon rule, and paterne of all vertue, uprightness and integritie: Otherwise he should 40 receive great damage thereby, in case I say he were of this minde to approve and have in admiration all that they did or said as singular; and to be offended at nothing that he heareth from them: neither would he allow of him, who blameth and findeth fault with them when they either do or say such things as these.

*O father Love, o Phoebe bright, o Pallas maiden pure:  
That you would all bring this about, and make us twaine secure,  
That not one Trojane might escape, nor Greeke remaine aline  
But we two knights: That we (I say) and none but we believe  
May win the honor of this warre, and onely reape the joy  
Of victory, to see the walls and stately towres of Troy,*

Also

*I heard the voice most piteous of Pryams daughter bright,  
Cassandra faire a virgin chaste: whom me for to delight,  
My wife dame Clytemnestra slew, by cruell reacherie,  
Because of us she jelous was for sinne of lecherie.*

Likewise

## Likewife

*With conebine of Father mine I've conſelme to lie,  
The old mans curſe that I might have: perſwaded ſo did I.*

And in another place,

*O Iupiter whom men do further call,  
thou art a Godmoſt miſchievous of all.*

Let not a young man in any wife be accuſtomed to praiſe ſuch ſpeeches: neither let him ſeek any colourable pretences to cloke and excuſe wicked and infamous acts: he muſt not be ſtudi-  
ous and cunning in ſuch inventions, to ſhew therein his ſubtiltie and promptneſſe of wit. But  
rather he is to thinke thus, that Poſſie is the verie imitation of maners, conditions and lives, 10  
yea and of men, ſuch as are not altogether perfect, pure and irreprehenſible, but in whom paſ-  
ſions, falſe opinions and ignorance beare ſome ſway, yet ſo, as many times by the dexteritie  
and goodneſſe of nature they be reformed and diſpoſed to better waies. When a young man  
then is thus prepared, and his underſtanding ſo framed, that when things are well done and ſaid,  
then is thus prepared, and his underſtanding ſo framed, that when things are well done and ſaid,  
well pleaſed with lewd deeds or words, but highly offended thereat, certes, ſuch inſtruction of his  
judgement will be a meanes that he ſhal both heare and read any Poemes without hurt and dan-  
ger. But he that admireth al, & applieth himſelfe ſo, that he embraceth every thing, he I ſay, that  
commeth with a judgement devoted and enthrall'd to thoſe magnificent and heroicke names,  
like unto thoſe diſciples who counterfeited to be crump ſhouldred and bunched backe like their 20  
maſter *Plato*, or would needs ſtur, ſtammer and maſſe as *Ariſtotele* did: ſurely ſuch a one will  
take no great heed, but ſoone apprehend and intertaine many evill things. Moreover this  
young beginner of ours ought not to be affected after a timorous and ſuperſtitious manner,  
as they are who being in a temple feare and dread every thing, and are readie to worſhip and  
adore whatſoever they ſee or heare: but boldly and confidently to pronounce and ſay as occaſi-  
on ſerveth, This is ill done, or not decently ſpoken: no leſſe than to give his acclamation  
and conſent to that which is well and ſeemely either ſaid or done. As for example, *Achilles*  
ſeeing the ſoldiors how they fell ſicke daily in the campe, and not well appaid that the war was  
thus drawn out in length, eſpecially to the hinderance of his owne honour, being a martiall  
man, of great prowefſe and renowe in the field, aſſembled a counſell of war and called the 30  
Greeks together. But, (as he was a man otherwiſe well ſcene in the ſkill of Phyſick) perceiving  
by the ninth day paſt, (which commonly is criticall, and doth determine of maladies one way  
or other by courſe of nature) that it was no ordinary diſeaſe, nor proceeding from uſuall cauſes,  
ſtood up to make a ſpeech, not framing himſelfe to pleaſe and gratifie the common people, but  
to give counſell unto the king himſelfe in this manner.

*I thinke we muſt when all is done, O Agamemnon Leege,  
Returne againe without effect to Greece, and leave our ſeige.*

This was well and wiſely ſaid: theſe were modeſt and temperate words becomming his perſon:  
But when the prophet or ſoothſaier ſaid, that he feared much the wrath and indignation of the  
mightieſt man and ſoveraigne commander of al the Greeks, he answered then never a wiſe or ſo-  
ber word; for having ſworne a great oth, that no man ſhould be ſo hardy as to lay hand on the  
ſaid prophet ſo long as he remained alive, he added moreover and ſaid full unſeemely,

*No, if thou ſhouldeſt both meane and name  
King Agamemnon, I vow the ſame.*

Shewing plainly by theſe words, what little account he made of his prince, and how he contem-  
ned ſoveraigne authoritie: nay he overpaſſed himſelfe more yet, and proceeded farther in heat  
of choler, to lay hand upon his ſword, yea and to draw it forth with a full purpoſe to kill the  
king: which was done of him neither well for his owne honour, nor wiſely for the good of the  
State. But repenting himſelfe immediately

*Into the ſkabbard then anon, he puts his daught'ry ſword:  
Minerva gave him that adviſe, and he obey'd her word.*

Herein againe he did well and honeſtly: for having not the power to extinguiſh and quench  
his choler quite, yet he delaied it well and reſſeſſed it, yea and brought it under the obedience  
of reaſon, before it brake out into any exceſſive outrage, which had bene remedileſſe. Sem-  
blably *Agamemnon* himſelfe, for that which he did and ſaid in the aſſembly of Counſell, he was  
woorthy

woorthy to be ſcorned and laughed at. But in the matter concerning the Damoſell *Chryſeis*, he  
ſhewed more gravitie and princely Maſteſtie, than in like caſe *Achilles* did: for he, when the faire  
*Brizeis* was taken from him and led away:

*Sat weeping in great agonie  
Retir'd apart from companie.*

But *Agamemnon* himſelfe in perſon conducting her as farre as to the ſhip, delivering up and  
ſending away to her owne father, the woman whom a little before he ſaid that he loved more  
deerely than his owne eſpouſed wife, did nothing unfitting himſelfe or like a paſſionate lover.  
Again, *Phoenix* being curſed by his father and betaken to all the helliſh ſtends for lying with  
his concubine, breaketh out into theſe words,

*I minded once with ſword of mine my fathers blood to ſhead:  
But that ſome god my rage reſt, and put it in my head:  
How men would cry much blame on me, and namely Gracians all  
With one voice me a parricide or Father killer call.*

Which verſes in *Homer*, *Ariſtarchus* was afraid to let ſtand; and therefore daſhed them out.  
But verily, they ſerve in that place fitly for the purpoſe, namely, when *Phoenix* inſtructeth *Achil-  
les*, what a violent paſſion anger is, and how there is no outrage but men will dare and do in the  
heat of choler, when they will not be guided with reaſon, or directed by the counſell of thoſe  
that would appeaſe them. For he bringeth in *Neleus* alſo, who was angrie with his citizens,  
howbeit afterwards pacified: In which example, as he wiſely blameth and reprooveth ſuch paſ-  
ſions: ſo he praiſeth and commendeth as a good and expedient thing, not to be led and carried  
away therewith, but to reſiſt and conquer them; and to take up betime and repent. True it is,  
that hitherto in theſe places already cited, there is a manifeſt difference to be obſerved: but  
where there is ſome obſcurity as touching the true ſenſe and meaning of a ſentence, we muſt  
teach a young man to ſtay himſelfe there and pauſe upon the point, that he may be able to diſ-  
tinguiſh in this manner: If *Nauſicaa* upon the firſt ſight of *Viſſes*, a meere ſtranger, falling  
into the ſame paſſion of love with him, as *Calypſo* did, and ſeeking nothing but wanton pleaſure,  
as one living daintily, and being now ripe and readie for marriage, utter fooliſhly theſe and  
ſuch like words, and that before her waiting maids:

*O that it were my hap, ſo brave  
A knight to wed who hath my hart:  
O that he would with me vouchſafe  
for to remaine and not depart.*

Her boldneſſe and incontinencie is to be reprooved: but if by his ſpeech and talke, ſhe per-  
ceived that he was a man of wit and wiſe behaviour, and thereupon with'd in her heart to be his  
wedded wife, and to dwell with him rather than with one of her owne countrie, who could ſkill  
of nothing elſe but to daunce or be a mariner, I cannot blame her, but thinke her praiſe woorthy.  
In like caſe, if when *Penelope* deviſeth and talketh courtcouſly with her woers, who ſued unto her  
for marriage, and thereupon they court her againe and beſtow upon her gay clothes, rich  
jewels and other goodly ornaments fit for a Lady, *Viſſes* her husband rejoice

*That ſhe was well content to take  
Their gifts, and did to them love make,  
As though ſhe would be kinde againe,  
And yet her ſhewes were all but vaine.*

If I ſay he joyed, in that his wife received their courteſies and tokens, and ſo made a gainie of  
them, ſurely he ſurpaſſeth *Poliager* the notorious bawd, playing his part in the Comedies, of  
whom there goeth this by-word:

*Bawde Poliager happie man hee,  
That keepeſ as home in houſe a kee:  
A heavenly goate whoſe influence,  
Brings in riches with affluence.*

But if he did it to have them by that meanes under his hand, whiles they upon hope of obtay-  
ning their ſuit, little thought of him how he watched them a ſhrewd turne: then his joy and  
confident aſſurance was grounded well & upon good reaſon. Semblably in the counting that he  
made of thoſe goods which the Phaeacians had landed when they ſet him on ſhore; and having  
ſo

so done, spread saile and departed backe againe: if being thus left solitarie alone and finding him selfe forlorne, he doubted of his estate and what should become of him, and yet his mind was so fet upon his goods that he feared,

*Leaft part thereof they tooke away,  
Whiles that on shore asleepe he lay,*

His avarice were lamentable, nay it were abominable, I assure you: But if as some do thinke and say, being not sure whether he were in the Isle Ithaca or no, he supposed that the safety of his goods and money, was a certaine prooffe and demonstration of the Phæacians loyaltye and fidelitie (for never would they have transported him into a strange land but for lucre; nor when they left him and departed would have forborne his goods) he used herein no foolish argument, 10 and his providence in so doing is commendable. Some there be who finde fault with this verie landing of him upon the shore, in case the Phæacians did it whiles he was asleepe in deed: and they say that it appeereth by a certaine Chronicle or Historie among the Tuscanes which they keepe by them, that *Ulysses* was given by nature to be verie drowsie; which was the cause, that to many he was not affable, and men oftentimes might hardly speake with him. Now if this was no sleepe in very truth, but that being both ashamed to send away the Phæacians who had conducted him over sea, without feasting them & giving them presents and rewards for their kindness: and also in feare least if they were seene there still upon the coast, whiles he entertained them so kindly, himselfe might be discovered by his enemies, he used this pretense of feigned sleepe to cover and hide the perplexitie wherein he was, or to thrust off this difficultie wherein he stood in this case, they allow and commend him for it. In giving therefore to yoong men such 20 advertisementes as these, we shall never suffer them to runne on still to the corruption of their manners, but rather imprint in them presently a fervent zeale and hartie desire to chuse better things, namely, if we proceed directly to praise this and to dispraise that. And this would be done especially in Tragedies, those I meane, wherein fine words and affected speeches be oftentimes framed to cloke dishonest and villanous deeds. For that which *Sophocles* saith in one place, is not alwaies true:

*If that it be a naughtie deed,  
Of it good words cannot proceed.*

For even himselfe is wont many times to palliate wicked conditions, yea, and naughtie acts 30 with pleasant speeches and familiar apparant reasons, which carie a probabilitye of sufficient excuse. And even so plaith *Euripides* his companion, who shewed himselfe upon the same stage: for see you not, how he bringeth in *Phædra* to begin with her husband *Theseus*, First, laying all the blame on him; as if forsooth the wrongs and abules that he offered unto her, were the cause that she was enamoured upon *Hippolytus*: The like audacious and bold speech he putteth in *Helena* mouth against queene *Hecuba*, in that Tragedie which is entituled *Troades*, objecting unto her, and saying, That she was rather to be punished, for bearing such a sonne as *Alexander Paris*, who committed the adulterie with her. A yoong man then, ought not to accustom himselfe to thinke any such inventions as these to be pretie, gallant and wittie, ne yet laugh at such 40 subtle and fine devices; but to abhorre and detest as much, or rather more, wanton and filthie words, than loose and dishonest deeds.

Moreover, it would be expedient, in all speeches to search the cause whereupon they do proceed; after the example of *Cato* when he was a litle boy: For, do he would whatsoever his Master or Tutor bad; but ever and anon hee would be inquisitive and questioning with him the reason of his commandements. And yet we are not to beleve and obey Poets, as we ought either Schoole-masters or Law-givers, unless the matter by them propoosed have reason for the ground: and grounded then it shalbe thought upon reason, if it be good and honest: for if it be wicked, it ought to seeme foolish and vaine. But many of these men there be, who are verie 50 sharpe and curious in searching and demanding what *Hesiodus* should meane in this verse,

*Whiles men are drinking, doe not set  
The flagon over the wine goblet.*

as also what sense may be made of these verses in *Homer*:

*Another chariot who mounted it,  
When from his owne he is alight,  
Must not bin speare and invellin mit,*

But

*But trust thereto, and therewith fight.*

but other sentences, wis, of greater importance and danger, they admit soone, and give credit thereto, without further enquiry & examination: as for example, at these verses they sticke not,

*The privitie to fathers vice  
Or mothers fault reprochable,  
Will him debase, who ot herwise,  
Is hardie, stout, and commendable.*

no more than they doe at this,

*Upon a man, if fortune frowne,  
His heart therewith must be cast downe.*

10 And yet such sayings as these, come nere unto us, and touch the quicke, troubling our maner and behaviour in this life, imprinting in us perverse judgements, base and unmanly opinions, unless we acquaint our selves to contradict ech of them in every point, after this maner. And wherefore ought he to beare an abject minde, who is crossed with adverte fortune? why rather should not he make head againe, and wrestle with her, bearing himselfe so much the more aloft, and never endure to be troden downe and depressed by her? what reason is there, that my heart should be done; for that my father was vicious and foolish, in case I be a wife and honest man my selfe? Is there greater cause that the ignorance and imperfection of my father should keepe me downe and discourage me, that I dare not looke up; than mine owne knowledge and valour 20 make me take heart and put my selfe forth? He that will thus encounter, withstand, and not give way to every speech, turning side, as it were, to every puffe of wind, but rather esteeme that sentence of *Heraculum* to be well and truly spoken,

*A foolish and witlesse man is he,  
With every word who stricken will be.*

Such a one, I say, shalbe able to put by and repell many sayings of Poets, that are neither true nor profitable. And thus much as touching those observations which may serve a yoong mans turne, that he may reade and heare Poets safe without any danger.

But forasmuch as it falleth out, that as in Vines many times, the grapes lie hidden among the leaves and branches, and cannot be seene by reason that they are covered and shadowed there- 30 with: so also in poeticall verses, under fables and fictions there be covertly couched many profitable and hollowe lessons, which a yoong man cannot eiepie by himselfe, and therefore he misseeth that commoditie and fruit which is to be reaped out thereof. Howbeit, we must not suffer this, nor let him turne away, and give over: he ought not (I say) to wander aside, but sticke close and fast to those matters especially, which leade unto vertue, and make any thing for the forming or reforming of maners. In which regard, I shall not do amisse, if I treat also of this matter briefly; making, as it were, a first draught onely, and touching summarily the principall points; leaving long discourses, by way of narration, confirmation, and a multitude of examples, to those that write of purpose for more shew and ostentation. First and for most therefore, when a yoong man knoweth thoroughly the persons of men and women, their natures also and 40 maners both good and bad, let him then regard and consider well the sayings and doings which the Poet doth attribute aptly unto either of them. As for example, *Achilles* saith unto *Agamemnon* these words, although he speaketh them in choler,

*For never shall I honour have,  
Nor equall recompense to you,  
When populous Troy, that city brave,  
The Greeks shall force, as they do vow.*

But *Thersites* reviling the selfe same *Agamemnon*, useth these termes;

*Much brasse vessels thou hast now in many a goodly tent,  
Of captive women eke like those, in beauty excellent,  
In thy pavilion: whom we Greeks, as to our Soveraigne,  
Do give, so soone as any towne by martiall force we gaine.*

50 Again *Achilles* in another place hath this humble speech,  
*If Iupiter will be so good, as to fulfill our joy,  
And grant that we one day may win the stately city Troy.*

But *Thersites* commeth out with this proud word,

D

Whom



*Whom either I, or in my stead,  
Some Greeke shall bound as captive lead.*

Semblably in another place, when in the review of the armie, *Agamemnon* passing along the bands, rebuked and taunted *Diomedes*, he answered not againe, nor gave him one crosse word:

*For why he feared in modestie  
The checks of his dread Majestie.*

But *Sthenelus*, of whom no man made any reckoning, was so bolde as to reply and say,  
*Sir Agamemnon Atreus sonne, for beare thus for to lie,  
You can, if that you list, with me report a truelh: for why?  
Pronounce I dare, and it avow, we better warriors be  
In these dayes than our fathers were, by many a degree.*

The difference which is in these personages, if it be well marked, will teach a yong man thus much: That to be modest, temperate, void of pride, and humble, is a most civill and excellent vertue: and contrariwise it will advertise him to take heed of pride and overweening; to beware also of boasting and vaunting much of himselfe, as a detestable vice. And heere in this place, expedient it is and profitable to observe the action of *Agamemnon*: He passed by *Sthenelus*, and would not stay to speake unto him: As for *Phyllis*, who found himselfe grieved, him he neglected not, but shaped him an answer: For as *Homer* writeth,

*No sooner he perceived him offended for to be,  
But presently he spake againe, and thus replied be.*

For, as it is a base and servile thing, and not becomming the majestic of a Prince to answer everie one, and by way of Apologie to justify a thing done or said: so to despise and disdain all men, is meere pride and extreame follie. As for *Diomedes*, he did passing well to hold his peace during the time of the battell, when he was rebuked and reviled by the king, but after the fight was ended, he spake his minde freely and boldly in this wise;

*You are the first of all the Greekes, who in reprochfull wise  
Have charged me for my false heart, and fearfull cowardise.*

Good also it is, to see the difference betweene a wise man in deed and a vaine soothsayer, who loved to be seene, and to heare himselfe speake among the multitude. For *Calebas* without all respect of chusing his time and a fit opportunitie, bashed not in publike place, and before all the people, to challenge king *Agamemnon*, imputing directly unto him, and to no other, the cause of the pestilence which reigned in the campe. But *Nestor*, contrariwise, intending to make a motion as touching the reconciliation and pacifying of *Achilles*, and to speake directlie unto that point, because hee would not seeme to blame and accuse the king in the audience of the people; namely, that he had passed himselfe in choler, and done amisse, adviset him in this manner, saying:

*To supper bid the ancient peeres: this doth your person fit:  
And when they are together met, in order as they sit,  
Let them opine, Heare their advise, and looke who speaketh best,  
His counsell take I reede, and then therein see that you rest.*

And after supper, he sent forth the Embassadors accordingly. This was the onely way to correct a fault, and amend that was amisse: whereas the other had bene a very injurious accusation, and a contumelious reprooche to his no small disgrace. Furthermore, there would be noted and considered the diversitie that is in sundry nations, and that after this maner: The Trojans give the charge in battell to their enemies with great shouts, out-cries, and exceeding violence: whereas the Greekes

*The onset give with all silence,  
To lenders having reverence.*

For soldiours to dread and feare their captaines and commanders, at what time as they be ready to joyned battaile with the enimie, is a signe both of valour and also of obedience and military Discipline. Which is the reason that *Plato* would inure us to be afraid of rebukes, reprooches and filthy acts, more than of any travels and dangers. *Cato* likewise was wont to say, That he loved those better who blushed and looked red, than the pale faced. As for promises, there is a proper worke also in them, whereby a man may discern whether they be wise or foolish. For *Dolon* promisseth in this maner

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*The campe of Greekes I enter will and passe on still outright  
Untill so Agamemnons ship, I come there for to fight.*

Contrariwise *Diomedes* promisseth nothing of himselfe, onely this he saith: That he should feare the lesse, if he were sent with some other to beare him companie. Whereby you may see that Prudence, Discretion and Forecast be civile vertues becomming the Greekes; but audacious rashnes is naught, and fit for Barbarians. The one therefore we must embrace and imitate, the other reject and cast behinde us. Moreover it were a speculation not unprofitable to make the affections that befell unto the Trojans and to *Hector* at what time as he was ready to enter into combat and single fight with *Ajax*. *Aeschylus* being upon a time in place to behold the combats at the *Isthmian* games, it fell out so that one of the champions was hurt and wounded in the very face, whereupon the people that looked on, set up a great crie and shouted aloud: See, quoth he, what use and exercise is! the Beholders crie out, but the man himselfe that is hurt, saith never a word. In like maner, when *Homer* the Poet saith, that *Ajax* was no sooner seene in his bright compleat harness, and armed at all pieces, but the Greekes rejoiced: whereas

*The Trojans all for feare did quake, and tremble every joint  
Hector himselfe did feeble his heart to beate even at this point.*

who would not wonder to see this difference? The partie himselfe who was in danger, felt his hart only to leape, as if he had bene (I assure you) to wrestle for the best game, or to run a race for the prize: but they that saw him, trembled and shaked all their bodie over, for feare of the perill wherein their prince was, and for kind affection that they bare unto him. It is woorth the noting also what odds and difference there is betweene the most resolute or valiant Capitaine, and the greatest coward: For it is said of *Thersites* that

*Achilles of all that were in the Host  
And also Vlysses he hated most.*

whereas *Ajax* as he alwaies loved *Achilles*, so he giveth an honorable testimonie thereof, when he speaketh unto *Hector* in this wise,

*In single fight with me alone what woorthy knight we have  
In Grecian host, thou maist not see besides Achilles brave:  
Achilles be, the Paragon of Prowesse whom we count  
Whose Lions hart undaunted yet all others doth surmount.*

This is a singular commendation of *Achilles* particularly: but that which followeth afterwards, is aptly spoken to the praise of all in generall:

*Wot well that many of us there be  
in Campe that dare and can  
Make head, and maintaine fight with thee  
in combas man to man.*

Marke, how he praifeth not himselfe, to be the man alone or the most valourous of all other, but is content to be raunged with many more as sufficient men to make their part good against him. Thus much may serve as touching the diversitie of persons, unlesse we will adde this: 40 moreover, That of Trojans we read there were many taken prisoners alive by their enemies, but of the Greekes not one: as also that divers of them became humble suppliants to their enemies and fell downe at their feet: namely *Adrastus*, the sonnes of *Antimachus* and *Lycan*: yea and *Hector* himselfe besought *Achilles* to vouchsafe him buriall: whereas, there was not one of them that did the like: As if thus much were implied thereby, that it is the maner of Barbarians in fight, to make supplication, to submit, to kneele and lie prostrate before the enimie: but of Grecians, either to win the victorie by maine fight, or to die for it.

Moreover, like as in pasturage and feeding, the Bee seeth upon flowres: the goate searcheth after greene leaves and brouseth yong buds: the Swine searcheth for roots, and other beasts for the seed & fruit: Even so in reading Poemes, one gathereth the flowre of the History: 50 another cleaveth to the elegancie of phrase and furniture of words, as *Aristophanes* was wont to say of *Euripides*,

*Histoing so round doth please my mind,  
In stile so smooth, content I finde.*

Others there be who affect morall sentences aptly fitted to the reformation of maners. Those therefore with whom now we have to deale, and to whom we direct our speech, we are to admo-

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nith, that it were a shame and unwoorthy thing, if either he who setteth his minde upon fables should marke well the witty narrations, and singular fine inventions therein: or he that delighteth in eloquence should note diligently the pure and elegant phrase, the artificiall rhetoric also, as he readeth: whiles he, that would seeme to affect honor, to studie honestie, and to take Poets in hand not for delight, pleasure and pastime, but for the insight of learning, and for the treasure of knowledge, readeth and heareth carelessly and without fruits, those sentences which are penned and delivered by them to the recommendation of fortitude, temperance and justice: For as concerning valor and vertue you shall finde these verses,

*What is befall'n for Diomedes,  
that we forget to fight?  
How is it that our harts be done?  
where is our Martiall might?  
Come neere, sit and close unto my side,  
great shame it were for us,  
if Hector now should board our ships  
and force our navie thine.*

For to see a most wise and prudent capitaine who was in danger to perish; and to be overwhelmed together with the whole armie, not to be afraid of death, but to feare reproch and shamefull disgrace, the same no doubt will cause a young man to be woonderfully affectionate to vertue and prowess.

For wisdom and justice these verses serve:

*Minerva then tooke great delight  
To see the man wise and upright.*

Such a sentence as this, will give occasion to a young scholler thus to reason and discourse: The Poet here hath devised, that the goddesse joyed not in a rich man, in one that was faire, well favoured and personable, or mighty in bodily strength: but in him that was prudent and just withall. And in another place where the same goddesse saith, that she will not neglect nor forsake *Vlisses* and leave him destitute:

*For toong he hath and wit at will:  
He is both wise and full of skill:*

The Poet sheweth plainly; That there is nothing in us but vertue onely, that is divine and beloved of the gods: if this be true that Like will to like, and Naturally everie thing delighteth in the Semblable. Now forasmuch as it seemeth to be a great matter and rare perfection, as in truth it is no lesse, to be able to master and bridle anger: certes a greater vertue it is and a gift more singular to prevent and wisely to forecast, that we fall not into choler, nor suffer our selves to be surpris'd therewith: And therefore the readers of Poets ought to be advertis'd in these points, not coldly but in good earnest: as namely, how *Achilles*, a man by nature nothing mecke, milde and patient, giveth warning unto *Priamus* to be quiet, and not to provoke him, in these wordes:

*Take heed old father I thee reed,  
how thou my cholere move:  
I minded am thy sonne to reeld:  
For why? from Love above  
A messenger hath warn'd me so:  
Beware Gray-beard, I say,  
Least that my tent will not thee seeve,  
but forthwith I thee slay:  
Although in humble wise thou come,  
with suppliants habit dight,  
And so I do transgresse Loves will  
and breake the lawes of right.*

Who also after he had washed the corps of *Hector*, and wound it within Funerall clothes, bestowed the same with his owne hands in the chariot, before that *Priamus* his father should see it, so unisul'd as it was,

*For feare lest when he saw*

*his sonne, so mangled and beraid  
In griefe of heart, as a father he,  
should not himselfe be staid:  
But with but words Achilles move  
in him to sheath his sword:  
With out regard of Iupiter, his bests,  
his will and word.*

For when a man is apt and prone to anger, as being of nature hot, rough and choleticke, to know himselfe so given, and therewith to prevent, decline and avoid all occasions of yre, and by the guidance of reason to hold of, in such sort, that even as it were against his will he shall not fall into any passionate fits, is a point of great wisdom and singular providence. After the same manner ought he that is given to wine, to be armed against drunkenness: he also that is by nature amorous, should thus withstand wanton love: Like as *Agessilam*, who would not abide to be killed of a beautifull young boy comming toward him: and *Cyrus*, who durst not so much as set his eie upon faire *Pamhea*. Whereas contrariwise, those that be ill nourished and badly brought up, seeke all meanes and occasions to kindle and enflame their foolish affections, mistaking matter thereto, as fewell unto fire: casting themselves headlong and that wilfully into those vices, whereunto they are most prone and ready to fall by nature. But *Phisist* not onely brided and repressed his owne choler when he was chafed, but also perceiving by some words of *Telemachus* his sonne, that he was angrie and hatefully bent against lewd persons, he laboured to appease and mitigate his moode: he dealt with him before hand, willing and commanding him to be quiet, to forbear and have patience.

*My sonne, if that by word or deed  
In mine owne house they me abuse,  
Bite in thine anger, I thee reed,  
Seest thou indure, and patience use:  
Nay if they draw me by the foot,  
And out of doores me drag awone,  
Or their sharpe arrowes as me shooor,  
See all, say nought, what ever is done.*

For like as men use not to bridle their horses when they be running in a race, but before they begin their course; even so they that hardly can digest indignities, and upon occasion offered are quickly angrie, ought first to be preoccupied with reason: and being thus prepared beforehand, to bring them to the combat.

Over and besides, a young man must not negligently passe over the bare words as hee readeth. And yet I speake not this, as though I would have him play upon them, as *Cleambes* did, who making semblance to interpret and expound words, would otherwhiles cavill and make sport. For where as we reade in *Homer*,

*Σὺ δὲ μάστιγι δίδου μὲν ἄνδρῳ. & Σὺ δὲ ἀνὰ δαδὸν αἶε.*

He would have us to reade these two last words in one, by way of *epith*, thus, *Σὺ δὲ ἀνὰ δαδὸν αἶε*, as if forsooth, the aire which by exhalation is elevated, and doth rise from the earth, should therefore be called *ἀνὰ δαδὸν αἶε*. *Chrysippus* likewise many times comes in with his bald reasons, without all grace: and this he doeth not in jest and meriment, but he would seeme to devise reasons subtilly; and so fortheth divers words impertinently: as namely, when he wresteth these words, *Εὐρίπιδος Κερίδαν*, to this sense, as if *εὐρίπιδος* should signifie one that was eager and quick in disputation or argument, surpassing others in force of eloquence. It were better for us to leave the nice subtilties of words and syllables unto Grammarians for to be scanned, and to consider more neerely other observations, which, as they yeeld greater profit, so they cary with them more probability and likelihood of truth: and namely to picke some good out of these verses;

*Most crasse unto my minde it is,  
For taught I am proesse in wia.*

*Alfo,  
Full well he knew, to every wight  
To shew himselfe a courteous knight.*

For hereby he declareth evidently, that valour and fortitude is gotten by teaching; as also, he



is of opinion, That to be milde, affable and kinde to every man, is a gracious vertue, proceeding from science and reason: whereupon he exhorteth us, not to be carelesse of our selves, but to learne good and honest things, by giving care unto our teachers: for that cowardise, follie, and perverse incivillitie, be the defects of learning, and are meete ignorance indeed. Hæceto accordeth very well, that which the same Poet Homer saith of *Iupiter* and *Neptune*:

*Beholde one father both they had,*

*and country one them bread:*

*But Iupiter was former borne,*  
*and had the vnder head.*

He declareth hereby that wisdom is a most divine and princely qualitie; wherein he placeth the soveraigne and highest excellencie of *Iupiter*, as exceeding all other good parts to accompany that soveraigne and heavenly vertue. We are likewise to acquaint a young man to heare; and that with no heave and dull care, but attentively and with a vigilant minde; these other verses;

*Right wise he is, and wot you well,*  
*A lie for no good will he tell.*

Also,

*Antiochus, reputed ay for wise, you are to blame*  
*My steeds to hurt mine honour eke thus for to staine with shame.*

Likewise,

*You, a woorthie knight, to speake so foolishly!*  
*I would have said you had, in wit, past all men verily.*

These sentences import thus much; That wise men will never speake untruths: neither will they in battell behave themselves as cowards, and use deceit in fight, ne yet charge unjust imputations upon others without reason. Also when the Poet saith, that he through his folly suffered himselfe to be induced & perfwaded to breake the truce and league, he sheweth plainly, That he thinketh a wise man will in no wise commit unrighteousnesse. The like may of a young man be taught, as touching continencie and chastitie, especially, if he consider well these verses.

*K. Proetus wife, Dame Antea, him lov'd and wooed soone*  
*For to embrace her secretly, and lie with her alone:*  
*But never would he yeeld there to, Belleryphon was wife,*  
*And in his heart he never let such thoughts for to arise.*

As also these,

*Dame Clytemnestro first was chaste, and wanton tricks rejected*  
*All while she was by reason led, and wisdoms love directed.*

In these places we see, that the Poet attributeth the cause of continencie and pudicitie unto wisdom. Furtherward in those exhortations whereby capitaines use to encourage their soldiers to fight, when the Poet exhortes inferreth these and such like speeches,

*Ey, fy for shame ô Lycians,*  
*you are now light of foote,*  
*To runne away thus as you do,*  
*in it it will not boote.*

Also:

*A conflict sharpe is toward, Sirs,*  
*wherefore let every one*  
*Set shame and just revenge in fight,*  
*else all, I doubt, is gone.*

By which words the Poet seemeth to ascribe fortitude unto shamefastnesse and modestie: For that, those who are bashfull and ashamed to commit filthinesse, are able likewise not onely to overcome voluptuous pleasures; but also to undergoe all dangerous adventures. By occasion whereof *Timotheus* also in his Poeme entituled *Persea* was mooved not unaptly to encourage the Greekes to fight, saying thus:

*Have none shame in reverence*  
*and honour her, I you advise.*  
*She helpeth Protesse, and from hence*

*the victorie doth off arise.*

*Achylus* also reputeth it a point of wisdom, not to be vaine-glorious nor desirous to be seene of the multitude, ne yet to be lifted up with the pusses of popular praise, when he describeth *Amphiaraus* in this wise:

*He seeketh not to seeme the very best,*  
*But for to be the best in word and deed:*  
*He sowed bath within his woorthie breast,*  
*In furrow deepe, all good and vertuous seed,*  
*Which yeeld both lease & fruit in season due;*  
*I meane sage counsel joind with honor true.*

For the part it is of a wise man and of good conceit, to stand upon his owne botome, that is to say, to rest in himselfe, and to thinke highly of his owne resolutions and courtes as the verie best. Thus you see how all good things being reduced unto prudence, there is no kinde of vertue but it commeth to a man afterwards, and is acquired by learning and discipline.

Moreover, like as Bees have this propertie by nature to finde and sucke the mildest and best honie, out of the sharpest and most eager flowers; yea and from among the roughest and most prickly thornes: even so children and young men if they be well nourished and orderly inured in the reading of Poemes, will learne after a sort to draw alwaies some holefome and profitable doctrine or other, even out of those places which moove suspicion of lewd and absurd sense. At the first sight, *Agamemnon* may seeme suspected of avarice and bribetrie, in that he exempted from warfate, that rich \* man in regard of the faire mare *Aetha* he gave unto him as a gift and gratuite: Eubrytus,

*That unto Troy that stately towne,*  
*he might not with him go*  
*To serve in armes: but stay at home,*  
*and rest there far from wo:*  
*Where he might live in solace much,*  
*enjoying all his owne:*  
*For Iupiter in measure great*  
*had wealth on him bestowed.*

Howbeit, as *Aristotle* saith, he did very well in preferring a good mare before a man no better than he was: For I assure you a coward & hartlesse man, flowing in abundance of riches, wallowing in pleasures and delight, and thereby made effeminate, is not in price comparable either to a dog or an asse. Semblably, it may seeme that *Thetis* did exceeding badly to incite her sonne to pleasures, and to put him in minde of the fleshly delights of *Penny*: But even there, the continencie of *Achilles* is woorthie to be considered: who notwithstanding that he had beene enamoured of *Brieteis*, and saw that she was returned againe unto him, yea and knew that he had not long to live, but that his end was neere; yet neither made he haste to enjoy his pleasures while he might, nor as many men use to do, bewailed the death of his friend, sitting idly the while, doing nothing at all and neglecting the duties of his calling: but as in sorrow and griefe of heart he forbore his delights and pleasures, so in action and conduct of his regiment, he shewed himselfe a martiall and valorous man. In like manner *Achilochus* is not commended for this, that being to mourne and lament for the losse of his brother in law who married his sister, and was perished in the sea, he would seeme to conquer his sorrow with drinking wine & making good cheere: yet neverthelesse he allegeth a cause of his doing so, which carrieth some appearance of reason in these words:

*For neither can my plaints and teares restore his life and heale:*  
*Nor yet my mirth and pleasant sports will harme him ever a deale.*

And if he were of this minde, and had reason to thinke, that in following his delights, meriments, pastimes and bankets, he could not empaire the state of his brother departed; how should our present condition be the worse and our affaires go backward, by the studie and practise of Philosophie, by managing the government of publike weale, by frequenting the common hall and courts of pleas, by going downe to the Academie and schooles of learning, or by following Agriculture and husbandrie?

And therefore the corrections of some poeticall verses by changing certaine words which practise

practicke *Cleanthes* and *Antisthenes* were wont to use are not amisse. For one of them upon a time when the *Athenians* in full Theatre tooke offense and made a great strife at this verse:

Τὸ δ' αἰσχρὸν εἰ καὶ νόμιμον ἡγοῦσθαι δοκῇ.

What filthy thing can be that breedeth shame?

Ynlesse they thinke it so, that use the same?

quieted all the trouble presently by changing it and pronouncing another in this wise,

αἰσχρὸν τὸ γ' αἰσχρὸν, καὶ νόμιμον καὶ νόμιμον.

A filthy thing, is soule and filthy still:

Thinke it, or thinke it not, That doth not skill.

As for *Cleanthes* when he read these verses as touching riches:

οὐκ αἰσὺν τὸ δούλειον οὐκ αἰσὺν τὸν πλοῦτον.

the meaner is not shamed:

Among good friends for to bestow, and spend upon your selfe

Your sickly body to preserve; thus use your worldly pelfe.

He altered them in this manner, and wrote thus:

οὐκ αἰσὺν τὸ δούλειον, οὐκ αἰσὺν τὸν πλοῦτον.

the richer is not shamed.

That you may it so harlots give, and pamper much your selfe:

A crasse body overthrow, abusing worldly pelfe.

Semblably *Zeno* reading these verses of *Sophocles*,

ὅστις δὲ ἀνδρὶ πλεονέχῳ ἐν κοινότητι,

καὶν ἐστὶ δίκαιος καὶ δαδύρετος ποδῶν.

Who once in court of Tyrant serve, become

His slaves anon, though free they thinke he come.

turned the same and wrote this againe,

ὅς ἐστι δίκαιος, καὶ δαδύρετος ποδῶν.

His slave you he cannot bee,

If he at first cometh hither free.

But you must not understand that he meaneth here by a free man, one, that is timorous, but fearelesse, magnanimous, & whose heart is not easie to be danted. What should hinder us then, 30 but that we also by such suggestions and corrections as these may reclaine and withdraw young men from the worse to the better. Whereas therefore we shall meete with these verses,

καὶ δ' οἱ καὶ τὸ γυναικῶν ἀνδραγαθίαν, ὅτι

νόστιμον μέλιμα ἐστὶ τὸ βέλτερον πόνον.

The thing that men are for to wish and most desire is this,

That when they shooe at their delights, the arrow may not mis.

Not so, but rather thus,

νόστιμον μέλιμα ἐστὶ τὸ ἀνδραγαθίαν πόνον.

That when they aime at their profit

The arrow may be sure to hit.

For to reach into those things which a man ought not to desire, yea and to obtaine and have the same is pitifull and lamentable, and in no wise to be wished for. Likewise, when we read in *Alcemer* thus,

Thy part of weale and woe thou must to Agamemnon have,

For Athens did not thee beget, alwaies to win or save.

We verily are thus to say rather,

Thou art to joy, and never for to grieve,

But in a meane estate delight to live.

For Athens did not Agamemnon get

The world as will to have, and finde no let.

Againe, when we meet with this verse,

Ἀλὰς ὅταν μὴ σὺ μὴ σὺν ἀνδράσι,

is this from gods above,

That they should see what thing is good,

and is not use nor love?

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Sent from gods above? nay rather, it is a brutish, unreasonable, yea, a wofull and lamentable thing, that a man seeing that which is better, should for all that be caried away and transported to the worse, by reason of intemperance, slouth, and effeminate softnesse of the minde.

Also, if we light upon this sentence,

Behaviour 'tis and good carriage,

That do perswade, and not language.

Not so iwis, but maners and words together are perswasive: or rather the maners by meanes of speech, like as the horse is ruled by the bit and bridle, and as the Pilot guideth the ship by the rudder or helme. For surely vertue is furnished with no instrument or meanes so gracious with men and so familiar, as speech is.

Moreover, where you encounter these verses;

For wanton love, how stands his minde?

To male more or to female kinde?

Answer.

Both hands are right, with him, where beauty is,

Neither of twaine to him can come amis.

Nay rather thus he should have answered:

Where vertue is seated, and continence,

Both hands are like, there is no difference.

And to speake truly and more plainly, in equall balance poised he is indeed, inclining neither the one way nor the other: Whereas contrariwise, he that with pleasure and beautie swaith to and fro, is altogether left handed, inconstant, and incontinent.

Read you at any time this verse?

Ὅστις τὸ δίκαιον οὐκ ἀποδοῖ βέλτιον.

Religion true, and right godlinesse

Make wise men too fearefull alwaies, more or lesse.

In no wise admit thereof, but say thus:

Ὅστις τὸ δίκαιον οὐκ ἀποδοῖ βέλτιον.

Religion true, and right godlinesse,

Make wise men bolde, and hardy, more or lesse.

For in trueth, feare and despaire, by the meanes of religion, ariseth in the hearts of none but of fooles, unthankfull and senselesse persons, who have in suspection and do dread that divine power which is the first cause of all good things, as hurtfull unto them. Thus much concerning correction of sentences.

There is besides an amplification of that which we read, whereby a sentence may be stretched farther than the bare wordes import. And thus *Chrysippus* hath rightly taught us how to transfer and apply that which was spoken of one onely thing, to many of the like kinde, and so to make a profitable use thereof: for after this manner when *Hesiodus* saith,

An ox or cow a man shall never loose,

If neighbour his be not malicious.

He meaneth by ox or cow, his dog likewise and asse, yea, and all things else that may perish. Semblably, whereas *Euripides* saith thus,

A slave indeed, whom may we justly call?

Even him, of death who thinketh not all.

We must understand that he meant and spake, aswell of labour, affliction and sicknesse, as of death. And verily, as physicians finding the vertue and operations of a medicine applyed and fitted to one maladie, by the knowledge thereof can skill how to accommodate the same to all others of the like nature, and use it accordingly; even so, when we meete with a sentence that is common, and whereof the profit may serve to many purposes, we ought not to oversee and neglect the manifold use thereof, and leave it as appropriate to one onely matter: but to handle the same so, that it may be applied to all of like fort: and herein we must inure and exercise young men, to see and know readily this communion, and with a quicke conceit to transfere that which they finde apt and proper in many, and by examples to be practised and made prompt therein, so as they be able to marke at the first hearing the semblable: To the ende that when they come to read in *Menander* this verse,

*A happy man we may him call,  
Who hath much wealth, and wit withall.*

They may verie well thinke that in naming wealth, he meant and included Honor, authoritie and eloquence. Also, that the imputation which *Vlysses* charged upon *Achilles*, sitting idly in the Iland *Seyros*, among the yooing maidens and damofels, in these words,

*You sir, whose father was a knight,  
The best that ever drew  
His sword, of all the Greekes in fight  
and many a captaine slew:  
Sir you here carding like a wench  
and spinning wooll on rocke,  
Thereby the glorious light to quench  
of your most noble stocke?*

may be applyd unto any loose liver and voluptuous wanton, unto a covetous and wretched miser, unto an idle luskie, an untaught or ignorant lozell. As for example, in lieu of this verse in the foresaid imputation,

*Gaius deus natus in laeta regis*

*What, what, good sir? are you become a spinster now for need,  
Whose father was of all the Greekes a knight of doughtiest deed.*

A man may read and not unfitly thus,

*non deus, &c.*

*Can you carouse so lustily and so the pot so round,  
Whose father knew to shake a speare and stoutly stand his ground?  
Or after this manner,*

*non deus, &c.*

*Your courage serves to hazard all at casting of three dies  
Your fathers heart was tried in war and martiall jeopardies.*

*Either thus,*

*opponens deus, &c.*

*You cunning are to play at quites the game,  
Whereas your fire, by promise was much same.*

*Or in this wise,*

*remans deus, &c.*

*Are you become indeed a Tavernour,  
Whose father was a worthy governour?*

*Or lastly thus,*

*remans deus, &c.*

*In hundred ten, you can full well call for at such a day,  
Your father tens and hundreds knew, to range in battell ray.*

And in one word, so well as you are descended there is no goodnes nor great thing in you wor-  
thy the noble parentage. Moreover, where you happen upon these verses,

*What tell you me of Pluto and his chievance,  
For such a god as he with all his puissance.  
I worship not: since that the lewdest reach  
In all the world, to wealth may quickly reach:*

A man may say as much of glory, of outward beauty, of the rich mantels of a captaine generall, of a Bishops mitre, and the sacred coronet of a priest, which we see the wickedest wretches in the world may attaine unto. Again, whereas the words of another verse import thus much only:

*That children gotten of cowardise,  
Be foule and those whom men despise.*

The same verily do imply also, that Intemperance, Superstition, Envie, and all other vices and maladies of the minde, bring forth no better offspring. Now whereas *Homer* saide excellent well in one place:

*Paris a coward thou art for sooth,  
For all thy face so faire and smooth.*

And

And in another,

*Sir Hector in the prime of age,  
With lovely looks and faire visage.*

(For by these termes and epithits, he sheweth coverly that a man deserveth blame and reproch, who is endued with no better grace and gift than beaurtie) we may well and fitly apply this reprehension to such like things: namely, to plucke downe their peacocks plumes, who vaunt and glorifie themselves for matters of no moment and value: teaching yooing men thereby, that such praises as these, be no better than contumelies and reproches: As for example, when a man is saluted in this manner: O most excellent for riches, for keeping a bountifull table, for many servitours: right excellent for singular good teames of draught oxen, caples and moles, for stables of steeds and greashorses: yea or thus moreover to the rest: O surpassing orator and of woonderfull eloquence: for to speake a truth, a man is to aime at excellencie and preferencie before others in good and honest things, that in the chiefe and principall he may be the highest and formost: as also in great matters, the greatest: for the reputation that groweth from smal and base things is dishonorable, illiberal, vile, & of no worth. And verily this example last alleaged, putteth us straightwaies in minde, to consider better the reprehensions and praises which offer themselves especially in the Poemes of *Homer*: For certes, they give us expressly to understand one notable instruction, to wit, Not highly to esteeme the gifts either of body or of fortune. For first and formest (in those titles which they give one to another in reciprocall greetings) when they meet and shake hands, the manner is not to salute by the name of Beautiful, Rich or Strong, but they use such commendations as these,

*Vlysses o most noble knight, from Iupiter first descended,  
Laertes sonne, for wisdom, and much wit, yet most commended.*

Also

*O Hector some of Priamus king,  
Equall to love in wisdom and cunning.*

Likewise,

*Achilles o of Pelcus the most redoubted sonne,  
Chiefe glory of the worthy Greekes, their light and shining sunne.*

And againe,

*Patroclus o sonne of Menætius,  
Most lovely in my hart and gracious.*

Semblably when they are disposed to revile and taunt, they twit not one another with any defects and imperfections of the bodie, but touch them expressly with the vices of the mind, after this manner,

*Thou drunken sot, as shamelesse as the dogs that use to barke  
Thou coward base as hartlesse as the stags that run in parke.*

And thus,

*Thou wrangling Ajax of Barrotters chiefe  
Dividing nought but evill and mischief.*

Semblably,

*Idomeneus in fruffling prompt,  
What mean'st thou thus to prate?*

*This babling little thee becomes,  
Such clattering men do hate.*

As also,

*O Ajax fie for shame: how farre out of the way  
Speake you, so bold and malapart? you brag too much I say.*

To conclude, *Vlysses* revileth not *Thersites*, with these termes: Thou halting and lame squire, so thou bald pate thou coptank, thou that art camell backt, or crump shouldred: but rather reprocheth him with his vaine babling and undiscreet language. But rather on the contrarie side, the mother of *Vulcane* when she speaketh unto her sonne lovingly and in great kindnesse of hart, beginneth first with his lamenesse in this manner

*Come hither my sonne, come to me, come sweet hart  
My poore limping creeple, come crokelegd as thou art.*

By

By this it may appeare plainly that *Homer* devideth those, who thinke it a shame to be halt, blind, or otherwise impotent. He is of opinion, that nothing is blame worthy which is not dishonest: nor any thing dishonest and shamefull, which came not by our owne selves, but proceeded from fortune. And therefore these two great and singular commodities, they are sure to finde, who be exercised in reading and hearing of Poets: the one tending to moderation and modestie: in that they learne to reproch no man odiously, bitterly and foolishly with his fortune: the other unto magnanimitie; for that they be taught themselves to make use of their owne fortune: not to be cast downe and troubled, for any aduerse calamitie that may happen; but meekly and patiently to abide the frumpes, scoffes, reprochfull termes that are given them, yea, and the laughers that arise thereupon. And verily evermore this sentence of *Phlemon* 10 ought to be ready at hand and resound in their eares:

*Nothing there is more pleasant and muscell  
Then him to abide who doth thee mis-call.*

Howbeit, if any of these mockers, deserve to be rebuked and taunted againe, vantage would be taken of the vices and imperfections of their minde, and those are to be objected against them; for so *Adrastus* in a tragedie when *Alcmaon* provoked with these words,

*Alc. A sister thou hast (I tell thee true)  
Who in husbands blood her hands did embrue.*

*Adr. But thou thy selfe, (I must tell plaine)  
Thy mother that bare thee, hast cruelly slaine.*

For like as they who whip and scourge garments, touch not the bodie at all: even so they that upbraid a man with infortunitie, or reproch him for some default or blemish in his parentage, doe like vaine fooles beat those things that are without, but never come neere the quicke, nor touch the soule, ney yet any thing which truly deserveth correction, blame or biting.

Over and beside, as wee shewed and taught before, how to impeach and derogate the credite of those leaud sentences and dangerous speeches, which otherwhiles wee meet with in Poeticall books namely, by opposing against the same, the good and grave sawes of worthy persons, renowned as well for their learning as politicke government: even so, if we finde any civill, honest, and profitable matter in Poetrie, we ought (as it were) to nourish, confirme and strengthen the same, by demonstrations and testimonies Philosophicall: and evermore to remember that we ascribe the first invention of such sentences to sage Philosophers: For a iust, requisite and commodious thing it is, that their credite should be in that maner fortified and authorized: namely, when the Poems which are pronounced upon the Stage in a Theatre, or sung to the harp, or taught unto children in schooles, do accord with the sententious counsels of *Pythagoras*, the instructions of *Plato*, and the precepts of *Chilon*: when I say the rules of *Bias*, shall tend to the same end and effect as do those lessons that children are to read and learne. And therefore we are to teach and instruct them thus much, not slightly and by the way, but earnestly and of purpose, that these places of Poets

*Faire daughter mine, thou wert not borne  
To manage wars and armes to dread:  
Minde thou love sports, and thinke no scorne  
To joine young folke in marriage bed.*

Likewise;

*For Iupiter displeased is with thee,  
If that in fight thou unmatched bee.*

nothing at all differ from this notable sentence, *Τὸν οὐκ ἔστιν ἰσχυρὸν ἄνθρωπον*. I. Know thy selfe: but carie the verie same sense and meaning.

Also these verses

*Like fooles, they do not know, inu;  
That halfe than whole much better is:*

Likewise,

*Evill counsels hurt no man so much,  
As him that author is of such.*

are all one in effect with the opinions and discourses of *Plato* in his dialogue *Gorgias*, and in his books of *Common weale*; to wit, that more dangerous it is to doe wrong that to suffer injurie; and

and more damage cometh by giving than by receiving an abuse.

Also to this verse of *Aeschylus*

*Be of good cheere: Excessive paine  
Can not endure nor long remaine:  
When wofull bale is at the highest,  
Then blessed boot (be sure) is nighest.*

we must say, that they be the very same with that divulged sentence so often repeated by *Epicurus*, and so highly admired by his followers, namely, *That as great paines are not durable, so long griefs are tolerable*. And as the former member of this sentence was evidently exprest by *Aeschylus*, so the other is a consequent thereof, and implied therein. For if a griefe that is fore and vehement, endureth not; surely that which continueth, can not be violent or intolerable. Semblably this sentence of *Theophrastus* the Poet in verse

*Thou seest how Love all other gods  
For this doth farre excell,  
Because that lies he doth abhorre,  
and pride of heart expell.  
He is not wont to laugh and scorne,  
so frumpe he doth disdaine:  
He onely can not skill of lusts  
and pleasures which be vaine.*

is varied by *Plato* in prose, when he saith that the divine power is seated farre from pleasure and paine. As for these verses of *Barchylides*,

*We holde it true, and ever will maintaine  
That glory sound and vertue doth endure.  
Great wealth and store we take to be but vaine,  
And may befall to vile men and impure.*

As also these of *Euripides* to the like sense;

*Sage temperance I holde, we ought  
to honour most in heart;  
For with good ment it doth remaine,  
and never will depart.*

As also these,

*When honour and worldly wealth you have,  
To furnish your selves with vertue, take care,  
Without her, if riches you get and have,  
Though blessed you seeme, unhappy you are.*

Containe they not an evident prooffe and demonstration of that which the Philosophers teach as touching riches and externall goods; which without vertue profit not those at all who are possessed of them? And verily thus to reduce, and fitly to accommodate the sentences of Poets unto the precepts and principles delivered by Philosophers, will foone disfigure Poetrie from fables, and plucke from it the maske wherewith it is disguised; it will give, I say, unto them an effectuall power, that being profitably spoken, they may be thought serious and perswasive: yea, and besides, will make an overture and way unto the minde of a young ladde, that it may encline the rather to Philosophicall reasons and discourses: namely, when he having gotten some smatch and taste already thereof, and being not voide altogether of hearing good things, he shall not come altogether without judgement; replenished onely with foolish conceits and opinions which he hath evermore heard from his mothers and nurses mouth, yea, and otherwhiles (believe me) from his father, tutor and schoole-master: who will not sticke in his hearing to repute for blessed and happie, yea, and with great reverence to give the worship to those who are rich: but as for death, paine and labour, to stand in feare and horror thereof: and contrariwise, to make no reckoning and account of vertue, but to despise the same, and thinke it as good as nothing, without earthly riches and authoritie. Certes, when young men shall come thus rawly and untrained, to heare the divisions, reasons & arguments of Philosophers, flat contrary to such opinions, they will at first be much astonished, troubled & disquieted in their minds: and no more able to admit of the same, and to reduce such doctrine, than they, who having a long time bene pent in, and kept in darke, can abide the glittering raies of the Sun shine: unless they were acquainted before by little & little with some false and bastard light, not altogether so

lively and cleere, as it: And even so, I say, yooing men must be accustomed beforehand, yea, and from the very first day, to the light of the trueth, entermingled somewhat with fables among, that they may the better endure the full light and fight of the cleere trueth, without any paine and offence at all. For when they have either heard or read before in Poemes these sentences:

*Lament we ought for infants at their birth,  
Entering a world of cares that they shall have:  
Whereas the dead we should wish joy and mirth  
Accompanie, and bring them so to grave.*

*Also,  
Of worldly things we need no more but twaine,  
For bread to eat the earth doth yeeld us graine:  
And for to quench our thirst, the river cleere  
Affords us drinke, the water faire and sheere.*

*Likewise,  
O tyrannie so low'd, and in request  
With barbarous, but butfull to the rest.*

*Lastly,  
The highest pitch of mans felicitie,  
To feele the least part of adversity.*

Lette troubled they are & grieved in spirit, when they shall heare in the Philosophers schooles, That we are to make no account of death as a thing touching us: That the Riches of nature are definite & limited: That felicitie and soveraigne happines of man, lieth not in great fumes of money, ne yet in the pride of managing State affaires, nor in dignities and great authority, but in a quiet life free from paine and sorrow: in moderating all passions, and in a disposition of the minde kept within the compasse of Nature. To conclude, in regard hereof, as also for other reasons before alleaged, A yooing man had neede to be well guided and directed in reading of Poets, to the end that he may be sent to the studie of Philosophie not foretalled with sinister fumes; but rather sufficiently instructed before and prepared, yea and made friendly and familiar thereto by the means of Poetrie.



## OF HEARING.

### The Summarie.

**B**Y goodright, this present discourse was ranged next unto the former twaine. For seeing we are not borne into this world learned; but before we can speake our selves sensibly or anything to reason, we ought to have heard men who are able to deliver their minds with judgement, to the end that by their aide and helpe we may be better framed and fitted to the way of vertue: requisite it is that after the imbibition of good nurture in childhood, and some libertie and licence given to travel in the writings of Poets, according to the rules above declared. Yooing men that are students should advance forward, and mount up into higher schooles. Now for that in the time when this Author Plutarch lived, besides many good bookes, there were a great number of professors in the liberal Sciences, and namely in the histories, in which Barbarisme crept afterwards: he proposeth and setteth downe those precepts now which they are to follow and observe, that goe to heare publike lectures, orations and disputations, thereby to know how to behave themselves there; which training haply may reach to all that which we had heare spoken elsewhere; and is materiall to make us more learned and better mannered. In the first place therefore he sheweth that at what time as we grow to yeeres of discretion, we should have a feeling of our ignorance, to the end that we may be desirous to learne, and afterwards heare willingly. For to encrease our affection, he toucheth those dangers into which they fall, who will needs be teachers, before they be taught

taught themselves: adjoyning hereto those vices and inconveniences, which a yooing man is to take heed of, in hearing and above all others, to beware of envie: as also on the other side what he ought to studie. Now for that impossible it is, that teachers should be perfect and fully accomplished in all things, he proceedeth to declare with what minde and spirit we should take knowledge, and consider of their imperfections: giving us hall an advertisement how to avoid another extremitie, to wit, an excessive admiration of him that speaketh; namely, to leave the principall substance of doctrine: the which will be so much more accepted, in case it be commended and adorned with eloquence. He counselleth afterwards to treat of those problems and questions which may be propounded in companies and meetings: also of the pleasure that we ought to take when we are told the truth: in such sort, that as we are not to envy them for their excellencie, who speake any thing to raise and set us aloft: so on the contrary side we ought to carie with us thither, a spirit favourable, gracious, well prepared, hating flatterie, loving reprehensions, patient, void of that rusticall bashfulness which we see in over blunt and dull natures, neither presumptuous nor yet discouraged, but keeping a good measure and meane betwene vaine curiositie and that supine sloth and idleness, which is in the most part of those that be hearers. To conclude, he would have him that hath diligently heard a certaine time, and with discretion, to exercise himselfe in devising and inventing some thing of his owne, in such sort that he may put the same forth, so, as the outward part may discover well what goodnes there lieth inclosed within.

## OF HEARING.



**T**His little treatise (my friend Alexander) which being gathered and compiled by starts, as my leisure would serve *As touching the manner of Hearing*, I lately put in writing, and send here unto you, To the end that you being delivered now from the subjection of Masters, who were wont to command you, and having put on your vile robe and grown to mans estate, may know how to heare him that giveth you good counsell. For this licentious easement and deliverie from all government, which some yooing men for default of good nurture and education do untruly terme *Libertie*, seeth over them more rough Lords and harder Masters by farre, than were those teachers, tutors and governours, under whom they were awed in their childhood, to wit, their owne irregular lusts and unordinate appetites, which now be (as it were) dischained & let loose. For like as a woman (to use the words of *Hero dotus*) no sooner doth of her smocke or inner vesture, but therewithall the calsteth off all shamefastnes and modestie; even so, some yooing men there be, who together with the garments of infancie and childhood, lay by all grace, shame and feare: so that being once divested of that habit and apparell which became them so well, and gave them a modest and sober countenance, they are straightwaies full of stubbornesse and disobedience. As for your selfe, who have oftentimes heard, that *To follow God*, and to obey Reason is all one, you ought to thinke, that the wiser sort and such as have wit indeed, repute not the passage and change from childhood to mans estate, an absolute deliverance and freedome from commandment and subjection, but an exchange onely of the commander: for that their life in stead either of a mercenarie hirling or some master bought with a peece of money, who was wont to governe it in their nonage and minoritie, taketh then a divine and heavenly guide to conduct it, even Reason: unto which they that yeeld themselves obeisant, are to be reputed onely free and at libertie. For they alone live as they would, who have learned to will that which they should: whereas if our actions and affections both be disordinate and not ruled by reason, the libertie of our free-will is small, slender and feeble, yea and intermingled for the most part with much repentance. Like as therefore among new Burgovises (who lately are enrolled Free Denizens to enjoy the Franchises and priviledges of some citie) they that were meere aliens before and strangers new come from far and remote parts, finde themselves grieved at the first with many things that are done, yea and complaine thereof: but such as had bene inhabitants there sometime before they were made citizens, who partly by education were inured, and partly by custome and converting, familiarly acquainted with the lawes and customes of the place, never thinke much, but can brooke well enough, and undergo with patience all charges and impossibilities laid upon them; So it behooveth that a yooing man should a long time have bene bred up

and (as it were) halfe nourished in Philosophie, accustomed (I say) he ought to have bene from the begining with intermingling all that he learneth or heareth in his tender yeeres, with Philosophicall reasons, that being thus made tractable, gentle and familiar before hand, he might now betake himselfe wholly and in good earnest to Philosophie: which alone is able to array and adorne young men with those robes and ornaments, of reason which are manlike indeed and everie way perfect. Moreover, I suppose you will be well pleased and content, to give care unto that which *Theophrastus* hath written of hearing; which of all the five senses given us by nature, presenteth both the most and also the greatest passions unto the minde. For there is no object of the eye, nothing that we taste or touch that causeth such extasies, so violent troubles or sudden frights, as those which enter and pearce into the soule, by the meanes of some noises, sounds and voices, incident to our hearing. And albeit this sense lie thus open and exposed to passions, yet is it more fit to admit reason than such affections: for many places there be and parts of the bodie that make way and give entrance unto vices for to passe unto the soule: but the only handle (as I may so say) wherewith vertue may take holde of young men are their eares: provided alwaies, that they were kept cleane and neat at the first from all flatterie, and defended against corrupt and leawd speeches, that they touch them not.

Good reason therefore had *Xenocrates*, to give order that children should have certaine auri-cles or bolsters devised to hang about their eares for their defence, rather than fencers and sword-plaiers: for that these are in danger onely to have their eares spoiled with knocks or cuts by weapons: but the other, to have their manners corrupted and marred with naughtie speeches. Neither was it any part of *Xenocrates* his meaning, to deprive them altogether of hearing, and to commend deafnesse: but to admonish and exhort them, so long to forbear the hearing of evil words, and to take heed, untill other good sayings, entertained and nourished there, in long continuance of time by Philosophie, had seized the place, and were well settled in that part which is most easie to be moved and perswaded by speech: where being once lodged, they might as good sentinels and guards preserve and defend the same. Bias verily, that ancient Sage, being commanded by king *Amasis*, to send unto him the best and woorthiest piece of a beast killed for sacrifice, plucked forth the tongue onely, and sent it him; giving him thus much thereby to understand, That speech is the cause both of most good, and also of greatest harme. Many there be also, who ordinarily when they kisse little children, both touch their eares withall, and also bid them do the like: insinuating thus much covertly, by way of mirth and sport, That they are to love those who profit them and doe them good by their eares. For this is certaine and evident, that a young man deprived and debarr'd of hearing, being able to taste and conceive reason, will not onely become barren altogether of fruit, and put out not to much as any buds and flowers at all, which may give some hope of vertue: but also contrariwise, will soone turne to vice, and send forth of his corrupt minde many wilde and savage shoots, like as a ground neglected and untill'd, beareth nothing but briars, brambles and hurtfull weeds. For the motions and inclinations unto pleasures, and the sinister conceits and suspicions of paines and travels (which are no strangers to us iwis, entring in directly from without forth by themselves, or els let in by evill suggestions, but inbred with us, and the naturall sources of infinite vices and maladies) if a man suffer to run on end with the raines at large, whither by nature they would go, and not cut them off by sage remonstrances, or divert them another way, and thereby reforme the default of nature; surely there were not upon the face of the earth any wilde beast, but would be more tame and gentle than man. Forasmuch as therefore the sense of hearing bringeth unto young men so great profit, and no lesse perill with it, I suppose it were well done, if a man would effoones both devise with himselfe, and also discourse with others, as touching the order and maner of hearing. Forasmuch as we doe see most men in this point to offend and erre, in that they exercise themselves in speaking before they were used to heare: supposing that good speech requireth a kinde of discipline, meditation and practise ere it be learned: as for hearing, though men use it without any art, it makes no matter how, yet they may receive profit thereby as they thinke. And verily, albeit at Tennis play they that practise the feat thereof, learne to take the ball as it cometh, and also to strike and send it from them againe, both at once. Yet in the use of speech it is otherwise: for to receive it well, goeth before the utterance and deliverie thereof: like as conception and retention of the seed, doeth precede birth of the infant. It is said, That the egges laid by fowles, called Wind-egges, as they proceed of imperfect and false conceptions, so they are the rudiments and beginnings of such fruits, as never will quicken and have life; even so, The speeches that young men let fall, such I meane, as ne-

ver

ver knew how to heare, nor were wont to receive profit by hearing, are nothing els indeed but very winde: and as the Poet saith,

*Words vaine, obscure, and foolish every one,  
Which under clouds soone vanish and be gone.*

Certes if they would powre out any liquor out of one vessell into another, they are wont to encline and turne downe the mouth of the one, so as the said liquor may passe into the receptorie without shedding any part thereof, least in stead of an infusion indeed there be an effusion onely and spilling of the same: and yet these men cannot learne to be attentive and give good eare unto others, so as nothing do escape them, which is well and profitably delivered. But here is the greatest folly and most ridiculous, that if they meet with one, who can relate the order of a feast or great dinner, discourse from point to point of a solemne shew or pompe, tell a tale of some dreame, or make report of a quarrell and blemishment betwene him and another, theyarken with great silence, bid him say on, and will not misse every circumstance: Let another man draw them apart, to teach them some good and profitable lesson, to exhort them to their dutie, to admonish and tell them of a fault, to reprove them wherein they did amisse, or to appeale their moode when they be in choler, they can not abide and endure him: for either the will set in hand to argue and refute him by arguments contending and contesting against that which hath bene said, (if they be able so to doe:) or if they finde themselves too wake, they slinke away, and run thither, where they may heare some other vaine and foolish discourses, desirous to fill their eares (like naughtie and rotten vessells) with any thing rather then that, which is good and necessarie. They that would keepe and order horses well, teach them to have a good mouth, to reigne light, and to obey the bit: even so, they that bring up children as they ought, make them obsequent and obsequant to reason, by teaching them to heare much and speake little. For *Spirithus* praising *Epaminondas* upon a time, gave out thus much of him, That he could hardly meet with another man who knew more than hee, and spake lesse. And it is commonly said, that nature herselfe hath given to each us but one tongue and two eares, because we ought to heare more than we speake. Now as Silence and Taciturnitie is everie where and at all times a singular and sure ornament of a young man; so especially, if when hee heareth another man to speake, he interrupt and trouble him not, nor baie and barke (as it were) at every word: but although he do not very well like of his speech, yet hath patience and forbearth, giving him leave to make an end: and when he hath finished his speech, setteth not upon him presently, nor beginneth out of hand to confute him, but suffereth him to pause a while, and as *Aschines* saith, giveth him some time to breath and bethinke himselfe to see, if haply he thinke it good to adde any more to that which hath bene delivered already, or change somewhat, or els retract and unsay something: Whereas, they that by and by cut a man off, with contradictions, and neither heare, nor are well heard themselves, but are ever replying upon other, whiles they speake, observe no decorum nor grace at all, but shew a very undecent and unseemely behavior. But he that is accustomed to heare patiently, and with a modest and sober countenance, better conceiveth and retaineth the good things uttered, and withall hath more leisure to marke, observe and discern that which is either unprofitable or false: He sheweth himselfe besides, to be a lover of the truth, and is not taken for a litigious quarreller, a rash wrangler, or a bitter brawler. And therefore, some there be, who not unaptly say, That we ought no lesse, but rather more, to void out of the minds of young men that presumption and foolish opinion which they have of their owne selves, than to rid and exclude the winde and aire out of leather bagges or bladders wherewith they are puffed and blown up, if we meane to infuse and put any good thing into them: for otherwise, if they be still full of that swelling winde of arrogancie and overweening of themselves, they will never receive and admit any goodnesse.

Moreover, envie accompanied with a malignant and ill will is good in no action whatsoever: where it is present: but as it is an impediment and hinderance to all honest causes; so it is the worst counsellor and assistant that he can have who would be an auditor, making all those things that be profitable and for his benefit, to seeme odious, unpleasant, harsh to the eare and hardly admitted; for that the nature of envious persons is, to take more pleasure in any thing else than in that which is well spoken. And verily, whosoever repineth and is vexed at the heart, to see others rich, beautifull or in authoritie, is onely envious: for grieved he is at the welfare of others: but he that taketh discontentment in hearing a wise and sententious speech, is offended with the good of his owne selfe: for like as the light is a benefit to them that see; even so is speech unto the hearers if they will embrace and entertaine the same: As for those kinds of offen-

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vie which arise in regard of other things, there be some naughtie passions and vicious conditions of the minde besides, that breed and ingender them: but that manner of envie which is conceived against them that speake excellently well, springeth from a certaine & important desire of vaine glorie, and unjust ambition, which will not suffer him that is so indisposed to give care and attend unto the words spoken, but troubleth, disquieteth, and distracteth the minde and understanding: both to consider at one instant his owne state and sufficiency, whether it be inferior to the conceit and eloquence of the speaker: and also to regard and looke upon the countenance of other hearers, whether they take contentment and are in admiration of him that maketh the speech: yea and withall, if happily he be praised, the same minde is woonderfully galled and amazed, angrie and ready to fall out with all that be present, in case they approve his speech with applause. Herewith it letteth slip also and rejecteth the matter and good sayings that were delivered already; for that the remembrance thereof is unfaverie and unpleasant: and still he is disquieted and woteth not what to do, hearing out the rest with feare and trembling, lest haply they should be better than the former, never so desirous that the speakers should hasten to an end and have done, as when they discourse and speake best. Now when the Sermon is ended, and the auditors dissolved: what doth this envious spirit then? not ruminat, be you sure, nor consider of the reasons and matter delivered; but he stirreth the affections and opinions straightwaies, and gathereth voices (as it were in a scrutiny) of the audience. If he meet with any that give out good words to the praise of the Preacher, them hee avoideth and fleeth from, as if he were in a furious fit of madness: hapneth he upon such as finde fault, and be ready to misconstrue and pervert the words that were spoken, to the worst sense: these are they whom hee loveth a life, to them he runneth, and with them hee forteth and keepeth companie: But say that he finde none of that disposition, so as he can not wrest any words to a wrong construction, then he falleth to make comparisons, and to set against him, others younger than he; who of the same theme have discoursed better, with more plausible utterance and greater force of eloquence: he never ceaseth nor giveth over corrupting, misinterpreting, and disgracing the whole speech, untill he have made the same altogether unprofitable and without any edification at all to his owne selfe. It behooveth therefore, that he who desireth to heare, take truce (for the time) with ambition; to the end that hee may give care with patience and mildnesse unto him that maketh an oration or sermon, and cary himselfe no otherwise than if he were admitted to some sacred and festival banker, or an invited guest to the first fruits of a solemne sacrifice; praising his eloquence when he hath spoken well and sufficiently to the point in any matter, accepting favourably, and in best part, his good will, to deliver and communicate to others, such things as he knew, and to persuade his hearers with those reasons and motives which had induced and perswaded himselfe. Neither must our auditors make this reckoning and conclusion, That whatsoever hath bene singularly well delivered by the speaker, ought to be ascribed to chance and fortune, as if he had let fall his words at adventure: but impute the same to his diligence, labour and art: yea, and he ought to imitate the same with a kinde of zeale and admiration. But whereas he hath faulted and done amisse, it is the part of an hearer to bend his minde, and consider well and circumspectly, what might the cause and occasion be of such error: For like as (according to *Xenophon*) good householders know how to make profit and use, as well of their enemies as their friends; even so they that be vigilant and attentive hearers, take good, not onely by them that speake well, but by those also that misse and faile of their purpose: for barren, triviall and stale invention; improper, vaine and insignificant words; forced and foolish figures; abrupt, fond, and unseemly breakings forth with joy to some praise, and such like imperfections or defects, which often times befall unto them that speake in publique place; are sooner espied by us that are hearers, than observed by themselves who are the speakers. And therefore we are to transcribe the inquisition and correction of any such fault, from them to our selves, by examining whether we also may not fault likewise, before we be aware? For there is nothing in the world more easie, than for a man to blame and reprehend his neighbour: but such a reprehension verily is vaine and unprofitable, unless it have a reference to correct and amend the like errors in himselfe. In which regard every one ought to be ready in this case, according to the advertisement of *Plato*, to say unto himselfe, Am not I also such an one? or doe not I the semblable otherwhiles? For even as we see our owne eyes shining within the ball or apple of our neighbours eyes, so we ought by the forme & manner of other mens orations to take the pattern and representation of our owne; to the end that we be not too forward and bolde in despising others, but may more carefully take heed to our selves when wee likewise come to speake. To this

this purpose also it would doe very well, to make a kinde of conference and comparison in this manner: Namely, to retire our selves apart which we have heard one make an oration, and to take in hand some points which wee thinke had not bene well and sufficiently handled, and then to assay either to supply that which was defective in some, or to correct what was amisse in others: or els to varie the same matter in other words, or at leastwise to discourse altogether thereof, with new reasons and arguments; like as *Plato* himselfe did upon the oration of *Lysias*. For, I assure you; no hard matter it is, but very easie to contradict the oration and reason by another pronounced; may to set a better by it, that is a piece of worke right hard and difficult. Much like, as when a certaine Macedonian heard that *Philip* king of *Macedon* had demolished and rased the city *Byzantium*. Hah! he so quoth he, But he is not able to set up such another. Now when as we shall see that intreating of the same subject and argument, there is no great difference betweene our owne doings and other mens before us, and that we have not farre excelled them; we shall be reclaimed much from the contempt of others, and quickly repressle and stay our owne presumptuous pride and selfelove, seeing it thus checked by this triall and comparison. And verily, to admire other mens doings, as it is a thing adverse and opposite to despising, so it is a signe of a milder nature, and more inclined to indifferencie and equitie. But even herein also there would be no lesse heed taken (if not more) than in the contempt before said: for as they which are so presumptuous, bolde, and given so much to dispraise and despise others, receive lesse good and smaller profit by hearing; so the simple and shamelesse sort, addicted overmuch to others, and having them in admiration, are more subject to take harme and hurt thereby: verifying this sentence of *Heraclitus*.

*A foolish sort astonished is none*

*Let him be hearer, or let him be done*

As for the praises therefore, of him that speaketh, we ought favorable and of course without great affection to passe them out of our mouths: in giving credite unto their reasons and arguments we are to be more wary and circumspect: and as touching the phrase, utterance, and action of those that exert life to make speeches, we must both see and heare the same with a single hart and a kind affection: As for the utility and truth of those matters which are delivered, we should examine and weigh the same exactly & with more severitie of judgement. Thus we who be hearers shall avoid the suspitions of evil will and hatred, & they againe that are speakers shall do us no harme: For oftentimes it falleth out that upon a speciall faultline and good liking unto those that preach unto us, we take lesse heed to our selves and by our credulitie admit & embrace from their lips many false & erroneous opinions. The Macedonian rulers & Lords of the Councell of estate, upon a time liking wel of the good advice and opinion of a person who was an ill liver, caused the same to be delivered openly by another of approved life and good reputation: wherein they did very wisely & as prudent politicians, to accustom the people for to affect the behavior and honest carriage of their counsellors, rather than to respect their words onely. But in Philosophie it is otherwise: For we must lay aside the reputation of the man who hath in publique place spoken his minde; and examine the matter apart by it selfe: For that, like as in warre (we say) there be many false glances: so also in an auditors there passe as many vanities: The goodly grey beard and hoarie head of the speaker, his solemne gesture and composing of his countenance, his grave and browes, his glorious words in behalfe of himselfe: but above all, the acclamations, the applause and clapping of hands, the cheeping and shouting of the standers by, and those that are present in place, are enough otherwhiles to trouble and astonish the spirits of a young hearer, who is not well acquainted with such matters, and carie him away perforce as it were with a streame: Over and besides, there is in the very stile and speech it selfe a secret power able to beguile and deceive a young novice; namely, if it runne round away smoothly and pleasantly, and if withall there be a certaine affected gravitie, and artificiall port and loftinesse, to set out and grace the matter. And even as they that play upon the pipe, be it cornet, recorder or flue, fault many times in musicke, and are not perceived by the hearers: so a brave and elegant tongue, a doughty and gallant oration, dazzleth the wits of the hearer, so as he can not judge soundly of the matter in hand. *Melantius* being demanded upon a time, what he thought of a Tragadie of *Diogenes*: I could not see it (quoth he) for so many words wherewith it was choaked up. But the Orations & declamations for the most part of these Sophisters, who make shew of their eloquence, horribly have their sentences covered (as it were) with vailles and curtains of words, but that which more is, they themselves do dulce their voice by the meanes of (I wot not what devised notes, soft sounds, exquisite and musical accents

accents in their pronuntiation, so as they ravish the wits of the hearers, and transport them beside themselves: leading and carrying them which way they list: and thus for a certaine little vaine pleasure that they give, receive againe applause and glorie much more vaine: Inasmuch, as that befalleth properly unto them which by report *Dionysius* answered upon a time: who seemed to promise unto a famous minstrell for his excellent play in an open Theatre, to reward him with great gifts, gave him in the end just nothing, but said he had recompensed him sufficiently already: For looke (quoth he) how much pleasure I have received from thee by thy long and minstrelly, so much contentment and joy thou hast had from me by hoping for some great reward. And verily such recompense as this have those Sophisters and great Orators at their hearers hands: For admired they are so long as they sit in their chaire, and give delight unto their auditors: No sooner is their speech ended, but gone is the pleasure of the one, and the glorie of the other. Thus the Auditors spend their time, and the speakers employ their whole life in vaine. For this cause, it behooveth a young hearer to separate and set aside the ranke superfluitie of words and to seeke after the fruit it selfe: and heerein not to imitate women, that plait and make garlands of flowers, but to follow the Bees: For those women laying for, and choosing faire flowers and odoriferous herbes, with plat and compose them so, as they make thereof a peece of worke (I must needs say) pleasant to the senses; but fruitlesse altogether, and not lasting above one day: whereas the Bees flying oftentimes over & over the meadows full of Violets, Roses and Crowtoes, light at length upon Thyme, an herbe of a most strong scent, and quick taste and there settle,

*Intending then great paines to take  
The yellow honie for to make,*

and when they have gathered from them some profitable juice or liquor to serve their turne, they flie away unto their proper worke and business: Semblably ought an auditor who is studious of skill and knowledge, and hath his minde and understanding free from passions, to let passe, affected, flourishing and superfluous words; yea, and such matters also as be fit for the Stage and Theatre, reputing them to be food meet for drone Bees (I meane Sophisters) and nothing good for honie: and ratieth with diligence and attentive heed to found the very depth and profound intention of the speaker, for to draw that which is good & profitable: remembering effusions, that he is not come thither as to a Theatre, either to see sports & pastimes, or to heare musick and Poeticall fables, but into a schoole & auditors, for to learne how to amend and reforme his life by the rule of reason. And therefore he must enter into his owne heart and examine himselfe when he is alone, how he was mooved and affected with the Lecture or Sermon that he heard; consider (I say) and reason he ought with himselfe whether he find any turbulent passions of his minde thereby dulced and appeased; whether any griefe or heavinesse that trouble him be mitigated and allwaged; whether his courage and confidence of heart be more resolute and better confirmed; and in one word, whether he feele any instinct unto vertue and honestie, to be more kindled and enflamed. When we rise out of the Barbars chaire, we thinke it meete presently to consult with a mirrour or looking glasse; we stroke our head to see whether he hath polled and nodd it well; we consider and peruse our beard and every haire whether we have the right cut, & be trimmed as we ought: a shame it were then, to depart from a schole or a lecture, and not immediately to retire apart and view our mindewell; whether it have laide away any foolish thought that troubled it: whether it be cased of superfluous and wandering thoughts, that clogged it: and be thereby more lightsome and pleasant. For neither a Baine and Strich, as *Ariston* saith, nor a sermon doth any good, if the one do not scoure the skin, and the other cleanse the heart.

A young man therefore is to take joy and delight if he have made profit by a lecture, or be better edified by hearing a sermon. And yet I write not this, as if this pleasure should be the finall end that he propoeth to himselfe when he goeth to such a lecture or sermon, neither would I have him thinke that he should depart out of the Philosophers schoole; with a merie note singing jocosely, or with a fresh and cheerefull countenance: ne yet to use meanes to be perfumed with sweete odors and ointments, whereas he hath more need of Embrications, Fomentations and Cataplasmes: but to take it well and be thankfull, if haply by some sharpe words and cutting speeches, any man hath cleansed and purified his heart full of cloudie mists and palpable darkenes, like as men drive Bee-hives and rid away Bees with smoke. For albeit, he that preacheth unto others ought not to be altogether careless and negligent in his stile, but that it may carrie with it some pleasure, delectation and grace, as well as probabilitie and reason: yea

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young man when he cometh to heare should not stand so much thereupon, but have least regard thereto, especially at the first: marrie afterwards (I will not say) but he may well enough have an eie unto it also. For like as those that drinke, after they have once quenched their thirst, have leisure to peruse the cups & turne them about every way, to view and consider the worke engraven or imprinted upon them: even so, when a young student or auditor is well replenished and furnished with doctrine, after he hath breathed and paused a while, may be permitted to consider farther of the speech, namely, what elegant and copious phrases it hath. As for him, who at the verie beginning attendeth not nor cleaveth unto the matter and substance, but hureth after the language onely, desiring that it should be pure Atticke, fine and smooth: I can liken such a one to him, who being empoisoned will not drinke any Antidote or counterpoison, unless the pot or cup wherein it is, be made of the Colian earth in *Attica*: or who in the cold of winter will not weare a garment, except it were made of the wooll that came from the Attike sheepes backe; but had rather sit still idle doing nothing and stirring not, with some thin mantell and overworne gaberline cast over him, such as be the orations of *Lysias* his penning. The errors committed in this kinde, have bene the cause why there is found so little wit and understanding, and contrariwise so much tongue and bibble-babble, such vaine chattering about words in young men throughout the Schooles: who never observe the life, the deeds, the carriage and demeanor in State government of a Philosopher, but give all praise and commendation to his fine termes and elegant words, onely setting out his eloquence, action and readie deliverie of his oration, but will not in any wise learne or enquire whether the matter so uttered be profitable or unprofitable, necessarie or vaine and superfluous.

Next to these precepts, how we should heare a Philosopher to discourse at large and with a continued speech, there followeth in good consequence a rule and advertisement as touching short questions and problemes. A man that cometh as a bidden guest unto a great supper, ought to be content with that which is set before him upon the table, and neither to call for any viands else, nor to finde fault with those that are present: He also that is invited to a Philosophicall feast or banquet (as I may say) of discourses, in case they be matters and questions certaine and chosen long before for to be handled, ought to do nothing else but heare with patience and silence him that speaketh: for they that distract and hale him away to other theames, interposing interrogations and demands, or otherwise moove doubts or make oppositions as he speaketh, are troublesome and unfortunat hearers, such as be unfociable and accord not with an auditors; who besides that they receive no profit themselves, disturbe both the speaker and the speech also. But in case the partie that standeth *ad oppositum*, doe of himselfe will and pray his auditors to aske him questions and to propoof what they will, then they ought to propound such demands as be either necessarie or profitable. *Pliffes* verily in *Homer* was mocked by the wooers of his wife, because

*He calld for shieves of bread to eat,  
And not for swords or cantrons near.*

For it was reputed a signe of magnanimity to demand, as well as to give things of great price and value. Much more then might a man deride and laugh at the auditor, who will moove unto a Master or Doctour of the Chaire; trifling, frivolous and fruitlesse questions, as otherwhiles some of these young men do: who taking pleasure to vaunt themselves, and to shew what great schollers they are in Logicke or the Mathematickes, are wont to put forth questions as touching the sections of things indefinite: also, what be littrell motions or Diametricall? Vnto whom a man may verie well answer as *Philotimus* the Phisitian did unto one that had a supuration in his chift, and by reason of an inward ulcer of his lungs was in a consumption, who comming to him for counsell, desired that he would give him a medicine for a little whit-flow growing about the roote of his naile: but *Philotimus* perceiving by his colour and shortnes of winde in what case he was; My good friend (quoth he) you have no such need of a cure for your whit-flow, you may hold your peace well enough at this time for any danger there: Even so, it may be said unto one of these young men; There is no time now to thinke or dispute upon such questions, but rather by what meanes you may be freed from presumptuous overweening of yourselfe, from pride and arrogance, from wanton love and foolish toies: that you may be settled in a sound state of life, devoid of vanitie. Moreover, this young man is to have a good eie and regard unto the sufficiency of the speaker, whether it be by naturall inclination, or gotten by experience and practise, and accordingly to frame and direct his questions in those points wherein he is most excellent: and in no wise to force him who is well read and studious.



died in Morall Philosophie, to answer unto Physical or Mathematicall questions: or him that is better scene in Natural Philosophy to draw unto Logick, for to give his judgment of Hypothetical propositions & to resolve them: or to move the knots & make solution of false Syllogisms, Elenches sophisticall and such fallacies. For like as one that would goe about to cleave wood with a key, or unlocke a doore with an axe, seemeth not so much to doe hurt unto those instruments, as to deprive himselfe of the proper use and commoditie as well of the one as the other; Even so, they that require of a Speaker that which he is not apt unto by nature, or wherein he is not well practised, & will not reape, gather & take that which willingly commeth from him, and wherewith he is able to furnish them, are not only hurt therein, but incur the name and blame of a pievish, froward and malicious nature. Furthermore this heed would be taken, not to over-  
lay him with many questions, nor oftentimes to urge him therewith. For this bewraith one, that in some sort loveth to heare himselfe speake and would be scene: whereas, when another doth propose a question to give attentive care, and that with mildnes and patience, is a signe of a studious person, and one that knoweth well how to behave himselfe in companie, and can abide that others should learne as well as he: unlesse perhaps some private and particular occurrent do urge the contrarie, or some passion do hinder, which had neede to be itaied and repressed, or else some maladie and imperfection which requirith remedie. For peradventure as *Heracles* saith, it were not good for one to hide and conceale his owne ignorance, but to let it appeere and be knowne, and so to cure it. But say, that some fit of choler, some assault of scrupulous superstition, or some violent quarell and jarre with one household and kinsfolke, or some furious passion proceeding from wanton lust,

*Which doth the secret heart springs move,  
That earst were never stir'd with love,*

trouble our understanding, and put it out of tune, we ought not for the avoiding of a reproofe, to flie for refuge to other matters, and interrupt the discourse begun, but be desirous to heare of such things, even in open places of exercises; and after the exercise or lecture done, to take the Philosophers or Readers aside, and confesse with them, to be further informed: not as many doe, who are well enough contented to heare Philosophers speake of others, and have them therefore in great admiration: but if it chance that a Philosopher leave other men, and turne his speech to them apart, to tell them freely and boldly what he thinketh, admonishing and putting them in minde of such things as do concerne them, then they are in a chafe, then they say he speakes besides the text and more then needs. For of this opinion are these men, That wee are to heare Philosophers in Schooles for pastime, as plaiers of Tragedies in a Theatre upon the Stage: As for other matters out of the Schoole, they holde them no better men than themselves: and to say a trueth, good reason have they so to deeme of Sophisters, who are no sooner out of their chaires, or come downe from off the pulpit, and when their books, and pettie introductions are laid out of their hands, but in other serious actions and parts of this life to be dis-  
courted of, a man shall finde them as raw as other, and nothing better skilled than the vulgar sort. But to come unto those Philosophers indeed, who worthily are so to be called and esteemed, ignorant are such persons above rehearsed, that their words (be they spoken in earnest or in game) their becks, their nods, their countenance, whether it be composed to smiling or to frowning, but principally their words directed privately to every one a part, be all significant, and cary some fruit commodious to those that with patience will give them leave to speake, and are willing and used to hearken unto them.

As concerning the praises which we are to attribute unto them for their eloquence and well speaking, there would in this dutie some wise caution & meane be used: for that in this case, neither overmuch nor too little is commendable & honest. And verily that scholar, who seemeth not to be moved or touched with any thing that he heareth, is a heave and unsupportable auditor, full of a secret presumptuous opinion of himselfe, conceited inwardly of his owne sufficiency, of an inbred selfe-love and aptnesse to speake much of his owne doings, shewing evidently that he thinketh he can speake better than that which hath bene delivered: In regard whereof, he never stirs brow any way decently, he uttereth not a word to testifie that he heareth willingly and with contentment: but by a certaine forced silence, affected gravitie, and counterfeited countenance, would purchase and winne unto himselfe the reputation of a staid man, of a profound and deepe clerke: and is as sparie of his praises, as of his purse and money in it, imagining that they bid him losse, who would have him part with any one jot thereof; as if he robbed himselfe of so much as he imparted to another. For many there be who misconstrue & interpret

in ill sense one sentence of *Pythagoras*, when he saith, That he had gotten this fruit by the studie of Philosophie, namely, to have nothing in admiration. And these men are of this opinion, that because they are not to admire, praise, and honor others, therefore they must despise and dispraise them, and by the disdain and contempt of others they thinke themselves to seeme grave and venerable. For reason Philosophicall, although it rejecteth that wonder and admiration which proceedeth of doubt or ignorance, for that it knoweth the cause of everie thing, and is able to discourse thereof; yet for all that it condemneth not courtisie, magnanimitie and humanitie. For certes unto such as truly and certainly are good, a right great honor it is to honour those that are worthie of honor: also for a man to adorne another is an excellent ornament proceeding from a superabundance (as it were) of glorie and honor which is in himselfe, voide of all envie and malice. Whereas those that be niggards in praising of another, seeme to be poore & bare themselves that way, & bewray how hungrie they be after their owne praises. Now on the contrarie side, he who without all judgement & discretion at everie word and syllable (in a manner) is ready to rise up & give acclamation, offendeth as much another way, being a man of levitie and inconstancie, oftentimes displeaseth even them that be the speakers, but alwaies is offensive and troublefome to other assistants about him: causing them to rise up effsoons & lift up themselves against their wils, drawing them perforce to do as they see him do, and even for verie shame and modestie, to set up some cries and acclamations with him for companie. Now after that he hath reaped no fruit nor edification by the oration that he hath heard, for that he had so troubled and disquieted the auditors by his unseasonable praises, he returneth from thence with one of these three additions to his stile: namely, either a Mocke, a Platterer, or a Blockhead, who understood not what was said. A judge I must needs say, when he sitteth upon the seat of Iustice to heare and determine causes, ought to give care unto both parties without hatred or favour, voide of all affection, and respectively onely to right and equitie. But in the auditories where learned men are met together, there is neither law nor oath hindereth us, but that we may heare him with favour and benevolence, who doth speake and discourse unto us. And even our ancients in old time were wont to place and set *Mercurie* in their temples neere unto the Graces, giving us thereby to know that above all things, a speech publickly delivered, requirith a gracious and friendly audience: for they never thought that the speaker would be such an outcast, or so farre short and insufficient; but if he were not able either to say somewhat of his owne invention praise worthy, or to report from ancients that which is memorable, or to deliver the subject matter of his speech together with his drift and intention, so as it deserved applaude: yet at leastwise, his eloquution and disposition of everie part might be commendable: for according to the old proverb,

*With Calbrap-thistles rough and keen,  
With prickly Reit-harrow,  
Close Scions faire and white are seen  
With soft walflores to grow.*

For if some to shew their wit, have taken upon them the praise of vomiting, others of fever, and some of a pot or caudron, and yet have not failed of favor and approbation: how can it otherwise be, but that the oration compassed by a grave personage, who in some sort is reputed, or at leastwise called a Philosopher, should minister unto benevolent, gracious and courteous Auditors some respite and opportunitie of time for to praise and commend the same? Al those that are in the flower and prime of their age, saith *Plato*, one way or other, do affect and move him that is enamoured on them: inso much as if they be white of colour, he calleth them the children of the gods: if blacke of hew, he termes them manly and magnanimous: be one hawke-nosed, such he nameth Roiall and of a kingly race: is he camoise or flat nosed, him he will have to be gentle, pleasant and gracious: and to conclude, looketh one pale & yellow, then to cover and mollifie in some sort that ill colour, he useth to call him Hony-face: and every one of these defects, he loveth and embraceth as severall beauties: For in love is no lacke, and of this nature it is to clasp and cleave to every thing that it can reach or meet withall, in manner of Ivy; much more then will he that is a studious scholar & a diligent hearer, find alwaies one thing or other, for which he may seeme worthily to praise any one that mounteth up into the chaire for to declaime or discourse. For even *Plato* himselfe, who in the oration of *Lyfias* commended not the invention; and as for the disposition thereof, utterly found fault therewith as disorderly and confused: yet he praised his stile and eloquution, & gave this attribute unto it, that every word was perspicuous and lightfome, and withall ran round, as if they all had bene artificiallie wrought

wrought with the Turners instrument. A man that were so disposed, may seeme in reason to reprove in *Archylous* the argument and subject matter: in *Parmenides* the composition of his verses: in *Phocylides*, the meane and homely matter: the loquacity of *Euripides*; and the inequality or uneven stile of *Sophocles*: After which sort, you shall have among Oratours and Rhetoricians, one who cannot expresse the naturall disposition of a man, another who hath no power in resembling passions & affections, and another againe who faileth in gracie and yet each one of them commendable enough for some particular and especiall gift, either to moove or to delight. In which regard, the hearers also, may find sufficient matter & pleasure enough to gratifie and content if they list, those that speake and make orations to them. For some of them is sufficient although we do not testifie our good liking of them by lively and open voice, to give them a favourable regard of the eie, to shew them a milde and gentle visage, a cheerefull looke, an amiable disposition of the countenance, without any signe of sadnes and heaviness. And verily, these things are grown now to be so common and ordinary, that we can afford them even to those who speake but so fo and to no purpose at all; inso much, as every auditive can skill thereof: But to sit still modestly in his place without any token of disdain; to beare the body upright, leaning neither one way nor other; to fixe the eie wistly upon him that speaketh; to shew a forward gesture, as if one gave great attention and marked every word seriously; to set and dispose the countenance plaine, pure and simple, without any signification at all, not onely of contempt or discontentment, but also of all other cares and thoughts whatsoever, be evident tokens of approbation, and tend all thereto. For, as in every thing els, beaute and fauour is composed and framed (as it were) of many numbers meeting and concurring in one, and all together at the same time, and that by a certaine symmetricke, consonance and harmonie: but that which is foule and ill fauoured, is bred immediately by the least thing in the world, that either is wanting, or added and put to absurdly, otherwise than it should; even so we may notably observe in this action of hearing, not onely the knitting and bending of the browes, or the heaue cheere of the visage, a crooked aspect and wandring cast of the eye, a writhing away or turning about of the bodie, an undecient change of the thighes crosse one over another: but a very nod of the head, or winke of the eye alone, the whispering or rounding one of another in the eare, a bare smile, gapings, and drowfie yawnings, as if a man were ready to drop asleepe: finally, the hanging downe of the head, and whatsoever gestures of that sort, wee are countable for as fault woorthy, and they would be carefully taken heed of. Howbeit, there be some of this opinion, that the speaker indeed ought to looke unto himselfe and his behaviour when hee is aloft; but the hearers beneath need not. They would (I say) have him who is to make a speech in publicke place, to come well prepared, and with diligent praemeditation of that which he ought to say; but as for the hearers, they have no more to doe but to take their places, without any forethinking of the matter, without any care and regard at all of duetie and demeanour after they be set, as if they were come to a very supper, and nothing els, there to take their repast or ease themselves, whiles others take paine and travell. And yet a guest that goeth to suppe with another, hath something to doe and observe when he sits at the table, if hee would be thought civill and manerly: how much more then, in all reason, is an auditour bound so to do, who is to heare another speake. For he is partaker with him of his speech, yea, and by right, a coadjutor of him: he ought not then, to examine rigourously his faults escaped; hee is not to sift narrowly, and weigh in severe ballance each word of his, and every gesture; whiles hee himselfe (exempt from censure and controllment, and without feare of being espied and searched into) committeth many enormities, unseemly parts, and incongruities in hearing. For like as at Tennis play, he that receiveth the ball, ought in the stirring and motion of his bodie to accommodate himselfe handsonely and in order to his fellow that smit it; even so betweene the speaker and the hearer, if both of them observe their duetie and decency, there would be a mutual and reciprocal proportion. Now in yielding praises unto the Reader or Speaker, we must not inconsiderately, use all manner of termes and acclamations without discretion: For *Epicurus* himselfe is not well liked, but odious, when he saith, That upon the reading of any letters missive from his friends unto him, they that were about him did set up excessive outcries and applauses, with troublesome clapping of their hands. And verily those who bring in now adaves into the auditive uncooth and strange noises by way of acclamation; they also who have brought up these termes: O heavenly and divine speech; The voice of God & not of man, uttered by his mouth; and, Who is able to come neere unto him? as though it were not sufficient, simply thus to say; O well said, Wisely spoken, or, Truly delivered; which were the testimonies and signes of

praise

praise which *Plato*, *Socrates*, and *Hyperides* used in old time) such men, I say, doe highly offend, and passe the bounds of decency exceeding much: nay, they doe traduce and abuse the speakers themselves, as though they did hunt after, and lay for such excessive and proud commendations. Those also be odious and unpleasant, who as if they were in some judiciall Court, depose and give formal testimony as touching the honour of the speakers, and binde the same with an oath: neither be they in lesse fault, who without regard of the qualitie of persons, doe accommodate unto them their titles of praise beside all decorum: As for example, when they be ready to crie aloud unto a Philosopher, O quicke and witty saying! and unto an olde man, O what a brave and jolly speech is this! transferring and applying unto Philosophers those words and termes that ordinarily are used or attributed to plaicers, or such as exercise and shew themselves in scholasticall declamations: and to a serious and sober oration, giving a praise more becoming a light and wanton courtisan: which is as much, as if upon the head of a victorious champion, they should set a garland of lillies or roses, and not of the lawrell or wilde olive tree. *Euripides* verily, the Poet, when one overheard him as he prompted and ended unto the actors or persons in the *Chorus*, a certaine song set to muscical harmonie, and therewith laughed heartilie whiles he instructed them in fingering the same; If thou wert not (quoth hee) some blockish and senselesse dolt, thou wouldest never laugh when I sing a heavy mixt-Lyidian tune, or a note to a dumpe or dolefull dittie. Semblably, a grave Philosopher, and a man exercised in managing State affaires, might very well in mine advice, cut off, and repress the delicate insolvency of some auditour, over wantonly disposed to mirth and jolity, by saying thus unto him; Thou seemest unto me a brainfick fellow, & untaught for otherwise whiles I am teaching, preaching, and reproofing vices, discourfing and reading of policie and the administration of Common weale, of the nature of the gods, or the duetie of a Magistrate, thou wouldest neither daunce thus and sing as thou doest. For consider with me in truth, what a disorder is this. That when a Philosopher is in the Schoole at his lecture reading, they within should keepe a crying and howling, and make such noises, as they that be without can not tell whether it be some piper, harper, or dauncer that they thus do praise, such a confused brute they make within. Moreover, we ought not to heare the reprehensions, rebukes, and corrections of Philosophers, recklessly without sense of griefe and displeasure, nor yet unmanly: for they that can so well abide to be reprooved or blamed by a Philosopher, and make nothing adoe at it, inso much as when they be found fault withall, they fall a laughing, or can finde in their hearts to praise those that do reprehend them, much like unto those flattering Parasites, who are content to extoll and commend their good masters that give them their meat and drinke, notwithstanding they be reviled and taunted by them: these fellows (I say) of all others, be most rash, audacious and bolde, shewing thereby their shamelesse impudencie, which is no good nor true argument of courage and fortitude. As for a pretie scoffe pleasantly delivered, and in mirth, without any wrong meant, or touch of credit, if a man know how to take it well, and be not moved thereby to choler and displeasure, but laugh it out, it doth argue no base minde, nor want of wit and understanding, but is a liberall and gentleman-like qualitie, favouring much of the ingenious maner of the Lacedaemonians.

But to heare a sharpe checke that toucheth the very quicke, and a reprehension to reforme manners, delivered in cutting and tart words, much like unto an egar and biting medicine, and therewith not to be cast downe, and shrinke together for feare, nor to run all into a sweat, or be ready to reele and stagger with a diziness in the head, for very shame that hath set the heart on fire, but to seeme inflexible and nothing thereat moved, smiling in some sort, and drily scoffing after a dissembling maner, is a notable signe of a most dissolute and illiberall nature, past all grace, and that batheth for nothing, being so long wonted and inured to euill doing; in such sort, as the heart and conscience is hardened and overgrown with a certaine brawne and thicke skinne, which will not receive the marke or wale of any lash, be it never so sinfull. And as there be many such, so you shall meet with other youtnes of another nature meere contrary unto them; who if they happen but once to be checked and to heare ill, are soone gone, and will not turne againe, but quit the Philosophic schooles for ever. These being endued by nature with the good rudiments and beginnings of vertue tending unto felicity another day, to wit, Shamefastnesse and Abashtment, loose the benefit thereof, in that by reason of their overmuch delicacy and effeminate minds, they can not abide reproofs, nor with generousie endure correctious, but turne away their itching eares, to heare rather the pleasant and smooth tales of some flatterers or sophisters, which yeld them no fruit nor profit at all in the end. For as hee, who after incision made, or the fear of dismembring performed by the Chyrurgian, runneth away from him, and

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will

will not tary to have his wound bound up or feared, withstandeth all the paine of the cure, but misseeth the good that might ensue thereof: even so he, who unto that speech of the Philosophier which hath wounded and launced his follie and untowardnesse, will not give leasure to heale the same up, and bring it to a perfect & confirmed skin againe, goeth his waies with the painfull bit and dolorous sting, but wanteth all the helpe and benefit of Philosophie. For not onely the hurt that *Telephus* received, as *Euripides* saith,

*By skales of rust bosh ease and remedie found,  
Fild from the speare that first did make the wound.*

but also the pricke inflicted upon a towardly yooing man by Philosophie, is healed by the same words that did the hurt. And therefore when hee findeth himselfe checked and blamed, feelle he must and suffer some smart, abide (I say) he ought to be bitten, but not to be crushed and confounded therewith, not to be discouraged and dismaide for ever. Thus he is to thinke of himselfe being now inducted in Philosophie, as if he were a novice newly instituted and professed in some religious orders and sacred myteries: namely, that after he hath patiently endured a while the first expiatorie purifications and troubles, he may hope at the end thereof to see and finde some sweete and goodly fruit of consolation, after this present disquietnesse and agonie. Say also, that he were wrongfully and without cause thus snubbed and rebuked by the Philosophier, yet he shall do well to have patience and sit out the end. And after the speech finished, he may adresse an Apologie unto him and iustifie himselfe, praying him to reserve this libertie of speech and vehemency of reproofe which he now used, for to repress and redresse some other fault, which he shall indeed have committed. Moreover, like as in Grammar, the learning to spel letters and to reade: in Musicke also to play upon the Lute or Harpe; yea and in bodily exercise, the feat of wrestling and other activities, at the beginning be painefull, cumbersome, and exceeding hard, but after that one be well entred and have made some progresse therein, by little and little continuall use and custome (much after the manner of conversing and acquaintance among men) maketh maiestrie, engendreth further knowledge, and then everie thing that was strange and difficult before, prooveth familiar and easie ynowh both to say and doe. Even so, it fareth in Philosophie, whereth the first there seemeth no doubt to be some strangenesse, obscuritie, and I wot not what barrennesse, as well in the termes and words, as in the matters therein contained: Howbeit, for all that a yooing man must not for want of heart be astonied at the first entrance into it, nor yet for faintnesse be discouraged and give over: but make proofe and triall of every thing, persevere and continue in diligence, desirous ever to passe on still and proceed further, and as it were, to draw well before, waiting and attending the time which may make the knowledge thereof familiar by use and custome, the onely meanes which causeth everie thing that is of itselfe good and honest, to be also sweete and pleasant in the ende. And verily this familiaritie will come on apace, bringing with it a great cleernesse and light of learning: it doth ingenerate also an ardent love and affection to vertue, without which love, a man were most wretched or timorous, if he should apply himselfe to follow another course of life, having once given over for want of heart the studie of Philosophie. But peradventure it may fall out so, that young men not well experienced, may find at the beginning such difficulties in some matters that hardly or unneth at all they shall be able to comprehend them. Howbeit, they are themselves partly the cause that they doe incur this obscuritie and ignorance: who being of divers and contrarie natures, yet fall into one and the selfesame inconvenience. For some upon a certaine respectful reverence which they bare unto their Reader and Doctour, or because they would seeme to spare him, are afraid to aske questions, and to be confirmed and resolved in doubts arising from the doctrine which he delivereth: and so give signes by nodding their heads that they approve all, as if they understood everie thing verie well. Others againe by reason of a certaine importune ambition and vaine emulation of others, for to shew the quicknesse and promptitude of their wit, and their readie capacite, giving out that they fully understand that which they never conceived, by that meanes attaine to nothing. And thus it cometh to passe, that those bashfull ones, who for modestie and shamesfastnes are silent and dare not aske that wherof they are ignorant, after they be departed out of the auditorie, are in heavinesse and doubtfull perplexitie, untill at last they be driven of necessitie with greater shame to trouble those who have once already delivered their doctrine, to runne (I say) unto them backe againe and moove questions anew. And as for these ambitious, bold and presumptuous persons they be forced to palliat, cover and disguise their ignorance and blindnes which abideth with them for ever. Therefore casting behinde us and rejecting all such stupiditie and

vanitie;

vanitie; let us take paines and endeavour howsoever we do, to learne and thoroughly to comprehend, all profitable discourses that shall be taught unto us: and for to effect this, let us be content gently to beare the scoffes and derisions of others, that thinke themselves quicker of conceit than our selves: according to the example of *Cleanthes* and *Xenocrates*, who being for what more grosse and dull of capacite than others their school-fellowes, ran not therefore away from schoole, nor were any whit discouraged, but the first that scoffed and made sport with themselves, saying they were like unto narrow mouthed vessels and brazen tables, for that they hardly conceived any thing that was taught them, but they retained and kept the same faste and surely when they had it once: for not onely as *Phocylides* saith,

*Who seeks in the end for goodnes: and for praise,*

*Meane while must be deceived many waies.*

but also to suffer himselfe to be mocked oftentimes and to endure much reproch, to abide broad jests and skurrie scoffes: expelling ignorance with all his might and maine: yea, and conquering the same.

Moreover, we must be carefull to avoide one fault more, which many commit on the contrarie side; who for that they be somewhat slow of apprehension and idle withall, are verie troublesome unto their teachers, and importune them overmuch: when they be apart by themselves, they will not take any paines nor labour to understand that which they have heard; but they put their masters to new travell, who reade unto them: asking and enquiring of them ever and anon concerning one and the same thing, resembling herein yooing callow birds which are not yet feathered and fledg'd, but alwaies gaping toward the bill of the damme, and so by their good wils would have nothing given them, but that which hath beene chewed and prepared already. Now there be others yet, who desirous beyond all reason to be counted quick of wit and attentive hearers, weare their masters even as they are reading unto the, with much prittle prattle, interrupting them everie foot in their lectures, demanding of them one thing or other that is needlesse and impertinent, calling for proofs and demonstrations of things where no need is:

*Thus they much paines for little sake,*

*And of short way long journeyes make.*

According as *Sophocles* said, making much worke, not onely for themselves, but also for others: For staying their teacher thus as they doe everie foote with their vaine and superfluous questions, as if they were walking together upon the way, they hinder the course of the lecture, being so often interrupted and broken off. These fellows then according to the saying of *Hierom*, in this doing are much like to cowardly & dastardly curie dogs, which, when they be at home within house, will bite the hides and skines of wilde beasts, and lie rugging at their shagged haire: but they dare not touch them abroad in the field. Furthermore, I would give those others, who are but soft spirited and slow withall, this counsell that retaining the principall points of everie matter, they supplie the rest apart by themselves, exercising their memorie, and as it were leading it by the hand to all that dependeth thereon: to the end that when they have conceived in their spirit the words of others, as it were the elementarie beginning and the verie seede, they might nourish and augment the same: For that the minde and understanding of man is not of the nature of a vessel that requireth to be filled up: but it hath neede onely of some match (if I may so say) to kindle and set it on fire (like as the matter standeth ever in need of the efficient cause) which may ingender in it a certaine inventive motion, and an affection to finde out the truth. Well then, like as if a man going to his neighbour for to fetch fire, and finding there good store, and the same burning light in the chimney, should sit him downe by it and warme himselfe continually thereat, and never make care to take some of it home with him, you would take him to be unwill: even so he, that cometh to another for to learne, and thinketh not that he ought to kindle his owne fire within and make light in his owne minde, but taketh pleasure in hearing onely, and there stireth by his master still, and joyeth onely in this contentment: he may well get himselfe a kind of opinion by the words of another, like a fresh and red colour by sitting by the fire side: but as for the mosse or rust of his minde within, he shall never skoure it out, nor disperse the darkenes by the light of Philosophie.

Now if there be neede yet of one precept more to achieve the dutie of a good auditor, it is this, That we ought to remember oftsoones that which now I have to say: namely, That we exercise our wit and understanding by our selves, to invent something of our owne, as well as to comprehend that which we heare of others: to the end that we may acquire within our selves a certaine habitude, not sophistical nor historical, that is to say, apparant onely, and able to

recite barely that which we have been taught by others, but a more inwardly imprinted and philosophical, making this account, that the verie beginning of a good life is to heare well and as we ought.



## OF MORALL VERTUE.

### The Summarie.



*B*efore he entresh into the discourse of vertues and vices, he treateth of Morall vertue in generall: proponing in the first place the diversitie of opinions of Philosophers as touching this point: the which he discusseth and examineth: Wherein after that he had begun to dispute concerning the composition of the soule, he adjoyneth his owne opinion touching that propertie, which Morall vertue hath particularly by it selfe, as also wherein it differeth from contemplative Philosophie. Then having defined the Mediocritie of this vertue, and declared the difference betweene Continence and Temperance, he speaketh of the impression of reason in the soule. And by this meanes addresseth himselfe against the Stoicks, & disputeth concerning the affections of the soule: proving the inequality therein, with such a refutation of the contrarie objections, that after he had taught how the reasonlesse part of the soule, ought to be managed, he discovereth by divers similitudes and reasons; the absurdities of the said Stoicke Philosophers, who instead of well governing and ruling the soule of man, have as much as lieth in them, extinguished and abolished the same.

## OF MORALL VERTUE.



*M*y purpose is to treat of that vertue, which is both called and also reputed Morall, and namely wherein it differeth especially from vertue contemplative: as having for the subject matter thereof, the passions of the minde, and for the forme, Reason: Likewise of what nature and substance it is; as also, how it doth subsist and hath the Being: to wit, whether that part of the soule which is capable of the said vertue be endited and adorned with reason as appropriate and peculiar unto it; or, whether it borrow it from other parts, & so receiving it, be like unto things mingled, and adhering to the better: or rather, for that being under the government and rule of another, it be said to participate the power and puissance of that which commendeth it? For; that vertue also may subsist and have an essentiall being, without any subject matter and mixture at all, I suppose it is very evident and apparent. But first and foremost, I hold it very expedient, briefly to run through the opinions of other Philosophers, not so much by way of an Historical narration and so an end, as, that when they be once shewed and laid abroad, our opinion may both appeere more plainly, and also be held more surely.

*Menedemus* then, who was borne in the citie *Eretria*, abolished all pluralitie and difference of vertues, supposing that there was but one onely vertue, and the same known by sundry names: 50 For he said, that it was but one and the same thing, which men called Temperance, Fortitude, and Iustice: like as if one should say, A Reasonable creature and a man; he meaneth the selfe same thing. As for *Ariston* the Chian, he was of opinion likewise, that in substance there was no more but one vertue, the which he termed by the name of Health: many, in some divers respects, there were many vertues, and those different one from another: as namely for example, if a man should call our eye-sight, when it beholdeth white things *Leucothea*: when it seeth black *Melanthea*: and so likewise in other matters. For vertue, (quoth he) which concerneth and considereth

considereth what we ought either to do or not to do, beareth the name of Prudence: when it ruleth and ordereth our lust or concupiscence, limiting out a certaine measure, and lawfull proportion of time unto pleasures, it is called Temperance: if it intermedle with the commerce, contracts and negotiation betweene man and man, then it is named Iustice: like as (to make it more plaine) a knife is the same still, although it cut, now one thing, and then another: and the fire notwithstanding it worketh upon sundry matters, yet it remaineth alwaies of one and the same nature. It seemeth also, that *Zeno* the Citiean, inclined in some sort to this opinion, who in defining Prudence, saith, that when it doth distribute to every man his owne, it ought to be called Iustice when it is occupied in objects either to be chosen or avoided, then it is Temperance; and in bearing or suffering, it should be named Fortitude. Now, they that defend and mainteine this opinion of *Zeno*, affirme, that by Prudence he understandeth Science or Knowledge. But *Chrysippus*, who was of this minde, that each vertue had a peculiar qualitie, and according to it, ought to be defined and set downe, wilt not how (ere he was aware) he brought into Philosophie, and as *Plato* saith, raised a swarme of vertues never knowne before, and where-with the schooles had not beene acquainted. For like as of Valiant he derived Valour, of Iust Iustice, of Clement Clemencie: so also of Gracious, he comes in with Gratiostie, of Good, Goodnes, of Great, Greatnesse, of Honest, Honestie, and all other such like Dexterities, affabilities and courtesies, he termed by the name of vertues, and so pestered Philosophie with new, strange and absurd words, more wis than was needfull.

Now these Philosophers agree jointly all in this, that they set downe vertue to be a certaine disposition and power of the principall part of the soule, acquired by reason: or rather, that it is reason it selfe: and this they suppose as a truth confessed, certaine, firme and irrefragable. They hold also, that the part of the soule, subject to passions, sensually, brutish and unreasonable, differeth not from reason by any essentiall difference, or by nature: but they imagine, that the very part and substance of the soule which they call understanding, reason, and the principal part, being wholly turned and changed, as well in sodaine passions, as alterations by habitude and disposition, becometh either vice or vertue, and in it selfe hath no brutishnesse at all: but is named onely unreasonable, according as the motion of the appetite and lust is so powerfull, that it becometh mistresse, and by that meanes she is driven and caried forcibly to some dishonest and absurd course, contrary to the judgement of reason: For they would have that very motion or passion it selfe to be reason, howbeit depraved and naught, as taking her force and strength from false and perverse judgement. Howbeit, all these (as it may seeme) were ignorant of this one point; namely, that each one of us (to speake truly) is double and compound: And as for one of these duplicities, they never thoroughly saw; that onely which is of the twaine more evident, to wit, the mixture or composition of the soule and body they acknowledge. And yet, that there is besides a certaine duplicitie in the soule it selfe, which consisteth of two divers and different natures: and namely, that the brutish and reasonles part, in manner of another bodie is combined and knit into reason by a certaine naturall linke of necessitie: It seemeth that *Pythagoras* himselfe was not ignorant: And this we may undoubtedly gather and conjecture by his great diligence which he employed in that Musicke and Harmonie which he inferred for the dulcing, taining & appeasing of the soule: as knowing full well, that all the parts thereof were not obedient and subject to instruction, learning and discipline, ne yet such as might by reason be altered and trained from vice to vertue: but required some other kinde of perswasive power cooperative with it, for to frame the same and make it gentle and tractable: for otherwise it would be hardly or never conquered by Philosophie, and brought within the compasse of obedience; so obdinate and rebellious it is. And *Plato* verily was of this opinion (which he professed openly, and held as a firme and vndoubted truth) that the soule of this universall world, is not simple, uniforme, and uncompounded, but mixed (as it were) of a certaine power of Identitie and of Diversity. For after one sort, it is governed and turned about continually in an uniforme manner, by means of one and the same order, which is powerfull and predominant over all: and after another sort againe, it is divided into circles, spheres, and motions, wandering and contrary in maner to the other: whereupon dependeth the beginning of diversitie in generation of all things in the earth. Semblably (quoth he) the soule of man, being a part and portion of that universall soule of the world, composed likewise of proportions and numbers answerable to the other, is not simple and of one nature or affection, but one part thereof is more spirittuall, intelligible and reasonable, which ought of right and according to nature have the soveraigntie and command in man: the other is brutish, sensually, erroneous, and disorderly

of it selfe, requiring the direction and guidance of another. Now, this is subdivided againe into other two parts; whereof the one is alwaies called Corporall or Vegetative; the other Thy-mocides, as one would say, Irascible and Concupiscible; which one while doeth adhere and stick close to the foresaid grosse and corporall portion: and otherwhiles to the more pure and spirituall part, which is the Discourse of reason; unto which according as it doth frame and apply it selfe, it giveth strength and vigor thereto. Now the difference betweene the one and the other, may be knowne principally by the fight and resistance that often times is betweene understanding and reason on the one side, and the concupiscence and wrathfull part on the other; which sheweth that these other faculties are often disobedient and repugnant to the best part. And verily, *Aristotle* used these principles and grounds especially above all others at the first, 10 as appeareth by his writings: but afterwards, he attributed the irascible part unto the concupiscible, confounding them both together in one, as if ire were a concupiscence or desire of revenge. Howbeit, this he alwaies held to the very end, That the brutish and sensuall part, which is subject unto passions, was wholly and ever distinct from the intellectuall part, which is the same that reason: not that it is fully deprived of reason, as is that corporall and grosse part of the soule, to wit, whereby we have sense onely common with beasts, and whereby we are nourished as plants. But whereas, this being furd and deafe, and altogether incapable of reason, doth after a sort preceed and spring from the flesh, and alwaies cleave unto the bodie: the other sensuall part which is so subject unto passions, although it be in it selfe destitute of reason, as a thing proper unto it: yet nevertheless apt and fit it is to heare and obey the understanding and dis- 20 coursing part of the minde; insonmuch as it will turne vnto it, suffer it selfe to be ranged and ordered according to the rules and precepts thereof; unless it be utterly spoiled and corrupted, either by blinde and foolish pleasure, or els by a loose and intemperate course of life. As for them that make a wonder at this, and do not conceive how that part being in some sort brutish and unreasonable, may yet be obedient unto reason, they seeme unto me as if they did not well comprehend the might and power of reason: namely, how great it is, and forcible, or how farre forth it may pearce and passe in command, guidance and direction; not by way of rough, chur- 30 lith, violent, and irregular courses, but by faire and formall meanes, which are able to doe more by gentle inducements and persuasions, than all the necessarie constraints and inforcements in the world. That this is so, it appeareth by the breath, spirits, sinewes, bones, and other parts of the body, which be altogether void of reason: howbeit, so soone as there ariseth any motion of the will, which shaketh (as it were) the reins of reason never so little, all of them keepe their order, they agree together, and yeeld obedience. As for example, if the minde and will be disposed to run, the feet are quickly stretched out and ready for a course; the hands likewise settle to their businesse, if there be a motion of the minde either to throw, or take holde of any thing. And verily, the Poet *Homer* most excellently expresseth the sympathie and conformitie of this brutish part of the soule unto reason, in these verses;

*Thus wept the chaste Penelope,  
and drencht her lovely face  
With dreary teares, which from her eyes  
ran trickling downe apace  
For tender heart, bewailing sore  
the losse of husband deere,  
Vlysses bright, who was in place  
set by her side full neere.  
And he himselfe in soule, no lesse,  
dispirite for to see  
His best beloved thus to weepe:  
but wise and craftie he  
Kept in his teares: for why?  
his eyes within his lids were set  
As stiffe as yron and sturdy borne,  
one drop would they not shed.*

In such obedience to the judgement of reason he had his breath, spirits, his blood and his teares. An evident prooffe hereof is to be seene in those, whose flesh doth rise upon the first sight of faire and beautifull persons: for no sooner doth reason or law forbid to come neere and touch them, but presently the same falleth, lieth downe, and is quiet againe without any stirring or 40 panting

panting at all. A thing verie ordinarie and most commonly perceived in those, who be enamored upon faire women, not knowing at first who they were: For so soone as they perceive afterwards, that they be their owne sisters or daughters, their lust presently cooleth, by meanes of reason that toucheth it and interposeth it selfe betweene: so that the bodie keepeth all the members thereof decently in order, and obedient to the judgement of the said reason. Moreover, it falleth out oftentimes, that we eate with a good stomacke and great pleasure certaine meates and viands, before we know what they are: but after we understand and perceive once that we have taken either that which was uncleane or unlawfull and forbidden: not onely in our judgement and understanding we finde trouble and offence thereby; but also our bodily faculties a- 10 greeing to our opinion are dismaied thereat: so that anon, there ensue vomits, sicke quawmes, and overturnings of the stomacke, which disquiet all the whole frame. And were it not, that I greatly feared to be thought of purpose, to gather and insert in my discourse such pleasant and youthfull inducements, I could inferre in this place Plalteries, Lautes, Harpes, Pipes, Flutes, and other like muscicall instruments, how they are devised by Art, for to accord and frame with humane passions: for notwithstanding they be altogether without life, yet they cease not to apply themselves unto us, and the judgement of our minds, lamenting, singing, and wantonly disposing together with us, resembling both the turbulent passions, and also the milde affections and dispositions of those that play upon them. And yet verily it is reported alio of *Zeno* himselfe, that he went one day to the Theatre for to heare the Musician *Anabius*, who sung unto the 20 Harpe: saying unto his scholers, Let us goe Sirs and learne what harmonic and musick the entrails of beasts, their sinewes and bones: Let us see (I say) what resonance and melodie bare wood may yeeld, being disposed by numbers, proportions and order. But leaving these examples, I would gladly demand and aske of them, if when they see dogs, horses, and birds, which we nourish and keepe in our houses, brought to that passe by use, feeding and teaching, that they learne to render sensible words, to performe certaine motions, gestures, and divers leaces, both pleasant and profitable unto us; and likewise, when they read in *Homer*, how *Achilles* encouraged to battell both horse and man; they doe marvell still and make doubt, whether that part and facultie in us, whereby we are angrie, do lust, joy or grieve, be of that nature that it can well obey reason, and be so affected and disposed thereby that it may give assent thereto: confi- 30 dering especially, that it is not seated or lodged without, nor separated from us, ne yet framed by any thing which is not in us: no nor shapen by forcible meanes and constraint, to wit, by mold, stroke of hammer, or any such thing: but as it is fitted and forged by nature, so it keepeth to her, is conversant with her, and finally persited and accomplished by custome and continuance. Which is the reason that verie properly Manners be called in Greeke by the name *ethos*, to give us to understand, that they are nothing else (to speake plainly and after a grosse manner) but a certaine qualitie imprinted by long continuance of time, in that part of the soule which of it selfe is unreasonable: and is named *ethos*, for that the said reasonlesse part framed by reason, taketh this qualitie or difference (call it whether you will) by the meanes of long time and custom which they terme *ethos*. For reason is not willing to roote out quite all passions (which were nei- 40 ther possible nor expedient) but onely it doth limit them within certaine bounds, and setteth downe a kinde of order: and thus after a sort causeth Morall vertues not to be impossibilities, but rather mediocrities and regularities, or moderations of our affections: and this it doth by the meanes of prudence and wisdom, which reduceth the power of this sensuall and pathetick part, unto a civill and honest habitude. For these three things (they say) are in the soule of man, to wit, a naturall puissance or facultie, a passion or motion, and also an habitude. Now the said facultie or power is the verie beginning, and (as a man would say) the matter of passions, to wit, the power or aptnesse to be angrie, to be ashamed, or to be confident and bold. The passion is the actual mooving of the said power: namely, anger it selfe, shame, confidence or boldnes. The habitude is a settled and confirmed strength established in the sensuall or unreasonable 50 part by continuall use and custome: which if the passions be ill governed by reason, becometh to be a vice: and contrariwise, a vertue; in case the same be well ordered and directed thereby. Moreover, forasmuch as Philosophers do not hold and affirme, that everie vertue is a mediocritie nor call it Morall: to the end therefore, that we may the better declare and shew the difference, we had need to fetch the beginning of this discourse farther off.

Of all things then that be in the world, some have their essence and being of themselves absolutely and simply: others respectively and in relation to us. Absolutely have their being the earth, the heaven, the stars, and the sea: Respectively and in regard of us, Good, evil, profitable,



ble, hurtfull, pleasant, and displeasing. Now it being so, that reason doth contemplate and behold, the one sort as well as the other: the former ranke of those things which are simply and absolutely so, pertaine unto science and speculation, as their proper objects: the second kinde of those things which are understood by reference and regard unto us, pertaine properly unto consultation and action. And as the vertue of the former sort is called Sapience: so the vertue of the other is named Prudence. For a difference there is betwene Prudence and Sapience: in this, that Prudence consisteth in a certaine relation & application of the contemplative facultie of the soule unto Action, and unto the regiment of the sensuall part according to reason: by which occasion, Prudence had need of the assistance of Fortune: whereas Sapience hath nothing to do with it, no more than it hath need of consultation, for to attaine and reach unto the ende it aymeth at. For that indeed it concerneth such things as be ever one and alwaies of the same sort. And like as the Geometrician never consulteth as touching a triangle, to wit, whether it hath three angles equall to twaine that be right, or no? Because he knoweth assuredly that it hath (for all consultations are concerning things that varie and alter sometime after one sort, and otherwhiles after another, and never medleth with those that be firme, stable, and immutable) even so, the understanding and contemplative facultie of the minde, exercising her functions in those first and principall things which be permanent, and have evermore the same nature, not capable of change and mutation; is sequestred and exempt altogether from consultation. But Prudence which descendeth to things full of varietie, error, trouble, and confusion, must of necessitie crosse them intermedle with casualties, and use deliberation in things more doubtfull and uncertaine: yea and after it hath consulted to proceed unto action, calling and drawing unto it the reasonlesse part also to be assistant and present, as drawn into the judgement of things to be executed. For need those actions have of a certaine instinct and motion to set them forward, which this Morall habitude doth make in each passion, and the same instinct requireth likewise the assistance of reason to limit it that it may be moderate, to the ende that it neither exceed the meane, nor come short and be defective: for that it cannot be chosen but this brutish and passible part hath motions in it; some overvehement, quicke and sudden, others as slow againe, and more slacke than is meet. Which is the reason that our actions cannot be good but after one manner: whereas, they may be evill after divers sorts: like as a man cannot hit the marke but one way: marie he may misse sundrie waies, either by overshooting or coming short. The part and dutie then, of that active facultie of reason according to nature, is to cut off and take away all those excessive or defective passions, and to reduce them unto a mediocritie. For whereas the said instinct or motion, either by infirmities, effeminate delicacie, feare, or slothfulness, doth faile and come short of dutie and the end required, these active reason is present ready to rouse, excite, and stirre up the same. Again on the other side, when it runneth on end beyond all measure, after a dissolute and disorderly manner, these reason is prest, to abridge that which is too much, and to repress and stay the same: thus ruling and restraining these pathetical motions, it breedeth in man these Morall vertues whereof we speake, imprinting them in that reasonlesse part of the mind: and no other they are than a meane betwene excessive and defect. Neither must we thinke, That all vertues do consist in a mediocritie: for Sapience or Wisedome, which stand in no need at all of the brutish and unreasonable part, and consist onely in the pure and sincere intelligence and discourse of understanding, and not subject to all passions, is the verie height and excellencie of reason, perfect and absolute of it selfe: a full and accomplished power (I say) wherein is engendered that most divine, heavenly and happie knowledge. But Morall vertue which favourerth somewhat of the earth, by reason of the necessities of our bodie, and in which regard it standeth in neede of the instrumentall ministerie of the pathetical part, for to worke and performe her operations, being in no wise the corruption or abolition of the sensuall and unreasonable part of the soule, but rather the order, moderation and embellishment thereof, is the extremitie and height of excellencie, in respect of the facultie and qualitie: but considering the quantitie is rather a mediocritie, taking away the excessive on the one side and the defect on the other.

But now, forasmuch as this terme of Meane or Mediocrity may be understood diverse waies, we are to set downe what kinde of meane this Morall vertue is. First and formost therefore whereas there is one meane compounded of two simple extremes, as a russet or browne colour betwene white and blacke: also that which containeth and is contained, must needs be the midst betwene the thing that doth containe and is contained, as for example, the number of 8. is just betwene 1. 2. and 4. like as that, which taketh no part at all of either extreme, as

namely

namely those things which we call *Adiaphora*, Indifferent, and do partake neither good nor ill: In none of these significations or senses can this vertue be called a meane or mediocrity. For surely it may not be in any wise a composition or mixture of two vices which be both worse: neither doth it comprehend the lesse and defective: or is comprehended of that which is overmuch above decency, and excessive, ne yet is it altogether void of passions and perturbations, subject to excessive and defect, to more and lesse than is meet. But this morall vertue of ours, as it is in deed, so also it is called a Meane, especially in respect of that mediocrity which is observed in the Harmonie and accord of sounds. For like as in Musick there is a note or sound called the Meane, for that it is the middes betwene the treble and base, which in Greeke be called *Hypate* and *Nete*, and lieth just betwixt the height and loudnesse of the one, and the lownesse or baseness of the other: Even so, morall vertue being a motion and facultie about the unreasonable part of the soule, tempereth the remission and intention; and in one word taketh away the excessive and defect of the passions, reducing each of them to a certaine Mediocrity and moderation that falleth not on any side.

Now to begin with Fortitude, they say it is the meane between Cowardise & rash Audacity, of which twaine the one is a defect, the other an excessive of the yrefull passion. Liberalitie, betwene Niggardise & Prodigalitie: Clemencie & Mildnesse, betwene senselesse Indolence and Crueltie: Iustice, the meane of giving more or lesse than due, in contracts and affaires betwene menlike as Temperance, a mediocrity betwene the blockish stupiditie of the minde mooved with no touch of pleasure, & an unbridled looseness whereby it is abandoned to all sensuality. Wherein especially & most clearly is given us to understand & see the difference between the brutish & the reasonable part of the soule: & thereby evident it is that wandering passions be one thing, & reason another: for otherwise we should not discern Continencie from Temperance, nor Incontinencie from Intemperance, in pleasure and lusts, if that facultie of the mind whereby we judge, and that whereby we cover and desire were all one and the same: but now, Temperance is, when reason is able to manage, handle and govern the sensuall and passionate part (as if it were a beast brought up by hand and made tame and gentle, so as it will be readie to obey it in all desires and lusts, yea and willing to receive the bit) whereas Continencie is when reason doth rule and command concupiscence as being the stronger, and leadeth it, but not without some paines and trouble thereof, for that it is not willing to shew obedience, but striveth, flingeth out sidelong, & goeth crossed, inasmuch as it hath enough to do for to master it with stripes of the cudgell, and with hard bits of the bridle to hold it in and restraine it, whilst it resisteth all that ever it may, and putteth reason to much agonie, trouble and travail: which *Plato* doth lively represent unto us by a proper similitude, saying, that there be two draught beasts which draw the chariot of our soules, whereof the worst doth both winke and strive against the other fellow in the same yoke, and also troubleth the coachman or charioteer, who hath the conduct of them; putting him to his shifts that he is faine alwaies to pull in and hold his head hard, otherwhiles glad to let him slacke and give him the head for feare, as *Symonides* saith,

*Least that his purple reins full soone*

*out of his hands should slip anon.*

Thus you see what the reason is, why they do not vouchsafe Continencie, the name of a perfect vertue in it selfe, but thinke it to be lesse than vertue. For there is not in it a certaine mediocrity arising from the Symphonie and accord of the worst with the better: neither is the excessive of passion cut away, ne yet doth the appetite yeeld it selfe obedient and agreeable to reason: but doth trouble and vex, and is troubled and vexed reciprocally, being kept downe perforce and by constraint; like as in a seditious state, both parties at discord, intending mischief and warre one against another, dwell together within the precinct of one wall: inasmuch as the soule of a continent person for the height and variance betwene reason and appetite, may apply be compared as *Sophocles* saith unto a city,

*Which at one time is full of incesse sweete*

*Resounding mirth with loud triumphant song,*

*And yet the same doth yeeld in every streete*

*All signes of griefe, with plaints and groanes among.*

And hereupon it is also, that they hold Incontinencie to be lesse than Vice: many Intemperance they will have to be a full & compleat vice indeed: For that in it as the affection is ill, so the reason also is corrupt & depraved: and as by the one it is incited & led to the appetite of filthinesse & dishonestie, so by the other through perverse judgement it is induced to give consent unto dishonestie

dishonest lusts, and withall groweth to be senselesse & hath no feeling at all of finnes and faults which it comitteth: whereas Incontinencie retaineth still a right and sound judgement by means of reason: Howbeit through the vehement and violent passion which is stronger than reason, it is caried away against the owne judgement. Moreover, in these respects, it differeth from Intemperance: For that the reason of the incontinent person is overmatched with passion: but of the other, it doth not so much as enter combat therewith. He, albeit he contradict, gainsay, and strives a while, yet in the end yeeldeth unto lusts and followeth them; but the Intemperate man is led thereby, and at the first giveth consent, and approoveth thereof. Again, the Intemperate person is well content, and taketh joy in having sinned: whereas the other is presently grieved thereat. Again, he runneth willingly and of his owne accord to commit sinne and villanie; but the incontinent man, maugre and full against his minde doth abandon honestie. And as there is this distinct difference plainly scene in their deeds and actions, so there is no lesse to be observed in their words and speeches. For the sayings ordinarily of the Intemperate person be these and such like,

*What mirth in life, what pleasure what delights,  
Without content in sports of Venus bright?  
Were those joies past, and I for them unmeet,  
Ring out my knell, bring forth my winding sheet.*

Another faith,  
*To eat, to drinke, so merrily, are principall  
All pleasures else, I Accessories call.*

As if with all his hart and soule he were wholly given to a voluptuous life, yea and overwhelmed therewith. And no lesse than those, he also who hath these words in his mouth,

*Now suffer me to perish by and by  
It pleaseth me to booteth me to dy.*

speakech as one whose appetite and judgement both were out of order and diseased. But the speeches of Incontinent persons be in another key and farre different: For one faith,

*My mind is good and I her doth sway,  
My nature bad, and puts it away.*

Another,  
*Alas, alas, To see how Gods above  
have sent to men on earth this miserie  
To know their Good, and that which they should love  
yet wanting grace, to do the contrary!*

And a third,  
*Now plucks, now hales, of deadly gree a pre:  
but surely, hold my reason can no more:  
Tham anchor flanke stay ship from being split,  
when grounded 'tis on Janas nere to the shore.*

He nameth unproperly and without good grace the flank of an anchor resting lightly upon the loose sand, to signifie the feeble hold that reason hath which is not resolute and firmly seated, but through the weaknesse and delicacie of the soule, rejecteth and forsaketh judgement: And not much unlike heereunto, is this comparison also that another maketh in a contrarie sense;

*Much like a ship which fastened in to land  
With cordage strong, wher of we may be bold,  
The windes do blow, and yet the ship withst and  
And checke them all, her cables take such hold.*

He termeth the judgement of reason, when it resisteth a dishonest act, by the name of Cable and Cordage; which notwithstanding afterwards may be broken by the violence of some passion (as it were) with the continuall gales of a blustering winde. For to say a very truth, the intemperate person is by his lusts and desires caried with full saile to his pleasures; hee giveth himselfe thereto, and thither directeth his whole course: but the incontinent person tendeth thither also: howbeit (as a man would say) crookedly and not directly, as one desirous and endeavouring to withdraw himselfe, and to repell the passion that draweth and moveth him to it, yet in the end he also slideth and falleth into some foule and dishonest act: Like as *Timon* by way of biting, scoffe, traduced and reproved *Anaxarchus* in this wise,

Here

*Here shew's it selfe the dogged force of Anaxarchus fell,  
So stubborn and so permanent, when once he took a pebble:  
And yet as wise as he would seeme, a wretch (I heard folks tell)  
He judged was: for that to vice and pleasures overmuch  
By nature prone he was: a thing that sages most do shun  
Which brought him backe out of the way, and made him dote anon,*

For neither is a wise Sage properly called continent, but temperate: not a foole incontinent, but intemperate: because the one taketh pleasure and delight in good and honest things; and the other is not offended nor displeased with foule and dishonest actions. And therefore incontinencie resembleneth properly a minde (as I may so say) Sophisticall, which hath some use of reason; but the same so weak, that it is not able to persevere and continue firme in that which it hath once knownen and judged to be right. Thus you may see the differences between Intemperance and Incontinencie: As for Continencie & Temperance, they differ also in certaine respects correspondent in some proportion unto those on the contrary side. For remorse, sorrow, displeasure and indignation, doe not as yet abandon and quit continence: whereas in the minde of a temperate person, all lieth plaine and even on every side; nothing there but quietnesse and integritie; in such sort, as whosoever seeth the great obeisance and the marvellous tranquillitie whereby the reasonlesse part is united & incorporate together with the reasonable, might well say;

*And then anon the winds were downe,  
A calme ensued straightway:  
No waves were seene, some power divine  
The sea asleepe did lay.*

namely, when reason had once extinguished the excessive, furious, and raging motions of the lusts and desires. And yet these affections and passions which of necessity nature hath need of, the same hath reason made so agreeable, so obedient, so friendly and cooperative, yea, and ready to second all good intentions and purposes ready to be executed; that they neither run before it, nor come dragging behinde; ne yet behave themselves disorderly, no, nor shew the least disobedience: so as each appetite is ruled by reason, and willingly accompanieth it,

*Like as the sucking foale doth go  
And run with dam, both to and fro.*

The which confirmeth the saying of *Xenocrates*, touching those who earnestly studie Philosophie, and practise it: For they onely (quoth he) doe that willingly, which others doe perforce and for dread of the law: who forbear indeed to satisfie their pleasures, and turne backe, as if they were scared from them for feare of being bitten of some curst mative or thred cat, regarding nothing els but danger that may ensue thereupon. Now, that there is in the soule a sense and perceivance of that strength, firmity, and resolution to encounter sinfull lusts and desires, as if it had a power to strive and make head againe, it is very plaine and evident: howbeit, some there be, who holde and maintaine, That Passion is nothing different from Reason: neither (by their saying) is there in the mind a dissension or sedition (as it were) of two divers faculties: but at the trouble that we feele, is no more but an alteration or change of one & the selfe same thing to wit, reason both waies; which we our selves are not able to perceive, for that forsooth it changeth suddenly and with such celeritie: never considereth all the while, that the same faculty of the minde is framed by nature to concupiscence and repentance both: to be angry and to feare: inclined to commit some foule and dishonest fact, by the allurements of pleasure, and contrariwise restrained from the same for feare of paine. As for lust, feare, and all such like passions, they are no other (say they) but perverse opinions and corrupt judgements not arising and engendered in any one part of the soule by it selfe, but spread over that which is the chiefe and principall, to wit, reason and understanding, whereof they be the inclinations, assensions, motions, and in one word, certaine operations, which in the turning of an hand be apt to change and passe from one to another: much like unto the sudden braids, starts and runnings to and fro of little children, which how violent soever they be and vehement, yet by reason of their weaknesse are but slippery, unstedfast and unconstant.

But these assertions and oppositions of theirs, are checked and refuted by apparant evidence and common sense: For what man is he that ever felt in himselfe a change of his lust and concupiscence into judgement: and contrariwise an alteration of his judgement into lust: neither doth the wanton lover cease to love when he doth reason with himselfe and conclude, That such

love



love is to be repressed, and that he ought to strive and fight against it: neither doth he then give over reasoning and judging, when being overcome through weaknesse, he yeeldeth himselfe prisoner and thrall to lust: but like as when by advertisement of reason he doth resist in some sort a passion arising, yet the same doth still tempt him: so likewise when he is conquered and overcome therewith, by the light of the same reason at that verie instant, he seeth and knoweth that he sinneth and doth amisse: so, that neither by those perturbations is reason lost and abolished; nor yet by reason is he freed and delivered from them; but whiles he is tossed thus to and fro, he remaineth a neuter in the mids, or rather participating in cominon of them both: As for those who are of opinion, that one while the principall part of our soule is lust and concupiscence: and then anon that it doth resist & stand against the same: are much like unto them, who imagine & say, that the hunter & the wild beast be not twaine, but one bodie, chaunging it selfe, one while into the forme of an hunter, and another time, taking the shape of a savage beast: For both they in a manifest and apparant matter should seeme to be blind and see nothing: and also these beare witness and depose against their owne sense, considering that they finde and feelee in themselves really not a mutation or change of one onely thing, but a sensible strife and fight of two things together within them. But heere they come upon us againe and object in this wise. How cometh it to passe then (say they) that the power and facultie in man which doth deliberate and consult is not likewise double (being oftentimes distracted, carried, and drawn to contrarie opinions, as it is, namely, touching that which is profitable and expedient) but is one still and the same? True, we must confesse, that divided it seemeth to be: But this comparison doth not hold, neither is the event and effect alike: for that part of our soule wherein prudence and reason is seated, fighteth not with it selfe, but using the helpe of one and the same facultie, it handleth divers arguments, or rather being but one power of discoursing it is employed in sundry subjects and matters different: which is the reason that there is no dolor and griefe at one end of those reasonings and discourses which are without passion; neither are they that consult forced (as it were) to hold one of those contrarie parts against their minde and judgement; unless peradventure it so fall out, that some affection lie close to one part or other, as if a man should secretly and under hand lay somewhat besides in one of the balances or scales, against reason for to weigh it downe. A thing (I assure you) that many times falleth out: and then it is not reason that is poised against reason; but either ambition, emulation, favour, jealousy, feare, or some secret passion, making semblance as if in shew of speeches, two reasons were at variance and differed one from another. As may appeere by these verses in Homer:

*They thought it shame the combat to reject,  
And yet for feare they durst not it accept.*

Likewise in another Poet:

*To suffer death is dolorous  
though with renoune it meete:  
Death to avoid is cowardise:  
but yet our life is sweete.*

And verily in determining of controversies betweene man and man in their contracts and suits of law, these passions comming betweene, are they, that make the longest delays, & be the greatest enemies of expedition and dispatch: like as in the counsels of kings and princes, they that speake in favour of one partie and for to win grace, doe not upon any reason of two sentences encline to the one, but they accommodate themselves to their affectio, even against the regard of utility & profit. And this is the cause that in those States which be called Aristocracies, that is to say, governed by a Senate or Counsel of the greatest men: the Magistrates who sit in judgement, will not suffer Oratours & Advocates at the Barre to moove affections in all their Pleas: for in Truth, let not the discourse of reason be impeached, and hindered by some passion, it will of it selfe tend directly to that which is good and just. But in case there do arise a passion betweene, so to crosse the same, then you shall see pleasure and displeasure to raise a combat and dissension, to encounter that which by consultation would have beene judged and determined. For otherwise, how cometh it to passe that in Philosophicall discourses and disputations, a man shall never see it otherwise, but that without any dolor and griefe, some are turned and drawn oftentimes by others into their opinions, and subscribe thereto willingly? Nay even Aristotle himselfe, Democritus also and Chrysippus have beene known to retract and recant some points, which before time they held, and that without any trouble of mind, without griefe and remorse, but

but rather with pleasure and contentment of heart: because in that speculative or contemplative part of the soule, which is given to knowledge and learning onely, there raigne no passions to make resistance, inso much as the brutish part being quiet and at repose, loveth not curiously to entermedle in these and such like matters: By which meanes it hapneth, that the reason hath no sooner a sight of truth, but willingly it inclineth thereto, and doth reject untruth and falsitie: for that there lieth in it and in no other part else, that power and facultie to beleve and give assent one way, as also to be perswaded for to alter opinion and goe another way. Whereas contrariwise, the counsels and deliberations of worldly affaires, judgements also, and arbitriments, being for the most part full of passions, make the way somewhat difficult for reason to passe, and put her to much trouble. For in these cases, the sensuall and unreasonable part of the soule is ready to stay and stop her course; yea and to fright her from going forward, meeting her either with the object of pleasure; or else casting in her way stumbling blocks of feare, of paine, of lusts and desires. And verily the deciding and judgement of this disputation lieth in the sense, which feeleth as well the one as the other, and is touched with them both: For say that the one doth surmount and hath the victorie, it doth not therefore defeat utterly and destroy the other; but drawn it is thereto perforce, and making resistance the while. As for example, the wanton and amorous person when he checketh and reprooveth himselfe therefore, useth the discourse of reason against the said passion of his; yet so, as having them both, actually subsisting together in the soule: much like as if with his hand he repressed and kept downe the one part, enflamed with an hot fit of passion, and yet feeling within himselfe both parts, and those actually in combat one against the other. Contrariwise, in those consultations, disputes, and inquisitions which are not passionate, and wherein these motions of the brutish part have nothing to do, such I meane as those be especially of the contemplative part of the soule: if they be equall and so continue, there ensueth no determinat judgement and resolution: but a doubt remaineth, as if it were a certaine pause or stay of the understanding, not able to proceed farther, but abiding in suspense betweene two contrarie opinions. Now if it chance to encline unto one of them, it is because the mightier hath overweighed the other & annulled it, yet so, as it is not displeased or discontent, nor no contesteth obstinately afterwards against the received opinion. To be short, & to conclude all in one generall word: where it seemeth that one discourse and reason is contrarie unto another; it argueth not by and by a conceit of two divers subjects, but one alone in sundrie apprehensions and imaginations. Howbeit, whensoever the brutish and sensuall part is in a conflict with reason, and the same such that it can neither vanquish, nor be vanquished without some sense of grievance: then incontinently this battell divideth the soule in twaine, so as the warre is evident and sensible. And not onely by this fight a man may know how the source and beginning of these passions differeth from that fountaine of reason: but no lesse also by the consequence that followeth thereupon. For seeing that possible it is for a man to love one childe that is ingenuous and towardly disposed to vertue: as also affect another as well, who is ill given and dissolute: considering also that one may use anger unjustly against his owne children or parents: and another contrariwise justly in the defence of children or parents against enemies and tyrants. Like as in the one there is perceived a manifest combat and resistance of passion against reason; so in the other, there may be scene as evident a yeelding and obeisance thereof, suffering it selfe to be directed thereby, yea and willingly running and offering her assistance and helping hand. To illustrate this by a familiar example, it hapneth otherwhiles, that an honest man espouseth a wife according to the lawes, with this intention onely to cherish and keepe her tenderly, yea and to companie with her duly, and according to the lawes of chastitie and honestie: howbeit afterwards in tract of time, and by long continuance and conversing together, which hath bred in his heart the affection of love, he perceiveth by discourse of reason, and findeth in himselfe that he loveth her more deere and entirely, than he purposed at the first. Semblably, yong scholars having met with gentle and kinde masters, at the beginning, follow and affect them in a kinde of zeale, for the benefit onely that they reape by them. Howbeit afterwards in processe of time, they fall to love them; and so in stead of familiar and daily disciples, they become their lovers, and are so called. The same is usually to be scene in the behaviour and carriage of men toward good magistrates in cities, neighbours also, kinsfolke and allies: For they begin acquaintance one with another, after a civill sort onely, by way of dutie or necessitie and use: but afterwards by little and little ere they be aware, they grow into an affectionate love of them, namely, when reason doth concur, perswading

swading & drawing unto it that part of the mind which is the seat of passions and affections. As for that Poet whoeuer he was, that first wrote this sentence,

*Two sorts there be of bashfulness,  
the one we cannot blame,  
The other troubleth many an hower,  
and doth decay the same.*

Doth he not plainly shew that he hath found in himselfe by experience oftentimes, that even this affection by means of lingring delay, and putting off from time to time, hath put him by the benefit of good opportunities, and hindered the execution of many brave affaires? Vnto these proofes and allegations precedent, the Stoikes being forced to yeeld, in regard they be so cleere and evident: yet for to make some way of evasion and escape, they call shame, bashfulness; pleasure, joy; and feare, warinesse or circumspection. And I assure you, no man could justly finde fault with these disguisements of odious things with honest termes: if so be they would attribute unto these passions the said names when they be raunged under the rule of reason, and give them their owne hatefull termes indeed, when they strive with reason and violently make resistance. But when convinced by the teares which they shed, by trembling and quaking of their joints, yea by change of colour going and coming in stead of naming Dolour and Feare directly, come in with (I wot not what) pretie devised termes of Morfures, Contractions or Conturbations: also when they would cloke and extenuate the imperfection of other passions, by calling lust a promptitude or forwardnes to a thing: it seemeth, that by a flourish of fine words, they devise shifts, evasions, and justifications, not philosophical but phisicall. And yet verily they themselves againe do terme those joies, those promptitudes of the will, and warie circumspections by the name of *Eupathies*, i. good affections and not of *Apathies*, that is to say, Impassibilities: wherein they use the words aright and as they ought. For then is it truly called *Eupathie*, i. a good affection, when reason doth not utterly abolish the passion, but guideth and ordereth the same well in such as be discrete and temperate. But what befalleth unto vicious and dissolute persons? Surely, when they have set downe in their judgement and resolution, to love father and mother as tenderly as one lover may another, yet they are not able to performe so much. Mary say, that they determine to affect a courtesan or a flatterer, presently they can finde in their hearts to love such most deere. Moreover, if it were so, that passion and judgement were both one, it could not otherwise be, so foone as one had determined that he ought to love or hate, but that presently love or hate would follow thereupon. But now it falleth our cleane contrarie; for that the passion as it accordeth well with some judgements and obiects; so it repugneth with others, and is obstinate and disobedient: whereupon it is, that themselves enforce thereto by the truth of the thing, do affirme and pronounce that every judgement is not a passion, but that onely, which stirreth up and mooveth a strong and vehement appetite to a thing: confessing thereby, no doubt, that one thing it is in us which judgeth, and another thing that suffereth, that is to say, which receiveth passions: like as that which moveth, and that which is mooved be divers. Certes, even *Chrysippus* himselfe, defining in many places what is Patience and what is Continency, doth avouch, That they be habitudes, apt and fit to obey and follow the choise of reason: whereby he sheweth evidently that by the force of truth, he was driven to confesse and avow, That there is one thing in us which doth obey and yeeld, and another which being obeyed, is yeelded unto, and not obeyed, is resisted.

Furthermore, as touching the Stoicks, who hold, That all finnes and faults be equal, neither wil this place, nor the time now serve to argue against them, whether in other points they swerve from the truth: howbeit, thus much by the way I dare be bolde to say, That in most things they will be found to repugne reason, even against apparent and manifest evidence. For according to their opinion, every passion or perturbation is a fault, and whosoever grieve, feare or lust, do sinne: but in those passions great difference, there is seene, according to more or lesse: for who would ever be so grosse, as to say, that *Dolours feare* was equal to the feare of *Ajax*? who as *Homer* writeth,

*As he went out of field did turne  
and looke behinde full oft:  
With knee before knee decently,  
and so retired soft.*

or compare the sorrow of King *Alexander*, who would needs have killed himselfe for the death

of

of *Chrysippus*, so that of *Plato* for the death of *Socrates*? For dolours and griefs encrease exceedingly when they grow upon occasion of that which hapneth besides all reason; like as any accident, which falleth out beyond our expectation, is more grievous, and breedeth greater anguish than that whereof a reason may be rendered, and which a man might suspect to follow. As for example, if he who ever expected to see his sonne advanced to honour, and living in great reputation among men, should heare say that he were in prison, and put to all manner of torture, as *Parmeno* was advertised of his sonne *Philotas*. And who will ever say, that the anger of *Niceron* against *Anaxarchus*, was to be compared with that of *Magas* against *Philemon*, which arose upon the same occasion, for that they both were spitefully reviled by them in reprochfull termes; 10 for *Niceron* caused *Anaxarchus* to be braid in a mortar with yron pestles: whereas *Magas* commanded the Executioner to lay a sharpe naked sword upon the necke of *Philemon*, and so to let him go without doing him any more harme. And therefore it is, that *Plato* named anger the sinewes of the soule, giving us thereby to understand, that they might be stretched by bitterness, and let slacke by mildnesse. But the Stoicks, for to avoid and put backe these objections and such like, denie that these stretchings and vehement fits of passions be according to judgement, for that it may faile and erre many waies: saying, they be certaine pricks or stings, contractions, diffusions or dilatations, which in proportion and according to reason, may be greater or lesse. Certes, what variety there is in judgement, it is plaine and evident. For some there be that deeme povertie not to be ill: others holde, that it is very ill: and there are againe, who 20 account it the worst thing in the world; in so much as to avoid it, they could be content to throw themselves headlong from high rocks into the sea. Also you shall have those, who reckon death to be evil, in that onely it depriveth us of the fruition of many good things: others there be, who thinke and say as much, but it is in regard of the eternall torments & horrible punishments that be under the ground in hell. As for bodily health, some love it no otherwise than a thing agreeable to nature and profitable withall: others take it to be the soveraigne good in the world, as without which they make no reckoning of riches, of children,

*Ne yet of crowne and regall dignitie,  
Which men do match even with divinitie.*

Nay, they let not in the end to thinke and say, That vertue it selfe serveth in no stead, and avai- 30 leth nought, unless it be accompanied with good health: whereby it appeareth, that as touching judgement, some erre more, some lesse. But my meaning is not now to dispute against this evasion of theirs. Thus much onely I purpose to take for mine advantage out of their owne confession, in that themselves do grant, That the brutish and sensual part, according to which, they say that passions be greater and more violent, is different from judgement: and howsoever they may seeme to contest and cavill about words and names, they grant the substance and the thing it selfe in question, joining with those who mainteine that the reasonlesse part of the soule which enterreineth passions, is altogether different from that which is able to discourse, reason and judge. And verily *Chrysippus* in those books which he entituled, Of Anomologie, after he had written and taught, that angels is blinde, and many times will not permit a man to see those 40 things which be plaine and apparent, and as often casteth a darke mist over that which he hath already perfectly learned and known; proceedeth forward a litle further: For (quoth he) the passions which arise, drive out and chase forth all discourse of reason, and such things as were judged and determined otherwise against them, urging it still by force unto contrary actions. Then he useth the testimonie of *Menander* the Poet, who in one place writeth thus, by way of exclamation:

*We worth the time, wretch that I am,  
how was my minde distraught  
In body mine? where were my wits?  
some folly (sure) me caught,  
What time I fell to thin. For why?  
whereof I made no choise.  
Farre better things they were, wits,  
which had my former voice.*

The same *Chrysippus* also going on still: It being so (quoth he) that a reasonable creature is by nature borne and given to use reason in all things, and so be governed thereby: yet notwithstanding we reject and cast it behinde us, being over-ruled by another more violent motion that carrieth us away. In which words, what doth he else but confesse that which hapneth

upon the diffention betweene affection and reason? For it were a meere ridiculous mockerie in deed, as *Plato* saith, to affirme that a man were better & worse than himselfe: or that he were able now to master himselfe, & anon ready to be mastered by himselfe, and how were it possible that the same man should be better & worse than himselfe, and at once both master and servant, unlesse every one were naturally in some sort double, and had in him somewhat better and somewhat worse? And verily by that meanes, he that hath the worse part, obedient to the better, hath powre over himselfe, yea, and is better than himselfe: whereas he that suffreth the brutish and unreasonable part of his soule to command and go before, so as the better and more noble part doth follow, and is serviceable unto it, he no doubt is worse than himselfe: he is (I say) incontinent or rather impotent, and hath no power over himselfe, but disposed contrary to nature. For according to the course and ordinance of nature, meet and fit it is that reason being divine and heavenly, should command and rule that which is sensuall and voide of reason: which as it doth arise and spring out of the very bodie, so it resembleth it, as participating the properties and passions thereof, yea and naturally is full of them, as being deeply con incorporate and throughly mixed therewith: As it may appeere by all the motions which it hath, tending to no other things but those that be materiall and corporall, as receiving their augmentations and diminutions from thence, (or to say more properly) being stretched out and let slacke more or lesse, according to the mutations of the body. Which is the cause that young persons are quick, prompt, and audacious rash: also, for that they be full of blood, and the same hot, their lusts and appetites, are likewise fiery, violent and furious: whereas contrariwise in old 20 folke because the source of concupiscence feared about the liver is after a fort quenched, yea and become weake and feeble: reason is more vigorous and predominant in them: as much as the sensuall and passionate part, doth languish and decay together with the body. And verily this is that which doth frame and dispose the nature of wilde beasts to divers passions: For it is not long of any opinions good or bad which arise in them, that some of them are strong, venterous and fearelesse, yea and ready to withstand any perils presented before them: others againe be so surpris'd with feare and fright, that they dare not stirre or do any thing: but the force and power which lieth in the blood, in the spirits and in the whole bodie, is that which causeth this diversitie of passions, by reason that the passible part growing out of the flesh as from a roote, doeth bud forth and bring forth it a qualitie and pronenesse sensible. But 30 in man that there is a sympathie and fellow mooving of the body, together with the motions of the passions, may be proved by the pale colour, the red flushing of the face; the trembling of the joints, and panting and leaping of the heart in feare and anger: And againe on the contrary side by the dilations of the arteries, heart and colour, in hope and expectation of some pleasures. But when as the divine spirit and understanding of man doth move of it selfe alone without any passion, then the body is at repose and remaineth quiet, not communicating nor participating any whit with the operation of the minde and intendment; no more than it being disposed to studie upon any Mathematicall proposition or other science speculative, it calleth for the helpe and assistance of the unreasonable part: By which it is manifest, that there be two distinct parts in us, different in facultie and power one from another. In summe, 40 through the universall world, all things (as they themselves affirme, and evident experience doth convince) are governed and ordred, some by a certaine habitude: others by nature: some by sensuall and unreasonable soule: others by that which hath reason and understanding. Of all which man hath his part at once, yea, and was borne naturally with these differences above said. For, contained he is by an habitude: nourished by nature: reason & understanding he useth: he hath his portion likewise of that which is unreasonable and inbred; there is together with him the source and primitive cause of passions, as a thing necessarie for him, neither doth it enter into him from without: in which regard it ought not to be extirped utterly; but hath neede onely of ordering and government: whereupon Reason dealeth not after the Thracian maner, nor like king *Lycurgus*, who commanded all vines without exception to be cut downe, because 50 wine caused drunkenness: it rooteth not out (I say) all affections indifferently one with another, the profitable as well as the hurtfull: but (like unto the good gods *Phylomachus* and *Hemerosides*, who teach us to order plants that they may fructifie, and to make them gentle which were savage) to cut away that which groweth wilde and ranke, to save all the rest and so to order and manage the same, that it may serve for good use. For neither do they shed and spill their wine upon the floure, who are afraid to be drunke, but delay the same with water: nor those who feare the violence of a passion, do take it quite away, but rather temper and qualifie the same:

like

like as folke use to breake horses and oxen from their flinging out with their heeles, their stiffness & curtnes of the head & stubburnes in receiving the bridle or the yoke, but do not restraine them of other motions in going about their worke and doing their deed. And even so verily, reason maketh good use of these passions, when they be well tamed and brought (as it were) to hand: without over weakning or rooting out cleane, that part of the soule which is made for to second reason, and do it good service: For as *Pindarus* saith,

*The horse doth serve in chariot at the thill,  
The ox at plough doth labour hard in field,  
Who list in chase the wild Bore for to kill,  
The hardy bound he must provide with skill.*

10 And I assure you, the entertainment of these passions and their breed, serve in farre better stead, when they doe assist reason and give an edge (as it were) and vigour unto vertues, than the beasts above named in their kind. Thus moderate ire doth second valour and fortitude: hatred of wicked persons helpeth the execution of Iustice: and indignation is just and due unto those, who without any merit or desert enioie the felicitie of this life: who also for that their heart is puffed up with foolish arrogancie, and enflamed with disdainfull pride and insolence in regard of their prosperitie, have need to be taken downe and cooled. Neither is a man able by any meanes (would he never so faine) to separate from true friendship, naturall indulgence, and kind affection: nor from humanitie, commiseration and pitie; ne yet from perfect benevo- 20 lence and good will, the fellowship in joy and sorrow. Now if it be true (as it is indeed) that they do grossely erre, who would abolish all love, because of foolish and wanton love: surely they do amisse, who for covetousnes sake and greedines of money, do blame and condemne quite all other appetites and desires. They do (I say) as much as those, who would forbid running altogether, because a man may stumble and catch a fall as he runneth: or debarre shooring for that we may overthoot and misse the marke: or to condemne hearing of musick, because a discord or jarre is offensive to the eare. For like as in sounds, musick maketh an accord and harmonie, not by taking away the loud and base notes: And in our bodies Physicke procureth health, not by destroying heat and cold, but by a certaine temperature and mixture of them both in good proportion: Even so it fareth in the soule of man, wherein reason hath the pre- 30 dominance and victorie: namely, when by the power thereof, the passions, perturbations and motions are reduced into a kind of moderation and mediocritie. For no doubt excessive sorrow and heaviness, immeasurable joy and gladnesse in the soule, may be aptly compared to a swelling and inflammation in the body, but neither joy nor sorrow simply in it selfe. And therefore *Homer* in this wise sentence of his

*A man of worth doth never colour change,  
Exce live feare in him is verie strange,*

doth not abolish feare altogether, but the extremitie thereof; to the end, that a man should not thinke that either valour is desperate folle, or confidence audacious temeritie. And therefore in pleasures and delights, we ought likewise to cut off immoderate lust: as also in taking punish- 40 ment, extreme hatred of malefactours. He that can do so, shall be reputed in the one not indolent, but temperate, and in the other not bitter and cruell, but just and righteous. Whereas let passions be rid cleane away (if that were possible to be done) our reason will be found in many things more dull and idle: like as the pilot and master of a ship hath little to do, if the winde be laid and no gale at all stirring. And verily (as it should seeme) wise Law-makers, seeing this well enough, have with great policie given occasion in cities and common-wealths of Ambition and Emulation among citizens one with another: and in the field against enemies devised to excite the courage of souldiours, and to whet their ire and manhood by sound of trumpets, fifes, drums, and other instruments. For not onely in Poetrie (as *Plato* saith verie well) he that is inspired and (as it were) ravished with the divine instinct of the Muses, will make a ridiculous foole 50 of him, who otherwise is an excellent Poet, and his crafts-master as having learned the exquisite knowledge of the art: but also in batels, the heat of courage set on fire with a certaine divine inspiration is invincible and cannot be withstood. This is that martiall furie, which (as *Homer* saith) the gods do insule or inspire rather into warlike men:

*With burning said he did inspire  
The Princes heart with might and fire.  
And againe,  
One god or other surely doth him assist*

*Else faring thus, he neuer could persist.*

As if to the discourse of reason they had adjoined passion as a pricke to incite, and a chariot to set it forward. Certes, even these verie Stoicks with whom now we argue, and who seeme to reject all passions, we may see oftentimes, how they stirre up yong men with praises, and as often rebuke them with sharpe admonitions and severe reprehensions. Whereof there must needs ensue of the one part pleasure, and of the other part displeasure. For surely checkes and fault-finders, strike a certaine repentance and shame: of which two, the former is comprised under sorrow, and the latter under feare: and these be the meanes that they use principally to chastice and correct withall. Which was the reason that *Diogenes* upon a time, when he heard *Plato* so highly praised and extolled. And what great and woorthy matter (quoth he) finde you in that man, who having been a Philosopher so long & taught the precepts thereof, hath not in all this time greeved and wounded the heart of any one person? For surely the Mathematicall sciences a man cannot so properly call the eares or handles of Philosophie (to use the words of *Xenocrates*) as he may affirme that these affections of yong men, to wit, bashfulness, desire, repentance, pleasure and paine are their handles, whereof reason and law together taking hold by a discreet apt and wholesome touch, bring a yong man speedily and effectually into the right way. And therefore the Lacedaemonian schoolmaster and governour of children said verie well, when he professed, that he would bring to passe that the child whom he tooke into his tuition, should joy in honest things, and grieve in those that were foule and dishonest. Then which there cannot possibly be named a more woorthy or commendable end of the liberall education 20 and bringing up of a yong youth well descended.



## OF VERTVE AND VICE. 30

### The Summarie.



*In this little treatise adjoynd aptly unto the former, the Author prooveth, that outward and corruptible things be not they that set the soule in repose, but reason well ruled and governed: And after that he hath depainted the miserable estate of wicked and sinfull persons, troubled and tormented with their passions both night and day, he prooveth by proper and apt similitudes, that Philosophie together with the love of vertue, bringeth true contentment and happinesse indeed unto a man.*

## OF VERTVE AND VICE. 40



*I*t seemeth, and commonly it is thought, that they be the garments which do heat a man; and yet of themselves they neither doe heat nor bring any heat with them: for take any of them apart by it selfe, you shall finde it colde; which is the reason that men being verie hote, and in a fit of a fever, love often to change their clothes, for to coole and refresh their bodies. But the truth is this, Look you what heat a man doth yeeld from himselfe, the clothes or garments that cover the body do keepe in the same, and unite close together: and being thus included and held in, suffer it not to evaporate, breathe out, and vanish away. The same error in the state of this

life, hath deceived many man, who imagine that if they may dwell in stately and gorgeous great houses, be attended upon with a number of servants, retaine a sort of slaves, and can gather together huge summes of golde and silver, then they shall live in joy and pleasure: whereas in verie

sooth,

sooth, the sweete and joyfull life proceedeth not from any thing without. But contrariwise, when a man hath those goodly things about him, it is himselfe that adderth a pleasure and grace unto them, even from his owne nature and civill behaviour, composed by morall vertue within him, which is the very fountaine and lively spring of all good contentment.

*For if the fire do alwaies burne out light,*

*More stately is the house, and faire in sight.*

Seemably, riches are more acceptable, glorie hath the better and more shining lustre, yea, and authoritie carrieth the greater grace, if the inward joy of the soule be joined therewith: For surely men doe endure povertie, exile and banishment out of their owne countries, yea, and beare the burden of olde age willingly and with more ease, according as their maners be milde, and the minde disposed to meeknesse. And like as sweet odours, and Aromaticall perfumes, give a pleasant smell unto thred-bare and ragged clothes; but contrariwise, the rich robe of *Anchyses* yielded from under it stinking matter and corrupt blood; which as the Poet saith,

*Ran downe by drops upon his cloke*

*Off like so fine, and so did foke.*

Even so, with vertue, any sort of life, and all maner of living is pleasant & void of sorrow: whereas contrariwise, vice causeth those things which otherwise seemed great, honourable, and magnificent, to be odious, lothsome and unwelcome to those that have them, if (I say) it be mingled therewith, according to the testimonie of these vulgar verses:

*This man who whiles he walks abroad in street*

*Or market place, is ever happy thought:*

*No sooner sets within his owne house feet,*

*Thrice wretched but he is, and not for ought.*

*His wife (as master) hath of all the power,*

*She bids, commands, she chides and fights: each howler.*

And yet one may with ease berid and divorced from such a curst and shrewd wife, if he be a man in deed, and not a bond-slave; but for thine owne vice, no meanes will serve to exempt thee from it. It is not enough to command it to be gone, by sending a little script or bill of divorce: ment, and to thinke thereby to be delivered from troubles, and so to live alone in quiet and repose. For it cleaveth close within the ribbes; it sticketh fast in the very bowels, it dwelleth there both night and day,

*It burneth thee, yet fire-br and none is seene,*

*And hasteneth age apace before thou weeene,*

A troublesome companion it is upon the way, by reason of arrogancy and presumption: a costly and sumptuous guest at the table for gluttonie and gourmandise: an unpleasant and combersome bedfellow in the night, in regard of thoughts, cares and jealousies which breake the sleepe, or trouble the same with fantasies. For whiles men lie asleepe, the bodie is at rest and repose; but the minde all the while is disquieted and affrighted with fearefull dreames and tumultuous visions, by reason of superstitious feare of the gods,

*If thus I sleepe, when sorrowes me surprise,*

*Then fearefull dreames me kill before I rise.*

saith one. And even so do other vices serve men: to wit, Envie, Feare, Wrath, Wanton Love, and Unbridled lust. For in the day time, vice looking out, and composing it selfe somewhat unto others abroad; is somewhat ashamed of herselfe, and covereth her passions; the giveth not herselfe wholly to her motions and perturbations, but many times doth strive againe and make resistance: but in sleepe, being without the danger of lawes and the opinion of the world, being farre removed (as it were) from feare and shame: then it setteth all lusts aworke, then it quickeneth and raiseth up all leaudnesse, and then it displaith all lascivious wantonnesse. It tempteth (as *Plato* saith) a man to have carnall dealing with his owne mother, and to eat of forbidden and unlawfull meats: there is no villanie that it forbeareth; executing (so far forth as it is able) all abomination; and hath the fruition thereof, if it be but by illusions and fantasticall dreames, which end not in any pleasure, nor accomplishment of concupiscence, but are powerfull onely to excite, stirre; and provoke still the firs of secret passions and maladies of a corrupt heart. Wherein lieth then, the pleasure and delight of sinne, if it be so, that in no place nor at any time it be void of pensiveness, care and griefe: if it never have contentment, but alwaies in molestation and trouble, without repose? As for carnall delights and fleshy pleasures, the good complexion and sound constitution of an healthfull bodie, giveth thereby meanes, place, opportunity

nity and breeding. But in the soule it is not possible that there should bee engendred anie mirth, joy and contentment, unlesse the first foundation be laied in peace of conscience, and tranquillitie of spirit, void of feare, and enjoying a settled calme in all assurance and confidence, without any shew of tempest toward. For otherwise, suppose that some hope doe smile upon a man; or say, that delight tickle a little; the same anon is troubled, and all the sport is marred by some carefull cogitation breaking forth: like as the object and concurrence of one rocke troubleth and overthroweth all, though the water and weather both be never so calme.

Now gather gold and spare not by heapes, rake and scrape together masses of silver, builde faire, gallant and stately walking places, replenish all thy house with slaves, and a whole cite with debtrous: unlesse withall thou doe allay the passions of thy minde; unlesse thou slay and appease thy insatiable lust and desire; unlesse thou free and deliver thy selfe from all feare and carking cares: thou dost as much as streine wine, or make Ipcras for one that is sicke of a fever, give honie to a cholericke person diseased with the raging motion of choler, offer meates and viands to those that be sicke of the stomachicall flux, continuall laske, ulceration of the guts and bloody flux, who neither take pleasure therein, nor are the better but the woofe rather a great deale for them. See you not how sicke folkes are offended, and their stomacks rise at the most fine, costly and deintiest meates that be offered unto them? how they spit them forth againe, and will none, though they be forced upon them? And yet afterwards, when the bodie is reduced againe into good temperature: when pure spirits and good fresh blood is engendred, and when the naturall heate is restored and become familiar 20 and kind: then they rise up on their feete to their meat, then their stomacks serve to eate full favorly of course bread with cheese or cresses, and therein they take great pleasure and contentment: The like disposition in the minde doth reason worke. Then and never before shalt thou be pleased and at peace with thy selfe, when thou hast once learned what is good and honest indeed: In povertie thou shalt live deliciously like a king: or in a private and quiet state sequestered from civill and publike affaires, thou shalt live as well as they who have the conduct of great armies, and governe the common-weale. When thou hast studied Philosophie and profited therein, thou shalt never lead a life in discontentment, but shalt learne how to away with any estate and course of life, and therein find no small joy & harts ease. Thy riches thou wilt rejoyce in, because thou shalt have better meanes to do good unto all men: In povertie likewise thou 30 wilt take joy in regard thou shalt have fewer cares to trouble thee: Glorie will turne to thy disgrace, when thou shalt see thy selfe so honoured: and thy low estate and obscure condition will be no lesse comfort, for that thou shalt be safe and secured from envie.



## THAT VERTUE MAY BE TAUGHT AND LEARNED.

### The Summarie.

**L**utarch refusing heere the error of those, who are of opinion, That by good and diligent instruction a man cannot become the better; recommendeth sufficiently the studie of vertue. And to prove this assertion of his, he sheweth that the apprenticeship 40 of that, which is of small consequence in this world, witnesseth enough that a man ought to be trained from day to day to the knowledge of things that are becoming and worthy his person: Afterwards, he declareth that as much travell should be employed to make him comprehend such things as be far distant from the capacity and excellencie of his spirit: In which discourse he taxeth covertly those vaine and giddy heads, who (as they say) runne after their owne shadow, whereas they should stay and rest upon that which is firme and permanent.

THAT

## THAT VERTUE MAY BE taught and learned.



E dispute of vertue, and put in question, whether Prudence, Justice, Loyalitie and Honestie may be taught or no? And do we admire then the works of Oratours, Sailers and Shipmasters, Architects, Husbandmen and an infinite number of other such which be extant? Whereas of good men we have nothing but their bare and simple names, as if they were *Hippo-Centaures*, *Gyants* or *Cyclopes*; and mervaille we that of virtuous actions which be entier, perfect, and unblameable, none can be found: ne yet any maners so composed according to durie, but that they be tainted with some passions and vicious perturbations? yea and if it happen that nature of her selfe bring forth some good and honest actions, the same straightwaies are darkened, corrupted and in a maner marred, by certeine strange mixtures of contrarie matters that creepe into them, like as when among good come there grow up weeds and wilde bushes that choke the same; or when some kinde and gentle fruit is cleane altered by savage nourishment. 20 Men learne to sing, to daunce, to read and write, to till the ground, and to ride horses, they learne likewise to shew themselves, to do on their apparell decently; they are taught to wait at cup and trencher, to give drinke at the table, to season and dresse meate: and none of all this can they skill to performe and do handsomely, if they be not trained thereto: and yet shall that, for which these and such like qualities they learne, to wit, good life and honest conversation, be reckoned a meere casuall thing, comming by chance and fortune, and which can neither be taught nor learned? Oh good sirs, what a thing is this? In saying, That vertue cannot be taught, we denie withall that it is, or hath any being. For if it be true, that the learning of it, is the generation and breeding thereof, certes he that hindereth the one disannulleth the other: and it denying that it may be taught, we graunt that no such thing there is at all: And yet as *Plato* 30 saith, for the necke of a Lute not made in proportion to the rest of the bodie, there was never known one brother go to warre with another, nor a friend to quarrell with his friend, ne yet two neighbour cities to fall out and mainteine deadly feud, to the interchangeable working and suffering of those miseries and calamities which follow open warre. Neither can any man come forth and say, that by occasion of an accent (as for example, whether the word *Telchines* should be pronounced with the accent over the second syllable or no) there arose sedition and dissention in any city; or debate in a house betweene man and wife, about the warpe and woufe of any webbe: Howbeit never man yet would take in hand to weare a peece of cloth, nor handle a booke, nor play upon the lute or harpe, unlesse he had learned before; for albeit he were not like to susteine any great losse and notall damage thereby, yet he would feare to be mocked 40 and laughed to scorne for his labor, in which case as *Herachius* saith, it were better for a man to conceale his owne ignorance: and may such an one thinke then, that he could order a house well, rule a wife, and behave himselfe as it becommeth in marriage, beare misfortune, or governe a common weale as he ought, being never bound and brought up to it? *Diogenes* espying upon a time aboy eating greedily, and unmanerly gave his master or Tutor a good cuffe on the eare: and good reason he had so to do, as imputing the fault rather to him, who had not taught, than to the boy, who had not learned better manners. And is it so indeed? ought they of necessity, who would be manerly at the table, both in putting hand to a dish of meat, and taking the cup with a good grace, or as *Aristophanes* saith,

At board not feeding greedily,  
Nor laughing much undecently,  
Nor crossing feet full wantonly.

to be taught even from their Infancie. And is it possible that the same should know how to behave themselves in wedlocke, how to manage the affaires of State, how to converse among men, how to beare office without touch and blame, unlesse they have learned first how to cary themselves one toward another? *Aristippus* answered upon a time, when one said unto him, And are you fit every where? I should (quoth he, laughing merrily) cast away the fare for ferriage, which I pay unto the mariner, if I were every where. And why might not a man say likewise, If children be



be not the better for their teaching, the falariae is lost which men bestow upon their Masters and Teachers. But wee see that they taking them into their governance presently from their nour-  
ces, like as they did forme their limmes and joints featly with their hands, do prepare and frame  
their maners accordingly, & fet them in the right way to vertue. And to this purpose answered  
very wisely a Laconian Schoole-master to one who demanded of him, what good he did to the  
childe of whom he had the charge? Mary (quoth he) I make him to take joy and pleasure in  
those things that be honest. And to say a trueth, these teachers and gournours instruct chil-  
dren to holde up their heads straight as they go in the street, and not to beare it forward: also,  
not to dip into sauce, but with one finger: not to take bread or fish but with twaine: to rubbe or  
scratch after this or that maner: and thus and thus to truffle and holde up their clothes. What  
shall we say then to him, who would make us beleue that the Art of Physicke professeth to  
scoure the morpew, or heale a whit-flaw: but not to cure a pleurisie, fever, or the phrensie? And  
what differeth he from them, who holde that there be schooles and rules to teach perties and lit-  
tle children how to be manly, and demean themselves in small matters, but as for great, im-  
portant and absolute things, it must be nothing els but use and custome, or els meere chance  
and fortune that doth effect them? For like as he were ridiculous, and worthy to be laughed at,  
who should say, that no man ought to lay hand upon the oare for to row, but he that hath bene  
prentise to it; but sit at the sterne and guide the helme he may, who was never taught it: euen so,  
he, who maintaineth, that in some inferior arts there is required apprenticeship, but for the at-  
tainining of vertue none at all, deserveth likewise to be mocked. And verily, he should doe con-  
trary unto the Scythians: For they, as *Herodotus* writeth, use to put out the eies of their slaves  
only, to the end that being blinde, they might turne round about with their milke, & so stirre and  
shake it. But he forsooth putteth the eie of reason into these base and inferior arts, which are no  
better than servants waiting upon others; but plucketh it from vertue. *Sphæras* answered con-  
trariwise, being demanded of *Callias* the sonne of *Chabrias*, by way of contempt and derision, in  
this wise, What are you sir? An Archer? A Targetiere? A man at armes? or a light armed soul-  
diour? I am none (quoth he) of all these, but rather one of those who commandeth them all.  
Well, ridiculous then is he, and very absurd, who would say, There were an art to be taught, of  
drawing a bowe & shooting, of fighting close at hand being armed at all pieces, of discharging  
bullets with a sling, or of sitting and riding an horse; but forsooth to leade and conduct an army,  
there was none at all: as who would say, that feat, were a thing not learned, but comming by  
chance, I know not how. And yet I must needs say, more sottish and foolish were he, who  
should hold and affirme that Prudence onely could not be taught, without which no other Arts  
and Sciences be worth ought, or availe any whit. That this is true, and that the is alone the  
guide which leadeth and guideth all other Sciences, Arts and Vertues, giving them every  
one their due place and honour, and making them profitable to mankind, a man may  
know by this, if there were nothing els, That there would be no grace at a feast,  
though the meat were never so well drested and served up by skillfull Cooks,  
though there were proper Escuirs or Shewers to set the dishes upon  
the boord, Carvers, Tasters, Skinners, and other Servitors  
and Waiters enough, unless there be some good  
order observed among the said Ministerts,  
to place and dispose everie  
thing as it ought.

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## HOW



HOW A MAN MAY DIS-  
 CERNE A FLATTERER  
 FROM A FRIEND.

### The Summaric.

**F**He traveller hath great occasion and cause to reioyce, if in his iourney he goe with a good companion, who by his pleasant and profitable discourses may make him for get the tedious difficultie of the way: euen so in this life, happie is the man, who can finde and meet with those to heare him company, by whom he may both easily passe through the occurrent dangers that are presented unto him, and also advance forward cher-  
fully unto vertue. In which regard our author Plutarch having discoursed as touching the Nourture,  
education, and instruction of youth, as also of Vice and Vertue in generall, by good order and in great reason, sheweth in this Treatise, what sort of people we ought carefully to avoid, and with whom to joine and be acquainted. And as he was a man well experienced and practised in the affaires of this world, he affirmeth and proveth by very sound and firme reasons, That there is nothing whereof we are to be more wary and heedfull, than false friendship, which he callth Flatterie. Moreover, this being a matter of so great importance, as every wise man may well thinke and perceive, he draweth out this present discourse in length: and for that his purpose is to instruct us in those meanes whereby we may be able to distinguish betwene a flatterer and a true friend; he sheweth in the first place, That the only principall remedie to stop up the entrie against all flatterers, is to know our selves well: for oth-  
erwise, we shall have such array and ornaments hanged upon us, that we shall not easily perceive and dis-  
cerne who we are. And contrariwise, it hapneth oftentimes, that we esteeme them to be our perfect friends, so skillfull are they in counterfeiting; and withall, when they finde us disposed to entertaine such companie, our owne indiscretion depriveth us of that true insight and view, which our soule ought to have in discerning a false friend from a true. Being willing therefore to aid and helpe us in this point, he describeth a crafty and wily flatterer, he discovereth his cunning casts, and depaitheth him in his colours, shewing the very draught & lineaments which way direct us to the knowledge of him, to wit, That he doth conforme and frame himselfe to the humor and nature of those whose companie he haunteth; how he is unconstant and mutable, changing and turning into many and sundry fashions; without anyright and sincere affection, applying himselfe all the while to every thing els but vertue, willing to be reputed alwaies more learned and wiser, than those whom hee flattereth: without regard of doing them good any way, or seeking their profit, he onely aimeth at this, to please them and follow their weine in all things by custome and use, bringing him that will give eare unto his words, to this passe, That he shall thinke vice to be vertue: working covertly and under-hand for to deceive more cleanly, trans-  
forming vertue into vice, and making it nothing strange and coy to blame himselfe, for to do the more mischief afterwards to another: then he flattereth most, when he maketh no semblance or shew at all that he minded any such thing, and exalteth up to the skie those that be most vicious, and worst of all others, so they will give him entertainment. Likewise, for that flatterers shew themselves otherwise, very forward and bold to speake their minds and to finde fault, which is one of the best and surest marks of true friendship, he treateth consequently of this libertie and freedome of speech, and how a man may know whether there be any flatterie therein or no. He declareth therefore, how flatterers use this franke reprehension in vaine and frivolous things, and never in those finnes and grosse faults which are in deed blame-worthy: so that this manner of reprehension, is a kinde of soothing them up, and calling men asleepe in their notorious vices: or els they charge them with faults cleane contrary. Now after he hath shewed how a man should take heed and beware of them, he discovereth of those ser-  
vices which may make flatterers, and wherein the same differ from the offices and duties of friends, and in pursuing and prosecuting this Antithesis, he proveth that a flatterer is prest and ready to do his pleasure in shamefull matters, whereas a friend sheweth his goodwill in those that be honest: also that a  
flatterer



flatterer is envious, and so is not a friend. And for that our nature is proud and blinde withall, having need of good friends to guide and direct it, he describeth with what manner of eye, and care we ought to see and heare those that procure our good, albeit they may seeme to carie with them a kinde of severitie. Meane while he exhorteth friends, so to temper and qualifie their libertie in reprehension, that all impudencie and importunate rigor be farre from it. But forasmuch as this is (as it were) the principall thing in amitie he sheweth, That first we must cut away selfe-love in all our reprehensions; and secondly all myrrours, bitter and biting speeches: then he adjoineth moreover, in what seasons, and upon what occurrences, a man ought to reprove and say his minde frankly: and with what dexterity he is to proceed: that is to say, that sometimes, yea, and more often, he ought to rebuke his friend apart, or under the person of another: wherein he is to looke unto this, That he eschue all waime-glorie, and season his reprehensions with some praise among, to make them more acceptable and better taken. Consequently, he teacheth us, how we must receive the advertisement, admonitions, and reprehensions of a true friend: and returning to the very point in deed, of amitie and friendship, he sheweth what meane a man should keepe for to avert and turne away the neighbour vice, and to urge our friends forward to their devoir: adding moreover, That all remonstrance and admonition ought to be tempered with mildnesse and lenitie: wherein he concludeth this whole Treatise, which I assure you is to be well read and marked in the deides of all persons, but those especially, who are advanced above others in worldly wealth or honourable place.

## HOW A MAN MAY DISCERNE a flatterer from a friend.



Lato writeth (ô Antiochus Philopappus) that all men do willingly pardon him, who professeth, That he loveth himselfe best: Howbeit thereby (quoth he) is ingendred in us, this fault and inconvenience among may others the greatest: that by this meane no man can be a just judge of himselfe, but partiall and favourable. For the lover is ordinarily blinded in the thing that he loveth, unless he have beene taught, yea and accustomed long before, to affect and esteeme things honest above those that be his owne properly, or inbred and familiar to him. This is it, that giveth unto a flatterer that large field, under pretence of friendship, where he hath a fort (as it

were) commodiously seated, and with the vantage to assaile and endamage us, and that is, Selfe-love: whereby everie man being the first and greatest flatterer of himselfe, he can be verie well content, to admit a stranger to come neere and flatter him, namely, when he thinketh and is well willing withall, to witnesse with him and to confirme that good selfe-conceit and opinion of his owne. For even he, who is justly reproched to be a lover of Flatterers, loveth himselfe notwithstanding exceeding well: and for that good affection that he hath, is both very willing, yea and fully perswaded also, that all good things are in himselfe: and the desire whereof is not simply, bad, and unlawfull: but the perswasion is it, that is dangerous and slipperie, having need to be restrained with great heed and carefulnesse. Now if Truth be an heavenly thing, and the verie source yielding all good things (as Plato saith) aswell to the gods as to men: we ought thus to judge, That a flatterer is an enemy to the gods, and principally to Apollo: For opposite he is alwaies and contrarie to this precept of his, *Know thy selfe*: causing a man to be abused and deceived by his owne selfe, yea and to be ignorant of the good and evil things that be in him; in making the good gifts which are in him to be defective & imperfect: but the evil parts incorrigible and such as cannot be reformed. Now if it were so, that flatterie (as the most part of other vices) toucheth either onely or especially, base, meane, and abject persons, it were perhaps so neither so hurtfull, nor so hard to be avoided as it is. But like as wormes breed most of all and soonest in frimme, tender and sweet wood: even so, for the most part the generous and gentle natures, and those mindes that are more ingenuous, honest, amiable, and milde than others, are readiest to receive and nourish the flatterer that hangeth upon him. Moreover, as Simonde was wont to say, that the keeping of an elcuires or stable of horses, followeth not the lampe or oile cruet, but the rich come fields: that is, it is not for poore men to entertaine great horses, but those rather who are landed men and with their revennewes able to maintaine them:

Even

Even so, we see it is ordinarie, that flatterie keepeth not companie nor fortheth with poore folke, or such persons as live obscurely & are of no abilitie: but commonly it is the ruine and decay of great houses, & a maladie incident to mighty States; which oftentimes undoeth & overthroweth whole Monarchies, Realmes, and great Seignories. In which regard it is no small matter, nor a thing that requireth little, or no forecast & providence to search & consider the nature thereof: least being so active and busie as it is, and readie to meddle in everie place (nothing so much) it do no hurt unto friendship, nor bring it into obloquie and discredit. For these flatterers resemble lice for all the world: And why? These venime we see never haunt those that be dead, but leave and forsake the corps so soone as ever the blood (whereof they were wont to feede) is extinct or deprived of vitall spirit: Semblably, a man shall never see flatterers, so much as approach unto such persons as are in decay, whose life is crackt and credit waxeth coole; but looke where there is the glorie of the world, where there is authoritie and power, thither they flocke, and there they grow: no sooner is there a change of fortune but they sneake and slinke away, and are no more scene. But we ought not to attend so long and stay for this triall, being unprofitable, or rather hurtfull and not without some danger: For it goeth verie hard with a man, if at the verie instant and not before, even when he hath most need of friendship, to perceive those to be no friends whom he tooke to be, and namely, when he hath not with him at hand, a good and faithfull friend, to exchange for him that is untruthful, disloyal and counterfeit. For if a man did well, he should be provided before hand of an approved and tried friend, ere he have neede to employ him, aswell as of current and lawfull money; and not then to make triall of him and finde him faultie, when he is in greatest need and standeth in most need: For we ought not to make prooff with our losse, and finde him to be false to our cost and detriment; but contrariwise to be skillfull in the meanes of smelling out a flatterer, that we receive no damage by him: For otherwise, that might befall us, which happeneth unto those who for to know the force of deadly poisons, take the assay, and taste first themselves thereof: well may they indeed come to the judgement thereof: but this skill is deereely bought, when they are sure to die for it. And like as we do not commend such; no more can we praise and approve of those, who measure friendship onely by honestie and profit: thinking withall, That such as converse and company with them pleasantly, are straight waies to be attained as flatterers, no lesse then if they were taken in the very act of flatterie: For surely a friend should not be unpleasant & unfavoure, without any seasoning (as it were) of delightfome qualities: neither is friendship to be accounted venerable in this respect, that it is austere or bitter; but even that verie beauty and gravitie that it hath is sweet and desirable, and as the Poet saith,

*About her alwaies seated be  
Delightfome Love and Graces three.*

And not he onely who is in calamitie,  
*Doth great content and comfort find  
To see the face of true friend.*

according as Euripides saith, but true amitie addeth no lesse grace, pleasure, and joy unto those that be in prosperitie, than it easeth them of sorrow and grieve who are in adversitie. *Evenus* was wont to say, that of all pleasant sauce, fire was the best and most effectual: And even so God having mingled friendship with this life of ours, hath made all things joious, sweete, pleasant and acceptable, where a friend is present and enioieth his part. For otherwise a man can not devise nor expresse, how and in what sort a flatterer could infinuate himselfe and creepe into favour, under the colour of pleasure, if he saw that friendship in the owne nature never admitted any thing that was pleasant and delectable. But like as false and counterfeit peeces of gold which will not abide the touch, represent onely the lustre and bright glittering of gold: So a flatterer resembling the sweete and pleasant behaviour of a friend, sheweth himselfe alwaies joious, mery and delightfome, without crossing at any time. And therefore we ought not presently to suspect all to be flatterers who are given to praise others: For otherwhiles to commend a man, so it be done in time and place convenient, is a propertie no lesse befitting a friend, than to blame and reprehend: Nay contrariwise, there is nothing so adverse and repugnant to amitie and societie, than testinesse, thwarting, complaining, and evermore fault-finding: whereas, if a man knoweth the good will of his friend to be ever prest and readie to yeeld due praises, and those in full measure to things well done, he will beare more patiently and in better part another time, his free reprehensions and reproofe for that which is done amisse: for that he is verily perswaded of him that as he was willing ynough to praise, so he was as loth to dis-

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praise, and therefore taketh all in good worth. A difficult matter then it is, will some one say, to discerne a flatterer from a friend, seeing there is no difference between them, either in doing pleasure, or yeelding praise: for otherwise, we see oftentimes, that in many services, courtesies and kindnes besides, a flatterer is more readie and forward than a friend. True it is indeed we must needs say: a right hard matter it is to know the one from the other; especially if we speake of a right flatterer indeed, who is his owne crafts-master, and can skill how to handle the matter artificially, and with great cunning and dexterity: if (I say) we make no reckoning of them for flatterers, as the common people doe, who are these ordinarie smell-feasts, and as ready as flies to light in everie dish: these parasites (I say) whose tooing (as one said verie well) will be walking so soone as men have washed their hands, and be readie to sit downe to meat, cogging and foot-  
 10 thing up their good masters at everie word, who have no honestie at all in them, and whose fecutillitie, profane, and irreligious impuritie, a man shall soone finde with one dish of meat and cup of wine. For surely there was no great need to detect and convince the flatterie of *Melan-  
 15 thim* the Parasite and Iester of *Alexander Phraus* the Tyrant, who being asked upon a time how *Alexander* his good Lord and master was murdered, Mary with a thrust (quoth he) of a sword, which went in at his side, and ranne as farre as into my belly: neither of such as a man shall never see to faile, but where there is a good house and plentifull table kept, they will be sure to gather round about it, in such sort as there is no fire nor iron grates, or brasse gates, can keepe them backe, but they will be readie to put their foot under the boord: no nor of those women who in times past were called in *Cyprus*, *Colacides*, i. Flatteresses; but after they were come to  
 20 *Syria*, men named them, *Climateides*, as one would say, *Ladders*, for that they used to lie along, & to make their backs stepping stools or ladders as it were for *Queenes* & Great mens wives to get upon when they would mount into their coaches. What kinde of flatterer then is it so hard and yet needfull to beware of? Forsooth, even of him who seemeth none such, and professeth nothing lesse than to flatter: whom a man shall never finde about the kitchen where the good meate is dressed, nor take measuring of shadoves to know how the daie goes, and when it is dinner or supper time: ne yet see drunken and lying along the ground untowardly, and full like a beast: But for the most part sober he is enough; he loveth to bee a curious *Polypragmon*; he will have an oare in every boat, and thinks he is to intermedle in all matters; he hath a minde  
 30 to be privie and partie in all deepe secretes; and in one word he carrieth himselfe like a grave Tragedian, and not as a Comicall or Satyricall player, and under that vision and habit he counterfeiteth a friend. For according to the saying of *Plato*, it is the greatest and most extreame injustice for a man to make semblance of being just when he is not: even so we are to thinke, that flatterie of all others to be most dangerous, which is covert and not avert or professed; which is serious (I say) and not practised by way of jest and sport. And verily such glozing and flatterie as this, causeth men oftentimes to mistrust true friendship indeed, and doth derogate much from the credit thereof: for that in many things it jumpeth so even therewith, unlesse a man take verie good heed and looke narrowly into it. True it is, that *Gobrias* being runne into a daire and secret roome, together with one of the usurping Tyrants of *Persia*, called *Magi*, whom he persued hard, and at handy gripes struggling, grappling, and wrestling close together,   
 40 cried out unto *Darius* coming into the place with a naked sword, and doubting to thrust at the Usurper, for feare he should runne *Gobrias* thorough also; Thrust hardly and spare not (quoth he) though you dispatch us both at once. But we who in no wise can allow of that common saying, Let a friend perish, so he take an enemy with him: but are desirous to plucke and part a flatterer from a friend, with whom he is coupled and interlaced by meanes of so many resemblances: we (I say) have great cause to feare and beware, that we doe not cast and reject from us the good with the bad: or least in pardoning and accepting that which is agreeable and familiar unto us, we fall upon that which is hurtfull and dangerous. For like as among wilde seeds of another kind, those that being of the same forme, fashion, and bignes with the graines of wheat are intermingled therewith, a man shall hardly trie out from the rest, for that they will not passe thorough the holes of the sieve, riddle or trie, if they be narrow; and in case they be large and wide, out goeth the good come together with them; even so it is passing hard to separate flatterie from friendship, being so intermeddled therewith in all accidents, motions, affaires, dealings, employment and conversation as it is. For considering that a flatterer seeth well ynough, that there is nothing in the world so pleasurable as friendship, nor yeeldeth more contentment unto man than it doth: He windeth himselfe into favour by meanes of pleasure, and wholly is im-  
 ploied to procure mirth and delight. Also for that both grace and commoditie  
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accompany amitie; in which regard the common Proverbe saith, that a friend is more necessary than either fire or water. Therefore a flatterer is readie to put himselfe forward, and offereth his service with all double diligence, striving in all occasions and busineses to be ever prompt and officious. And because the principall thing that linketh and bindeth friendship sure at the beginning, is the conformitie and likenes of manners, studies, endevours and inclinations, and in one word seeing that to be like affected, and to shew pleasure or displeasure in the same things, is the chiefe matter that knitteth amitie and both combineth, and also keepeth men together, by a certaine mutuall correspondencie in naturall affections: the flatterer knowing so much, composeth his nature (as it were) some unformed matter ready to receive all sorts of im-  
 10 pressions, studying to frame and accommodate himselfe wholly to all those things that he taketh in hand; yea and to resemble those persons just by way of imitation whom he meaneth to let upon and deceive, as being souple, soft, and pliable, to represent them lively in everie point, so as a man may say of him after this manner,

*Achilles come thinke you he is?*

*Nay, even Achilles himselfe servs.*

But the craftiest cast of all other, that he hath, is this, That seeing (as he doth) libertie of speech, (both in truth, and also according to the opinion and speech of the whole world) to be the proper voice of friendship (as a man would say) of some living creature; inso much, as where there is not this freedome of speaking frankly, there is no true friendship nor generositie in deed. In  
 20 this point also, he will not seeme to come short, nor leave it behinde for want of imitation; but after the fashion of fine and excellent cookes, who use to serve up tart, bitter and sharpe sauces together with sweet & pleasant meats, for to divert & take away the fatietic and fulnesse which he so followeth them. These flatterers also use a certaine kind of plaine and free speech; howbeit, neither sincere and naturall is it, nor profitable, but (as we commonly say) from teeth outward, or (as it were) beckening and winking slightly with the eie under the browes, not touching the quicke, but tickling aloft onely, to no purpose. Well, in these respects above specified, hardly and with much adoe is a flatterer discovered, and taken in the manner; much like unto those beasts, who by nature have this propertie, To change their colour, and in hue to resemble that bodily matter or place whereon they settle, and which they touch. Seeing then it is so, that  
 30 he is so apt to deceive folke, and lieth hidden under the likenesse of a friend; our part it is, by unfolding the differences that are so hidden, to turne him out of his masking habit, and being de- spoiled of those colours and habilements that he borroweth of others, for want of his owne (as *Plato* saith) to lay him naked and open to the eie: let us therefore enter into this discourse, and fetch it from the very first beginning.

We have already said, that the originall of friendship among men (for the most part) is our conformitie of nature and inclination, embracing the same customes and maners, loving the same exercises, affecting the same studies, and delighting in the same actions and imployments: concerning which, these verses well and fitly runne;

*Olde folke love best with aged folke to talke,*

*And with their feeser young children to disport:*

*Women once met, do let their tongues to walke,*

*With such likewise, such persons best do sport:*

*7 he wretched man his miseries doth lament*

*With those, whose fate like fortunes do torment.*

The flatterer then, being well aware that it is a thing naturally inbred in us, to delight in those that are like our selves, to converse with them, and to use and love them above all others, endevoureth first and foremost to draw and approach, yea, and to lodge neere unto him whom he meaneth to enveagle and compasse, even as if he went about in some great pasture to make toward one beast, whom he purposeth to tame and bring to hand, by little and little joining close unto him, as it were, to be concorporated in the same studies and exercises, in the same affections, employments and course of life: and this he doth so long, untill the party whom he laieti for, have given him some advantage to take holde by, as suffering himselfe gently to be touched, clawed, handled and stroked; during which time, he leteeth slip no opportunitie to blame those persons, to reprove those things, and courses of life, which he perceiveth the other to hate: contrariwise, to praise and approve all that which he knoweth him to take delight in: and this he doeth not after an ordinary manner and in a meane, but excessively and beyond all measure, with a kinde of admiration and wonder; confirming this love or hatred of his, to a thing, not  
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as if he had received these impressions from some sudden passion, but upon a staied and settled judgement. Which being so: how, and by what different marks shall he be known and convinced, that he is not the like or the same in deed, but only a counterfeit of the like and of the same? First, a man must consider well, whether there be an uniforme equalitie in all his intentions and actions or no? whether he continue and persist still, taking pleasure in the same things, and praising the same at all times? whether he compose and direct his life according to one and the same molde and paterne? like as it becommeth a man who is an ingenuous lover of that friendship and conversation which is ever after one maner, and alwaies like it selfe: for such a one in deed is a true friend. But a flatterer contrariwise is one who hath no one permanent seat in his maners and behaviour, nor hath made choise of any life for his owne content, but only to please another, as framing and applying his actions wholly to the humor of another, is never simple, uniforme, nor like himselfe, but variable and changing alwaies from one forme to another, much like as water which is poured out of one vessel into another, even as it runneth forth, taketh the forme and fashion of that vessel which receiveth it. And herein he is cleane contrarie to the ape; for the ape as it should seeme, thinking to counterfeit a man, by turning, hopping and dauncing as he doth, is quickly caught: but the flatterer, whiles he doth imitate and counterfeit others, doth entice and draw them, as it were, with a pipe or call, into his net, and so beguileth them. And this he doeth not alwaies after one maner; for with one he daunceth and singeth; with another he will seeme to wrestle, or otherwise to exercise the bodie in feats of activitie: if he chance to meet with a man that loveth to hunt, and to keepe hounds, him he will follow hard at heeles, setting out a throat as loud in a maner as *Hippolytus* in the Tragedie *Phædra*, crying,

*So he, this is my joy and onely good,  
With erie to lure, with touting borne to winde,  
By leave of gods to bring into the wood  
My hounds, to rouse and chase the dapple Hinde.*

And yet hath he nothing to do at all with the wilde beasts of the Forrest, but it is the hunter himselfe whom hee laith for to take within his net and toile. And say that hee light upon a young man that is a student & given to learning, then you shall see him also as deepe poring upon his booke, and alwaies in his Studie; you shall have him let his beard grow downe to his foot, like a grave Philosopher: who but he then, in his slide thred-bare students cloake, after the Greeke fashion, as if he had no care of himselfe, nor joy of any thing els in the world: not a word then in mouth, but of the Numbers, Orthangles and Triangles of *Plato*. If peradventure there fall into his hands an idle do-nothing, who is rich withall, and a good fellow, one that loveth to eat and drinke and make good cheere,

*This wily Fox Vlysses tho  
His ragged garments will off do.*

off goes then his bare and overworne studying gowne, his beard he causeth to be cut & shorne as neere as a new mowen field in harvest, when all the corne is gone: no talke then but of flagons, bortels, pots, and cooling pans to keepe the wine cold: nothing now but merie conceits to moove laughter in everie walking place and gallerie of pleasure: Now hee letteth his frumpes and scoffes against schollers and such as studie philosophie. Thus by report it fell out upon a time at *Syracusa*: For when *Plato* thither arrived, and *Denys* all on a sodaine was set upon a furious fit of love to Philosophie, his palace and whole court was full of dust and sand, by reason of the great recourse thither of Students in Geometrie, who did nothing but draw figures therein. But no sooner had *Plato* incurred his displeasure and was out of favor: no sooner had *Denys* the tyrant bidden Philosophie farewell, & given himselfe againe to belly-cheere, to wine, vanities, wantonnesse, and all loosenesse of life: but all at once, it seemed the whole court was transformed likewise, (as it were by the force and enchantment of *Cyrces*) into hatred and detestation of good letters; so as they forgot all goodnesse, and betooke themselves to folly and foolishnesse. To this purpose it were not amisse for to alledge as testimonies, the fashions and acts of some notorious flatterers, such I meane as have governed Common-welths, and affected popularitie. Among whom the greatest of all other was *Alcibiades*, who all the while he was at Athens used to scoffe, and had a good grace in merie conceits & pleasant jests: he kept great horses, and lived in jollitie, most gallantly, with the love and favor of all men: when he sojourned in *Sparta*, he went alwaies shaven to the bare skin, in an overworne cloke, or else the same very coarse, and never washed his bodie but in cold water. Afterwards, being

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in *Thrace*, he became a soldior, and would carrouse and drinke lustily with the best. He came no sooner to *Tisaphernes* in *Asia*, but he gave himselfe to voluptuousnes and pleasure, to riot, wantonnes, and superfluous delights: Thus throughout the whole course of his life, he was the love of all men, by framing himselfe to their humors and fashions wheresoever he came. Such were not *Epaminondas* and *Agefilas*: For albeit they conversed with many sorts of people, travailed divers cities, and saw sundry fashions and maners of strange nations; yet they never changed their behavior, they were the same men still, retaining evermore a decent port which became them, in their apparell, speech, diet, and their whole cariage and demeanor. *Plato* likewise was no changeling, but the same man at *Syracusa*, that he was in the Academie or College at *Athens*: and looke what his cariage was before *Dion*, the same it was and no other in *Denys* his court.

But that man may very easily finde out the variable changes of a flatterer, as of the fish called the Pourcuttle, who will but staine a little and take the paines to play the dissembler himselfe, making shew as if he likewise were transformed into divers and sundry fashions; namely in unliking the course of his former life, and sodainly seeming to embrace those things which he rejected before, whether it be in diet, action or speech: For then he shall soone see the flatterer also to be inconsistent, and not a man of himselfe, taking love or hatred to this or that, joying or greiving at a thing, upon any affection of his owne that leadeh him thereto, for that he receiveth alwaies as a mirrour the images of the passions, motions and lives of other men. If you chance to blame one of your friends before him, what will he say by and by? Ah well, You have found him out I see now at last though it were long since: I wis I liked him not long a great while ago: Contrariwise, if your minde alter, so that you happen to fall a praising of him againe: Very well done will he say, and binde it with an oth, I can you thanke for that: I am very glad for the mans sake, and I beleeve no lesse of him. Do you breake with him about the alteration of your life, and beare him in hand that you meane to take another course, as for example, to give over State affaires, to betake your selfe to a more private and quiet life. Yea marie (quoth he) and then you do well, it is more than high time so to do: For long since we should have bene disburdened of these troubles so full of envie and perill. Make him beleeve once that you will change your copie, and that you are about to shake off this idle life, and to betake your selfe unto the Common-weale, both to rule and also to speake in publike place: you shall have him to sooth you up, and second your song, with these and such like responds: A brave mind (beleeve me) and becomming a man of your worth and good parts: For to say a truth, this idle and private life, though it be pleasant, and have ease enough, yet it is but bale, abject, and dishonorable; when you finde him there once, muffle his nose immediately with this posie,

*Good, for me thinks you soone do turne your stile,  
You seeme much chang'd from him you were ere while.*

I have no neede of such a friend, that will alter as I doe, and follow me every way (for my shadow can do that much better) I had rather have one that with me will follow the truth, & judge according to it and not otherwise. Avant therefore, I will have nought to do with thee. Thus you see one one way to discover a flatterer.

A second difference we ought to observe in his imitations and resemblances, for a true friend doth not imitate all that he seeth him whom he loveth to do; neither is he forward in praising everie thing, but that onely which is best: For according to *Sophocles*,

*In love he would his fellow be,  
But not in hate and enmities.*

And verily one friend is ready and willing to assist another in well doing and in honest life, and never will yeeld to be companion in leaudnesse, or helpe him to commit any wicked and heinous fact; unless peradventure through the ordinarie conversation, and continuall acquaintance together, he be tainted with infection of some ill qualitie and vicious condition, even against his will and ere he be well aware; much like as they who by contagion catch the murther and bleeched eyes; or as the familiar friends and schollers (by report) of *Plato* did imitate him in stopping forward; and those of *Aristotle* in his stammering and maffling speech; and the Courtiers of *Alexander*, the Great, in bending of his necke, and rough voice when he spake. For even so, some there be who receive impression of their manners and conditions at unawares and against their wils. But contrariwise, it fareth with a flatterer even as with the Chameleon; For as he can take upon him any colour save onely white; semblably, a flatterer cannot possibly frame himselfe to any thing that good is and of importance: but there is no naughtinesse and badnesse

badnesse in the world which he will not quickly imitate. And well I may compare such fellows to ill painters, who when through insufficiency in their art they be not able to draw to the life, the beautie and fauour of a good face, will be sure yet to expresse the riuels, warts, moulcs, freckles, scarres and such like deformities. For euen so a flatterer can imitate verie passing well, Incontinencie, foolish superstition, haughtines and choler, bitternesse towards household seruants, distrust and diffidence in friends & kinsfolke, yea and treacherie against them: for that by nature he is alwaies inclined to the woofe; and besides, so far he would be thought from blaming vice, that he undertaketh to imitate the same. For those that seeke for amendment of life and reformation of manners are euer suspected: such (I say) as thew themselves displeased and offended at the faulcs and misdemeanors of their friends. And this was it that made *Dionodius* to *Derys* the Tyrant, *Santus* to *Philip*, and *Cleomenes* to *Protophantus*, and in the ende was their ruine and overthrow. The flatterer who desireth to be both pleasant and faithfull at once, or at leastwise so to be reputed, for excessive love and friendship that he pretendeth, will not seeme to be offended with his friend for any lewd parts, but in all things would be thought to carie the same affection, and to be in manner of the same nature and incorporate into him: whereupon it cometh to passe also, that euen in casuall things and the occurrences of this life, which happen without our will and counsell, he will reedes have a part, there is no remedie. This if he be disposed to flatter sicke persons, hee will make as though hee were sicke also of the same disease for companie: and if hee have to doe with such as bee dimme sighted or hard of hearing, hee will be thought neither to see nor heare well for fellowship. Thus the flatterers about *Derys* the Tyrants, when he had an impediment in his eyes that he could not see cleerely, faigned that themselves likewise were halfe blinde, and to make it good, hit one upon another at the board, and overthrow the dishes upon the table as they fate at supper. Others there be that proceed farther than so, and because they would appeere more touched with a fellow-feeling of affections, will enter as farre as to the verie inward secretts that are not to be revealed. For if they can perceive that they whom they do flatter, be not fortunate in their marriage, or that they are grown into distrust, jealousy, and sinister opinion, either of their owne children, or their neer kinsfolke and familiars; they spare not themselves but begin to complaine, & that with grieft of heart and sorrow of their owne wives and children, of their kindred and friends, laying abroad some criminous matters, which were better (iwis) to be concealed and smothered, than uttered and revealed. And this resemblance and likeness that they take upon themselves, causeth them to seeme more affectionate and fuller of compassion. The other then, thus flattered, thinking that by this means they have received from them a sufficient pawning and assurance of their fidelitie, sticke not to let fall from their mouth some matter of secrecie also; and when they have once committed it unto them, then they are euer after bound to use them, yea and be afraid to mistrust them in any thing. I my selfe knew one who seemed to put away his owne wedded wife, because his friend whom he flattered had divorced his before: and when he had so done, was known to go secretly unto her, and messengers there were who passed to and fro betweene them under hand: which the divorced wife of the other perceived and found out well ynough. Certes little knew he what a flatterer was, and he had no experience of him who thought these Iambicke verses to expresse the Sea-crab better than him,

*A beast whose body and belly are meet,*

*The eie doth serve each way to see:*

*With teeth it creeps, they stand for feet,*

*A read now what creature this may be?*

For this is the very portraiture and image of a parasite, who keepe about the frying pan (as *Eupolis* saith) of his good friends, and watch where the cloth is laid: But as touching these things, let us referre them to their proper place for to be discoursed more at large. Howbeit, for the present let us not leave behinde us one notable device and cunning craft; that a flatterer hath in his imitations; to wit, that if he do counterfeit some good qualitie that is in him whom he doth flatter, yet he giueth him alwaies the upper hand: For among those that be true friends; there is no emulation at all no jealousy or envy betweene one & another: but whether they be equall in well doing or come behinde, they take all in good part and never grieve at the matter. But the flatterer bearing wel in minde that he in euerie place, is to play the second part, yeeldeth alwaies in his imitation the equalitie from himselfe, and doth affect to counterfeit another so, as he will be the inferior, giving the superiority unto the other in all things but those which are naught, for therein he chalengeth to himselfe the victorie over his friend. If he be somewhat mal-content

and

and hard to be pleased, then will the flatterer professe himselfe to be starke melancholike: if his friend be somewhat too religious or superstitious, then will he make semblance as though he were rapt and transported altogether with the feare of the gods: If the other be amorous, he will be in love furious: when the other saith I laughed a good; but I (will he say againe) laughed untill I was well nere dead. But in good things it is cleane contrarie, for when he speaketh of good footmanship he will say, I runne swiftly indeed; but you fly away. Againe, I fit a horse and rid reasonable wel; but what is that to this Hippo-Centaur here for good horsemanship? Alfo, I have a pretie gift in Poetrie (I must needs say) and am not the worst versifier in the world; but

*To thunder verses I have no skill,*

*To Iupiter there leave that I will.*

10 in these and such like speeches two things at once he doth: for first he seemeth to approve the enterprise of the other as singular good, because he doth imitate him; and secondly he sheweth that his sufficiencie therein is incomparable and not to be matched, in that he confesseth himselfe to come short of him. And thus much of the different marks betweene a flatterer and a friend as touching their resemblances.

Now, forasmuch as there is a communitie of delectation and pleasure in them both (as I have said before) for that an honest man taketh no lesse joy and comfort in his friends, than a lewd person in flatterers, let us consider likewise the distinction betweene them in this behalfe. The onely way to distinguish them a sunder in this point, is to marke the drift and end of the 20 delectation both in the one and the other: which a man may see more cleerely by this example: There is in a sweete ointment an odoriferous smell; so is there also in an Antidote or medicine; but herein lieth the difference, for that in the ointment above said, there is a reference to pleasure onely, and to nothing else; but in the Antidote, beside the delectation that the odor yeeldeth, there is a respect also of some medicinable vertue; namely either to purge and cleanse the bodie, or to heate and chafe it, or else to incamate and make new flesh to come. Again, Painters do grinde and mixe fresh colours and lively rinctures; so the Apothecarie hath drugs and medicines of a beautifull and pleasant colour to the eie, that it would do a man good to look upon them. But wherein is the difference? Is there any man so grosse that conceiveth not readily, that the ods lieth in the use or end, for which both the one and the other be ordained? 30 Semblably the mutuall offices and kindnes that passe from friend to friend, beside the honestie and profite that they have, bring with them also that which is pleasing and delectable, as if some deinty and lively flowers grew thereupon: For sometime friends use plaies and pastimes one with another: they invite one another, they eate and drinke together: yea and otherwhiles (beleeve me) you shall have them make themselves mery and laugh hartly, jesting, gauding, and disposing one with another; all which serve as pleasant sauces to season their other serious and honest affaires of great weight and consequence. And to this purpose serve wel these verses:

*With pleasant discourses from one to another*

*They made themselves mery, being met together.*

Alfo,

*And nothing else disjoined our amity,*

*Nor parted our pleasures and mutuall jollity.*

40 But the whole worke of a flatterer, and the onely marke that he shootheth at, is alwaies to de-vise, prepare and coniect, as it were, some play or sport, some action and speech, with pleasure and to do pleasure. And to knit up all briefly in one word; he is of opinion that he ought to do all for to be pleasant: whereas the true friend doing alwaies that which his dutie requireth, many times pleaseth, and as often againe he is displeased: not that his intention is to displease at any time; howbeit if he see it expedient and better so to do; he will not sticke to be a little harsh and unpleasant. For like as a Physician when neede requireth, putteth in some Saffron or Spiknard into his medicine: yea and otherwhile permitte his patient a delicate bath, or liberal 50 and deinty diet to his full contentment: but sometimes for it againe, leaving out all sweet odors, casteth in *Cassum*;

*Or Polium which strong sent doth yeeld*

*And stinks most of all herbes in field.*

or else he bruseth and stampeth some Ellcbore, and forceth his patient to drinke of that potion: nor proposing either in the former medicine pleasure, nor in the latter displeasure for the end: but both by the one and the other, training the sicke person under his hand to one & the same effect of his cure, to wit, his good and the health of his body; even so it is with a true friend:

one

one while with praises and gracious words he extolled and cheereth up his friend, inciting him thereby alwaies to that which is good and honest, as he in *Homer*,

*Deere heart Sir Teucer worth the sonne  
of Telamon that Knight,  
Come Prince and floure of valiant knights,  
Shooe thus your arrows flight.*

And another,  
*How can I ever put out of minde  
Heavenly Vlysses a Prince so kinde?*

Contrariwise, another while where there is need of chastisement and correction, he will not spare but use sharpe and biting words: yea, and that free speech which carrieth with it an affection carefull to do good, and such as in deed befleemeth a tutor and governour, much after this manner:

*What Menelaus! how ever thou  
from Iupiter you descend:  
Thou play the foole for folly such  
I cannot you commend.*

It falleth out so likewise, that sometime he addeth deeds to words. And thus *Menedemus* shut the doore against the sonne of *Aclepiades* his friend, and would not deigne once to salute him, because he was a riotous youth, and lived dissolutely and out of all order: by which meanes he was reclaimed from loose life, and became an honest man. *Arcesilam* in like maner excluded *Bartus* out of his schoole, and would not suffer him to enter, because in a Comedie that he composed, he had made one verse against *Cleanthes*; but afterwards *Bartus* repenting of that he had done, and making satisfaction unto *Cleanthes*, was pardoned and received againe into his favor. For a man may offend his friend with intention to doe him good; but he must not proceed so farre in displeasing him, that thereby he breake or undo the knot of friendship: he ought (I say) to use a sharpe rebuke, as a Physician doth some bitter or tart medicine, to save or preserve the life of his patient. And a good friend is to play the part of a Musician, who to bring his instrument into tune, and so to keepe it, setteth up these strings, and letteth downe those: and so ought a friend to exchange profit with pleasure, and use one with another, as occasion serveth, observing still this rule often times, to be pleasing unto his friend, but alwaies profitable: whereas the flatterer being used evermore to sing one note, and to play upon the same string, that is to say, To please: and in all his words and deeds, to aime at nothing els but the contentment of him whom he flattereth, can not skill either in act to resist, or in speech to reprove and offend him; but goeth on still so following his humor, according alwaies with him in one tune, and keeping the same note just with him.

Now, as *Xenophon* writeth of king *Arcesilam*, that he was well apaid to be commended of them who he knew would also blame him if there were cause, so we are to thinke well of friendship when it is pleasant, delightfome and cheereful, if otherwhiles also it can displease and crosse againe; but to have in suspicion the conversation and acquaintance of such, as never doe or say any thing but that which is pleasing, continually keeping one course without change, never rubbing where the gall is, nor touching the sore, without reproofe and contradiction. We ought (I say) to have ready alwaies in remembrance the saying of an ancient Laconian, who hearing king *Charilus* so highly praised and extolled; And how possibly (quoth he) can he be good, who is neerer sharpe or severer unto the wicked? The gad-flie (as they say) which useth to plague bulles and oxen, feedeth about their eares, and so doth the tick deale by dogges: after the same maner, flatterers take holde of ambitious mens eares, and possesse them with praises; and being once set fast there, hardly are they to be removed and chased away. And here most needfull it is, that our judgement be watchfull and observant, and doe discern whether these praises be attributed to the thing or the person; wee shall perceive that the thing it selfe is praised, if they commend men rather absent than in place: also if they desire and affect that themselves, which they do so like and approve in others: again, if they praise not us alone; but all others, for the semblable qualities: likewise, if they neither say nor do one thing now, and another time the contrary. But the principall thing of all other, is this, if we our selves know in our owne secret conscience, that we neither repent nor be ashamed of that, for which they so commend us: yet wish in our hearts, that we had said or done the contrary: for the inward judgement of our mind and soule bearing witness against such praises, and not admitting thereof, is void of affections and

and passions, whereby it neither can be touched nor corrupted and surprisid by a flatterer. Howbeit, I know not how it commeth about, that the most part of men can not abide nor receive the consolations which be ministred unto them in their adversities, but rather take delight and comfort in those that weep, lament and mourne with them: and yet the same men having offended or being delinquent in any dutie, if one come and find fault or touch them to the quicke therefore, do strike and imprint into their hearts remorse and repentance, they take him for no better than an accuser and enemy: contrariwise, let one highly commend and magnifie that which they have done; him they salute and embrace, him they account their wel-willer and friend in deed. Now, whosoever they be that are ready to praise and extoll with applause and clapping of hands, that which one hath done or said, were it in earnest or in game; such (I say) are dangerous and hurtfull for the present onely, and in those things which are next hand: but those, who with their praises pierce as farre as to the maners within, and with their flatteries proceed to corrupt their inward natures and dispositions, I can liken unto those slaves or household servants, who rob their masters, not onely of that come which is in the heape, & lieth in the garners, but also of the very seed; for the inclination and towardnesse of a man, are the seed that bring forth all his actions, and the habitude of conditions and maners, are the very fource and head from whom runneth the course of our whole life, which they pervert in giving to vices the names of virtues. *Thucydes* in his storie writeth: That during civil seditions and warres, men transferred the accustomed significations of words unto other things, for to justify their deeds: for de-  
spareate rashnesse, without all reason, was repured valour, and called Love-friend: provident delay and temporizing, was taken for decent cowardise: Modestie and temperance, was thought to be a cloke of effeminate unmanlinesse: a prudent and wary circumspection in all things, was held for a generall slouth and idleness. According to which precedent, we are to consider and observe in flatterers, how they terme prodigalitie by the name of liberalitie; cowardise is nothing with them but heedfull warinesse: brainficknesse they entitle promptitude, quicknesse, and celeritie: base and mechanickall nigardise, they account temperate frugallitie. Is there one full of love and given to be amorous? him they call good fellow, a boun-companion, a man of a kinde and good nature. See they one halfe, wrathfull, and proud withall? him they will have to be hardie, valiant and magnanimous: contrariwise, one of a base minde and abject spirit, they will grace with the attribute of fellow-like, and full of humanity. Much like to that which *Plato* hath written in one place: That the amorous lover is a flatterer of those whom he loveth. For if they be flat nosed like a shoing horse, such they call lovely and gracious: be they hawk nosed like a griffin, oh, that is a kingly sight say they: those that be blacke of colour, are manly: white of complexion, be Gods children. And as for the terme *Melichrius*, that is, Hony-coloured, it is alwaies (verily) a flattering word, devised by a lover, to mitigate and diminish the odiousnesse of a pale hue, which he seemeth by that sweet name, not to dislike, but to take in the best part. And verily if hee that is foule & ill favoured, be borne in hand that he is faire and beautifull, or one of small & lowe stature made believe that he is goodly & tall; he neither continueth long in this his error, neither is the damage that he susteineth thereby greivous & great, nor unrecoverable: but the praises which induce & inure a man to believe, That vice is vertue, inso much that he is nothing at all discontented in his sinne and greaved therefore, but rather taketh pleasure therein: those also which take away from us all shame and abashment to commit faults; such were they that brought the Sicilians to ruine, and gave them occasion to beautifie or colour the tyrannic and crueltie of *Denys* and *Phalaris*, with the goodly names of Iustice and Hatred of wickednesse: These were the overthrow of *Aegypt*, in clogging the effeminate wantonnesse, the furious superstition, the yelling noises after a fanaticall maner of king *Ptolomeus*, together with the marks that he carried of Lillies and Tabours in his body, with the glorious names of Devotion, Religion, and the service of the gods. And this was it that at the same time went very neere, and had like to have corrupted and spoiled for ever the maners and fashions of the Romanes, which before were so highly reputed, to wit, naming the riotousnes of *Antonie*, his loosenes, his superfluous delights, his sumptuous shewes & publike feasts, with their profusion and wasting of so much monie, by smooth and gentle termes of courtesies, and meriments full of humanitie, by which disguisements and pretexts, his fault was mollified or diminished in abusing so excessively the grandence of his puissiance & fortune. And what was it else that made *Ptolomeus* to put on the masque or muffle (as it were) of a piper, and to hang about him pipes and flutes? What was it that caused *Neero* to mount up the Stage to act Tragedies, with a vifour over his face, and buskins on his legs? was it not the praise of such flatterers as these? And are



not most of our kings being when they sing finall and fine, after a puling maner, saluted *Apolloes* for their musicker: and if they drinke until they be drunke, honored with the names of *Bacchus* the god of wine: and when they seeme a little to wrestle or trie some feats of activitie, stiled by and by with the glorious addition of *Hercules*, brought (thinke you) to exceeding dishonour & shame by this grosse flatterie, taking such pleasure as they do in these gallant surnames. And therefore we had most need to beware of a flatterer in the praises which he giveth, which himselfe is not ignorant of, but being carefull and very subtil in avoiding all suspicion, if haply he meet with one of these fine fooles, and delicate minions, well set out in gay apparell: or some rusticall thicke-skin, carying on his backe a good leather pilch; or (as they say) one that feedeth grossly: such he will not spare but abuse with broad flattery, and make common laughing stocks of them: Like as *Struthias*, making a very alle of *Bias*, and riding him up and downe, yea & insulting upon him for his fortinellie with praises that he would seeme to hang upon him: Thou hast (quoth he) drunk more than king *Alexander* the great, & with that turning to *Cyprius* laughed as hard as ever he could till he was ready to sinke againe: But if a flatterer chance to deale with them that be more civill and elegant, and do perceive that they have a speciall eie unto him in this point, namely that they stand well upon their guard in this place, for feare lest they be surprisid by him: then he goes not to worke directly in praising of them, but he keepeth aloofe, he fetcheth about many compasses a great way off at first, afterwards by little and little he winneth some ground and approacheth neerer and neerer, making no noise untill he can touch and handle them, much after the maner of those that come about wilde beasts, affaying how to bring them to hand and make them tame and gentle. For one while he will report to such a one the praises that some other give out of him: imitating herein the Rhetoricians, who many times in their orations speake in the third person, and after this maner he will begin: I was not long since (quoth he) in the market place, where I had some talke with certaine strangers, and other ancient personages of good worth, whom I was glad at the heart to heare, how they recounted all the good in the world of you, and spake wonderfully in your commendation. Otherwhiles he will devise and fetch out of his owne fingers ends some light imputations against him, yet all forged and false, agreeable to his person and condition, making semblance as if he had heard others what they said of him, and very cunningly will he close with him, and beare him in hand that he is come in all haste to know of him, whether ever he said or did so as was reported of him: And if the other do denie it, (as it is no other like but he will) thereupon he takes occasion to enter into the praise and commendation of the man in this wise: I marvel truly how that you should abuse and speake ill of any of your familiars and friends, who were never wont so much as to miscall or say otherwise than well of your very enemies: or how it possibly could be, that you should be ready to gape after other mens goods, who use to be so liberall and bountifull of your owne? Other flatterers there be, who like as Painters to set up their colours and to give them more beautifull light and lustre unto them, lay neere unto them others that be more darke and shadowie: so they in blaming, reprooving, reproching, traducing & deriding the contrarie vertues to those vices which are in them whom the meane to flatter, covertly and underhand do praise and approve those faults and imperfections that they have, and so in praising and allowing, do feede and cherish the same: As for example, if they be among prodigall ding-thrifts and wasters, riotous persons, covetous misers, mischievous wretches, and such as have raked & scraped goods together by hooke and crooke, and by all indirect means they care not how: before them they will speake basely of Temperance and Abstinence, calling it rusticitie: and as for those that live justly and with a good conscience, contenting themselves with their estate, and therein reposing suffisance, those they will nickname, heartlesse, and base minded folke, altogether insufficient to do or dare anything. If it fall out, that they converse and be in companie with such as be idle larks, and love to sit full at home and do nothing, forbearing to meddle with ordinarie affaires abroad in the world: they will not baste to finde fault with policie and civill government, calling the managing of State matters and common weale, a thanklesse intermeddling in other mens affaires, with much travaile and no profit. And as for the minde and desire to be a magnifrate and to sit in place of authoritie, they will not let to say it is vaine glory and ambition, altogether fruitlesse. For to flatter and claw an orator, they will reproove in his presence a Philosopher. Among light huswives that be wantonly given, they winne the price, and are very well accepted, if they call honest matrons and chaste dames (who content themselves with their owne husbands, and them love alone) rude and rusticall women, untaught, ill bred, unlovely and having no grace with them. But herein is the very

very height of wickednesse, that these flatterers for advantage will not spare their owne selves: For like as wrestlers debate their owne bodies and stoupe downe low otherwhiles, for to overthrow their fellows that wrestle with them, and to lay them along on the ground; so in blaming and finding many faults with themselves, they winde in, and creepe closely to the praise and admiration of others: I am (quoth one of them) a very coward, and no better than a verie slave at sea; I can away with no labour and travell in the world; I am all in a heat of choler, and raging mad, if I heare that one hath given me any bad termes; many as for this man (meaning him whom he flattereth) he casteth doubts at no perill and danger, all is one with him, sea or land, he can endure all hardnesse, and he counteth nothing painfull, no hurt there is in him, a singular man he is, and hath not his fellow, he is angry at nothing, he beareth all with patience. But say he meet with one at adventure, which standeth upon his owne bottome, and hath some great opinion of his owne sufficiency for wit and understanding, who hath a desire to be austere, and not to depend upon the conceits of others, but resteth in his owne judgement; and upon a certaine uprightnesse in himselfe, effoones hath these verses in his mouth:

*Sir Diomed, do not me praise  
so much to more or lesse,  
Nor out of measure me dispraise,  
I love not such exesse.*

This flatterer then, who is his owne crafts-master and hath thoroughly learned his trade, goeth not the old way to worke in setting upon him, but he hath another engin and device in store to assaile such a grim sir withall. He will make an errand to him for counsell in his owne affaires, as being the man whom he esteemeth to have more wit and wisdom than himselfe. There be divers others (quoth he) with whom I have better acquaintance and familiaritie than with your selfe: Howbeit, sir I am forced of necessitie to make bold and to importune you a little: For whither else should wee ingram men repaire, that have neede of advice? and to whom are we to have recourse in matters of trust and secrecie. And then after he hath heard once what he will say, and it makes no matter what it be; he will take his leave, saying, that he hath received not counsell from a man, but an oracle from some god. Now before he departeth, if haply he perceive that he taketh upon him good skill and insight in literature, he will present unto him some compositions of his owne penning, praying him withall to peruse them, yea and to correct the same. *Mithridates* the king, affected and loved the art of Physicke verie well: by reason whereof some of his familiar friends about him, came and offered themselves to be cut and cauterized by him: which was a meere flatterie in deed and not in word. For it seemed that they gave great testimonie of his soule, in that they put their lives into his hands:

*Of subtile spirits thus you may see,  
That many formes and shapes there be.*

But this kind of dissimuled praises, requiring greater and more warie circumspection to be taken heed of, if a man would detect and convince, hee ought of purpose when hee is tempted and assailed with such flatterie, to obtunde and propose unto the flatterer absurd counsell, if he seeme to demand and aske it: advertisements also and properly of the same kinde, yea and corrections without all sense and to no purpose, when he shall offer his labours to be read and perused: In so doing, if he perceive the partie suspected to be a flatterer, doth not gaine say nor contradict anything, but alloweth of all and receiveth the same, yea and more than that, when he shall to everie point crie out and say, Oh well said and sufficiently: O excellent wit: before, then he is caught in a trap: then I say it will be found plainly according to the common by-word,

*That when he did a watchword crave,  
Some other thing he sought to have:  
Or as we say (in Proverb old)*

*Draffe w as his errand, but drinke he would.*

that is to say, he waited for some occasion and opportunitie, by praising to puffe him up with vanitie and overweening of himselfe. Moreover, like as some have defined painting to be a mute Poësie; even so praising is a kind of silent and secrete flatterie. Hunters (we see) then soonest deceive the poore beasts, when they seeme to do nothing lesse than to hunt, making semblance as though they either travelled like wayfaring men, or tended their flocks, or else tilled the ground. Semblably flatterers touch those whom they flatter, neereft and enter to the verie quickly by praising, when they make no shew thereof, but seeme to do nothing lesse than praise. For



For he that giveth the chaire and seat to another comming in place, or as he is making an oration either in publicke place before the people, or in Councell house to the Senate, breaketh off his owne speech, and yeeldeth unto him his roome, giving him leave to speake or to opine, and remaineth silent himselfe: by this his silence sheweth, that he doth repute the other a better man, and of more sufficiency for wisdom and knowledge than himselfe, much more than if he should pronounce and ring it out aloud to the whole audience. And hereupon it is that this sort of people who make profession of flatterie, take up ordinarily the first and highest seats, aswell at sermons and publicke orations whither men flocke to heare, as at the Theaters and shewen places, not that they thinke themselves worthe of such places, but because they may rise and make roome for better & richer persons as they come, and thereby flatter them kindly. This we see also, that in sollemne assemblies and great meetings or auditories, they are by their good wils the first that put themselves forth, and make offer to begin speech; but it is for nothing else, but that afterward they would seeme to quit the place and give assent to their betters, soone retracting their owne opinions, when they heare a mightie man, a rich or noble personage in authoritie to contradiect and say the contrarie. And here we ought most of all to be circumspect and warie, that we may evict them of this, That all this courting, this giving place, this yeelding of the victorie and reverence made unto others, is not for any more sufficiency that they acknowledge in them, for their knowledge, experience and vertues; ne yet for their worthinesse in regard of elder age, but only for their wealth, riches, credit, and reputation in the world. \**Megabyus* a great Lord belonging to the kings court of *Persia*, came upon a time to visit *Apelles* the painter: and sitting by him in his shop to see him worke, began of his owne accord to discourse I wot not what, of lines, shadowes and other matters belonging to his art: *Apelles* hearing him, could not hold but said unto him; See you not fir these litle prentise boies here that grinde Oker and other colours? So long as you fare still and said never a word, they advised you well and their eie was never off, wondering to see your rich purple robes, your chaines and jewels of gold, no sooner began you to speake, but they fell to teighing, and now they laugh you to skorne, talking thus as you doe of those things which you never learned. And *Solon* being demanded once by *Craesus* King of *Lydia*, what men he had seene whom he reputed most happie in this world? named unto him one *Tellus*, none of the great men of *Athens*, but a good plaine and meane citizen, *Cleobis* also and *Biton*: and these he said were of all others most fortunate. But these flatterers will affirme that Kings and Princes, rich men and rulers, are not onely blessed, happie and fortunate; but also excell all others in wisdom, knowledge and vertue. There is not one of them that can endure so much as to heare the Stoicks, who hold, that the sage and wise man (such a one as they depaint unto us) ought all at once to be called, rich, faire, noble, yea and a king: whereas our flatterers will have the rich man onely, whom they are disposed to flatter, to be an Orator and a Poet; yea and if he will himselfe, a painter, a good piper, passing light of foote and strong of limmes; in so much, as whosoever wrestleth with him, shall be sure to take the foile and lye along; and whomsoever he runneth with in the race, he shall come behinde him a faire deale, but how? Surely even as *Crispon* the Himeræan lagged for the nonce behind King *Alexander* the Great, when he ran with him for the best game: for which the King was highly displeased & wroth at him, when he once perceived it. *Carneades* was wont to say, that the sons of Kings and great rich men, learned to do nothing well and right, but onely to fit and ride an horse. For that their masters are wont to flatter and praise them in all their schooles where they be taught: for if they be at the exercise of wrestling, you shall have him that wrestleth with them, of purpose to take a fall and lye under them: Marie, the horse not knowing nor having the reason to discerne a private mans sonne from a prince; nor whether he be poore or rich that sits upon his backe, will be sure to cast him over his head and lay him along whosoever he be, that cannot skill how to hold and rule him. *Bion* therefore was but a verie loob and foole in saying thus: If I wist that with praising a peece of ground I could make it good, rich and fertile, it should want for no praises; and rather would I commend it than toile and moile in digging, tilling, & doing worke about it. And yet I will not say, that a man is too blame and doth amisse in praising: if so be, that those who are praised be the better and more fruitfull in all good things for it. Howbeit to come againe into the ground before said; a field being praised never so much is not the worse nor lesse fertile therefore: but I assure you they that commend folke falsely, and beyond their desert and due, puffe them full of winde and vanitie, and worke their overthrow in the end. But now having discoursed sufficiently upon this article and point of praises, let us proceed forward to treat of franknes and libertie of speech.

And

And verily meeete and reason it had bene, that as *Patroclus* when he put on the armour of *Achilles*, and brought forth his horses of service to battell, durst not meddle with his speare *Pelias*, but left it onely untouched; so a flatterer also, although he maske and disguise himselfe with other habits, ornaments and ensignes of a friend, should let this libertie onely of speech alone, and not once go about to touch or counterfeite it, as being indeed

*A baston of such poise and weight*

*So big withall so stiffe and freight,*

that of all others it belongeth onely to friendship for to be caried and welded by it. But for as much, as our flatterers now a daies are afraid to be detected in laughing in their cups, in their jests, scoffes; and game some mirth; therefore to avoide such discovery, they have learned forsooth to knit and bend the browes, they can skill iwis, to flatter, and yet looke with a frowning face and crabbed countenance, they have the cast to temper with their glavering gloses some rough reprehensions, and chiding checks among: let us not overpasse this point untouched, but consider and examine the same likewise. For mine owne part I am of this minde; That as in a Comedie of *Menander*, there comes in a counterfeite *Hercules* to play his part upon the stage with a club on his shoulder, that is (you may be sure) nothing massie, heavey, stiffe and strong, but some device and gawd, hollow and emptie within, made of browne paper or such like stuffe; Even so, that plaine and free speech which a flatterer useth, will be found light, soft, and without any strength at all to give a blow: much like (to say truly) unto the soft bed pillows that women lie on, which seeming full and plump to resist and beare out against their heads, yeeld and sinke under the same so much the more: For after the same maner, this counterfeite free speech of theirs puffed up full of winde, or else stuffed with some deceitfull light matter, seemeth to rise up, to swell, and beare out hard & stiffe, to the end that being pressed downe once (and both sides as it were comming together) it might receive, enlap and enfold him that chaunceth to fall thereupon, and so carie him away with it. Whereas the true and friendly libertie of speech indeed, taketh hold of those that are delinquent and do offend, bringing with it a kinde of paine for the time, which notwithstanding is holsonne and healthfull: resembling heerein the nature of honie, which being applied to a sore or ulcerous place, at the first doth smart and sting; but it doth cleanse and mundifie withall, and otherwise is profitable, sweete and pleasant. But as touching this plaine dealing and franke speech, I will write a part of purpose in place convenient. As for the flatterer he maketh shew at the first, that he is rough, violent, and inexorable in all dealings with others: For over his servants he carieth a hard hand, and is not pleased with their service, with his familiars, acquaintance and kinsfolke he is sharpe and eager, ready to finde fault with every thing; he maketh no reckoning nor account of any man but himselfe; he despiseth and disdaineth all the world besides; there is not a man living that he will pardon and forgive; he blameth and accuseth every one; and his whole studie is to win the name & reputation of a man that hateth vice, & in that regard careth not whom he doth provoke, and whose displeasure he incur: as who, for no good in the world would he hired to hold his tongue, nor willingly forbare to speake plainly the truth; who with his good will would never speake or do any thing to sooth up and please another: Then will he make semblance as though he neither saw nor tooke knowledge of any great and grosse finnes indeed: but if peradventure there be some light and small outward faults, he will make foule a doo thereat, he will keepe a woonding and crying out upon them: then shall you have him in good earnest exclaime and reprove the delinquent with a loud and founding voice: As for example, if hee chance to espie the implements or any thing else about the house lie out of order; if a man be not well and neatly lodged; if his beard be not of the right cut, or his haire grow out of fashion; if a garment sit not handsomly about him, or if a horse or hound be not so carefully tended as they should be. But say that a man set nought by his parents, neglect his owne children, misuse his wife, disdain and despise his kinned, spend and consume his goods; none of all these enormities touch and moove him: Heere he is mute and hath not a word to say; he dares not reprove these abuses: much like as if a Master of the wrestling schoole, who suffreth a wrestler that is under his hand to be a drunkard and a whooremonger, should chide and rebuke him sharply about an oile cruse or curry-combe; or as if a Grammarian should finde fault with his scholar and chide him for his writing tables or his pen, letting him goe away cleere with solacismes, incongruities and barbarismes, as if he heard them not. Also I can liken a flatterer to him, who will not blame an ill authour, or ridiculous Rhetorician in any thing as touching his oration it selfe; but rather reproveth him for his utterance, and sharply taketh him

up

\**Plinius* reporteth this of *K. Alexander*, & not of *Megabyus*.

Some ex-  
pound it, lea-  
ving his sub-  
jects with  
cudgels, and  
oppressing the  
with excessive  
actions.

up for that by drinking of cold water he hath hurt his winde-pipe, and so marred his voice; or to one who being bidden to reade over and peruse a poore feely Epigram or other writing that is nothing woorth, taketh on and faret against the paper wherein it is written, for being thicke, couste or rugged; or against the writer, for negligent, slovenly or impure, otherwise. Thus the claw-backs and flatterers about king *Prolemus*, who would seeme to love good letters, and to be desirous of learning, used ordinarily to draw out their disputations and conferences at length, even to midnight, debating about some glosse or signification of a word, about a verse, or touching some historie: but all the while there was not one among so many of them, that would tell him of his crueltie, of his wrongs and oppressions; ne yet of his drumming, tabouring, and other enormous indignities, under the colour of religion; and scke to reforme him. Certes a foolish fellow were he, who comming to a man diseased with tumors, swellings, impostumes, or hollow ulcers, called *Fistulas*, should with a Chirurgians lancet, or Barbers rasor, fall to cut his haire, or pare his nailes; even so it faret with these flatterers, who applie their libertie of speeche to such things, as neither are in paine, nor yet do any hurt. Moreover, some others there bee of them, who being more cunning and craftie then their fellows, and use this plainnesse of language and reprehension of theirs, for to please and make sport withall. Thus *Agis* the *Argive*, seeing how *Alexander* the great, gave very great rewards and gifts to a certaine pleasant and odde fellow that was a jester, cried out for verie envie and colour of heart; O great abuse and monstrous absurditie: The King hearing it, turned about unto him in great displeasure and indignation, demanding of him what he had to say? I confesse (quoth he) indeed, that I am grieved, and I thinke it a great indignitie, when I see all you that are descended from *Jupiter* and his sonnes, to take pleasure in flatterers and jesters about you, for to make you merrie. For even so *Hercules* tooke a delight to have in his company certaine ridiculous *Ceropes*, and *Bacchus* had ever in his traine the *Silenes*. In your court likewise, a man may see such to be in credite and highly esteemed. When *Tiberius Cesar* the Emperor upon a certaine day was come into the Senate house of Rome, one of the Senators who knew how to flatter, arose and stood up, and with a good loud voice; Meete it is (quoth he) *Cesar* that men free borne, should likewise have the libertie of speeche, and speake their minds frankly; without dissimulating or concealing any thing which they know to be good and profitable: with this speeche of his, he stirred up the attention of the whole house, so as they gave good care unto him, and *Tiberius* himselfe listened what he would say. Now when all was still and in great silence; Hearken (quoth he) *Cesar*, what it is that we all accute and blame you for, but no man dare be so bolde as to speake it out: You neglect your selfe, and have no regard of your owne person; you consume and spoile your body with continuall cares and travels for our sake, taking no rest nor repose either day or night. Now when he had drawn out a long traine of words to this purpose, *Cassius Severus* a Rhetorician, stood up, and by report said thus; Such libertie of speeche as this, will be the utter undoing of this man. But these flatteries are of the lighter sort, and doe lesse hurt: there be other more dangerous, which worke the mischief and corruption of those who are not wise, and take no heed unto them; namely, when flatterers set in hand to reprove them whom they flatter, for the contrary vices to those that be in them. Thus *Himerius* the flatterer reproched a certaine rich man of *Athens*, the veriest pinching miser and the most covetous withall, that was in the whole city, with the imputations of prodigality; and negligence about his owne profit and gaine; charging him that one day he would smart for it, and both he and his children be hunger-starved for want wherwith to susteine themselves, if he looked no better to his thrift: or when they object miserable niggardie and beggerie, unto those that are known to be prodigall spenders, and consume all. After which manner, *Titus Peronius* reprooved *Nero*. Again, if they come to princes and great lords, who deale cruelly and hardly with their subjects and tenants, saying unto them, That they must lay away this overmuch lenity and foolish pity of theirs, which neither is seemely for their persons, nor yet profitable for their state. And very like to these, is he who maketh semblance to him who is a very senselesse and foolish foole, that he stands in great feare and doubt of him, lest hee should be circumvented by him, as if he were some cautelous, crafty and cunning person. He also, that doth rebuke another, who is an ordinary slanderer, who taketh pleasure (upon spite and envie) to be ever railing on all men, and backe-biting them; if hee chance any one time to breake out into the praise of some woorthy and excellent personage, saying in this manner unto him; This is a great fault that you have, and a disease that followeth you, thus to praise men of no woorth: What is he (I pray you) whom you thus commend? what good parts be in him? hath

hath he at any time done any doughty deed, or delivered any singular speeche that might deserve such praises? But in amorous and love matters they passe: there you shall have them most of all to come over those whom they flatter and lay on load; to them they will joine close, and let them on a flaming fire. For if they see brethren at some variance, or setting nought by their parents, or els to deale unkindly with their owne wives, and to set no store by them, or to be jealous and suspitious of them; they never admonish, chastise or rebuke them for it, that they may amend; but rather they will kindle more coales betweene, and encrease their anger and discontentment on both sides: Nay, it is no great matter (will they say,) it is even well enough; you will never see and know who you are; you are the cause of all this your owne selfe; and selfe do, selfe have; you evermore have borne your selves so pliable, submisive and lowly toward them, that you are but rightly served. But say there be some itching heat of love, or smart anger upon jealousy, in regard of a courtisan or married wife, whom the party is amorous of; then shall you see a flatterer ready at hand to display his cunning openly, and to speake his minde freely unto him, putting fire to fire and feeding his love; you shall have him to lay the law upon this lover, accusing and entering proceffe against him in these termes: You have broken the lawes of love; you have done and said many things not so kindly as befecemed a true lover, but rather deale hardly with your love, and enough to lose her heart, and incurre her hatred for ever;

*Vnthankfull person that thou art.*

*For kisses so many of thy sweet hart.*

Thus the flattering friends of *Antonius*, when he burned in love of the *Aegyptian* queene *Cleopatra*, would perswade and make him beleve, that she it was who was enamoured upon him, and by way of opprobrious imputation they would tell him to his face, that he was proud, disdainfull, hard hearted, and void of all kinde affection. This noble queene (would they say) for-faking so mighty and wealthy a kingdom, so many pleasant palaces, and stately houses of blessed abode, such meanes and opportunities of happinesse, for the love of you pinch away, and consumeth herselfe, trudging after your campe and to firo, for to doe your Honour content and pleasure with the habit and title of your Concubine;

*Whiles you in brest do cary an hart*

*Which will not be wrought by any art.*

neglecting her (good lady) and suffering her to perish for sorow and hearts grieve. Whereupon he being well enough pleased to heare himselfe thus charged with wrong doing to her, and taking more pleasure in these accusations of theirs, than if they had directly praised him, was so blinde that he could not see how they that seemed thus to admonish him of his due tie, perverted and corrupted him thereby so much the more. For this counterfeit liberty of plaine dealing and plaine speeche, may be very well likened to the wanton pinches and bitings of luxurious women, who tickle and stirre up the lust and pleasure of men by that which might seeme to cause their paine. For like as pure wine, which otherwise of it selfe is a sure remedy against the poison of hemlocke, if a man doe mingle it with the juice of the said hemlocke, doth mightily enforce the poison thereof, and make it irremediable, for that by means of the heat it conveieeth the same more speedily unto the heart; even so these lewd and mischievous flatterers, knowing full well that franke speeche is a singular helpe and remedy against flattery, abuse it to flatter withall. And therefore it seemeth that *Bias* answered not so well as he might have done, to one that asked of him, which was the shrewdest and most hurtfull beast of all other: If (quoth he) your question be of wilde and savage, a Tyrant is worse; if of tame and gentle, a Flatterer. For hee might have said more truly; that of Flatterers some be of a tame kinde, such (I meane) as these parasites are who haunts the baines and stoupes; those also that follow good cheere and keepe about the table. As for him, who (like as the Pourcuttle fish stretcheth out his claws like branches) reacheth as farre as to the secret chambers and cabinets of women, with his buisie intermedling, with his calumniation and malicious demeanors, such a one is savage, fell, intractable and dangerous to be approached.

Now one of the meanes to beware of this flatterie, is to know and remember alwaies, that our soule consisteth of two parts, whereof the one is addicted to the truth, loving honestie and reason; the other more brutish, of the owne nature unreasonable, given to untruth and withall passionate. A true friend assisteth evermore the better part, in giving counsell and comfort, even as an expert and skilfull Physitian, who hath an eye that aimeth alwaies at the maintenance and encrease of health: but the flatterer doth apply himselfe, and setteth to that part which is voide of reason and full of passions: this he scratcheth, this he tickleth continually, this

he stroketh and handleth in such sort, by devising some vicious and dishonest pleasures, that he withdraweth and turneth it away quite from the rule and guidance of reason. Moreover, as there be some kind of viands, which if a man eat, they neither turne unto blood, nor engender spirits, ne yet adde vigor and strength to the nerves and the marrow; but all the good they do, is haply to cause the flesh or genitall parts to rise, to stirre and loose the belly, or to breed some foggie, fantom and halfe rotten flesh, which is neither fast nor sound within; even so, if a man looke neerely and have good regard unto a flatterer, he shall never finde that all the words he useth, minister or procure one jot of good to him that is wise and governed by reason; but feed fooles with the pleasant delights of loves, kindle and augment the fire of inconsiderate anger; provoke them unto envie; breed in them an odious and vaine presumption of their owne wit; increase their sorrow and griefe, with moaning them and lamenting with them for companie; set on worke and exasperate their inbred naughtinesse and lowd disposition; their illiberal minde and covetous nature; their diffidence and distrustfulness of others; their base and servile timidity, making them alwaies worse, and apt to conceive ill; more fearefull; jealous and suspicious, by the meanes of some new accusations, false surmises and conjectural suggestions, which they be ready to put into their heads. For evermore it getteth closely into some vicious passion and affection of the minde, and there lurketh; the same it nourisheth and feedeth fat, but anon it appeareth like a botch, rising uppone the corrupt, diseased or inflamed parts of the soule. Art thou angry with one? punish him (saith he): Hast thou a minde to a thing? buy it, and make no more ado: Art thou never so little afraid? let us fite and be gon: Suspectest thou this, or that? belevee it confidently (saith he.) But if peradventure, he can hardly be seene and discovered about these passions, for that they be so mightie and violent, that oftentimes they chase and expell all life of reason, he will give some vantage to be sooner taken in others that be not so strong and vehement, where we shall finde him alwaies the same and like himselfe. For say, a man do suspect that he hath taken a surfeit, either by over liberal feeding or drinking headie wine, and upon that occasion make some doubt to bathe his bodie, or to cate presently againe and lay gorge upon gorge (as they say): A true friend will advice him to forbear & abstaine; he will admonish him to take heed to himselfe and looke to his health: In comes a flatterer, and he will draw him to the baine in all haste; he will bid him to call for some noveltie or other to be set upon the boord, willing him to fall fresh to it againe, and not to punish his body and do himselfe injurie, by fasting and refusing his meate and drinke: Also if he see him not disposed to take a journey by land or voyage by sea, or to go about any enterprize whatsoever it be, slowly and with an ill will, he will say unto him; either that there is no such great need, or the time is not so convenient, but it may be put off to a farther daie, or it will serve the turne well enough to send others about it. Now if it fall out so, that he having made promise to some familiar friend, either to lend or let him have the use of some money, or to give him it freely, do change his minde and repent of his promise; but yet be somewhat abashed and ashamed thus to breake his word; the flatterer by and by will put himselfe to the worse and lighter end of the balance, and make it weigh downe on the purse side, soone excluding and cutting off all shame for the matter: What man! (will he say) Spare your purse and save your silver; you are at a great charge; you keepe a great house, and have many about you which must be maintained and have sufficient; in such sort, that if we be not altogether ignorant of our selves, and wilfully blinde, not seeing that we be covetous, shamelesse, timorous and base minded, we cannot chooſe but start and finde out a flatterer; neither is it possible that he should escape us. For surely he will evermore defend and maintaine these imperfections, and frankly will he speake his minde in favour thereof, if he perceive us to over passe our selves therein. But thus much may suffice as touching these matters.

Let us come now to the uses and services that a flatterer is employed in: For in such offices he doth confound, trouble, and darken much the difference betweene him and a true friend; shewing himselfe in appearance, alwaies diligent, ready and prompt in all occurrences, without seeking any colourable pretences of shifiting off, and a refusing to do any thing. As for a faithfull friend, his whole carriage and behaviour is simple, like as be the words of truth, as saith *Euryides*, without welts and gards, plaine without plaits, and nothing counterfeit: whereas the conditions of a flatterer to say a truth,

*By nature are diseased much,*

*And medicines needfull are for such,*

not only with wisdom to be ministered and applied, but also many in number, and those (I assure you)

you) of a more exquisite making and composition than any other. And verily as friends many times when they meet one another in the street, passe by without good-morrow or god speed, or any word at all betweene them; onely by some light some looke, cheerefull smile, or amiable regard of the eie reciprocally given and taken, without any other token els, there is testified the good-will and mutual affection of the heart within: whereas the flatterer runneth toward his friend to meet him, followeth apace at his heeles, spreadeth forth both his armes abroad, and that a farre off, to embrace him: and if it chance that he be saluted and spoken to first, because the other had an eie on him before, he will with brave words excuse himselfe, yea, and many times call for witnesses, and bind it with great oathes good store, that he saw him not. Even so likewise in their affaires and negociations abroad in the world, friends omit and overslip many small and light things, not searching narrowly into matters, not offering or expecting againe any exquisite service; nothing curious and busie in ech thing, ne yet putting themselves forward to everie kinde of ministerie: but the flatterer is herein double diligent, he will be continually employed and never rest, without seeming at any time to be weary, no place, no space nor opportunity will he give the other to do any service; he looketh to be called unto and commanded; and if he be not bidden, he will take it ill and be displeased; nay you shall have him then out of heart and discouraged, complaining of his ill fortune, and protesting before God and man, as if he had some great wrong done unto him. These be evident marks and undoubted arguments to such as have wit and understanding, not of a friendship sound, sober & honest, but rather smelling of wanton and whorish love, which is more ready to embrace and clip, than is decent and seemely. Howbeit, to examine the same more particularly, let us consider what difference there is betweene a flatterer and a friend, as touching the offers and promises that they make. They who have written of this theme before us, say very well, that a friends promise goeth in this forme,

*If that I can, or if it may be done,*

*Fulfill I will your minde, and that right soone.*

but the offer of a flatterer runneth in this manner,

*What would you have? say but the word to me,*

*Without all doubt, effected it shall be.*

For such franke promisers and braggers as these, the Poets also use to bring unto the Stage in their Comedies, after this sort;

*Now of all loves, Nicomachus, this I crave,*

*Set me against this souldier here so brave,*

*I will so swing his coat, you shall it see,*

*I that like a pompon his flesh shall tender be:*

*His face, his head I shall much softer make,*

*Than is the sponge that growes in sea or lake.*

Moreover, you shall not see a friend offer his helping hand or aide in any action, unlesse he were called before to counsell, and his opinion asked of the enterprize, or that he have approved and set downe the same upon good advisement, to be either honest or profitable: whereas the flatterer, if a man should do him so much credit, as to require his consent and approbation, or otherwise request him to deliver his opinion of the thing, he, not onely upon a desire to yeeld unto others and to gratifie them; but also for feare to give any suspicion that he would seeme to draw backe and avoid to set his hand to any worke or businesse whatsoever, is ready with the formost to apply himselfe to the appetite and inclination of another, yea and withall, pricketh and inciteth him forward to enter upon it. And yet lightly you shall finde even of rich men and kings, but few or none who can or will come forth with these words;

*Would God some one that needy is and poore,*

*Yea, worse than he that begs from doore to doore,*

*Would come to me (so that he were my friend)*

*Without all feare, and speake to me his mind.*

But now adates it is rare otherwise; for they are much like unto composers of Tragedies, who will be provided of a quire or dance of their friends to sing with them, or desire to have a Theatre of purpose to give applause and clap their hands unto them. And verily whereas *Astrophe* in a certaine Tragedie giveth these sage and wise advertisements;

*Take those for friends, I need, and holde them so,*

*Whose speech is sound, and waves not to and fro:*

*But those thus please thy minde in word and deed,*

*Count lewd, and such Locke forth of doore with speed.*

Our Potentates and Grand Seigneurs doe cleane contrary; for such as will not follow their humors, and foote them up at every word, but gain-say their courses, in making remonstrance of that which is more profitable and expedient; such they disdaine and will not vouchsafe them a good looke. But for those wicked wretches, base minded varlets, and cooensing impostors, who can curry favor, they not only let their doores wide open for such, and receive them into their houses, but they admit them also to conferences with their inward affections and the very secrets of their heart. Among whom you shall have one more plaine perhaps and simple than the rest, who will say, that it is not for him, neither is he woorthy to deliberate and consult of so great affaires; may he could be content, and would take upon him, to be a poore servitour and minister, to execute whatsoever were concluded and enjoined him to doe: another more craftie and cunning than his fellowes, is willing enough to be used in counsell, where he will heare all doubts and perils that be cast; his eie-browes shall speake if they will, his head and eies shall nod and make signes, but his tongue shall not speake a word: Say that the partie whom he mindeth to flatter, do utter his minde and what he thinketh good to do: then will he crie out aloud and say, By *Heracles* I sweare, it was at my tongues end to have said as much, had you not prevented me and taken the word out of my mouth, I would have given you the verie same counsell. For like as the Mathematicians do affirme, that the superficial and outward extremities, the limmes also of the Mathematicall bodies, doe of themselves and in their owne nature, neither bend nor stretch, ne yet move at all: for that they be intellectuall onely or imaginarie, and not corporal, so but according as the bodies do bow, reach or stirre, so do they; so you shall ever finde that a flatterer, will pronounce, opine, thinke and be mooved to anger, according as he seeth another before him. And therefore in this kind, most easie it is to observe the difference between a flatterer and a friend. But yet more evident you shall see it in the manner of doing service. For the offices and kindnes which come from a friend, are ever best, and (as living creatures) have their most proper vertues inwardly, carrying least in shew, and having no outward ostentation of glorious pompe. And as it falleth out many times a Physitian cureth his patient, and saith little or nothing at all unto him, but doth the deed ere he be aware; even so, a good friend whether he be present or departed from his friend, doth him good still, and taketh care for him when he full little knoweth of it. Such a one was *Arcefilas* the Philosopher, who beside many other kind parts which he shewed unto his friend *Apelles*, the painter of *Chios*, comming one day to visite him when he was sicke, & perceiving how poore he was, went his way for that time: and when he returned againe, brought twentie good drachmes with him: and then sitting close unto *Apelles* by his beds side: Here is nothing here (quoth he) I see well, but these foure bare Elements that *Empedocles* writeth of,

*Hot Fire gold Water, heere and sofe:*

*Grosse Earth pure Aire that spreads aloft.*

But me thinkes you lie not at your ease; and with that he remooved the pillow or bolster under his head, and so conveyed underneath it privily, the small pieces of coine aforesaid. The old woman his nourie and keeper, when she made the bed, found this money: whereat she marvelled not a little, and told *Apelles* thereof, who laughing thereat: This is (quoth he) one of *Arcefilas* his theevish casts. And for that it is a Maxime in Philosophie, that children are borne like their parents, one *Lacydes* a schollar of *Arcefilas* aforesaid, being assistant with many others to attend of his named *Cephisferates*, when he came to his triall in a case of treason against the State: in pleading of which cause, the accuser his adversarie called for *Cephisferates* his ring, a pregnant evidence that made against him, which he had cleane slipped from his finger & let it fall to the ground; whereof the laid *Lacydes* being advised, set his foote presently over it, and so kept it out of sight: for that the maine proove of the matter in question lay upon that ring. Now after sentence passed on *Cephisferates* his side, and that he was cleere acquit of the crime, he went privately to everie one of the judges for to give them thanks: One of them who (as it should seeme) had scene what was done, willed him to thanke *Lacydes*: and with that told how the case stood, and how it went with him as it did: but all this while *Lacydes* himselfe had not said a word to any creature. Thus I thinke verily, that the gods themselves doe bestow many benefits and favours upon men secretly, and whereof they be not aware; being of this nature to take joy and pleasure in bountifullnesse and doing good. Contrariwise, the office that a flatterer seemeth to performe, hath nothing in it that is just, nothing true, nothing simple, nothing liberal: onely you shall see him sweat at it; you shall have him runne up and downe; keepe a loude crying

crying & a great ado, and set his countenance upon the matter, so as that he maketh right good semblance & shew that he doth especiall service, taketh much care & paines about his busines: & maketh hast to dispatch it: and much like are all his doings to a curious picture, which with strange colours, with broken plaits, wrinkles and angles, affecteth and striveth (as it were) to shew some lively resemblance. Moreover, much ado he maketh, & is troublesome in telling how he went to and fro, wandering here and there about the matter; also what a deale of care he tooke therein; how he incurred the evill wil & displeasure of others; and a thousand hinderances, troubles & dangers, as besides he reckoneth up; inso much as a man that heareth, would say, All that ever he did was not worth so much as the twittle twattle that he maketh. For surely a good turne that is upbraided in that wise, becometh burthen some, odious, & not thankfully accepted, but intollerable. In all the offices & services of a flatterer, you shall find these upbraidings and shameful reports, that would make one blush to heare them, and those not onely after the deed done, but at the verie instant when he is about it. But in steed hereof, a true friend, if it fall out so, that he be forced and urged to relate what is done, maketh a plaine report and narration in modest manner; but of himselfe he will never say word. After which sort did the Lacedæmonians in times past, when they had sent come unto the Smyrnaens, which, in their extreme necessitie they craved at their hands: For at what time as the men of *Smyrna* magnified, and wonderfully extolled this liberalitie of theirs, they returned this answer againe: This is not so great a matter that it should deserve so highly to be praised or wondered at: for (say they) gathered we have thus much, and made this supply of your necessities, onely by cutting our selves and our labouring beasts short of one daies pittance and allowance. Bountie in this wise performed, is not onely gentleman-like and liberrall indeed, but also more welcome and acceptable to the receivers: in as much as they thinke it was no great damage, nor much out of their way that did it. Furthermore, not onely this odious fashion of doing any service with such paine and trouble, or the readinesse to make offer and promise so quickly, doth principally bewray the nature of a flatterer: but herein also much more he may be discovered: for that a friend is willingly employed in honest causes: but a flatterer in shameful and dishonest: as also in the divers ends that they purpose; for the one seeketh to profit his friend, the other to please only a friend; as *Gorgias* was wont to say, will never require that his friend should do him a pleasure, but in just things onely: whiles a flatterer serveth his tyme in many things that are unjust: For why?

*To do good deeds friends should be joine,*

*But not to sinne in any point.*

whereas he should endeavour to avert and withdraw him from that which is not decent, or seemly: Now if it happen that the other will not be perswaded by him, then were it not amisse to say unto him, as *Antipater* once answered *Phocion*; You cannot have me to be a friend and flatterer too (that is to say) a friend, and no friend. For one friend is to stand to another, and to assist him in doing, and not in misdoing, in consulting, and not in complotting and conspiring, in bearing witnesse with him of the truth, and not in circumventing any one by falshood, yea and to take part with him in suffering calamitie, and not to beare him company in doing injurie: For say that we may chance to be privie unto some shamefull and reprochfull deeds of our friend; yet we ought not to be partie unto them therein, nor willing to aide them in any undecent action. For like as the Lacedæmonians being defeated in battell by king *Antipater*, and treating with him about the capitulations and articles of peace, made request unto him, That he would impose upon them what conditions he would himselfe, were they never so chargeable and disadvantageous unto them, but in no wise enioine them to do any shamefull indignitie; even so a faithful friend ought to be so disposed, that if his friends occasions do require any matter of experience, danger, or travaile, he shew himselfe at the first call and holding up of his finger, ready to come, and cheerefully to take his part and undergo the same, without any shifting off, or allegation of any excuse whatsoever: may, if there be never so little shame or dishonor that may so accrew thereby, he shall then refuse and pray him to hold him excused; he shall request pardon and desire to have leave for to be dismissed and depart in peace. The flatterer is quite contrary; for in painfull, difficult and dangerous affaires, which require his helpe and assistance, he draweth backe, and is ready to plucke his necke out of the collar: if (I say) in this case you seeme to triall sake to knocke (as it were upon a pot) to see whether he be right, he will not ring cleere; but you shall see by the dead sound of his pretended and forged excuses, that he is full of cracks and flaws: contrariwise, in dishonest, vile, base and shamefull ministeries, I am for you (will he say) I am yours to command; doe with me what you will, tread me under your foot, abuse me at your

your pleasure : to be short, he will thinke nothing to be an ignominious indignity unto him. See you not the ape? good he is not to keepe the houle and to give warning of thieues, as dogs do; cary upon his backe any burdens he can not, like the horse; neither yet is he fit to draw or to plough the ground, as the ox doth; and therefore he beareth all kinde of abuse and misusing, all wrongs, all unhappy sports and trickes that can be devised, serving onely as an instrument of mockerie, and a meere laughing stocke. Even so it fareth with a flatterer, being not meet to plead at the barre for a friend, to assitt him in counsell, to lay his hand to his purse and supply his wants that way, nor to fight as his champion in maintenance of his quarrell, as one that can away with no labour, no paines taking, or serious employment; and in one word, fit for nothing, that good is: many in such affaires as may be done under the arme, that is to say, which be close 10 secret and filthy services, he is the forwardest man in the world, and maketh no excuses. A trustie currier he is betwene, in love matters, in finding favour with a bawd and bringing a wench or harlot to your bedde, he is excellent, and hath a marvellous gift; to make the shot, and cleere the reckoning of any sumptuous feast or banquet hee is ready and perfect; in providing for a great dinner or supper, and setting the same forth accordingly, he is nothing slow, but nimble enough. To give entertainment unto concubines he is very handsome, obsequious and serviceable; if one bid him to speake audaciously and malapertly against a father in law, a guardian, tutor, or any such, or to put away his true espoused wife, like as he seeth his good matter do before him, he is without all shame & mercy: so that even here in also it is no hard matter to see what kinde of man he is, and how much he differeth from a true friend: For com- 20 mand him to commit what villanie and wickednesse you will, ready he is to execute the same, and so he may gratifie and pleasure you that set him on worke, he careth not to do any injurie to himselfe.

There is moreover another meanes not of the least consequence, whereby a man may know how much a flatterer differeth from a friend indeed, namely, by his disposition and behaviour towards his other friends: for a true friend findeth contentment in nothing so much as to love many, and likewise to be loved of many; and herein he labourerth especially with his friend to procure himselfe many others to love and honor him: for being of this opinion, that among good friends all things are common, he thinketh that nothing ought to be more common than friends themselves. But the supposed, false and counterfeit friend, being privie to his owne confidence, that he doth great injurie to true amitie and friendship, which he doth cor- 30 rupt in manner of a base piece of money: as he is by nature envious, so he exerciseth that envie of his, upon such as be like himselfe, striving with a kinde of emulation to surpass them in scurrile speech, giving of taunts and garrulitie, but before such as he knoweth better than himselfe, he trembleth and is afraid, and in truth dare not come neere nor shew his face to such an one, no more (I assure you) than a footman to go and keepe pace (according to the Proverb) with a Lydian chariot, or rather (as *Simonides* saith,

*Laid to fine gold, ried cleane from drosse,  
He hath not so much as lead so grosse.*

Being compared with true, found and grave friendship, which (as they say) will endure the hammer, he cannot chooseth but finde himselfe to be but light, falsified and deceitfull: seeing then that he must needs be detected and knownen, for such an one as he is, what doth he thinke you? Surely he plaierth like an unskilfull painter, who had painted certaine cockes, but verie badly: For like as he gave commandement to his boy for to keepe away naturall and living cockes in deed, farre ynough off from his pictures; so a flatterer will doe what he can to chafe away true friends, and not suffer them to approach neere; or if he be not able so to do, than openly and in publicke place, he will seeme to currie favour with them, to honor and admire them, as farre better than himselfe: but secretly, underhand, and behinde their backs, he will not let to raise some privie calumniation, & some slanderous reports tending to their discredit: but if he see that by such privie girds and pinches which will fret and gall the sore, he cannot at the first bring his purpose about: yet hee remembreth full well and observeth the saying of *Medius*. This 40 *Medius* was the chiefe captaine of the troupe, or the master rather of the quire (if I may so say) of all those flatterers that used the court of king *Alexander* the great, & came about his person; the principall Sophister also that opposed himselfe and banded against all good men, and never rested to slander and backbite them: This rule and lesson he taught his scholars and quirksters that were under his hand, To cast out slanders boldly, and not to spare, therewith to bite others: For (quoth he) although the sore may heale up againe, yet the scarre will remaine 45 and

and be ever seene. By these cicatrices and scarres of false imputations, or (to speake more properly and truly) by such gangrenes and cankerous ulcers as these, *Alexander* the king being corroded and eaten, did to death *Calisthenes*, *Parmenion*, and *Philotas*, his fast & faithfull friends: but to such as *Agnon*, *Bagoas*, *Agefius* and *Demetrius* were, he abandoned and gave himselfe wholly to be supplanted and overthrowen at their pleasure, whiles he was by them adored, adorned, arrayed gorgeously with rich robes, and set out like a Barbarian image, statue or idoll. Lo what is the force and power of flatterie to win grace and favor; and namely in those, who would be reputed the mightiest monarches and greatest potentates of the world, it beareth most sway: For such are perswaded, and desirous also, that the best things should be in themselves; and this 10 is it, that giveth both credite and also boldnesse unto a flatterer. True it is I must confesse, that the highest places and forts situate upon the loftiest mounts, are least accessible and most hard to be gained by those who would surpris and force them; but where there is an high spirit and haughtie minde by nature, not guided by the same judgement of reason, but lifted up with the favors of fortune, or nobilitie of birth, it is the easiest matter in the world even for most base and vile persons to conquer such, and the avenues to them lie ready and open, to give the vantage of easiest entrance. And therefore as in the beginning of this Treatise I gave warning; so now I admonish the Readers againe in this place; That every man would labour and strive with himselfe to roote out that selfe-love and overweening that they have of their owne good parts and worthinesse: For this is it that doth flatter us within, and possesseth our minds before 20 hand, whereby we are exposed and lie more open unto flatterers that are without, finding us thus prepared already for to worke upon. But if we would obey the god *Apollys*, and by acknowledging how much in all things we ought to esteeme that oracle of his, which commandeth us To know our selves, search into our owne nature, and examine withall our nouriture and education: when we finde there an infinite number of defects, and many vanities, imperfections and faults, mixed untowardly in our words, deeds, thoughts and passions, we would not so easily suffer these flatterers to tread us under their feet, and make a bridge of us as they do at their pleasure. King *Alexander* the great was wont to say; that two things there were especially which mooved him to have lesse beleefe in them, who saluted and greeted him by the name of a God: The one was Sleepe, & the other the use of *Venus*: in both which he found that he was 30 worse than himselfe, that is to say, subject to infirmities and passions more than in any thing else. But if we would looke into our selves and ever and anon consider, how many grosse vices, troublesome passions, imperfections and defects we have, surely we shall finde that we stood in great neede, not of a false friend to flatter us in our follies, and to praise and extoll us; but rather of one that would frankly finde fault with our doings, and reproove us in those vices that ech one privately and in particular doth commit. But very few there be among many others; who dare freely and plainly speake unto their friends, but rather sooth them up and seeke to please them in every thing: And even in those, as few as they be, hardly shall you find any that know how to do it well, but for the most part they thinke that they speake freely, when they do nothing but reproove, reproch and raile. Howbeit, this libertie of speech whereof I speake, is 40 of the nature of a medicine, which if it be not given in time convenient and as it ought to be, besides, that it doth no good at all, it troubleth the body, worketh grievance, and in stead of a remedie prooveth to be a mischief: For even so, he that doth reprehend and find fault unseasonably, bringeth forth the like effect with paine, as a flatterer doth with pleasure. For men are apt to receive hurt and damage, not onely by overmuch praise; but also by inordinate blame when it is out of due time: for it is the only thing that of all others maketh them soonest to turne side unto flatterers, and to be most easily surprisid by them; namely, when from those things that stand most opposite and highest against them, they turne aside like water, and run downe those waies that be more low, easie, and hollow. In which regard it behooveth that this libertie in fault finding, be tempered with a certaine amiable affection, and accompanied with 50 the judgement of reason, which may take away the excessive vehemencie and force of sharpe words, like the over-bright shining of some glittering light, & for feare lest their friends being dazed as it were and frighted with the flashing beames of their rebukes, seeing themselves so reprooved for ech thing, and blamed every while, may take such a griefe and thought thereupon, that for sorrow they be ready to flie unto the shadow of some flatterer, and turne toward that which will not trouble them at all. For we must avoid all vice, (so *Philopappus*) and seeke to correct the same by the meanes of vertue (& not by another vice contrary unto it) as some do; who for to shun foolish and rusticall bashfulnessse, grow to be overbold and impudent; for to elchew 55 rude



rude incivillitie, fall to be ridiculous jesters and pleafants; and then they thinke to be farthest off from cowardise and effeminate tendernesse, when they come neereft to extreme audacitie and boasting braverie. Others there be, who to proove themselves not to be superstitious, become meere Atheists; and because they would not be thought and reputed idiots and fooles, proove artificiall conny-catchers. And surely in redressing the enormities of their maners, they do as much as those, who for want of knowledge and skill to set a peece of wood streight that twined and lieth crooked one way, do curbe and bend it as much another way. But the most shamefull means to avoid & shun the suspition of a flatterer, is to make a mans selfe odious & troublefome without profit; and a very rude and rustical fashion this is, of seeking to win favor, and that with favour of no learning, skill, and civillitie, to become unpleasant, harsh, and fowre to a friend, for to shunne that other extreame, which in friendship seemeth to be bale and servile; which is as much, as if a freed slave newly franchised, should in a Comedie thinke that he could not use and enjoy his libertie of speech, unless he might be allowed licenciously to accuse another without controlment. Considering then, that it is a foule thing to fall to flatterie, in studying to please, as also for the avoiding of flatterie; by immoderate libertie of speech, to corrupt and marre, as well the grace of amitie and winning love, as the care of remedying and reforming that which is amiffe: and seeing that we ought to avoid both the one and the other: and as in all things else, so free speaking, is to have the perfection from a meane and mediocritie; reason would, and by order it were requisite, that toward the end of this Treatise, we should adde somewhat in manner of a corollarie and complement, as touching that point.

Forasmuch as therefore we see that this libertie of language and reprehension hath many vices following it, which doe much hurt: let us assay to take them away one after another, and begin first with blinde selfe-love and private regards: where we ought especially to take heed that we be not seene to do any thing for our owne interest, and in respect of our selves; and namely, that we seeme not, for wrong that we have received our selves, or upon any griefe of our owne, to reproch, upbraid, or revile other men: for they will never take it as done for any love or good will that we beare unto them, but rather upon some discontentment and heart-burning that we have, when they see that our speech tendeth unto a matter wherein we are interested our selves; neither will they repute our words spoken by way of admonition unto them, but rather interpret them as a complaint of them. For surely the libertie of speech whereof we treat, as it respecteth the welfare of our friend, so it is grave and venerable; whereas complaints favour rather of selfe-love and a base minde. Hereupon it is that we reverence, honour and admire those who for our good deliver their minds frankly unto us: contrariwise, we are so bolde as to accuse, challenge and charge reciprocally, yea, and contemne those that make complaints of us. Thus we reade in *Homer*, That *Agamemnon*, who could not beare and endure *Achilles*, when he seemed to tell him his minde after a moderate maner; but he was well enough content to abide and suffer *Ulysses*, who touched him neere, and bitterly rebuked him in this wise:

*Ah wretch, would God some abject host  
beside us, by your hand  
Conducted were; so that in field  
you did not us command.*

As sharpe a checke as this was, yet being delivered by a wife man, proceeding from a carefull minde, and tendering the good of the common weale, he gave place thereto, and kicked not againe: for this *Ulysses* had no private matter, nor particular quarell against him, but spake frankly for the benefit of all *Greece*: whereas *Achilles* seemed to be offended and displeased with him principally, for some private matter betweene them twaine. And even *Achilles* also himselfe, although he was never known for to be a man of a gentle nature and of a milde spirit,

*But rather of a stomack full,  
and one who would accuse  
A guiltlesse person for no cause,  
and him full (some abuse).*

endured *Patroclus* patiently, and gave him not a word againe, notwithstanding he taunted and tooke him up in this wise:

*Thou mercilesse and cruell wretch,  
for Peleus valiant knight  
Was never (sure) by father true,  
ne yet dame Thetis bright*

*Thy mother kinde: but sea so greene,  
or rocks so sleepe and hard  
Ther bare, (thy heart of pittie hush  
so small or no regard.)*

For like as *Hyperides* the Oratour required the Athenians (who complained that his orations were bitter) to consider of him, not onely whether he were sharpe & eager simply, but whether he were so upon no cause, nor taking any fee; even so, the admonition and reprehension of a friend, being fervent and cleafed pure from all private affection, ought to be revered: it carrieth (I say) authoritie with it, and no exceptions can well be taken, nor a man dare lift up an eie against it: in such sort, as if it appeare that he who chideth freely, and blameth his friend, doeth let passe and reject all those faults which hee hath committed against him, and maketh no mention thereof, but toucheth those errors & misdemeanors only which concerne others, and they spare him not, but pierce & bite to the quicke: the vehemency of such free speech is invincible, and can not be challenged, for the mildnes & good will of the chastiser, doth fortifie the austeritie & bitternes of the chastisement. Well therefore it was said in old time; That whensoever we are angry, or at some jarre & variance with our friends, then most of all we ought to have an eie unto their good, and to study how to do somewhat that is either profitable unto them, or honorable for them. And no lesse materiall is this also to the maintenance of friendship, if they that thinke themselves to be despised and not well regarded of their friends, do put them in mind, and tell them frankly of others, who are neglected by them, and not accounted of as they should be. Thus dealt *Plato* with *Demys*, at what time he was in disgrace, and saw how he made no reckoning at all of him: For he came unto the Tyrant upon a time, and requested that he might have a day of audience and leave to conferre with him: *Demys* granted his request, supposing verily that *Plato* had a purpose to complaine and expostulat with him in his owne behalfe, and thereupon to discourse with him at large: But *Plato* reasoned and debated the matter with him in this manner: Sir (quoth he) *Demys*, if you were advertised and knew that some enemy or evil willer of yours were arrived and landed in *Sicilie*, with a full intention to do you some displeasure, although he had no opportunitie or meanes to execute and effect the same, would you let him faile away againe & depart from *Sicilie*, with impunity, and before he were talked withall?

I to not *Demys* (quoth *Demys*) but I would looke to him well enough for that: For we ought to hate & punish not the actions onely, but the verie purposes and intentions also of enemies. But how and if (quoth *Plato* againe) on the contrarie side; some other being expressly and of purpose come for meere love and affection that he beareth unto you, and fully minded to doe you some pleasure, or to advice you for your good, you will give him neither time nor opportunitie therfore; is it meet (think you) that he should be thus unthankfully dealt withall, or hardly entreated at your hands? With that *Dionysius* was somewhat mooved, and demanded who that might be? *Aeschines* (quoth *Plato*) is he, a man faire conditioned, and of as honest carriage and behaviour, as any one that ever came out of *Socrates* schoole, or daily and familiarly conversed with him; sufficient and able by his eloquence and pithie speech to reforme the maners of those with whom he keepeth companie: This *Aeschines* (I say) having taken a long voyage over sea and arrived here, intending for to conferre with you philosophically is nothing regarded, nor set by at all. These words touched *Demys* so to the verie quicke, that presently he not onely tooke *Plato* in his armes, embracing him most lovingly, and yielding him great thanks for that kindnesse, & highly admiring his magnanimity; but also from that time forward, entreated *Aeschines* right courteously, and did him all the honor that he could.

Secondly, this libertie of speech which now is in hand, we ought to cleere and purge cleane from all contumelious and injurious words, from laughter, scoffes, and scurrile taunts, which are the hurtfull and unholysome fauces (as I may say) wherewith many use to season their free language. For like as a Chirurgicalian, when he maketh incision and cutteth the flesh of his patient, had need to use great dexteritie, to have a nimble hand and an even; yea and every thing neat and fine belonging to this worke and operation of his: as for all dauncing, gesticulations besides of his fingers, to yish motions, and superfluous agitation thereof, to shew the agilitie of his hand, he is to forebare for that time: So this libertie of speech unto a friend, doth admit well a certaine kind of elegancie and civillitie, provided, alwaies that the grace thereof retaine still a decent and comely gravitie, whereas if it chaunce to have audacious braverie, saucie impuritie, and insolencie, to the hurt or hinderance of credit, it is utterly marred and looseth all authoritie. And therefore it was not an unproper and uneleagant speech, wherewith a musician upon a time stopped



stopped King *Philips* mouth that he had not a word to say againe: For when he was about to have disputed and contested against the slide minstrell, as touching good fingering, and the sound of the severall strings of his instrument: Oh sir (quoth he) God forbid that ever you should fall to so low an estate, as to be more cunning in these matters than I. But contrariwise *Epicharmus* spake not so aptly and to the purpose in this behalfe: For when King *Hiero* who a little before had put to death some of his familiar acquaintance, invited him not many daies after to supper. Yea marie sir, but the other day when you sacrificed, you bad not your friends to the feast. And as badly answered *Antiphon*, who upon a time when there was some question before *Dennys* the Tyrant, what was the best kinde of brasse: Marie that (quoth he) whereof the Athenians made the Statutes of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*. Such speeches as these, are tart, and biting, and no good can come thereof, neither hath that scurrilite and scoffing manner any delight, but a kinde of intemperance it is of the tooing mingled with a certaine maliciousnes of minde, implying a will to do hurt and injurie, and shewing plaine enmitie, which as many as use, worke their owne mischief and destruction, dauncing (as the Proverb saith) a daunce untowardly about a pits brinke, or jesting with edged tooles. For surely it cost *Antiphon* his life, who was put to death by the said *Dennys*. And *Timagenes* lost for ever the favour and friendship of *Augustus Cæsar*, not for any franke speech and broad language that ever he used against him; but onely because he had taken up a foolish fashion at everie feast or banquet, whereunto the Emperour invited him, and whensoever he walked with him, estoones and to no purpose he would come out with these verses in *Homer*,

*For naught else but to make some sport  
Among the Greekes he did resort.*

pretending that the cause of that favour which he had with the Emperour, was the grace and gift that he had in flouting and reviling others: and even the verie comical Poets in old time, exhibited and represented to the Theaters, many grave, austere and serious remonstrances, and those pertaining to policy & government of State: but there be scurrile speeches intermingled among, for to moove laughter, which (as one unfavorable dish of meate among many other good viands) marre all their libertie of speech and the benefit thereof; so as it is vaine and doth no good at all: And even to the Authors and Actors of such broad jests get nothing thereby, but an opinion and imputation of a malicious disposition and impure scurrilite: and to the hearers there accreth no good nor profit at all. At other times and in other places, I hold well with it, and grant, that to jest with friends and moove laughter is tolerable enough; but surely the libertie of speech then, ought to be serious and modest, shewing a good intention without any purpose to gall or sting. And if it do concerne weightie affaires indeed, let the words be so set and couched, the affection so appeere, that all concurring together may win credite to the speech, and be effectual to moove. But as in all things els, fit opportunity overlit and neglected doth much hurt; so especially it is the occasion that the fruit of free speech is utterly lost, in case it be omitted and forgotten. Moreover this is evident, that we must take heed how we speake broad at a table where friends be met together to drinke wine liberally and to make good cheere: for he that amid pleasant discourses and mery talke mooveth a speech that causeth bending and knitting of browes, or others, maketh men to frowne and be frowning; he doth as much as overcast faire weather with a blacke and darke clouds; opposing himselfe unto that God \* *Lyam*, who by good right hath that name, as *Pindarus* the Poet saith,

*For that the cord he doth untie  
Of cares that breed anxietie.*

Besides, this neglect of opportunitie bringeth with it great danger; for that our minds and spirits, kindled once with wine, are easie enflamed with cholar; yea and oftentimes it falleth out, that a man after he hath taken his drinke well, when he thinketh but to use his freedome of tongue for to give some wholesome advertisement and admonition, ministreth occasion of so great enmitie. And to say all in few words, it is not the part of a generous, confident, and resolute heart, but rather of a craven kind and unmanly, to forbear plaine speech when men are sober, and to keepe a barking at the boord, like unto those cowardly cur dogs who never snarle but about a bone under the table. And now of this point, needlesse it is to discourse any longer.

But forasmuch as many men neither will nor dare controll and reforme their friends when they do amisse, so long as they be in prosperitie; as being of opinion that such admonition can not have access nor reach into a fortunate state that standeth upright; and yet the same per-

\* Some read  
*Lydm*.

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sons when men are falling, are ready to lay them along, and being once downe, to make a football of them, or tread them under feet, or else keepe them so when they be once under the hatches, giving their libertie of speech full scope to run over them all at once; as a brooke-water which having bene kept up perforce against the nature and course thereof, is now let go, and the flood-gates drawn up; rejoicing at his change and infortunite of theirs, in regard as well of their pride and arrogancie, who before did disdain and despised them; as also of themselves, who are but in meane and low estate: it were not impertinent to this place for to discourse a little of this matter, and to answer that verse of *Euripides*,

*When fortune doth upon men smile,*

*What need have they of friends the while?*

10 Namely, that even then when as they seeme to have fortune at command, they stand in most necessitie, and ought to have their friends about them, to plucke downe their plumes and bring under their haughtinesse of heart, occasioned by prosperitie: for few there be who with their outward felicitie continue wise and sober in mind, breaking not forth into insolence; yea & many there are who have need of wit, discretion and reason to be put into them from without, to abate and deprime them being set a gog and puffed up with the favors of fortune: But say, that the Divine power do change and turne about, and overthrow their state, or clip their wings and diminish their greatnesse and authoritie, then these calamities of themselves are courages sufficient, putting them in minde of their errors, and working repentance: and then in such distress there is no use at all either of friends to speake unto them frankly, or of pinching and biting speeches, to molest, and trouble them, but to say a truth, in these mutations

*It greatly doth content our minds*

*To see the face of pleasant friends.*

who may yeeld consolation, comfort and strength to a distressed heart, like as *Xenophon* doth write, that in battailes and the greatest extremities of danger, the amiable visage and cheerefull countenance of *Clearchus* being once seene of the souldiors, encouraged them much more to play the men and fight lustily: whereas he that useth unto a man distressed, such plaine speech as may gall and bite him more, doth as much as one who unto a troubled and inflamed eye applyeth some quicke eie-salve or sharpe drug that is proper for to cleere the sight: by which  
30 meane he cureth not the infirmite before said, neither doth he mitigate or alay the paine, but unto sorrow and griefe of minde already addeth anger moreover, and doth exasperate a wounded heart. And verily so long as a man is in the latitude of health, he is not so testie, froward, and impatient; but that he will in some sort give care unto his friend, and thinke him neither rough nor altogether rude and uncivill, in case he tell him of his loosenesse of life, how he is given too much either unto women or wine; or if he finde fault with his idleness and sitting still, or contrariwise his excessive exercise; if he reprove him for haunting so often the baines or hot-houses, and never lying out of them, or blame him for gourmandise and belly cheere, or eating at undue houres. But if he be once sicke, then it is a death unto him and a griefe insupportable, which doth aggravate his maladie, to have one at his bedside founding ever in his  
40 cares: See what comes of your drunkenesse, your idleness, your surfeiting and gluttony, your wenching and lecherie, these are the causes of your diseale. But what will the sicke man say againe: Away good sir with these unseasonable words of yours: you trouble me much, and do me no good iwis: I am about making my last will and testament; my Physicians are busie preparing and tempering a potion of *Scammonie*, or a drinke of *Castorium* for me: and you come preaching unto me with your Philosophicall reasons and admonitions to chaffele me: I have no need of them now, nor of such friends as you. Semblably it fareth with those who are fallen to decay & be downe the winde; for capable they be not of sententious sawes; they have no need as the case now stands of free reprehensions: then lenitie and gentle usage, aide and comfort are more meet for them. For even so, kinde wives when their little babes and infants  
50 have caught a fall, run not by and by to rate or chide them, but to take them up, wash and make them cleane where they were berayed, and to still them by all means that they can; afterwards, they rebuke and chastise them for looking no better to their feet. It is reported of *Demetrius* the Phalerian, when being banished out of his country, he lived at *Thebes* in meane estate and very obscurely, that at the first he was not well pleased to see *Crates* the Philosopher, who came to visit him, as looking ever when he would begin with some rough words unto him, according to that libertie of speech which those Cynicke Philosophers then used; but when he heard *Crates* once speake kindly unto him, and discoursing after a milde maner, of the state of his banish-

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ment: namely, That there was no miserie fallen unto him by that meanes, nor any calamitie at all, for which he should weare and torment himselfe; but rather that he had cause to reioice, in that he was sequestred and delivered from the charge and management of such affaires as were ticklish, mutable and dangerous; and withall exhorting him to plucke up his heart, and be of good cheere, yea, and repose all his comfort in his owne selfe and a cleere conscience. Then *Demetrius* being more lightsome, and taking better courage, turned to his friends and said, Shame take those affaires and busineses; our upon those troublefome and restless occupations, which have kept me from the knowledge and acquaintance of such a worthy man: For

*If men be in distresse and grife,  
Sweet words of friends do bring reliefe:*

*But foolish sots in all their actions,*

*Have need of shames or sharpe corrections.*

And verily this is the manner of generous and gentle friends; but other base minded and abject fellows, who flatter and fawne whiles fortune doth smile; like unto olde ruptures, spaines and cramps (as *Demosthenes* saith) do then stirre and shew themselves, when any new accident happeneth unto the bodie, so they also stick close to every change and alteration of fortune, as being glad thereof, and taking pleasure and contentment therein. For, say that a man afflicted, were to be put in mind of his fault and misgovernment of himselfe, by reason that he hath taken lewd courses and followed ill counsell, and so fallen into this or that inconvenience, it were sufficient to say thus unto him,

*You neuer tooke by mine advice this course,  
Against the same howsoft did I discourse?*

In what cases and occurrences then, ought a friend to be earnest and vehement? and when is he to use his libertie of speech, and extend it to the full? even then, when occasion is offered, and the time ferveth best to repress excessive pleasure, to restraine unbridled choler, to restraine intollerable pride and insolencie, to stay insatiable avarice, or to stand against any foolish habitude and inconsiderate motion. Thus *Solon* spake freely unto king *Croesus*, when hee saw how he was cleane corrupted, and grown beyond all measure arrogant upon the opinion that he had of his felicitie in this world, which was vncertaine, advertising him to looke unto the end. Thus *Socrates* clipped the wings of *Alcibiades*, and by convincing his vice and error, caused him to weepe bitterly, and altered quite the disposition of his heart. Such were the remonstrances and admonitions of *Cyrrus* to *Cyaxares*, and of *Plato* to *Dion*, even when he was in his greatest ruffe, in the very height of his glory: when (I say) all mens eyes were upon him, for his worthie acts and great successe in all affaires, willing him even then to take heed and beware of arrogancie and selfe-conceit, as being the vice that dwelleth in the same house together with solitude, (that is to say) which maketh a man to live apart from the whole world. And to the same effect wrote *Seneca* also unto him, when he had him looke to himselfe, and not take a pride and presume much vpon this: That there was no talke among women and children, but of him; rather that he should have a care so to adorne *Sicilie* with religion and pietie towards the gods, with justice and good lawes in regard of men, that the schoole of the Academic might have honour and credit by him. Contrariwise, *Eutamus* and *Eulamus*, two minions and favourites of king *Perseus*, who followed his yeine and pleased his humor in all things, like other courtiers of his, all the while that he flourished, and so long as the world went on his side: but after he had lost the field in a battell against the Romans, fought neere the citie *Pydna*, and was fled, they let flie at him grosse tearmes and reprochfull speeches, bitterly laying to his charge all the misdeameors and fautes that he had before committed, casting in his dish those persons whom he had evil intreated or despised; which they ceased not to doe so long, untill the man (partly for sorrow, and partly for anger) was so mooved, that he stabbed them both with his dagger, and slew them in the place. Thus much in general may suffice, to determine and define as touching the opportunity of free speech to friends: meane while a faithfull and carefull friend must not reject such occasions as many times are presented unto him by them, but to take hold thereof quickly, and make good use of them: for otherwhiles it falleth out, that a demand or question asked, a narration related, a reprehension or commendation of like things in other persons, open the doore and make way for us to enter, and giveth us leave to speake frankly. After this manner it is said, that *Demetrius* tooke his vantage to utter his minde freely: who coming upon a time from *Corinth* to *Macedonie*, when as King *Philip* was in some termes of disension with his wife and sonne, was friendly received by *Philip* and bidden kindly welcome. Now after salutations and other

other complements passed betweene; the King asked him whether the Greekes were at accord and unitie one with another? *Demetrius*, as he was a friend verie inward with him, and one that loved him hartly, answered thus; It becommeth you well in deed first to enquire of the concord and agreement betweene the Athenians and the Peloponnesians, when in the meane while you suffer your owne house to be full of domestical quarrels and debates. Well did *Dionenes* likewise, who being come into the campe of King *Philip*, when he had an expedition or journey against the Greekes, was taken and brought before the King, who not knowing what hee was, demanded of him, If hee were not a spie: Yes marie (quoth he) and come I am to spie out your inconsiderate folly (o *Philip*) and want of foresight, who being not urged nor compelled by any man, are come thus farre to hazard in one hower the State of your kingdome and your owne life, and to lay all upon the chance and cast of a die. But some man peradventure will say, This was a speech somewhat with the sharpest, and too much biting. Moreover, another fit time and occasion there is of admonition, when those whom we minde to reprove, having beene reproched and taunted already by others for some faults which they committed, are become submisive and cast downe to our hands. Which opportunitee a wife and skilfull friend will not omit, but make especial good use of: namely, by seeming in open place to check those that thus have slandered them, yea and to repulse and put backe such opprobrious imputations; but privately he will take his friend apart by himselfe, and put him in minde to live more warily and give no such offence, if for no other thing else; yet because his enemies should not take vantage, and beare themselves insolently against him: For how shall they be able to open their mouths against you, & what mischief word can they have to say unto you, if you would leave these things and cast them behinde you, for which you heare ill and are grown to some obloquie? In this sort if the matter be handled, all the offence that was taken shall light upon the head of the first slanderer, and the profit shall be attributed unto the other that gave the friendly advertisement, and he shall goe away with all the thanks.

Some there be moreover who after a more cleanly and fine maner in speaking of others, admonish their owne familiar friends: for they will accuse strangers in their hearing for those faults which they know them to commit, and by this meanes reclaim them from the same. Thus *Ammonius* our master perceiving when he gave lecture in the after-noon that some of us his scholars, had taken a larger dinner, and more than was meet for students, commanded a servant of his a franchised, to take up his owne sonne and to beate him, and why so? He cannot forsooth make his dinner (quoth he) but he must have some vinegar to his meat. And in saying so, he cast his eye upon us, in such sort, that as many as were culpable, tooke themselves to be rebuked, & thought that he meant them. Furthermore, this good regard would be observed, that we never use this fashion of free speech, and reproofing our friend in the presence of many persons, but we must remember that which befell unto *Plato*: for when upon a time, *Socrates* in a disputation held at the table, inveighed somewhat too bitterly against against one of his familiars before them all: had it not beene better (quoth *Plato*) to have told him of this privately, but thus to shame him before all this companie? But *Socrates* taking him presently therewith, And you also might have done better to have saide this to my selfe, when you had found me alone. *Pythagoras* by report gave such hard tearmes by way of reproofe to one of his scholars, and acquaintance in the hearing of many, that the young man for very griefe of heart was weary of his life and hanged himselfe. But never would *Pythagoras* after to his dying day, reprove or admonish any man if another were in place. And to say a truth, as well the detection as the correction of a sinne ought to be secret, and not in publick place, like as the discoverie and cure also of some filthie and foule disease: it must not I say be done in the view of the world (as if some shew or pompe were to be exhibited unto the people) with calling witnesses or spectators thereto. For it is not the part of a friend, but a trick of some Sophister, to seeke for glorie in other mens faults, and affect outward shew and vaine ostentation in the presence of others: much like to these Mount-bank Chirurgians, who for to have the greater practise, make shew of their cunning casts, and operations of their art in publick Theatres, with many gesticulations of their handy-worke. Moreover, besides that there should no infamie grow to him that is reprovved (which in deed is not to be allowed in any cure or remedie) there ought also to be some regard had of the nature of vice and sinne, which for the most part of it selfe is opinionative, contentious, stubborn and apt to stand to it, and make means of defence. For as *Euripides* saith,

*We daily see, not onely women love  
Doth presse the more, when one doth it reprove.*

But any vice whatsoever it be and everie imperfection, if a man do reprove it in publike place before many, and spare not at all, putteth on the nature of impudence and turneth to be shamelesse: like as therefore *Plato* giveth a precept, that elder folke, if they would imprint shame and grace in their yong children, ought themselves first to shew shamefast behavior among them; even so, the modest and bashfull libertie of speech which one friend useth, doth strike also a great shame in another. Also to come and approach by little and little unto one that offendeth, and after a doubting maner with a kind of feare to touch him, is the next way to undermine the vice that he is prone and given unto, and the same, whiles he can not chooseth but be modestly disposed, who is so modestly and gently entreated. And therefore it would be alwaies verie good in those reprehensions to observe what he did, who in like case reprooving a friend,

*Held head full close unto his eare,*

*That no man els but he might heare.*

But lesse seemly and convenient it is for to discover the fault of the husband before his wife; of a father in the presence of his sonnes; of a lover before his love; or of a schoolmaster in the hearing of his scholars: that were enough to put them beside their right wits, for anger and griefe when they shall see themselves checked and discredited before those of whom they desire to be best esteemed. And verily of this mind I am, that it was not the wine so much that set king *Alexander* in such a chafe & rage against *Clitu* when he reproved him, as for that he did it in the presence and hearing of so many. *Aristomenes* also, the master and tutor of king *Ptolomeus*, for that in the sight of an embassador he awaked him out of a sleepe, & willed him to give eare unto the 20 embassage that was delivered, ministred unto his evil-willers and the flatterers about the court great vantage, who thereupon tooke occasion to seeme discontented in the kings behalfe, and thus to say: What if after so many travels that your Majestie doth undergo, and your long watching for our sakes, some sleep do overtake you otherwhiles; our part it were to tell you of it privately, & not thus rudely to lay hand as it were upo your person in the presence of so many men. Whereupon *Ptolomeus* being moved at these suggestions, sent unto the man a cup of poison, with comendement that he should drinke it off. *Aristophanes* also, catcheth this in *Cleon* his teeth,

*For that when strangers were in place*

*The towne with termes he did disgrace,*

and thereby provoke the *Athenians* & bring their high displeasure upon him. And therefore this 30 regard would be had especially above all others, that when we would use our libertie of speech, we do it not by way of ostentation in a vaine glorie to be popular, and to get applaus, but onely with an intention to profit and do good, yea and to cure some infirmities thereby. Over and besides that which *Thucydides* reporteth of the *Corinthians*, how they gave out of themselves and not unfully, that it belonged unto them, and meet men they were to reprove others; the same ought they to have in them that will take upon them to be correctours of other persons. For like as *Lyander* answered to a certeine Megarian who put himselfe forward in an assemblie of associates and allies to speake frankly for the libertie of *Greece*: These words of yours (my friend) would be seeme to have beene spoken by some puissant State or citie; even so it may be said to every one that will seeme freely to reprehend another, that he had need himselfe to be in 40 maners wel reformed. And this most truly ought to be inferred upon all those that will seeme to chastice and correct others, namely, to be wiser and of better government than the rest: for thus *Plato* protested that he reformed *Speusippus* by example of his owne life: and *Xenocrates* likewise casting but his eie upon *Polemon*, who was come into his schoole like a Russian, by his very looke onely reclaimed him from his loose life: whereas on the contrary side, if a light and lewd person, one that is full of bad conditions himselfe, would seeme to finde fault with others and be busie with his tongue, he must be sure alwaies to heare this on both sides of his eares,

*Himselfe all full of sores impure*

*Will others seeme to heale and cure.*

Howbeit, forasmuch as oftentimes the case standeth so, that by occasion of some affaires we be 50 driven to chastice those with whom we converse, when we our selves are culpable and no better than they: the most cleanly & least offensive way to do it, is this, To acknowledge in some sort that we be likewise faulty and to include and comprehend our owne persons together with them: after which maner is that reproofe in *Homer*,

*Sir Diomedes what aileth us?*

*how is it come about?*

*That we should thus forget to fight,*

who

*who earst were thought so stout?*

Also in another place:

*And now we all unworthy are*

*With Hector onely to compare.*

Thus *Socrates* mildly and gently would seeme to reprove yong men, making semblance as if himselfe were not void of ignorance, but had need also to be instructed in vertue, and professing that he had need with them to search for the knowledge of truth: for such commonly do win love and credit, yea and sooner shall be beleaved, who are thought subject to the same faults, and seeme willing to correct their friends like as they do their owne selves; whereas he 10 who spreadeth and displaith his owne wings, in clapping other mens, justifying himselfe as if he were pure, sincere, faultlesse, and without all affections and infirmities, unlesse he be much elder than we, or in regard of some notable and approved vertue in farre higher place of authority and in greater reputation than our selves, he shall gaine no profit nor do any good, but be reputed a bulke body and troublesome person. And therefore it was not without just cause that good *Phanix* in speaking to *Achilles* alleged his owne misfortunes, and namely how in a fit of choler he had like one day to have killed his owne father, but that sodeinly he bethought himselfe and changed his minde,

*Least that among the Greekes I should be nam'd*

*A patricide and ever after sham'd:*

20 which he did no doubt to this end, because he would not seeme in chiding him to arrogate this praise unto himselfe, that he was not subject to anger, nor had ever done amiss by occasion of that infirmity and passion. Certes such admonitions as these enter and pierce more effectually into the heart, for that they are thought to proceed from a tender compassion; and more willing are we to yeeld unto such as seeme to have suffered the like, than to those that despise and contemne us. But forasmuch as neither the eie when it is inflamed can abide any cleere and shining light, nor a passionate minde endure franke speech, or a plaine and bare reprehension, one of the best and most profitable helps in this case, is to intermingle therewith a little praise, as we read thus in *Homer*,

*Now (sure) me thinks you do not well,*

*thus for to leave the field,*

*Who all are knownen for doughty knights,*

*and best with speare and shield.*

*A coward if I saw to flee,*

*him would I not reprove:*

*But such as you, thus for to shrinke,*

*my heart doth greatly movee.*

Likewise,

*O Pandar, where is now thy bowe,*

*where are shine arrows flight:*

40 *Where is that honour, in which none*  
*with thee dare strive in fight?*

And verily such oblique reprehensions also as these, are most effectuell and woonderfull in reclaiming those that be ready to run on end, and fall to some grosse enormities: as for example,

*What is become of wise Oedipus,*

*In riddles areeading who was so famous.*

Also,

*And Hercules, who hath endur'd such paine,*

*Speakes he these words, so foolishly and so vaine?*

For this kinde of dealing doth not onely a swage and mitigate the roughnesse and commanding power that is in a reprehension and rebuke, but also breedeth in the partie in such sort reprov'd, a certeine emulation of himselfe, causing him to be abashed and ashamed for any follies and dishonest pranks, when he remembreth and calleth to minde his other good parts and commendable acts, which by this meanes he setteth before his eies, as examples, and so taketh himselfe for a paterne and president of better things: But when we make comparison betweene him and others, to wit, his equals in age, his fellow-citizens, or kinsfolks; then his vice, which in the owne nature is stubburne and opinionative enough, becometh by that meanes more froward and exasperate, and often times he will not sticke in a fume and chafe to fling away

away, and grumble in this wife, Why goe you not then to those that are so much better than I? why can you not let me alone, but thus trouble me as you do? And therefore we must take heed especially, that whiles we purpose to tel one plainly of his faults, we do not praise others, unless liaply they be his parents: as *Agamemnon* did unto *Diomedes*,

*A sonne (rius) sir Tides left behinde,  
Unlike himselfe, and much grown out of kinde.*

And *Ulysses* in the Tragedie entituled *Seyrij*,

*You sir, whose father was a knight,  
The best that ever drew*

*A sword, of all the Greeks, in field,  
and many a captaine slew,*

*Sit you heere carding like a wench,  
and spinning wooll on rocks,*

*Thereby the glorious light to quench  
of your most noble stocke?*

But most unfcemely it were and undecent of all other, if when one is admonished by his friend, he should fall to admonish him againe; and being tolde freely of his fault, serve him the like, and quit him with as much: for this is the next way to kindle coales, and to make variance and discord; and in one word verily, such a rejecting & spurning againe as this, may seeme in effect to bewray not a reciprocall libertie of rendering one for another, but rather a peevish minde that 20 can abide no maner of reproofe. Better therefore it is, to endure patiently for the time, a friend that telleth us plainly of our faults; and if himselfe afterwards chance to offend and have need of the like reprehension, this after a fort giveth free libertie unto him that was rebuked afore, to use the same libertie of speech againe unto the other: For calling to minde by this occasion, without any remembrance of old grudge and former injurie, that himselfe also was wont not to neglect his friends when they did amisse and forgot themselves, but tooke paines to reprove, redresse, and teach them how to amend, he will the sooner yeeld a fault, and receive that chastisement and correction, which he shall perceive to be a retribution of like love and kinnesse, and not a requital of complaint and anger. Moreover, like as *Thucydides* saith, That the man is wife and well advised, who incurth the envie of men for matters of greatest weight and impor- 30 tance; even so we say: That if a friend will adventure the danger and heavy load and ill will for blaming his friends, hee must make choise of such matters as be of great moment and much consequence: for if he will take exceptions at every trifle and little thing indifferent; if he will seeme evermore to be finding fault, and cary himselfe not like a kind and affectionate friend, but a precise, severe and imperious schoole-master, to spie all faults, and correct every point and tittle; certes he shall finde afterwards, that his admonitions even for the greatest offences, shall not be regarded, nor any whit effectuall: for that he hath used already to no purpose, his franke reprehension (the soveraigne remedie for grosse and maine faults) in many others that are but slight, and not woorthy reproofe: much like unto a Physician, who hath employed and spent a medicine that is strong and bitter, howbeit, necessary and costly, in small infirmities, and of no 40 reckoning to speake of. A friend therefore is to looke unto this; That it be not an ordinary matter with him to be alwaies quarrellsome, and desirous to finde one fault or other. And if peradventure he meet with such a companion as is apt to search narrowly into all light matters, to cavill and wrangle for every thing, and ready to raise calumnies like a petty Sycophant for toies and trifles, he may take the better advantage and occasion thereby for to reprove him againe, in case he chance to faile in greater and more grosse faults.

*Philotimus* the Physician answered pretily unto one, who having an impostume grown to suppuration about his liver, shewed unto him a finger that was sore, and troubled with some blister or whitflaw, and desired his counsell for the same: My good friend (quoth he) the disease that you are to looke unto, is not a whitflaw nor about your naile roote; even so, there may be 50 occasion and opportunitie offered unto a friend, to say unto one that ever and anon is finding fault, and reprooving small errors not woorth the noting, to wit, sports and pastimes, feasting and merrie meeting, or such like trifling trickes of youth: Good sir, let us finde the means rather, that this man whom you thus blame, may cast off the harlot that he keeps, or give over his dice playing; for otherwise, he is a man of excellent and woonderfull good parts. For he that perceiveth how he is tolerated or winked at, yea and pardoned in small matters, will not be unwilling, that a friend should use his libertie in reprooving his greater vices: whereas he that is evermore

evermore urgent upon one, pressing and lying hard unto him; alwaies bitter and unpleasant, prying and looking into everie corner, and taking knowledge of all things: such an one (I say) there is neither childe nor brother will endure; nay, he is intolerable to his verie servants: But like as *Euripides* saith,

*All is not naught that old age brings,  
We may in it finde some good things.*

No more is the folly of friends so bad but that we may picke some goodnes out of them: we ought therefore to observe diligently, not onely when they do amisse, but also when they doe well: and verily at the first to be willing and most readie to praise: but afterwards we must doe as the Smithes who temper yron: For when they have given it a fire, and made it by that means soft, loofe and pliable, they drench and dip it in cold water, whereby it becommeth compact and hard, taking thereby the due temperature of stiffe Steele; even so, when we perceive that our friends be well heat and relaxed (as it were) by hearing themselves praised by us, then we may come upon them by little and little with a tincture (as I may so say) of reproofe, and telling them of their faults. Then will it be a fit time to speake unto a friend thus: How say you, are these pranks woorthie to be compared with those parts? See you not the fruits that come of vertue? Loe what we your friends require of you: these are the duties and offices which are becoming your person: for these hath nature made and framed you. As for those lewd causes, sic upon them,

*Send such away, confine them farre,  
unto the mountaine wild,  
Or into roaring sea from land  
let them be quite exil'd.*

For like as an honest minded and discreet Physitian, will choofe rather to cure the maladie of his patient by rest and sleepe, or by good nutriture & diet, than by *Cassorium* or *Scammanium*: even so, a kinde & courteous friend, a good father and gentle schoolemaster, taketh pleasure and joy- 10 eth more to use praises than reproofes, in the reformation of manners. For there is nothing that maketh the man, who boldly findeth fault with his friends to bee so little offensive unto them, or to do more good and cure them better, than to be voide of anger, and to seeme after a 30 milde sort in all love and affectionate good will to addresse himselfe unto them, when they doe amisse. And therefore neither ought he to urge them overmuch, and seeme too eagerly to convince them if they denie the thing, ne yet to debarre them of libertie to make their answer and cleere themselves: but rather to helpe them out, and after a sort to minister unto them some honest and colourable pretences, to excuse and justifie their facts: and when a man seeth them do amisse by reason of some woofe cause indeed, to lay the fault upon another occasion that is more tolerable: As *Hector* when he said unto *Paris*,

*Unhappy man, alas, you do not well  
To beare in brest a heart so fell.*

As if his brothers retire out of battell and refusall to combat with *Menelaw*, had not beene a 40 meere flight and running away, but verie anger and a curst stomake. Likewise *Nestor* unto *Agamemnon*,

*But you gave place unto your haughty mind;  
And seeds those fits which come to you by kind.*

For in mine advice a more milde reprehension is this than to have said: This was injuriously done of you, or this was a shamefull and vilanous part of yours; As also to say unto one, You could not tel what you did; you thought not of it; or you were altogether ignorant what would come thereof, is better and more civill, than bluntly to charge him and say: This was a meere wrong, and a wicked act of yours. Also thus, Do not contest and quarrell in this wife with your brother, is lesse offensive than to say: Deale not thus enviously and spitefully against your bro- 50 ther: Likewise it were a more gentle manner of reproofe to say unto a man: Avoid this woman that spoileth and abuseth you; than thus: Give over this woman, spoile and abuse her no more. Thus you see what means are to be used in this libertie of speech, when a friend would cure a maladie.

But for to prevent the same, there would be practised a cleane contrarie course: for when it behooveth to avert and turne our friends from committing a fault, whereto they are prone and inclined; or to withstand some violent and disorderly passion, which carrieth them a cleane contrarie way; or when we are desirous to incite and stirre them forward unto good things, be- 115

ing of themselves slow and backward: when, I say, we would give an edge unto them, who are otherwise dull, and heat them being cold, we ought to transerre the thing or act in hand to some absurd causes, and those that be unseemely and undecent. Thus *Ulysses* pricked on *Achilles* in a certaine Tragedie of *Sophocles*, when he said thus unto him: It is not for a supper *Achilles* that you are so angry, but

*For that you have already scene  
The wals of Troy, your fearfull teene.*

And when upon these words *Achilles* tooke greater indignation, and chafed more and more, saying, that he would not faile forward but be gone backe againe, he came upon him a second time with this rejoynder:

*I wote well why you gladly would depart:  
Tis not because at checks or taunts you chafe,  
But Hector is not far: he kills your hart;  
For dread of him to stay it is not safe.*

By this means when we fear a valiant and hardy man with the opinion of cowardise; an honest, chaste and civill person, with the note of being reputed loose & incontinent; also a liberall and sumptuous *Magnifico*, with the feare to be accounted a niggard or a mechanall micher; we do mightily incite them to wel doing, and chafe them from bad waies. And like as when a thing is done and past, and where there is no remedie, there should be borne a modest and temperate hand, in such sort that in our libertie of speech we seeme to shew more commiseration, pittie and fellow-griefe of minde for the fault of a friend, than eager reprehension; so contrariwise where it stands upon this point that he should not fault, where (I say) our drift is to fight against the motion of his passions, there we ought to be vehement, inexorable and never to give over nor yeeld one jot unto them. And this is the very time when we are to shew that love of ours and good will which is constant, settled, and sure, and to use our true libertie of speech to the full. For to reprove faults already committed, we see it is an ordinary thing among arrant enemies. To which purpose said *Diogenes* very well; That a man who would be an honest man ought to have either very good friends, or most shrewd and bitter enemies: for as they do teach and instruct; so these are ready to finde fault and reprove. Now far better it is for one to abstaine from evil doing, in beleiving and following the found counsell of his friends, than to repent afterwards of ill doing, when he seeth himselfe blamed and accused by his enemies. And therefore if it were for nothing els but this, great discretion and circumspection would be used in making remonstrances & speaking freely unto friends: and so much the rather, by how much it is the greater and stronger remedie that friendship can use, and hath more need to be used in time and place convenient, and more wisely to be tempered with a meane and mediocrity. Now forasmuch as I have said sundry times already, that all reprehensions whatsoever are dolorous unto him that receiveth them; we ought in this case to imitate good Physicians and Chirurgeons: for when they have made incision or cut any member, they leave not the place in paine and torment still, but use certaine fomentations and lenitive infusions to mitigate the anguish: No more do they that after a civill maner have chid or rebuked, run away presently so soone as they have bitten and pricked the partie, but by changing their maner of speech, entertaine their friends thus galled and wounded, with other more mild and pleasant discourses; to aswage their griefe and refresh their hart againe that is cast downe and discomforted: and I may well compare them to these cutters and carvers of images, who after they have rough hewen and scabbled over certaine peeces of stone for to make their statues of, do polish and smoothe them faire, yea and give them a lightsome lustre. But if a man be stung and nipped once, or touched to the quicke by some oburgatorie reprehension, and so left rough, uneven, disquieted, swelling and puffing for anger, he is ever after hardly quieted or reclaimed, and no consolation will serve the turne to appease and comfort him againe. And therefore they who reprove

& admonish their friends, ought to observe this rule above all others; Not to forsake them immediately when they have so done, nor to breake off their conference sodainly, or to conclude their speech with any word that might greeve and provoke them.

Of

## OF MEEKENES, OR HOW A MAN SHOULD RE- FRaine CHOLER.

### A TREATISE IN MANER of a Dialogue.

*The persons that be the Speakers:*  
SYLLA and FUNDANUS.

#### The Summarie of the Dialogue.

**A**fter we are taught how to discerne a flatterer from a friend, it seemeth that this Treatise, as touching Mildnesse and how we ought to bridle Anger, was set beere in his proper place. For like as we may soone erre grossly in choise of those whom we are willing and well content to have about us, and in that respect are to be circumspect, and to stand upon our guard; so we have no lesse cause to consider how we should converse among our neighbours. Now of all those vices and imperfections which defame mans life, and cause the race & course thereof to be difficult & wondrous painfull to passe, anger is one of those which are to be ranged in the first ranke; in such sort, that it booteeth not to be provided of good friends, if this furious humor get the mastery over us: like as contrariwise flatterers & such other pestilent plagues have not so easie entrance into us, nor such ready means to be possessed of us, so long as we be accompanied with a certaine wise and prudent mildnesse. In this discourse then, our author doing the part of an expert Physician, labourerth to purge our mindes from all choler, and would traine them to modestie and humanitie, so farre forth as Philosophie morall is able to performe. And for to attaine unto so great a benefit, he sheweth in the first place, that we ought to procure our friends for to observe and marke our imperfections, that by long continuance of time we may accustom our selves to holde in our judgements by the bit of reason. After certaine proper similitudes serving for this purpose, and a description of the inconveniences and harmes that come by wrath, he proveth, that it is an easie matter to restraine and repress the same: to which purpose he setteth downe divers means, upon which he discourseth after his usual manner, that is to say, with reasons and inductions, enriched with notable similitudes and examples: afterwards, having spoken of the time and maner of chastising and correcting those who are under our power and governance, he propoeth aswell certaine remedies to cure choler, as preventives to keepe us from relapse into it againe: Which done, he representeth lively, as in a painted table, to the end that those who suffer themselves to be surprised therewith, may be ashamed and ashamed of their unhappy state: and therewith he giveth five notable advertisementes for to attaine thereto, which be as were preventives: by means whereof we should not feeble our selves attaine anymore with this maladie.



OF



# OF MEEKENES, OR HOW A man should refraine choler.

A TREATISE IN MANNER  
of a Dialogue.

SYLLA.



**T** seemeth unto me (*ô Fundanus*) that painters doe verie well and wisely, to view and consider their workes often and by times betwene, before they thinke them finished and let them go out of their hands: for that by setting them so out of their sight, and then afterwards having recourse thither againe to judge thereof, they make their eies (as it were) new judges, to spie and discern the least fault that is, which continuall looking thereupon, and the ordinarie view of one and the same thing doth cover and hide from them. But forasmuch as it is not possible that a man should depart from himselfe for a time, and after a certaine space returne againe; nor

that he should breake, interrupt and discontinue his understanding and sense within (which is the cause that each man is a worse judge of himselfe than of others.) A second meanes and remedie therefore in this case would be used: namely, to review his friends sundrie times, and effectuously likewise to yeld himselfe to be seene and beheld by them; not so much to know thereby whether he aged apace and growe soone old; or whether the constitution of his bodie be better or worse than it was before, as to survey and consider his manners and behaviour, to wit, whether time hath added any good thing, or taken away ought that is bad and naught. For mine owne part, this being now the second yeere since I came first to this citie of *Rome*, and the fifth month of mine acquaintance with you, I thinke it no great wonder, that considering your towardsnes and the dexteritie of your nature, those good parts which were already in you, have gotten so great an addition and be so much increased, as they are: but when I see how that vehement inclination, and ardent motion of yours to anger, whereunto by nature you were given, is by the guidance of reason become so milde, so gentle and tractable, it cometh into my minde to say thereunto, that which I read in *Homer*,

*O what a woonderous change is here?  
Much milder are you than you were.*

And verily this gentleness and meekenes of yours is not turned into a certaine sloth, and general dissolution of your vigour: but like as a peece of ground well tilled, lieth light and even, and besides more hollow than before, which maketh much for the fertilitie thereof; even so, your nature hath gotten in stead of that violent disposition and sudden propension unto choler, a certaine equalitie and profunditie, serving greatly to the management of affaires, whereby also it appeareth plainly that it is not long of the decaying strength of the bodie, by reason of declining age; neither yet of the owne accord, that your hastinesse and cholerick passion is thus faded, but rather by meanes of good reasons and instructions well cured. And yet verily (for unto you I will be bold to say the truth) at the first I suspected and could not well beleve *Eros* our familiar friend, when he made this report of you unto me; as doubting that he was readie to give this testimonie of you in regard of affection and good will, bearing me in hand of those things which were not indeed in you, but ought to be in good and honest men: and yet (as you know well ynough) he is not such a man, as for favour of any person, and for to please, can be easily perswaded and brought to say otherwise than he thinketh. But now as he is freed and acquit from the crime of bearing false witness: so you (since this journey and travell upon the way affordeth you good leisure) will (I doubt not) at my request, declare and recount unto us the order how you did this cure upon your selfe; and namely what medicines and remedies you used, to make that cholerick nature of yours, so gentle, so tractable, so soft and supple, so obedient (I say) and subject wholly to the rule of reason?

FUNDANUS.

But why do you not your selfe (*ô Sylla*) my dearest and most affectionate friend, take heed, that

that for the amitie and good will which you beare unto me, you be not deceived and see one thing in me for another? As for *Eros*, who for his owne part hath not alwaies his anger stedfastly staid with the cable and anchor of *Homer's Peisa* (that is, obedient and abiding firme in one place) but otherwhiles much mooved and out of quiet, for the hatred that he hath of vice and vicious men it may verie well be, and like it is that unto him I seeme more milde and gentle than before: like as we see in changing and altering the notes of prick-song, or the Gam-ut in musicke, certaine *Netae* or notes which are the base in one *S*, being compared which other *Netae* more low and base, become *Hypatae*, that is, the Trebles.

SYLLA.

It is neither so nor so (*ô Fundanus*) but of all loves, do as I desire you, for my sake.

FUNDANUS.

Since it is so (*Sylla*) among many good advertisements of *Majonius* which come to my minde, this is one; That whosoever would live safe and in health, ought all their life time to looke to themselves, and be as it were in continuall Physicke. For I am not of this minde, neither doe I thinke it convenient that like as *Elleborus*, after it hath done the deed within a sick mans bodie and wrought a cure, is cast up againe together with the maladie; so reason also should be sent out after the passion which it hath cured, but it ought to remaine still in the mind for to keepe and preserve the judgement. For why? reason is not to be compared with medicines and purgative drugs, but rather to wholesome and nourishing meates, engendring mildly in the minds of them unto whom it is made familiar, a good complexion and fast habit together with some perfect health: whereas admonitions and corrections applied or ministred unto passions when they swell and rage, and bee in the height of their heat and inflammation, hardly and with much adoe worke any effect at all, and if they doe, it is with much paine. Neither differ they in operation from those strong odors which well may raise out of a fit those who are fallen and be subject to the *Epilepsy* or falling sickness; but they cure not the disease, nor secure the patient for falling againe: True it is that all other passions of the minde, if they be taken in hand at the very point and instant when they are in their highest furie, do yeld in some sort, and they admit reason comming from without into the minde for to helpe and succour, but anger not only, as *Melancthus* saith,

*Commits lewd parts, and reason doth displace  
Out of her seat, and proper resting place.*

but also turneth her cleane out of house & home, shutteth and locketh her out of doores for all together; nay it fareth for all the world like to those who let the house on fire over their owne heads, and turne themselves and it together: it filleth all within full of trouble, smoke, and confused noises, in such sort that it hath neither eie to see, nor care to listen unto those that would, & might assist and give aide: and therefore sooner will a ship abandoned of her master in the mids of the sea, and there hulling dangerously in a storme and tempest receive a pilot from some other ship without; than a man tossed with the waves of furie and anger, admit the reason and remonstrance of a stranger; unlesse his owne reason at home were before-hand well prepared:

But like as they who looke for no other but to have their citie besieged, gather together and lay up safe their owne store and provision, and all things that might serve their turne, not knowing nor expecting any aide or reliefe abroad during the siege; even so ought we to have our remedies ready and provided long before, and the same gathered out of all parts of Philosophie and conveyed into the minde for to withstand the rage of choler: as being assured of this, that when neede and necessitie requireth to use them, wee shall not easily admit the same, and suffer them to have entrance into us. For surely at such a time of extremitie, the soule heareth not a word that is said unto it without, for the trouble and confusion within, unlesse her owne reason be assistant ready both to receive and understand quickly every commandement and precept, and also to prompt the same accordingly unto her. And say that she doth heare: looke

what is said unto her after a milde, calme, and gentle maner, that she despiseth; againe, if any be more instant, and do urge her somewhat roughly, with those she is displeased, and the worse for their admonitions: for wrath being of the owne nature proud, audacious, unruly, and hardly suffering it selfe to be handled or stirred by another, much like unto a tyrant attended with a strong guard about his person, ought to have something of the owne which is domestically, familiar, and (as it were) in-bred together with it, for to overthrow and dissolve the same. Nowe the continuall custome of anger and the ordinary or often falling into a chafe, breedeth in the minde an ill habit called wrathfulness, which in the end groweth to this passe, that it maketh a

man

man cholericke and hasty, apt to be mooved at every thing; and besides, it engendreth a bitter humor of revenge, and a tellnesse implacable, or hardly to be appeased; namely, when the mind is exulcerate once, taking offence at every small occasion, quarreling and complaining for toies and trifles, much like unto a thin or a fine edge that entrencheth with the least force that the graver putteth it to. But the judgement of reason opposing it selfe straightwaies against such motions and fits of choler, and readie to suppress & keepe them downe, is not onely a remedie for the present mischief, but also for the time to come doeth strengthen and fortifie the mind, causing it to be more firme and strong to resist such passions when they arise. And now to give some instance of my selfe: The same hapned unto me after I had twice or thrice made head against choler, as befell sometimes to the Thebanes; who having ones repelled and put to flight the Lacedæmonians (warriors thought in those daies invincible) were never in any one battell afterward defeated by them. For from that time forward I tooke heart and courage, as seeing full well, that conquered it might be with the discourse of reason. I perceived moreover, that anger would not onely be quenched with cold water powred and cast upon it, as *Aristotle* hath reported unto us, but also that it would go out and be extinguished, were it never so light a fire before, by presenting neere unto it some object of feare: nay (I assure you) by a sudden joy comming upon it unlooked for, in many a man, according as *Homer* saith, choler hath melted, dissolved & evaporated away. And therefore this resolution I made, that anger was a passion not incurable, if men were willing to be cured: for surely the occasions and beginnings thereof are not alwaies great and forcible; but we see that a jest, a scoffe, some sport, some laughter, a winke of the eye, or nod of the head, and such small matters, hath set many in a pelting chafe: even as *Lady Helena* saying no more but thus unto her niece or brothers daughter at their first meeting,

*Electra virgin, long time since I you saw &c.*

drave her in such a fit of choler, that therewith she was provoked to breake off her speech with this answer,

*Wife now at last, though all too late,  
you are I may well say,  
Who whilom left your husbands house,  
and ran with flame away.*

Likewise *Cathartes* mightily offended *Alexander* with one word, who when a great boile of wine went round about the table, refused it as it came to his turne, saying: I will not (I trow) drinke so to your health *Alexander*, that I shall have need thereby of *Asclepius* (i. a Physician.) A fire that newly hath caught a flame with haies or conies haire, drie leaves, hurds and light straw, (tubble and rakings, it is an easie matter to put out and quench; but if it have once taken to found fewell and such matter as hath solidity, substance and thickeesse in it, soone it burneth and consumeth as *Asclepius* saith:

*By climbing up and mounting high  
The stately works of Carpentrie.*

Semblably, he that will take heed unto choler at the beginning, when he seeth it once to smoke or flame out by occasion of some merry speech, flouting scoffes, and foolish words of no moment, needs not to strive much about the quenching of it: for many times if he do no more but hold his peace, or make small account or none at all of such matters, it is enough to extinguish and make it go out. For he that ministrerth not fewell to fire, putteth it out; and whoe soever feedeth not his anger at the first, and bloweth not the coales himselfe, doth coole and repress the same. And therefore *Hieromus* the Philosopher, although otherwise he have taught us many good lessons and instructions; yet in this point he hath not pleased and satisfied me, when he saith: That a man is not able to perceive in himselfe the breeding of anger, (so quick and sudden it is) but onely when it is bred, then it may be felt: for surely, there is no vice or passion in us, that giveth such warning, or hath either so evident a generation or so manifest an augment whiles it is stirred and mooved, as anger, according as *Homer* himselfe right skilfully, so and as a man of good experience, giveth us to understand, who bringeth in *Achilles* fore mooved to sorrow and griefe of heart, even with a word, and at the very instant, when he heard the speeches of *Agamemnon*: for thus reporteth the Poet of him:

*Out of the king his sovereigns mouth,  
The word no sooner past,  
But straight a blacke and mistie cloud  
Of ire him overcast.*

But of *Agamemnon* himselfe, he saith, that it was long ere he was angry; namely, after he had bene kindled with many hard speeches, that were dealt to and fro, which if any third person stepping betweene, would have staied or turned away, certes their quarrell and debate had not growen to such reavnes of extremity as it did. And therefore *Socrates* so often as he felt himselfe somewhat declining and more mooved than he should, against any one of his friends, and avoiding as it were a rocke in the sea, before the tempest came and the billowes arose, would let fall his voice, shew a smiling countenance, and compose his looke and visage to mirth and lenitie, and thus by bending and drawing another away to that whereunto his affection enclined, and opposing himselfe to a contrary passion, he kept upright on his feet, so that he fell not, nor was overthrowen. For there is (my good friend) a ready way in the very beginning, to breake the force of choler, like as there is a way to dissolve a tyrannicall rule and dominion, that is to say, not to obey at the first, nor to give eare and be ruled by her commandement, when she shal bid thee to speake & cry out aloud, or to looke with a terrible countenance, or to knocke or beat thy selfe; but to be still and quiet, and not to re-enforce and encrease the passion, as men do exasperate a sicknesse with strugling, striving, tossing and roaring out aloud. For those things which ordinary lovers and amorous yong men practise, that is to say, to go in a wanton and merry masque, to sing and daunce at the doores of their sweet hearts and mistresses, to bedeck their windowes with coronets & floure-garlands, bring some ease and alleviation (such as it is) of their passions, and the same not altogether undecent and uncivill, according to that which we read in the Poet:

*And when I came, aloud I cried not,  
And asked who she was, or daughter whose?  
But kiss my love full sweetly, that I wot:  
If this be mine? but mine I can not choof.*

Also that which we permit those to doe who are in sorrow, namely, to mourne, to lament and weepe for losses or mishaps; certainly with their sighs which they letch, & teares that they shed, they do lend out and discharge a good part of their griefe and anguish. But it is not so with the passion of anger: for surely, the more that they stirre and speake who are surprised therewith, the more hote it is, and the flame burneth out the rather; and therefore the best way is, for a man to be quiet, to lye and keepe him out of the way, or els to retire himselfe into some haven of fury and repose, when he perceiveth that there is a fit of anger toward, as if he felt an access of the falling evill comming. This (I say) we ought to do, for feare lest we fall downe, or rather runne and rush upon some one or other. But who be they that we run upon? Surely our very friends, for the greatest part, & those we wrong most. As for our affection of love, it standeth not to all things indifferently, neither do we hate ne yet feare we every thing alike: But what is it that ire setteth not upon? nothing is there but it doth affaile and lay hands on; we are angry with our enemies; we chafe with our friends; with children, with parents are we wrath; nay, the very gods themselves we forbear not in our cholericke mood; we flie upon dumbe and brute beasts; we spare not so much as our utensile vessels and implements which have neither sense nor life at all, if they stand in our way, we fare like *Thamyris* the Musician,

*Who brake his cornet, finely bound  
And tipt with golde: his late he bent,  
Well strung and swifd to pleasant sound,  
And it anon to fitters rent.*

Thus did *Pandarus* also, who cursed, and betooke himselfe to all the fiends in hell, if he did not burst his bowe and arrowes with his owne hands, and throw them into the fire when he had so done. As for *Xerxes*, he stucke not to whip, to lash and scourge the sea, and to the mountaine *Athos* he sent his minatorie letters in this forme: *Thou wretched and wicked Athos, that bearest up thy head aloft into the skie; see thou bring forth no great craggie stones, I advise thee, for my works, and such as be hard to be cut and wrought: otherwise, if thou doe, I shall cut thee through and tumble thee into the maine sea.* Many fearefull and terrible things there be that are done in anger, and as many for them againe, as foolish and ridiculous, and therefore of all passions that trouble the minde, it is both hated and despised most. In which regards expedient it were, to consider diligently awell of the one as the other: for mine owne part, whether I did well or ill, I know not; but surely, when I began my cure of choler in my selfe, I did as in olde time the Lacedæmonians were wont to do by their Ilotes, men of base and servile condition: For as they taught their children what a foule vice drunkennesse was, by their example when they were

drunke, so I learned by observing others, what anger was, and what beastly effects it wrought. First and formost therefore, like as that maladie according to *Hippocrates*, is of all others, woofst and most dangerous, wherein the visage of the sicke person is most disfigured and made unlike it selfe; so, I seeing those that were possessed of choler, and (as it were) beside themselves thereby, how their face was changed, their colour, their countenance, their gate and their voice quite altered, I imagined thereupon unto my selfe a certaine forme and image of this maladie, as being mightily displeased in my minde, if haply at any time I should be seene of my friends, my wife and the little girles my daughters, so terrible and so farre mooved and transported beside my selfe: not onely fearefull and hideous to beholde, and farre otherwise than I was wont, but also unpleasant to be heard; my voice being rough, rude and churlish: like as it was my hap to see some of my familiar friends in that case, who by reason of anger could not reiteine and keepe their ordinary fashions and behavior, their force of visage, nor their grace in speech, ne yet that affability and pleasantnesse in company and talke as they were wont.

This was the reason that *Caim Gracchus* the Oratour, a man by nature blunt, rude in behavior, and withall over-earnest and violent in his manner of pleading, had a little flute or pipe made for the nonce, such as Musicians are wont to guide and rule the voice gently by little and little up and downe, betwene base to treble, according to everie note as they would themselves, teaching their scholars thereby to have a tunable voice. Now when *Gracchus* pleaded at the barre at any time, he had one of his servants standing with such a pipe behinde him: who observing when his master was a little out of tune, would sound a more mild and pleasant note unto him, whereby he reclaimed and called him backe from that loude exclaiming, and so taking downe that rough and swelling accent of his voice,

*Like as the Neat-heards pipes so will  
made of the marrish reeds so light;  
The joints whereof with waxe they fill,  
resound a tune for their delight:  
Which while the heard in field they keepe,  
Brings them at length to pleasant sleepe.*

dulced and allayed the cholericke passion of the orator. Certes my selfe, if I had a pretie page to attend upon me, who were diligent, necessarie and handsome about me, would not be offended but verie well content, that when he saw me angrie he should by and by present a mirror or looking glasse unto me, such a one as they use to bring and shew unto some that newly are come out of the baine, although no good or profit at all they have thereby. But certainly for man to see himselfe at such a time, how disquieted he is, how farre out of the way and beside the course of nature, it were no small meanes to checke this passion, and to set him in hatred therewith for ever after. They who are delighted in tales and fables, doe report by way of merrie speech and pastime, that once when *Minerva* was a piping, there came a Satyre and admonished her, that it was not for her to play upon a flute; but she for the time tooke no heed to that advertisement of his, notwithstanding he spake thus unto her:

*This forme of face becomes you not,  
lay up your pipes, take armes in hand:  
But first this would not be forgot,  
your cheekes to lay that puff now stand.*

But afterwards when she had seene her face in a certaine river, what a paire of cheekes she had gotten with her piping, she was displeased with her selfe and flung away her pipes: And yet this art and skill of playing well upon the pipe, yeeldeth some comfort and maketh amends for the deformitie of a disfigured visage, with the melodious tune and harmonie that it affoordeth; yea and afterwards, *Marsyas* the Minstrell (as it is thought) devised first with a certaine hood and muzzle fastened round about the mouth, as well to restraine and keepe downe the violence of the blast enclosed thus by force, as also to correct and hide the deformitie and undecent inequality of the visages;

*With glittering gold both cheekes as farre  
as temples he did binde:  
The tender mouth with his bones likewise,  
fast knit the necke behind.*

But anger contrariwise, as it doth puffe up and stretch out the visage after an unseemely manner, so much more it sendeth out undecent and unpleasant voice,

*And*

*And stirrs the strings at secret note of heart  
Which touched should not be hurt by a part.*

The sea verily, when being troubled and disquieted with blustering winds, it casteth up mofse, reits, and such like weeds (they say) it is cleansed and purged thereby: but the dissolute, bitter, scurrile, and foolish speeches, which anger sendeth out of the minde when it is turned upside downe, first pollute and defile the speakers themselves, and fill them full of infamy, for that they be thought to have their hearts full of such ordure and filthinesse at all times; but the same lurketh there, untill that choler discovereth it: And therefore, they pay most dearly for their speech, the lightest matter of all others (as *Plato* saith) in that they suffer this heave and grievous punishment, to be held and reputed for malicious enemies, cursed speakers, and ill conditioned persons. Which I seeing and observing well enough, it falleth out that I reason with my selfe, & alwaies call to mind, what a good thing it is in a fever, but much better in a fit of choler to have a tongue faire, even and smooth: For in them that be sicke of an ague, if the tongue be not such as naturally it ought to be, an ill signe it is, but not a cause of any harme or indisposition within. Howbeit, if their tongues who are angry, be once rough, foule, and running dissolutely at random to absurd speeches, it casteth forth outrageous and contumelious language, the verie mother and work-mistresse of irreconcilable enmitie, and bewraeth an hidden and secret maliciousnesse. As for wine, if a man drinke it, of it selfe undelayed with water, it putteth forth no such wantonnesse, no disordinate and lewd speeches, like to those that proceed of ire. For drunken talke serveth to make mirth, and to procure laughter rather than any thing else: but words of choler are tempered with bitter gall and rankor. Moreover, he that sitteth silent at the table when others drinke merrily, is odious unto the companie and a trouble: whereas in choler there is nothing more decent and becoming gravitie, than to be quiet and say nothing: according as *Sappho* doth admonish,

*When furious choler once is up,  
disperst and spread in brest,  
To keepe the tongue then apt to barke,  
and let it lie at rest.*

The consideration of these things collected thus together, serveth not onely to take heede alwaies unto them that are subject to yre and therewith possessed, but also besides to know thoroughly the nature of anger: how it is neither generous or manfull, nor yet hath anie thing in it that favoereth of wisdom and magnanimitie. Howbeit the common people interpret the turbulent nature thereof to be active and meet for action: the threats and menaces thereof, hardinesse and confidence, the peevish and froward unrulinesse to be fortitude and strength. Nay some there be who would have the crueltie in it, to be a disposition and dexterity to achieve great matters; the implacable malice thereof to be constancie and firme resolution: the morositie and difficultie to be pleased; to be the hatred of sinne and vice; howbeit herein they do not well but are much deceived, for surely the very actions, motions, gestures, and countenance of cholerike persons do argue and bewray much basenesse and imbecillitie: which we may perceive not onely in these brain-sicke fits that they fall upon little children, and them pluck, twitch, and misuse; lie upon poore seely women, and thinke that they ought to punish and beat their horses, hounds and mules, like unto *Cressphon* that famous wrestler and professed champion, who sticke not to spurne and kicke his mule; but also in their tyrannicall and bloodly murders, wherein their crueltie and bitterness which declareth their pusillanimity & base minds; their actions which shew their passions & their doing to others, bewraying a suffering in themselves, may be compared to the stings and bitings of those venomous serpents which be very angrie, exceeding dolorous and burne most themselves when they do inflict the greatest inflammation upon the patients, and put them to most paine: For like as swelling is a symptome or accident following upon a great wound or hurt in the flesh: even so it is in the tenderest and softest minds, the more they give place and yeeld unto dolor and passion, the more plentie of choler and anger they utter forth as proceeding from the greater weaknes. By this you may see the reason why women ordinarily be more waspish, curst and shrewd than men; sicke folke more restlesse than those that are in health; old people more waiward and froward than those that be in the floure and vigor of their yeeres; and finally such as be in adversity and upon whom fortune stowneth, more prone to anger than those who prosper and have the world smiling upon them. The covetous mizer and pinching peni-father is alwaies most angrie with his steward: that laith forth his monie; the glutton is ever more displeased with

hiscooke and cater; the jealous husband quickly falleth out and brawleth with his wife; the vaine glorious foole is soonest offended with them that speake any thing amisse of him; but the most bitter and intollerable of all others; are ambitious persons in a citie, who lay for high places and dignities, such also as are the heads of a faction in a sedition; which is a trouble and mischiefe (as *Pindarus* saith) conspicuous and honorable. Loe, how from that part of the mind which is wounded, greeved, suffreth most and especially upon infirmite and weaknesse, ariseth anger, which passion remembereth not (as one would have it) the finewes of the foule, but is like rather to their stretching preines and spasmatick convulsions, when it streineth and striveth overmuch in following revenge.

Well, the examples of evil things yeeld no pleasant sight at all, onely they be necessary and profitable, and for mine owne part supposing the precedents given by those who have caried themselves gently and mildly in their occasions of anger, are most delectable, not onely to behold, but also heare: I begin to contemne and despise those that say thus:

*To man thou hast done wrong: be sure*

*At mans hand wrong for to endure.*

Likewise

*Downe to the ground with him, spare not his coare,*

*Spurne him and let thy foot upon his throat,*

and other such words which serve to provoke wrath and whet choler; by which some go about to remoove anger out of the nurcery, and womens chamber into the hall where men do sit and keepe; but herein they do not well: For prowess and fortitude according in all other things with justice, and going fellow-like with her, me thinks is at strife and debate with her about meeknesse and mildnesse onely, as if the rather became her, and by right appertained unto her: For otherwhiles it hath beene knowne that the worst men have gone beyond and surmounted the better. But for a man to erect a Trophee and set up a triumphall monument in his owne foule against ire (with which as *Heraculus* saith the conflict is hard and dangerous: for what a man would have he bueth with his life) it is an act of rare valour and victorious puiſſance, as having in tueth the judgement of reason, for finewes, tendons, and muskles to encounter and resist passions. Which is the cause that I studie, and am desirous alwaies to reade and gather the sayings and doings, not onely of learned clearks and Philosophers; who as our Sages and wise men say, have no gall in them, but also and much rather of Kings, Princes, Tyrants, and Potentates: As for example, such as that was of *Antigonus*, who hearing his souldiours upon a time revile him behinde his pavilion, thinking that he heard them not, put forth his staffe from under the cloth unto them and said: A whorson knaves, could you not go a little farther off, when you meant thus to raile upon us. Likewise when one *Arcadian* an *Argive* or *Achean* never gave over reviling of King *Philip*, and abusing him in most reprochfull tearmes, yea and to give him warning

*So far so fite, unwill be thither come*

*Where no man knew nor heard of Philips name.*

And afterwards the man was seene (I know not how) in *Macedonia*; the friends and courtiers of king *Philip* were in hand with him to have him punished, and that in any wise he should not let him go and escape: *Philip* contrariwise having him once in his hands, spake gently unto him, used him courteously, sending unto him in his lodging gifts and presents, and so sent him away. And after a certaine time he commanded those courtiours of purpose to enquire what words he gave out of him unto the Greekes; but when everie one made report againe and testified that he was become another man, and ceased not to speake woonderfull things in the praise of him; Lo (quoth *Philip*) then unto them: Am not I a better Physician than all you, and can I not skill how to cure a foule tongued fellow? Another time at the great solemnitie of the Olympian games, when the Greekes abused him with verie bad language, his familiar friends about him said they deserved to be sharply chastised and punished, for so miscalling and reviling him, who had beene so good a benefactor of theirs: what would they doe and say then (quoth he) if I should deale hardly by them and doe them shrewd turnes? Semblably, notable and excellent was the carriage of *Pisistratus* to *Thrasibulus*: of king *Perseus* to *Mutius*; and of *Magas* to *Philemon*, who in a publique and frequent Theatre, had mocked and scoffed at him in this manner,

*Magas, there are some letters come  
unto you from a king*

But

*But letter Magas none can reade,  
nor write for any thing.*

Now it chanced afterwards that by a tempest at sea he was cast upon the Port-towne *Paratonium*, whereof *Magas* was governor, and so fell into his hands, who did him no other harme, but commanded one of his guard or officers about him, onely with his naked sword to touch his bare necke, and so gently to goe his waies and do no more to him: marie afterwards, he sent unto him little bones for cock-all, and a pretie ball to play withall, as if he had bene a childe that had no wit nor discretion, and so sent him home againe in peace. King *Protemus* upon a time getting and scoffing at a simple and unlearned Gramarian, asked him, who was the father of *Peleus*: I will answere you sir (quoth he) if you tell me first who was the father of *Lagus*: This was a drie flour and touched King *Protemus* very neere, in regard of the meane parentage from whence he was descended: whereat, all about the King were mightily offended, and thought it was too broad a jest and frump intollerable. But *Protemus*, if it be not seemely for a King to take and put up a scorne: surely as little decent it is for his person to give a scorne \*

*Alexander* the Great was more bitter and cruell (than otherwise his ordinarie manner was to others) towards *Callisthenes* and *Chytus*. But King *Perseus* being taken prisoner by him in a battell, besought that he would use him royally, or like a King. And when King *Alexander* demanded moreover what he had more to say, and what he would have else? No more (quoth he) for under this word Royally is comprised all. And therefore I suppose it is, that the Greeks call the King of the gods, by the name of *Melchius*, that is to say, Milde and sweete as honie. And the Athenians named him *Mumaces*, which is as much as, Readie to helpe and succour: For to punish and torment, pertaineth to divels and the furious fiends of hel: there is no celestially divine, and heavenly thing in it. And like as one said of King *Philip*, when he had rated & destroyed the citie *Olynthus*: Yea marie, but he is notable to set up such another citie in the place: even so, a man may well say unto Anger; Thou canst overthrow, demolish, marre and pull downe: but to reare and erect againe, to save, to pardon, and to endure; be the properties of meeknesse, clemencie, mildnes, patience, and moderation: they be the parts (I say) of *Camillus*, *Metellus*, *Aristides* and *Socrates*: whereas to sticke close unto the flesh, to pinch, pricke and bite, are the qualities of pismires, flies and mice. Moreover and besides, when I looke unto Revenge, and the manner thereof, I finde for the most part, that if men proceede by way of choler, they misse of their purpose: for commonly all the heat & desire of revenge is spent in biting of lips, gnashing and grating of teeth, vaine running to and fro, in railing words with foolish threats and menaces among, that favour of no wit at all: By which means it fareth with them afterwards, as with little children in running of a race, who for feeblenesse being not able to hold out, fall downe before they come unto the goale, whereunto they made such ridiculous and foolish haste. And therefore in my conceit, it was not an improper answer which a certaine Rhodian made unto one of the Licitors and officers of a Romane Generall or Lord Praetor, who with wide mouth bailed at him, and made a glorious bragging and boasting. I passe not (quoth he) one whit what thou saist; I care rather for that which he thinketh there, that saith nothing. In like manner *Sophocles* when he had brought in *Eurpylus* and *Neopolemus* all armed, speaketh bravely in their commendation thus,

*They dealt no threats in vaine, no taunts*

*they made, nor boasting words:*

*But to't they went and on their shields*

*they laid on load with swords.*

And verily, some barbarous nations there are who use to poison their swords, & other weapons of iron; but valour hath no need at all of the venom of choler, for dipped it is in reason & judgement; whereas whatsoever is corrupted with ire and furie is brittle, rotten, and easie to be broken into pieces. Which is the reason that the Lacedaemonians doe allay the choler of their souldiours, when they are fighting with the melodious sound of flutes and pipes; whose manner is also before they goe to battell, to sacrifice unto the Muses, to the end that their reason and right wits may remaine in them still, and that they may have use thereof: yea, and when they have put their enemies to flight, they never pursue after nor follow the chafe, but reclaine and hold their furious anger within compasse, which they are able to weld and manage as they list; no lesse than these daggers or courtlances which are of a meane size and reasonable length. Contrariwise, anger hath bene the cause that many thousands have come thort of the execution of vengeance, and miscarried by the way. As for example, *Cyrus* and *Pelopidas* the Thebane among

\* It seemeth that heere is some what wanting.

the rest. But *Agathocles* endured patiently to heare himselfe reproched and reviled, by those whom hee besieged: and when one of them said: You Potter there? Heare you? Where will you have silver to pay your mercenarie fouldiers and strangers their wages? Hee laughed againe and made answer; Even out of this citie when I have once forced it. Some there were also that mocked and scorned *Antigonus* from the verie wallis, and twitted him with his deformitie and evill favoured face. But he said no more than thus, Why! And I tooke my selfe before to have bene verie faire and well favoured. Now when he had woon the towne he fold in open port-fale those that had so flouted him, protesting wishal unto them, that if from that time forward they mocked him any more, he would tell their masters of them and call them to account.

Moreover, I doe see that hunters, yea, and oratours also commit many faults in their choler. And *Aristotle* doth report, that the friends of *Satyrus* the Oratour, in one cause that he had to plead for them, stopped his eares with waxe, for feare lest that he, when he heard his adversaries to raile upon him in their pleas, should marre all in his anger. And do not (I pray you) we our selves many times misse of punishing our servants by this meanes, when they have done some faults: for when they heare us to threaten, and give out in our anger, that we will doe thus and thus unto them, they be so frightened that they runne away farre enough off from us. Like as nurses therefore, are wont to say unto their little children: Crie not, and you shall have this or that; so we shall do very wel, to speake unto our choler in this wise; Make no such haste, lofe and faile, keepe not such a crying, make not so loud a noyse, be not so eager and urgent upon the point; so shall you see every thing that you would have, sooner done and much better. And thus a father, when he seeth his child going about to cut or cleave any thing with a knife or edge tooke, taketh the tooke or knife out of his hand, and doth it himselfe; even so he that doth take revenge out of the hands of choler, punisheth not himselfe, but him that deserveth it: and thus he doth surely, putting his owne person in no danger, without damage and losse, nay, with great profit and commodity. Now, whereas all passions whatsoever of the minde had need of use and custome, to tame (as it were) and vanquish by exercise, that which in them is unruly, rebellious and disobedient to reason: certes, in no one point besides had we need to be more exercised, (I meane as touching those dealings that we have with our household servants) than in anger: for there is no envy & emulation that ariseth in us toward the, there is no feare that we need to have of them, neither any ambition that troubleth or pricketh us against them; but ordinary and continuall fits of anger we have every day with them, which breed much offence and many errors, causing us to tread awry, to slip and do amisse sundry waies, by reason of that licentious libertie unto which we give our selves, all the whiles that there is none to controll, none to stay, none to forbid and hinder us: and therefore being in so ticklish a place, and none to sustaine and holde us up, soone we catch a fall, and come downe at once. And a hard matter it is (I may say to you) when we are not bound to render an account to any one, in such a passion as this, to keepe our selves upright, and not to offend; unless we take order before-hand to restraine and empale (as it were) round about, so great a libertie with meeknesse and clemencie, unless (I say) we be well inured and acquainted to beare and endure many shrewd and unhappy words of our wives, much unkinde language of friends and familiars, who many times do challenge us for being too remisse, over-gentle, yea, and altogether carelesse and negligent in this behalfe. And this in trueth, hath bene the principall cause that I have bene quicke and sharpe unto my servants, for feare lest they might prove the woofe for not being chastised. But at the last, though late it were, I perceived; First, that better it was by long sufferance and indulgence, to make them somewhat woofe, than in seeking to reforme and amend others, to disorder and spoile my selfe with bitterness and choler: Secondly, when I saw many of them often-times, even because they were not so punished, feare and shame to do evil, and how pardon and forgiveness was the beginning of their repentance and conversion, rather than rigour and punishment; and that I assure you, they would serve some more willingly with a nod or winke of the eie, and without a word spoken, than others with all their beating and whipping: I was at last perswaded in my minde and resolved, that reason was more woorthy to command and rule as a master, than ire and wrath. For true it is not that the Poet saith:

Where ever is feare,  
Shame also is there:

but cleane contrary: Looke who are bashfull and ashamed; in them there is imprinted a certaine feare that holdeth them in good order: whereas continuall beating and laying on without mercy,

mercy, breedeth not repentance in servants for evil doing, but rather a kinde of forecast and providence, how they should not be spied nor taken in their evil doing. Thirdly, calling to remembrance, and considering evermore with my selfe, that he who taught us to shoot, forbade us not to draw a bowe or to shoot an arrow, but to misse the mark: no more will this be any let or hinderance, but that we may chastise and punish our servants, if we be taught to do it in time and place, with moderation and measure, profitably, and decently as it apperteineth. And verily I do enforce my selfe, and strive to master my choler and subdue it principally, not denying unto them who are to be punished, the libertie and meanes to justifie themselves, but in hearing them to speake what they can for their excuse. For as time and space doeth in the meane time finde the passion occupied another way, and withall bring a certaine delay, which doeth slacke and let downe (as it were) the vehemencie and violence thereof; so judgement of reason, all the while meeteth both with a decent maner and also with a convenient meane and measure of doing punishment accordingly. And besides, this course and maner of proceeding, leaveth him that is punished, no cause, occasion or pretence at all, to resist and strive againe, considering that he is chastised and corrected not in choler and anger, but being first convinced, that he had well deserved his correction: and (which were yet woofe than all the rest) the servant shall not have vantage to speake more justly and to better reason than his master. Well then, like as *Phocion* after the death of *Alexander* the great, having a care not to suffer the Athenians to rise over-foone, or make any insurrection before due time, ne yet to give credit rashly unto the newes of his death: My masters of *Athens* (quoth he) if he be dead to day, he will be dead to morrow also, and three daies hence to; even so should a man (in mine opinion) who by the impulsion and instigation of anger, maketh haste to take punishment, thus suggest and secretly say to himselfe: If this servant of mine hath made a fault to day, it will be as true to morrow, and the next day after that he hath done a fault; neither will there be any harme or danger at all come of it, if hee chauce to be punished with the latest: but beleieve me, if he be punished over-soone, it will be alwaies thought that he had wrong, and did not offend: a thing that I have knowen to happen full often. For which of us all is so curst & cruel, as to punish and scourge a servant, for burning the roast five or ten daies ago? or for that so long before he chanced to overthrow the table? or was somewhat with the slowest in making answer to his Master; or did his errand or other business not so soone as he should? and yet we see these & such like be the ordinary causes for which (whiles they be fresh and new done) we take on, we stampe and stare, we chafe, we frowne, we are implacable and will heare of no pardon: And no marvaile, for like as any bodies seeme bigger through a mist; even so every thing appeareth greater than it is, through anger. And therefore at these and such like faults, we should winke for the time, and make as though we saw them not, and yet thinke upon them neverthelesse, and beare them in minde. But afterwards when the storme is well overblowne, we are with out passion, & do not suspect our selves, then we may do well to consider thereof: and then if upon mature deliberation, when our mind is staid and our senses settled, the thing appeere to be naught, we are to hate and abhor it, and in no wise either to for-let and put of, or altogether to omit and forbear correction, like as they refuse meats who have no stomack nor appetite to eat. For certainly it is not a thing so much to be blamed, for to punish one in anger, as not to punish when anger is past and alaid, and so to be retchlesse and desolure: doing as idle mariners, who so long as the sea is calme and the weather faire, loiter within the harbor or haven, but afterwards when a tempest is up, spread sailes and put themselves into danger. For even so we, condemning and neglecting the remissenesse and calmnesse of reason in case of punishment, make haste to execute the same during the heat of choler, which no doubt is a blustering and turbulent winde. As for meat he calleth for in deed, and taketh it naturally who is a hungrie: but surely he executeth punishment best, who neither hungrerth nor thirsteth after it: neither hath he need to use choler as a sauce or deintie dish for to get him a stomack and appetite to correct: but even when he is far off from desire of revenge, then of necessity he is to make use of reason and wisdom to direct him: for we ought not to do, as *Aristotle* writeth in his time the maner was in *Turkney*; To whip servants with sound of flutes and hauboyes; namely to make a sport and pastime of punishing men, and to solace our selves with their punishment for pleasures sake, and then afterwards when we have done, repent us of it: for as the one is brutish and beastlike; so the other is as womanish and unmanly: but without griefe and pleasure both, at what time as reason and judgement is in force, we ought to let justice take punishment, and leave none occasion at all for choler to get advantage. But peradventure some one will say, that this is not properly the way



way to remedie or cure anger; but rather a putting by or precaution that we should not commit any of those faults which ordinarily follow that passion: unto whom I answer thus; That the swelling of the Spleene is not the cause but a symptome or accident of a fever: howbeit if the said humour be fallen and the paine mitigated, the feaver also will be much eased, according as *Hieronymus* saith. Also when I consider by what meanes choler is engendred: I see that one falleth into it upon this cause, another upon that: but in all of them, it seemeth this generall opinion there is, that they thinke themselves to be despised and naught set by. And therefore we ought to meet with such as seeme to defend and mainteine themselves, as being angry for just cause, and to cure them after this maner; namely, by diverting and remooving from them, as far as ever we can, all suspition of contempt and contumacie in those that have offended them and mooved their anger; in laying the fault upon inconsiderate follie, necessitie, sickness, infirmities and miserie, as *Sophocles* did in these verses,

*For those my Lords whose state is in distresse,  
Have not their spirits and wits as heretofore:  
As fortune frownes, they waxen ever lesse,  
Nay gone are quite, though fresh they were before.*

And *Agamemnon*, albeit he laid the taking away of *Briſeu* from *Achilles* upon *Ate* (that is to say) some fatal infortunacie, yet

*He willing was and prest him to consent,  
And unto him rich gifts for to present.*

For to beseech and intreat, are signes of a man that despiseth not, and when the partie who hath given offence becometh humble and lowly, he remooveth all the opinion that might be conceived of contempt. But he that is in a fit of choler must not attend and waite until he see that, but rather helpe himselfe with the answer of *Diogenes*. These fellows here said one unto him, do deride thee *Diogenes*; but I (quoth he againe) do not finde that I am derided: even so ought a man who is angry not to be perswaded that he is contemned of another, but rather that himselfe hath just cause to contemne him, and to thinke that the fault committed did proceed of infirmities, error, heady rashnesse, sloth and idlenesse, a base and illiberal minde, age or youth. And as for our servants and friends we must by all meanes quit them hereof, or pardon them at leastwise: For surely they cannot be thought to contemne us, in regard that they thinke us unable to be revenged, or men of no execution if we went about it: but it is either by reason of our remissnes and mildnesse, or else of our love and affection that we seeme to be smally regarded by them, whiles our servants presume of our tractable nature, easie to be pacified, and our friends of our exceeding love that cannot be soone shaken off. But now we are provoked to anger, not only against our wives, or servants and friends, as being contemned by them; but also many times in our choler we fall upon In-keepers, Mariners and Muliters, when they be drunke, supposing that they despise us. And that which more is, we are offended with dogs when they bay or bark at us; and with asses if they chance to sting out and kicke us. Like unto him who lifted up his hand to strike and beat him that did drive an asse; and when the man cried that he was an Athenian: But thou I am sure art no Athenian (quoth he) to the asse, and laid upon the poore beast as hard as he could, and gave him many a blow with his cudgell. But that which chiefly causeth us to be angrie, and breedeth a continuall disposition thereto in our minds, causing us so often to breake out into fits of choler, which by little and little was engendred and gathered there before, is the love of our owne selves, and a kinde of froward furdinesse hardly to be pleased, together with a certaine daintinesse and delicacie, which all concurring in one, breed and bring forth a swame (as it were) of bees, or rather a waipes nest in us. And therefore there cannot be a better meanes for to carrie our selves mildly and kindly, towards our wives, our servants, familiars and friends, than a contented minde; and a singlenesse or simplicitie of heart, when a man reſteth satisfied with whatsoever is present at hand, and requireth neither things superfluous nor exquisite,

*But he that never is content  
With roſt or ſod, but cooke is ſhent:  
How ever he be ſerv'd, I meane  
With more, with leſſe, or in a meane:  
He is not pleas'd, nor one good word  
Can give of viands ſet on board,  
Without ſome ſnew who drinks no draughts,*

*Nor eateth bread in market bought.  
Who taſtes no meate, b't never ſo good,  
Serv'd up in diſh of earth or wood:  
And ſhakes no bed, nor pillow ſoft,  
Unleſſe with downe like ſea aloft  
Sitt from beneath it ſtrut and ſwell;  
For otherwiſe he ſleepes not well.*

who with rods and whips plieeth and halsteth the ſervitors at the table, making them to runne untill they ſweat againe, crying and bawling at them to come away apace, as if they were not carrying diſhes of meat, but plasters and cataplasmes for some inflammation or painfull impostume: subjecting himselfe after a slavish manner to a servile kinde of diet and life, full of discontentment, quarrels and complaints: little knoweth such an one how by a continuall cough, or many concussions & distemperatures, he hath brought his soule to an ulcerous and rheumaticke disposition about the seat and place of anger. And therefore we must use the body by frugalitie to take up and learne to be content with a competent meane (forasmuch as they who desire but a little, can never be disappointed nor frustrated of much) finding no fault, nor keeping any stir at the beginning about meat, but standing satisfied without saying a word, with that which God sendeth whatsoever it be, not fretting, vexing and tormenting our selves at the table about everie thing, and in so doing, serving both ourselves and our companie about us of friends, with the most unfavorable meſſe of meat, that is to wit, choler:

*A ſupper worſe than this I do not ſee  
How poſſibly one can deſerve bee.*

Namely, whiles the servants be beaten, the wife chidden and reviled for the meat burnt, for smoke in the parlor, for want of salt, or for the bread over stale and drie. But *Arceſilaus* upon a time with other friends of his, feasted certaine strangers and hostis of his abroad, whose guest he had beene; and after the supper was come in, and meat set upon the boord, there wanted bread, by reason that his servants had forgotten and neglected to buy any: for such a fault as this, which of us here would not have cried out that the walles should have burst withall, and beene ready to have thrown the house out of the window? And he laughing at the matter: He had need be a wife man (quoth he) I see well, that would make a feast and set it out as it should be. *Socrates* also upon a time, when he came from the wrestling schoole, tooke *Euthydemus* home with him to supper: but *Xantippe* his wife ſet a chiding and scoulding with him at the boord, reviling him with most bitter rearmes, so long, until at last in an anger downe went table and all that was upon it: Whereupon *Euthydemus* arose, and was about to depart; but *Socrates*: Will you be gone (quoth he?) Why, do you not remember that the other day as we sat at supper in your house, there flew up to the boord a hen and did as much for you? and yet were not we offended nor angrie for the matter. And in verie truth, we must entertaine our friends and guests, with courtlesie, mirth, a smiling countenance, and affectionate love: and not to brow-beat them, nor yet put the servitors in a fright, and make them quake and tremble with our frowning looks. Also we ought so to accustoine our selves that we may be content to be served with any kinde of vessels whatsoever, and not upon a daintinesse to have a minde to this, rather then to that, but to like all indifferently. And yet there be some so divers, that although there be manie cups and goblets standing upon the boord, chooſe one from the rest, and cannot drinke forth out of that one: according as the *Stoicks* doe report of *Marinus*, who loved one mazar, and could drinke out of no other. Thus they doe by their oile cruets and currying combs or rubbers, when they are at the baines or stoups, taking a fancie and affection to some one above the rest: but if it chaunce, that one of them be crackt, broken, or be lost and miserie any way when they are exceeding angrie and fall to beating of their servants. Such men therefore as find themselves to be cholericke, should do well to forbeare all rare and exquisite things, to wit, pots, cups, ſeale rings of excellent workmanship and precious stones: For that such costly jewels if they be marred or lost, breed more anger and set men out of order, more than those which be ordinarie and easie to be comely. And therefore when *Nero* the Emperour had caused to be made a certaine pavilion or tabernacle eight square, which was both for the beautie and cost, exceeding faire and sumptuous, and indeed an admirable piece of worke. In this Tabernacle (quoth *Seneca*) unto him, you have bewraied *Cæſar* that you are but a poore man: for if you lose this once, you shall never be able to recover and get the like againe. And so it fell out indeed, for the ship, wherein the same Tabernacle was, chanced to be cast away upon

on the sea, and all was drowned. But *Nero* calling to minde the words of *Seneca*, tooke the losse more patiently.

Moreover, this contentment of mind, and easinesse to be pleased with any thing in the house, causeth a man also to be more gentle, milde, and better contented with his servants and people about him: now if it worke this effect in us toward our household servants, evident it is that we shalbe likewise affected to our friends & those that be under our government. We see also, that slaves new bought, are inquisitive as touching him who hath bought them; not whether he be superstitious and envious; but whether he be cholerike and hasty or no. And to be briefe, neither can husbands endure the pudicity and honesty of their wives; nor wives the love of their husbands; ne yet friends the mutual conversation one with another, if there doe an angry and cholerike humor goe withall. Thus we see, that neither mariage nor amity be tollerable with choler. Contrariwise, if anger be away, even drunkennesse it selfe is tollerable and we can easily abide it: for the very *ferula* of god *Bacchus* is a sufficient punishment of drunkennesse, if so be there be not choler therewith, which may cause *Bacchus*, that is, Strong wine, in stead of *Lycum* and *Chorin*, that is to say, The Loofer of cares and Leader of daunces (which are his surnames) to be called *Omelles* and *Menoles*, which signifie Cruell and Furious. As for simple madnesse of it selfe alone, the *Elleboro* growing in *Amyreia*, is sufficient to cure: but if it be mingled with choler, it causeth Tragical fits; and those so strange, that a man would repute them for meeke fables. And therefore we must not give place to anger, neither in sport and pastime; for in lieu of good will it breedeth enmitie: nor in conference and disputations; for it turneth the love and desire of knowledge into debate and contention: nor in deciding and judging causes; because to authority it addeth violence and insolency: nor in the teaching and instruction of our children; for it maketh them desperate and haters of learning: nor in prosperity; for it encreaseth the envy and grudge of men: ne yet in adversity, because it taketh away pity and compassion, when they who are fallen into any misfortune, shew themselves testie, froward and quarrellous to those who come to moane and mourne with them. This did *Priamus*, as we read in *Homer*:

*Avant (quoth he) you chiding guests;*

*you odious mates be gone:*

*Have you no sorrowes of your owne,*

*but you come me to moane?*

On the other side, faire conditions and milde behaviour, yeeldeth succour and helpe in some cases, to compoeth and ordereth matters aright in others; dulceth and alaieth that which is tart and fowre: and in one word, by reason of that kinde, meeke and gentle quality, it overcommeth anger and all wayward testinesse whatsoever. Thus it is reported of *Euclides* in a quarrell or variance betweene him and his brother: For when his brother had contested and said unto him; I would I might die, if I be not revenged of thee: he inferred againe; Nay, let me die for it, if I perswade thee not otherwise before I have done; by which one word he presently woon his brothers heart, so that he changed his mind, and they parted friends. *Polemon* likewise, at a certaine time, when one who loved precious stones, & was sicke for faire & costly rings & such like curious jewels, did raile at him outrageously; answered not a word againe, but looked very wistly up on one of the signets that the other had, and well considered the fashion and workmanship thereof: which when the party perceived, taking as it should seeme no final contentment, and being very well pleased that he so perused his jewell; Not so *Polemon* (quoth he againe) but looke upon it thus, betweene you and the light, and then you will thinke it much more beautiful. *Aristippus* fell out upon a time (I know not how) with *Aeschines*, and was in a great choler and fit of anger: How now *Aristippus* (quoth one who heard him) so high & at such hot words) where is your anity & friendship all this while? Mary, asleepe (quoth he) but I wil waken it anon. With that he stoode close to *Aeschines*, and said: Thinke you me so unhappy every way and incurable, that I deserved not one admonishment at your hands? No marvell (quoth *Aeschines* againe) if I thought you (who for naturall wit in all things els excel me) to see better in this case, so also than I, what is meet and expedient to be done. For true it is that the Poet saith;

*The boare so wilde, whose necke with bristles strong*

*Is thicke best, the tender hand and soft*

*Of woman nice, yea and of infant young*

*By stroking faire, shall bend and turne (full oft)*

*Much sooner furre, and that with greater ease*

*Than wrestlers strong with all their force and peise.*

And

And we our selves can skill how to tame wilde beasts, we know how to make yong wooves gentle, yea, and lions whelps other-whiles we cary about with us in our armes: but see, how we againe afterwards in a raging fit of choler, be ready to sling from us and cast out of our sight, our owne children, our friends and familiars, and all our household servants, our fellow citizens and neighbours, we let loose our ire like some savage and furious beast, and this rage of ours we disguise and cleke forthwith with a colourable and false name, calling it Hatred of vice. But herein (I suppose) we doe no otherwise than in the rest of our passions and diseases of the minde; rearming one, Providence and forecast; another Liberality; and a third Pietie and religion: and yet for all these pretenses of goodly names, we can not be cured of the vices which they palliate; to wit, Timoroufnesse, Prodigality and Superstition.

And verily, like as our naturall seed (as *Zeno* said) is a certeine mixture and composition, derived and extracted from all the powers and faculties of the soule; even so, in mine opinion, a man may say that choler is a miscellane seed (as it were) and a dregge, made of all the passions of the mind: for plucked it is from paine, pleasure and insolent violence: Of envie it hath this qualitie to joy in the harmes of other men: it standeth much upon murder, but worse it is simply than murder: for the wrathfull person striveth and laboureth not to defend and save himselfe from taking harme; but so he may mischief and overthrow another, he careth not to come by a hurt and throwd turne himselfe. It holdeth likewise of concupiscence and lust, and taketh of it the worse and more unpleasant part, in case it be (as it is indeed) a desire and appetite to greeve, vex, and harme another. And therefore when we approach and come neere to the houses of luxurious and riotous persons, we heare betimes in the morning a minstrel-wench, founding and playing the Morrow-watch by breake of day: we see the muddy-grounds and dregs (as one was wont to say) of the wine, to wit, the vomits of those who cast up their stomachs: we behold the peeces and fragments of broken garlands and chaplets: and at the dore we finde the lackies and pages of them who are within, drunken and heave in the head with tipling strong wine. But the signes that tell where hastie, cholerike, and angry persons dwell, appeere in the faces of their servants, in the marks and wales remaining after their whipping, and in their clogs, yrons, and fetters about their feete. For in the houses of hastie and angry men, a man shall never heare but one kind of musicke; that is to say, the heave note of wailing groanes and piteous plaints; whiles either the stewards within are whipped and scourged, or the maidens racked & put to torture, in such sort that you would pitee to see the dolours & paines of yre which she suffreth in those things that she lusteth after & taketh pleasure in. And yet as many of us as happen to be truly & justly surprisid with choler oftentimes, for the hatred & detestation that we have of vices, ought to cut off that which is excessive therein and beyond measure, together with our over-light beleefe and credulitie of reports concerning such as converse with us: For this is one of the causes that most of all doth engender and augment choler; when either he whom we tooke for an honest man prooveeth dishonest, and is detected for some naughtinesse, or whom we reputed our friend is fallen into some quarrell and variance with us: as for my selfe, you know my nature and disposition, what small occasions make me both to love men effectually, and also to trust them confidently; and therefore (just as it falleth out with them who go over a false floore where the ground is not fast, but hollow under their feete) where I leane most and put my greatest trust for the love that I beare, there I offend most and soonest catch a fall: there (I say) am I grieved most also, when I see how I was deceived: As for that exceeding inclination and frowardnes of mind, thus to love and affect a man, could I never yet to this day weane my selfe from, so inbred it is and settled in me: may to stay my selfe from giving credit over-hastily and too much, I may peradventure use that bridle which *Plato* speaketh of, to wit, wary circumspection: for in recommending the Mathematician *Helicon*, I praise him (quoth he) for a man, that is as much to say, as a creature by nature mutable and apt to change. And even those who have bene well brought up in a citie, to wit, in *Athens*, he saith that he is so afraid likewise of them, lest being men, and coming from the seed of man, they do not one time or other bewray the weaknesse and infirmities of humane nature: and *Sophocles* when he speaketh thus,

*Who list to search through all deeds of mankind*

*More bad; then good he shall be sure to find.*

seemeth to clip our wings, and disable us wonderfully. Howbeit this difficultie and caution in judging of men and pleasing our selves in the choise of friends, will cause us to be more tractable and moderate in our anger: for whatsoever commeth sodainly and unexpected, the same

foone

soone transporteth us beside our selves. We ought moreover as *Panatin* teacheth us in one place to practise the example of *Anaxagoras*, and like as he said when newes came of his sons death; I know well (quoth he) that I begat him a mortall man; so in every fault of our servants or others that shall whetten our choler, each one of us may sing this note to himselfe: I knew well that when I bought this slave, he was not a wise Philosopher: I wist also, that I had gotten for my friend not one altogether void of affections and passions: neither was I ignorant when I tooke a wife, that I wedded a woman. Now if withall a man would evermore when he seeth others do amisse, adde this more unto the dittie as *Plato* teacheth us, and sing thus: Am not I also such an other? turning the discursion of his judgement from things abroad, to those which are within himselfe, and among his complaints and reprehensions of other men, come in with a certaine caveat of his owne, and feare to be reproved himselfe in the like; he would not haply be so quicke & forward in the hatred and detestation of other mens vices, seeing that himselfe hath so much need of pardon. But on the contrary side, every one of us when he is in the heat of choler and punisheth another, hath these words of severe *Aristides* and precise *Cato* ready enough in his mouth: Steale not Sirha: Make no more lies: Why art thou so idle then? &c. To conclude (that which of all others is most unseemely and absurd) we reprove in anger, others for being angry; and such faults as were committed in choler, those our selves will punish in choler; not verily as the Physicians use to do, who

*A bitter medicine into the body poure,  
When bitter choler they mean to purge and scoure.*

But we rather doe encrease the same with our bitterness, and make more trouble than was before. And therefore when I thinke and discourse with my selfe of these matters, I endeavour withall and assay to cut off somewhat from needlesse curiositie. For surely this narrow searching and freight looking into everie thing, for to spie and find out a fault; as for example to sift thy servant and call him into question for all his idle houres; to prie into every action of thy friend; to see where about thy sonne goeth, and how he spendeth all his time; to listen what whispering there is betweene thy wife and another, be the verie meanes to breed much anger, daily brawles, and continuall jares, which grow in the end to the height of curtnesse and throwardnes, hard to be pleased with any thing whatsoever. For according as *Euripides* saith in one place, we ought in some sort to do:

*All great affaires God as himselfe directeth,  
But matters small, to Fortune he committeth.*

For mine owne part, I do not thinke it good to commit any busines to Fortune; neither would I have a man of understanding to be retchlesse in his owne occasions: But with some things to put his wife in trust; others to make over unto servants, and in some matters to use his friends. Herein to beare himselfe like a Prince and great commaunder, having under him his Deputies, Governours, Receivers, Auditors, and Procurators; reserving unto himselfe and to the disposition of his owne judgement, the principall affaires, and those of greatest importance. For like as little letters or a small print do more offend and trouble the eyes then greater, for that the eyes be verie intensive upon them; even so, small matters doe quickly moove choler, which thereupon soone getteth an ill custome in weightier matters. But above all, I ever reckon that saying of *Empedocles* to be a divine precept and heavenly oracle, which admonisheth us *To fast from sin*. I commended also these points and observations, as being tight honest, commendable, and becoming him, that maketh profession of wisdom and philosophie, which we use to vow unto the gods in our prayers: Namely, *To forbear both wine and women, and so to live sober and chaste a whole yeere together, and in the meane while to serve God with a pure and undefiled heart: Also, to limit and set out a certaine time, wherein we would not make a lie, observing precisely not to speake any vaine and idle word, either in earnest or in bowd.* With these and such like observations also, I acquainted and furnished my soule, as being no lesse affected to religion and godlines, than studious of learning and philosophie: Namely, first enjoined my selfe to passe a certaine few Holy daies without being angry, or offended upon any occasion whatsoever; no lesse than I would have vowed to forbear drunkennesse, and abstaine altogether from wine, as if I sacrificed at the feast *Nephthalis* [wherein no wine was spent] or celebrated the solemnitie *Melispoda*, [in which Honie onely was used.] Thus having made an entrance; I tried afterwards a moneth or two by little and little what I could do, and ever I gained more and more time, exercising my selfe still to forbear sinne with all my power and might. Thus I proceeded and went forward daily, blessing my selfe with good words and striving to be milde, quiet and voide of malice;

lice, pure and cleane from evill speeches and lewd deeds: but principally from that passion which for a little pleasure, and the same not verie lovely, bringeth with it great troubles and shauelfull repentance in the end. Thus with the grace of God, assisting me somewhat (as I take it) in this good resolution and course of mine, experience it selfe approved and confirmed my first intent and judgement, whereby I was taught, That this mildnesse, clemency, and debonaire humanitie, is to none of our familiars who live and converse daily with us, so sweete, so pleasant and agreeable, as to our selves who have these vertues and good qualities within us.

## OF CVRIOSITIE.

### The Summarie.

**T**HE former Treatise hath shewed unto us, how many mischiefs and inconveniences Anger causeth, teaching us the meanes how to beware of it. Now Plutarch dealeth with another vice, no lesse dangerous than it, which bendeth to the opposite extremity. For where as ire doth so bereave a man of the use of reason during the access and fit thereof, that the cholericke and furious persons suffer not one from another, but in the space of time. This curiositie which now is in hand, being masked under the name of wisdom and habilitie of spirit is (to say a trueth) a covert and hidden furie, which carrieth the minde of the curious person past himselfe, for to gusher and heape from all parts the ordure and filthinesse of another, and afterwards to bring the same into himselfe, and to make thereof a verie store-house, for to infect his owne selfe first, and then others, according as the malignitie and malice, the follies, backbiting, and slanders of these curious folke do sufficiently declare. To the ende therefore that everie man who loveth vertue, should divert from such a maladie, our author sheweth that the principall remedie for to preserve us from it, is to turne this curiositie to our owne selves; namely, to examine our owne persons more diligently than others. Which point he amplifieth by setting downe on the contrary side, the blindness of those who are over-busie and curious. Then cometh he to declare, why a curious person goeth forth alwaies out of his owne house for to enter into another mans; to wit, because of his owne filthinesse, which by that meanes he cannot smell and perceive; but whiles he will needs go to stirre and rake into the life of others, he snarcth and entangleth himselfe, and so perissheth in his owne folly and indiscretion. Afterwards proceeding to prescribe the remedies for the cure of curiositie, when he had deciphered the villanies and indignities thereof, together with the nature of curious persons, and the enormous vices which accompanie them, he requireth at our hands, that we should not be desirous to know things which be vile, base, lewd or unprofitable; that we should hold in our eyes, and not cast them at random and adventure within the house of another, that we should not seeke after the brute and ravenous things that are spread in meetings and companies; that we otherwhiles should forbear even such things, whereof the use is lawfull and permitted: also to take heed that we doe not enter nor sound so deepe into our owne affaires; Finally, not to be rash and heady in those things that we do, be they never so small. All these points premised, he adorneth with inductions, similitudes and choise examples, and kisseth up all with one conclusion, which prooveth, that curious folke ought to be ranged among the most mischievous and dangerous persons in the world.



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OF

## OF CVRIOSITIE.



The best way haply it were altogether to avoid an house and not therein at all to dwell, which is close without fresh aire, darke, standing bleake and colde, or otherwise unhealthfull: Howbeit, if a man by reason that he hath beene long used to such an house, delight in that feat, and will there abide, he may either by altering the prospects and remooving the lights, or by changing the staires into another place, or else by opening the dores of one side, & shutting them upon another, make the house more lightsome, better exposed to the wind for to receive fresh aire, & in one word more holsome than before. And verily some have much amended whole cities by the like alterations: as for example, men say that one *Charon* in times past turned my native citie and place of nativitie *Charones* to lie eastward, which before looked toward the westerne winde *Zephyrus*, and received the sunne setting from the mount *Parnassus*. And *Empedocles* the naturall Philosopher, by stopping up the mouth or deepe chinke of a certaine mountaine between two rocks, which breathed out a noisome and pestilent southerne winde upon all the champion country and plaine underneath, was thought to have put by the plague, which by occasion of that wind reigned ordinarily before in that countrie. Now forasmuch as there be certaine hurtfull and pestiferous passions, which send up into our soule tempestuous troubles and darknesse, it were to be wished, that they were chased out quite, and throwne downe to the very ground; whereby we might give our selves a free prospect, an open and cleere light, a fresh and pure aire; or if we be not so happie, yet at leastwise endeavour, we ought by all meanes possible to change, alter, translate, transpose and turne them so about, as they may be found more fit and commodious to serve our times. As for example, and to go no farther for the matter, Curiositie, which I take to be a desire to know the faults and imperfections in other men, is a vice or disease which seemeth not cleere of envie and maliciousnesse: And unto him that is infected therewith may very well be said,

*Most sightfull and envious man,  
why dost thou ever finde  
With piercing eyes thy neighbours faults,  
and in thine owne art blinde?*

avert thine eyes a little from things without, and turne thy much meddling and curiosity to those that be within. If thou take so great a pleasure and delight to deale in the Knowledge and Historie of evil matters, thou shalt worke enough iwis at home, thou shalt finde plentie thereof within to occupie thy selfe;

*For looke what water runn's along  
an Ithra or Ise we see,  
Or leaves lie spread about the Oke,  
which numbred cannot be.*

Such a multitude shalt thou finde of finnes in thy life, of passions in thy soule, and of oversights in thy duties. For like as *Xenophon* saith, That good stewards of an household have one proper roome by it selfe for those utensiles or implements which serve for sacrifice; another for vessel that cometh to the table; in one place he lieth up the instruments & tooles for tillage and husbandry, and in another apart from the rest, he bestoweth weapons, armour, and furniture for the wars; even so shalt thou see within thy selfe a number of manifold vices how they are digested: some proceeding from envie, others from jealousy; some from idleness, others from nigardise: take account of these (I advise thee) survey and peruse them over well: (but all the dores and windows that yeeld prospect unto thy neighbors: stop up the avenues that give access and passage to Curiositie: But set open all other doores that lead into thine owne bed-chamber, and other lodgings for men, into thy wives cabinet & the nurserie, into the roomes where thy servants keepe: There shalt thou meet wherewith to amuse and busie thy selfe: there may curiositie and desire to know every thing be employed in exercises, neither unprofitable nor malicious: nay, in such as be commodious, holsome and tending to salvation: namely, whiles every one calleth himselfe to account, saying thus,

Where

*Where have I beene, what good I have done,  
or what have I misdone?  
Where have I slept, what duty begun  
is left by me undone?*

But now according as fables make report, that *Lamia* the Witch whiles she is at home is starke blind, & doth nothing but sing, having her eyes shut up close within a little boxe; but when she meanes to go abroad, she takes them forth, and setteth them in their right place, and seeth well enough with them; even so, every one of us when we go forth, set unto that evil meaning and intention which we have to others, an eye to looke into them, and that is curiosity and overmuch meddling; but in our owne errors, faults and trespasses we stumble and faile through ignorance, as having neither eyes to see, nor light about them whereby they may be seene. And therefore it is, that a busie fellow and curious medler, doth more good to his enemies than to himselfe; for their faults he discovereth & bringeth to light, to them he sheweth what they ought to beware of, and what they are to amend: but all this while he overseeth, or rather seeth not the most things that are done at home, so deeply amused he is and busie in spying what is amisse abroad. Howbeit wise *Ulysses* would not abide to speake and confer with his owne mother, before he had enquired of the Prophet those things for which he went downe into hel; and when hee had once heard them, then he turned to his mother and other women also, asking what was *Tyro*? what was *Chloris*? and for what was the occasion and cause that *Eperaste* came by her death?

*Who knit her necke within a deadly string,  
And so from beame of lofty house did bring.*

But we quite contrary, sitting still in sapine idleness and ignorance, neglecting and never regarding that which concerneth our selves, goe to search into the genealogie and pedigrees of others; and we can tell readily, that our neighbours grandfather was no better than a base and servile Syrian; that his nourse came out of barbarous *Thracia*; that such an one is in debt, and oweth three talents, and is behinde hand besides, and in arrears for non-payment of interest for the use thereof. Inquisitive also we are in such matters as these: From whence came such a mans wife? what it was that such a one and such a one spake when they were alone together in an odde corner? *Socrates* was cleane of another quality; he would goe up and downe enquiring and casting about what were the reasons wherewith *Pythagoras* perswaded men to his opinion. *Aristippus* likewise, at the solemnities of the Olympian games, falling into the companie of *Iscnomachus*, asked of him, what were the perswasions that *Socrates* used to yong folk, whereby they became so affectionate unto him; and after he had received from him some small seeds (as it were) and a few samples of those reasons & arguments, he was so moved and passionate therewith, that presently his body fell away, he looked pale, poore and leane, untill he having failed to *Athens* in this woonderfull thirst and ardent heat, had drunke his fill at the fountaine and well-head it selfe, knownen the man, heard his discourses and learned his Philosophie; the summe and effect wherof was this: That a man should first know his owne maladies, and then the meanes to be cured and delivered of them. But some there be, who of all things can not abide to see their owne life, as being unto them the most unpleasant sight of all others; neither love they to bend and turne their reason as a light to their owne selves: but their minde being full of all sorts of evil, fearing and ready to quake for to beholde what things are within, leape forth (as one would say) out of doores, and goeth wandering to and fro, searching into the deeds and words of other men, and by this meanes feedeth and fatteth (as it were) her owne malicious naughtinesse. For like as a hen many times having meat enough within house set before her, loveth to go into some corner, and there keepeth a pecking and scarping of the ground,

*To finde perhaps one seely barley corne  
As she was wont on downy hill beertoorme;*

so even so these busie Polypragmons, passing by those ordinary speeches and matters which are exposed and open for every man; not regarding (I say) the reports and narrations which are free for each one to discourse of, and which neither any man hath to doe, to forbid and warne them for to aske and enquire of, nor will be displeased if peradventure hee should be demanded and asked the question of them, goe up and downe in the meane time to gather and learne all the secret and hidden evils of every house. Certes, a pretie answer it was of an Aegyptian, and pertinent to the purpose, who when one asked him, what it was that he caried covered all over, and so enwrapped within a cloth: *Mary* (quoth he) covered it is even for this cause, that

thou shouldst not know what it is : And thou likewise, that art so busie, why doest thou intermeddle in that which is concealed ? Be sure, that if there were no evil therein, kept close it should not be. And verily, it is not the maner and custome for any body to enter boldly into the house of another man, without knocking at the doore; for which purpose we use Porters in these daies; whereas in olde time there were rings and hammers which served the turne, and by rapping at the gates, gave warning to those within, to the end that no stranger might meet the mistresse at unawares in the hall or mids of the house; or come suddenly upon a virgin or yong damosell her daughter, and find her out of her chamber; or take some of the servants a beating, or the wenches and chambermaids chiding and scoulding aloud : whereas a busie fellow loveth a life to step secretly into a house, for to see and heare such disorders; and you shall never know him willingly to come and see an honest house and well governed (though one should call and pray him never so faire,) but ready he is to discover and set abroad in the view of the whole world such things; for which we use locks, keies, bolts, barres, portals and gate-houses. Those windes (saith *Ariston*) are we most troubled and offended with, which drive open our cloaks and garments that cover us, or blow and whiske them over our heads: but busie Polypragmons doth lay abroad and display not the cloaks of their neighbours nor their coats; but discovereth their walles, setteth wide open their doores, and like a winde, pierceth, creeperth and entrencheth so farre, as to the tender bodied and soft skinned maiden, searching and inquiring in every bachelinall, in all dauncings, wakes and night feasts, for some matter to raise flanders of her. And as one *Cleon* was noted by an olde Comicall Poet upon the Stage,

*Whose hands were both in Aetolie,*

*But heart and minde in Clodipides;*

Even so the spirit of a curious and busie person, is at one time in the stately palaces of rich and mighty men, in the little houses of meane and poore folke, in Kings Courts, and in the bed-chambers of new wedded wives; it is inquisitive in all matters, searching awell the affaires of strangers and travellers, as negotiations of Lords and Rulers, and other while not without danger of his owne person. For much like as if a man upon a kinde of wanton curiositie, will needs be tasting of *Aconite* or *Libard-baine*, to know (forsooth) the quality of it, commeth by a mischiefe, & dieth of it before he can know any thing thereof; so they that love to be prying into the faults of great persons, many times overthrow themselves before they come to any knowledge. For such as can not be content with the abundant raies and radiant beames of the Sunne which are spread fo cleere over all things, but will needs strive and force themselves impudently to looke full upon the circle of his body, and audaciously will presume and venture to pierce his brightnesse, and enter into the very minds of his inward light, commonly dazzle their eyes, and become like blinde. And therefore well and properly answered *Philippides* the writer of Comedies upon a time when King *Lysimachus* spake thus unto him; What wouldst thou have me to impart unto thee of my goods, *Philippides*? What it pleaseth your Maiesty (quoth he) so it be nothing of your secrets. For to say a truth, the most pleasant and beautifull things simply, which belong to the estate of Kings, do shew without, and are exposed to the view and sight of every man; to wit, their sumptuous feasts, their wealth and riches, their magnificent port and pompe in publike places, their bountifull favours, and liberall gifts: But is there any thing secret and hidden within. Take heed I advise thee how thou approach and come neere, beware (I say) that thou do not stirre and meddle therein.

The joy and mirth of a Prince in prosperitie can not be concealed; hee cannot laugh when he is disposed to play and be merry but it is seene; neither when he mindeth and doth prepare to shew some gracious favour or to be bountifull unto any is his purpose hidden; but marke what thing he keepeth close and secret, the same is terrible, heavey, tearne, unpleasant, yea ministring no access nor cause of laughter: namely the treasure house (as it were) of some rancor and festered anger; a deepe designe or project of revenge; Jealousie of his wife, some suspicion of his owne sonne; or diffidence and distrust in some of his minions, favorites and friends. Flie from this blacke cloud that gathereth so thicke; for when soever that which is now hidden shall breake forth, thou shalt see what cracks of thunder and flashes of lightning will ensue thereupon. But what be the meanes to avoid it? many (even as I said before) to turne and to withdraw thy curiositie another way; and principally to set thy minde upon matters that are more honest and delectable: Advise thy selfe and consider curiously upon the creatures in heaven, in earth, in the aire, & in the sea. Art thou delighted in the contemplation of great or final things? if thou take pleasure to behold the greater, busie thy selfe about the Sunne; seeke where he goeth

eth downe, and from whence he riseth? Search into the cause of the mutations in the Moone, why it should fo change and alter as it doth, like a man or woman? what the reason is that the loofeth so conspicuous a light? and how it commeth to passe that she recovereth it againe?

*How is it, when she hath bene out of sight*

*That fresh she seemes and doth appeere with light?*

*First yong and faire whiles that she is but new*

*Till yound and full we see her lovely hew:*

*No sooner is her beutie at this height*

*But fade she doth anon, who was so bright,*

*And by degrees she doth decrease and waine*

*Unill at length she comes to naught againe.*

And these truly are the secrets of nature, neither is she offended and displeased with those who can find them out. Distrustest thou thy selfe to attaine unto these great things? then search in to smaller matters, to wit, what might the reason be that among trees and other plants, some be alwaies fresh and Greene, why they flourish at all times, and be clad in their gay clothes, shewing their riches in every season of the yeere; why others againe be one while like unto them in this their pride and glorie; but afterward you shall have them againe like unto an ill husband in his house; namely, laying out all at once, and spending their whole wealth and substance at one time, untill they be poore, naked, and beggerly for it? Also what is the cause that some bring forth their fruit long-wise, others cornered, and others round or circular? But peradventure thou hast no great mind to busie thy selfe and meddle in these matters, because there is no hurt nor danger at all in them. Now if there be no remedie, but that Curiositie should ever apply it selfe to search into evil things after the maner of some venomous serpent, which loveth to feed, to live and converse in pestilent woods, let us lead & direct it to the reading of histories, and present unto it abundance and store of all wicked acts, leawd and sinfull deeds. There shall Curiositie finde the ruines of men, the wasting and consuming of their state, the spoile of wives and other women, the deceitfull traines of servants to beguile their masters, the calumniations and slanderous surmises raised by friends, poisoning calts, envie, jealousie, shipwracke and overthrow of houses, calamities and utter undoing of princes and great rulers: Satisfie thy selfe herewith to the full, and take thy pleasure therein as much as thou wilt; never shalt thou trouble or grieve any of thy friends & acquaintance in so doing. But it should seeme that curiositie delighteth not in such naughtie things that be very old and long since done; but in those which be fresh, fire new, hot and lately committed, as joying more to beholde new Tragedies. As for Comedies and matters of mirth, she is not greatly desirous to be acquainted with such. And therefore, if a man do make report of a mariage, discourse of a solemne sacrifice, or of a goodly shew or pompe that was set forth, the curious busie-bodie (whom we speake of) will take small regard thereto and heare it, but coldly and negligently. He will say that the most part of all this he heard already by others, and bid him who relateth such narrations, to passe them over or be brieve, and cut off many circumstances. Marie if one that sits by him chance to set tale on end, and begin to tell him there was a maiden despoiled, or a wife abused in adulterie: if he recant of some proceffe of law or action commenced, of discord and variance betwene two brethren; you shall see him then not to yawne and gape as though hee had list to sleepe; you shall not perceive him to nod; hee will make no excuse at all that his leisure will not serve to heare out the tale,

*But bids say on, and tell us more:*

*And close he holds his eare therefore.*

So that this sentence,

*How sooner much are ill newes under stood,*

*And heard by men (alas) than tidings good!*

is so well and truly verified of these curious Polypragmons. For like as cupping glasses, boxes, and ventoses, draw the worst matter out of the flesh; even so, the eares of curious and busie folke, are willing to receive and admit the most lewd and haughtiest speeches that are: or rather, to speake more properly, as townes and cities have certaine cursed and unluckie gates, at which they send out malefactors to execution, carrie and throw forth their dung, ordure, filthines, and cleanings whatsoever, but never commeth in or goeth out that way, any thing that pure is and holy; temblably, the eares of these curious intermeddles be of the same nature: for there entrench and passeth into them nothing that is honest, civill and lovely; but the brut and



rumours of cruell murders have acceſſe unto them, and there make aboard, bringing therewith wicked, abominable, profane and curſed reports: and as one ſaid:

*The onely bird that in my houſe doth ever ſing*

*Both night and day, in dolefull moane, much ſorrow and wailing.*

So this is the *Muſe, Syrene, & Mere-maid* alone, that Buſie folke have; neither is there any thing that they hearken to more willingly: for Curioſitie is an itching deſire to heare ſecrets and hidden matters: and well you wot that no man will lightly conſeale any good thing that he hath; conſidering that manie times we make ſemblance of good parts that be not in us. And therefore the buſie intermedler who is ſo deſirous to know and heare of evils, is ſubject to that which the Greekes call *δὲρκαυσις*, a vice, cooſen germaine or ſiſter rather to envie and eie-biting. For as much as envie is nothing elſe, but the griefe for another mans good: and the foreſaide *δὲρκαυσις* the joy for his harme: and verily both theſe infirmities proceed from an untoward roote, even another untamed vice and ſavage diſpoſition, to wit, malignitie or malice. And this we know well, that ſo ikeſome and odious it is to envie man for to bewray and reveale, the ſecrets, evils and vices which he hath, that many men have choſen to die, rather than to diſcover and open unto Phyſicians any of their hidden maladies, which they carrie about them. Now ſuppoſe that *Hieracium* or *Eroſiſtratus* the phyſicians; nay *Aeſculapius* himſelfe whiles he was a mortall man, ſhould come to an houſe furniſhed with drugs, medicines and instruments requiſite for the cure of diſeaſes, and aſke whether any man their had a Fiſtula in *Ano*, that is, an hollow and hidden ulcer within his fundament: Or if ſhe be a woman, whether ſhe have a cancerous ſore within her matrice: (albeit in this art ſuch inquiſitive curioſitie is a ſpeciall meanes, making for the good and the health of the ſicke) each one I ſuppoſe would be readie to hunt and chaſe away from the houſe ſuch a Phyſician, who unſent for, and before any neede required, came upon his owne accord and motion in a braverie to enquire and learne other folks maladies. What ſhall we ſay then to theſe buſie medlers, who enquire of another the ſelfe ſame infirmities and worſe too? Not of any minde at all to cure and heale the ſame, but onely to detect and ſet them abroad; In which reſpect they are by good right the moſt odious perſons in the world. For we hardly can abide Publicanes, Cuſtomers, and Tol-gatherers, but are mightily offended with them, not when they exact of us, and cauſe us to pay toll for any commodities or wares that are openly brought in; but when they keepe a ſtetting and ſearching for ſuch things as be hidden, and meddle with the wares and carriages of other men: notwithstanding that law granteth and publike authoritie alloweth them ſo to do; yea and if they doe it not, they ſuſtaine loſſe and damage themſelves. But contrariwiſe, theſe curious fellows let their owne buſineſſe alone, and paſſe not which ende go forward, caring not to hinder themſelves, whiles they be intente to the affaires of other men. Seldome go they into the cuntry, for that they cannot endure the quietnes and ſtill ſilence of the wilde and ſolitarie fields. But if haply after long time they make a caſt thither, they caſt an eie to their neighbours vines, rather than to their owne; they enquire how many beeves or oxen of his died? or what quantity of wine ſowed under his hand? and no ſooner are they full of theſe newes, but into the citie they trudge and make haſte againe. As for the good farmer and painefull husbandman indeed, he is not verie willing to give eare unto theſe newes, which without his hearkning after come from the citie of the owne accord, and are brought unto him, for his ſaying is:

*My ditcher will anon both tell and talke*

*upon what points concluded was the peace,*

*For now the knave about ſuch newes doth walke,*

*And buſie he ſo liſten doth not ceaſe.*

But in truth, theſe buſie-bodies, avoiding cuntry life and husbandrie, as a vaine trade and fooliſh occupation, a cold maner of living, which bringeth forth no great and tragical matter, intrude and thruſt themſelves into the high courts of juſtice, the tribunall ſeats, the market place and publike pulpits where ſpeeches be made unto the people, great aſſemblies, and the moſt frequented quarter of the haven where the ſhipſide at anchor, what: No newes? ſaith one of them. How now? Were you not this morning at the market or in the common place? What then? How thinke you, is not the citie mightily changed and transformed within theſe three houres? Now if it chauce that ſome one or other make a overture, and have ſomething to ſay as touching theſe points, downe he alights on foot from his horſe, he embraceth the man, kiſſeth him, and there ſtands attending and giving eare unto him. But ſay that the partie whom he thus encountreth and meeteth upon the way, tell him that he hath no newes to report: what ſaith

ſaith thou? (will he infer againe and that in diſpleaſure and diſcontentment:) Wert not thou in the market place of late? Didſt not thou paſſe by the Princes court? Hadſt thou no talke or conference at all with thoſe that came out of *Italie*? In regard of ſuch therefore as theſe, I hold well with the Magiſtrates of the citie *Loer*, and commend a law of theirs: That if any citizen had bene abroad in the cuntry, and upon his returne home demanded what newes? he ſhould have a fine ſet on his head. For like as Cookes pray for nothing, but good ſtore of fatlings to kill for the kitchen, and Fiſhmongers plenty of fiſhes; even ſo curious and buſie people with for a world of troubles and a number of affaires, great newes, alterations and changes of State: to the ende that they might evermore be provided of gaine, to chaſe and hunt after, yea and to kill. Well and wiſely therefore did the Law-giver of the *Thurians*, when he gave order and forbade expreſſely, That no citizen ſhould be taxed, noted by name, or ſcoffed at upon the Stage in any Comedie, ſave onely adulterers and theſe buſie perſons. For ſurely adulterie may be compared well to a kinde of curioſitie, ſearching into the pleaſures of another: ſeeking (I ſay) and enquiring into thoſe matters which are kept ſecret, and conſealed from the view of the whole world. And as for curioſitie, it ſeemeth to be a reſolution or looſenes, like a pallie or corruption, a detection of ſecrets and laying them naked: For it is an ordinarie thing with thoſe who be inquisitive and deſirous of many newes, for to be blabs alſo of their tongues, and to be prating abroad; which is the reaſon that *Pythagoras* enjoyned yong men five yeeres ſilence, which he called *Echemychia*, Abſtinenſe from all ſpeech, or holding of their tongue.

Moreover, it can not otherwiſe be choſen, but that foule and curſed language alſo ſhould accompany curioſity; for looke what thing ſoever buſie bodies heare willingly, the ſame they love to tell and blurt out as quickly; and ſuch things as with deſire and care they gather from one, they utter to another with joy: Whereupon it cometh to paſſe, that over and above other inconveniences which this vice miniſteth unto them that are given to it, an impediment it is to their owne appetite. For as they deſire to know much, ſo every man obſerveth them, is beware of them, and endeavoureth to conſeale all from them. Neither are they willing to doe any thing in their ſight, nor delighted to ſpeak ought in their hearing, but if there be any queſtion in hand to be debated, or buſineſſe to be conſidered and conſulted of, all men are content to put off the concluſion and reſolution unto another time; namely, untill the curious and buſie perſon be out of the way. And ſay, that whiles men are in ſad and ſecret conference, or about ſome ſerious buſineſſe, there chauce one of theſe buſie bodies to come in place, preſently all is huiſt, and every thing is remooved aſide and hidden; no otherwiſe than folke are wont to ſet out of the way victuals where a cat doth haunt, or when they ſee her ready to run by; inſomuch as many times theſe things which other men may both heare and ſee ſafely, the ſame may not be done or ſaid before them onely. Therefore alſo it followeth by good conſequence, that a buſie and curious perſon is commonly ſo farre out of credit, that no man is willing to truſt him for any thing; in ſuch ſort, that we commit our letters miſſive and ſigne manuall, ſooner to our ſervants and meere ſtrangers, than to our friends and familiars, if we perceive them given to this humor of much meddling. But that woorthy knight *Bellerophon* was ſo farre from this, that he would not breake open thoſe letters which he caried, though they were written againſt himſelfe, but forbore to touch the Kings epiſtle, no leſſe than he abſtained from the Queen his wiſe, even by one and the ſame vertue of Continence. For ſurely, curioſity is a kinde of incontinencie, aſwel as is adultery; and this moreover it hath beſides, that joined there is with it, much folly and extreme want of wit: For were it not a part (thinke you) of exceeding blockiſh ſenſeleſſeneſſe, yea, and madneſſe in the higheſt degree, to paſſe by ſo many women that be common, and every where to be had; and then to make meanes with great coſt and expenſe, to ſome one kept under locke and key, and beſides ſumptuous: notwithstanding it fall out many times that ſuch an one is as ill-favored as ſhe is foule? Sembaliſhly, and even the ſame do our curious folke: they omit and caſt behinde them many faire and goodly ſights to behold, many excellent lectures woorth the hearing, many diſputations, diſcourſes, honeſt exerciſes and paſtimes; but in other mens letters they keepe a puddering, they open and reade them, they ſtand like eaves-droppers under their neighbours walles, hearkning what is done or ſaid within, they are ready to intrude themſelves to liſten what whiſpering there is betweene ſervants of the houſe; what ſecret talke there is among ſeely women when they be in ſome odde corner, and as many times they are by this meanes not free from danger; ſo alwaies they meet with ſhame and infamie. And therefore very expedient it were for ſuch curious folke, if they would ſhift off and part by this vice of theirs, eſt ſoones to call to mind (as much as they can) what they have either known

or heard by such inquisition : for if (as *Simonides* was wont to say) that when hee came (after some time betwene) to open his desks and coffers, he found one which was appointed for gifts and rewards alwaies full, the other ordered for thanks and the graces void and empty : so a man after a good time past, set open the store-house of curiositie, and looke into it what is therein, and see it toppe full of many unprofitable, vaine and unpleasant things ; peradventure the very outward sight and face thereof will discontent and offend him, appearing in every respect to lovelesse and toyish as it is. Goe to then : if one should set in hand to turne over leafe by leafe the books of ancient writers, and when he hath picked forth and gathered out the woofst, make one volume of all together, to wit, of those headlesse and unperfect verses of *Homer*, which happily beginne with a short syllable, and therefore be called *disparat* : or of the solæcismes and incongruities which be found in Tragedies : or of the undecent and intemperate speeches which *Archilochus* framed against women, whereby he defamed and shamed himselfe : were he not (I pray you) worthy of this Tragical curse :

*A Soule ill take thee, thou lewd wretch,  
that lov'st to collect*

*The faults of mortall men now dead,  
the living to infect.*

but to let these maledictions alone, certes this treasuring and scoring up by him of other mens errors and misdeeds, is both unseemly, and also unprofitable : much like unto that city which *Philip* built of purpose, and peopled it with the most wicked, gracelesse, and incorrigible persons that were in his time, calling it *Poneropolis* when he had so done. And therefore these curious meddlers in collecting and gathering together on all sides the errors, imperfections, defaults, and solæcismes (as I may so say) not of verses or Poemes, but of other mens lives, make of their memorie a most unpleasant Archive or Register, and uncivill Record, which they ever carie about them. And like as at Rome, some there be who never cast eie toward any fine pictures, or goodly statues, no nor so much as make any account to cheapeen beautifull boies and faire wenches which there stand to be sold, but rather go up and downe the market where monsters in nature are to be bought, seeking and learning out where be any that want legs, whose armes and elbows turne the contrary way like unto cats ; or who have three eies apeece in their heads, or be headed like unto the Ostrich : taking pleasure (I say) to see if there be borne

*A mungrell mixt of divers sorts,  
False birth, unkinde or strange aboris.*

But if a man should bring them to see such sights as these ordinarily, the very thing it selfe would soone give them enough, yea and breed a loathing in them of such ugly monsters ; even so it fareth with those who busie themselves and meddle in searching narrowly into the imperfections of other mens lives, the reproches of their stocks and kined, the faults, errors, and troubles that have hapned in other houses ; if they call to mind what like defects they have found and known before time, they shall soone finde that their former observations have done them small pleasure, or wrought them as little profit.

But the greatest meanes to divert this vicious passion, is use and custome ; namely, if we begin a great way off, and long before to exercise and acquaint our selves in a kind of continencie in this behalfe, and so learne to temper and rule our selves ; for surely use it was and custome that caused this vice to get such an head, encreasing daily by little and little, and growing from worse to worse : But how and after what maner we should be inured to this purpose, we shall see and understand as we treat of Exercise withall.

First and formost therefore, begin we will at the smallest and most slender things, and which most quickly may be effected. For what matter of difficultie is it for a man in the way as he travellet, not to enuse and busie his head in reading Epitaphes or inscriptions of Sepulchres ? or what paine is it for us as we walke along the galleries, to passe over with our eies the writings upon the wallles ; supposing thus much secretly within our selves, as a maxime or generall rule : That there is no goodnes, no pleasure, nor profit at all in such writings : for there you may read, That some one doth remember another, and make mention of him by way of hearty commendations in good parts ; or such an one is the best friend that I have, and many other such like mottoes, are there to be seene and read, full of toies and vanities, which at first seeme not to do any hurt if one reade them, but in truth, secretly they do much harme, in that they breed in us a custome and desire to seeke after needlesse and impertinent matters. For like as hunters suffer not their hounds to range out of order, nor to follow everie sent, but keepe them up and hold them

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in by their collars, reserving by that meanes their smelling pure and neat, altogether for their proper worke, to the end that they should be more eager and hot to trace the footing of their game, and as the Poet saith,

*With sent most quicke of noestrials after kind,  
The traicts of beast so wild, in chase to find;*

even so, we ought to cut off these excursions and foolish traines that curious folke make to heare and see everie thing ; to keepe them short (I say) and turne them another way to the seeing and hearing onely of that which is good and profitable. Also, as we observe in Eagles and Lions, That whiles they go upon the ground they draw their talons and claws inward, for feare lest they should dull the sharpe edge and weare the points thereof ; so considering that curiositie hath a certaine quicke conceit and fine edge (as it were) apt to apprehend and know many things, let us take heed that we do not imploy and blunt the same in the woofst and vilsit of all others.

Secondly, we are to accustome our selves as we passe by another mans doore, not to looke in, nor to cast our eies to any thing whatsoever that there is : for that the eie is one of the hands that curiositie useth. But let us alwaies have in readinesse and thinke upon the Apothegme of *Xenocrates*, who was wont to say, That it skilled not, but was all one, whether we set our feet, or eies within the house of another man. For it is neither meet and just, nor an honest and pleasant sight, according to the old verse,

*My friend or stranger, what ever you be,  
You shall within, all things deformed see.*

And what be those for the most part which are seene in houses ? dishes, trenchers, and such like utensils and small vessels lying on the bare ground, or one upon another disorderly : the wenches set and doing just nothing : and lightly a man shall not finde ordinarily ought of importance or delight. Now the verie cast of the eie upon such things, doth therewith turne away the minde ; the intentive looking thereupon is unseemly, and the using thereof sturke naught. *Diogenes* verily upon a time seeing *Dioxippus*, when he entred in his triumphant chariot into the citie for winning the best prize at the Olympian games, how as he rode he could not chuse but set his eie upon a certaine faire damozell, who was in place to behold this pompe and solemne entrance of his, but evermore his eie followed her, whether she were before or behinde him : Behold (quoth he) our victorious and triumphant champion, how a yong wench hath him sure enough by the necke, and doth writhe him which way she list ! Semblably, see you not how these curious folke have their neckes bended aside at everie foolish sight, and how they turne about with each vanitie that they heare and see, after once they have gotten an habit or custome, to looke everie way and to carie a rouling eie in their heads ? But in mine opinion, it is not meet that our senses should gad and wander abroad, like a wilde and untaught girtle, but when reason hath sent it forth to some businesse ; after it hath bene there employed and done the errand about which it was fer, to returne speedily againe unto her mistresse the soule, and make report how the hath sped and what she hath done ? and then afterwards to stay at home decently like a modest waiting maiden, giving attendance upon reason, and readie alwaies at her command. But now hapneth that which *Sophocles* saith,

*The headstrong jades that will no bit abide,  
Hate him perforce who should them reine and guide.*

The senses having not met with good instructions (as I said before) not bene trained to right waies, runne before reason upon their owne accord, and draw with them many times the understanding, and send it headlong after such things as are not seemely and decent. And therefore false is that which is commonly reported of *Democritus* the Philosopher : namely, that willingly he dimmed and quenched (as it were) his owne sight, by fixing his eies fast upon a fiery and ardent mirror, to take the reverberation of the light from thence, to the end that they should not disturb the minde, by calling out estoones the inward intelligence, but suffer it to keepe house within, and to be employed in objects intellectuall, as if the windowes that regard to the secret and high way were shut up. Howbeit most true it is, that those who for the most part occupie their understanding have least use of their senses : which is the reason that in olde time they both builded the temples of the Muses, that is to say, houses ordained for students, which they named *Musæa*, as farre as they could from cities and great townes : and also called the night *Euphrone*, as one would say, a friend to sage advice and counsell ; as supposing that quiet rest, re-

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poſe, and ſtilnes from all diſturbance make verie much for contemplation, and invention of thoſe things that we ſtudie and ſeeke for.

Moreover, no harder matter is it nor of greater difficultie than the reſt, when in the open market place or common hall, men are at high words, reproching & reviling one another, not to approach and come neere unto them. Alſo if there be any great concurſe and running of people together upon ſome occaſion, not to ſtirre at all but ſit ſtill, or if thou art not able to containe and rule thy ſelfe, to riſe up and goe thy waies. For ſurely gaine thou ſhalt no good at all by intermeddling with ſuch buſie and troubleſome perſons; but contrariwiſe, much fruit maiſt thou reape by turning away ſuch curioſitie, in repreſſing the ſame and conſtraining it by uſe and cuſtome to obey reaſon. Having made this good entrance & beginning, to proceed now unto farther and ſtronger exerciſe, it were verie good, whenſoever there is any play exhibited upon the Stage in a frequent Theater, where there is aſſembled a great audience to heare and ſee ſome woorthie matter ſor to paſſe by it, and to put backe thy friends who ſollicite thee to goe thither with them, ſor to ſee either one daunce excellent well, or to act a Comedie; nor ſo much as to turne backe when thou heareſt ſome great ſhout and outcrie, either from out of the race or the grand-cirque, where the horſe-running is held for the prize. For like as *Socrates* gave counſell to forbearc thoſe meates which provoke men to eat when they are not hungry, and thoſe drinks which incite folke to drinke when they have no thirſt; even ſo, we ought to avoide and beware, how we either ſee or heare any thing whatſoever, which may either draw or hold us thereto, when there is no need at all thereof. The noble Prince *Cyrus* would not ſo much as ſee faire Ladie *Panthea*, and when *Araſpes* one of his courtiours and minions made report unto him, that ſhe was a woman of incomparable beautie, and therefore woorthie to be looked on: Nay rather (quoth he) for that cauſe I ought to forbearc the ſight of her; for if by your perſuaſion I ſhould yeeld to goe and ſee her, it may peradventure fall out ſo, that ſhe her ſelfe might tempt and induce me againe to repaire unto her; even then haply when I ſhall not have ſuch leaſure, yea and ſit by her and keepe her company, neglecting in the meane time the weightie affaires of the State. In like manner *Alexander* the Great, would not come within the ſight of King *Darius* his wife, notwithstanding that ſhe was reported unto him ſor to be a moſt gallant and beautifull Ladie: Her mother an auncient Dame and elderly matrone he did not ſticke to viſite, but the young gentlewoman her daughter (ſreſh, faire and young) he could not be brought ſo much as once to ſee. As for us, we can caſt a wanton eie ſecretly into the coaches and horſe-litters of wives and women as they ride, we can looke out of our windowes, and hang with our bodies halfe forth, to take the full view of them as they paſſe by: and all this while we thinke that we commit no fault, ſuffering our curious eie and wandering minde to ſlide and run to everie thing.

Moreover, it is meet and expedient for the exerciſe of juſtice, otherwhiles to omit that which well and juſtly might be done; to the end that by that meanes a man may acquaint himſelfe to keepe farre off from doing or taking any thing unjuſtly. Like as it maketh much for temperance and chaſtitie, to abſtaine otherwhiles from the uſe of a mans owne wife, that thereby he might be never mooved to luſt after the wife of his neighbour; taking this courſe likewise againſt curioſity, ſtrive and endeavour ſometimes to make ſemblance as though thou didſt neither heare nor ſee thoſe things that properly concerne thy ſelfe: And if a man come and bring thee a tale of matters concerning thine owne houſholde, let it paſſe, and put it over, yea, and thoſe words which ſeeme to have bene ſpoken as touching thine owne perſon, caſt them behinde, and give no care thereto. For default of this diſcretion, it was the inquiſitive curioſity of King *Oedipus*, which intangled and enwrappd him in exceeding great calamities and miſeries: for when he would needs know who himſelfe was, as if he had bene not a Corinthian, but a ſtranger, and would needs goe thereto the Oracle ſor to be reſolved, he met with *Laius* his owne father by the way, whom he ſlew, and ſo ſpouſed his owne mother, by whose meanes he came to be King of *Thebes*: and even then when he ſeemed to be a moſt happy man, he could not ſtay, but proceeded further to enquire concerning himſelfe, notwithstanding his wife did what the poſſibly could to diſſwade him from it; but the more earneſt ſhe was with him that way, the more inſtant was he with an old man who was privie to all, uſing all meanes to enforce him ſor to bewray that ſecret: at length when the thing it ſelfe was ſo pregnant, that it brought him into farther ſuſpicion, and withall when the ſaid old man cried out in this manner,

*Alas how am I at the point perforce*

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*To ſetter that which will cauſe remorse?*

the king ſurprized ſtill with his humor of curioſitie, notwithstanding he was vexed at the verie heart, answered,

*And I likewiſe for my part am as neere*

*To beare as much, but yet I muſt it beare.*

So bitter ſweet is that itching ſmart humor of curioſitie, like unto an ulcer or ſore, which the more it is rubbed and ſcratched, the more it bleedeth and bloodieſh it ſelfe. Howbeit he that is delivered from this diſeaſe and beſides of nature milde and gentle, ſo long as he is ignorant and knoweth not any evill accident, may thus ſay,

*O bleſſed Saint, when evils are paſt and gone*

*How ſage and wiſe art thou, oblivion.*

And therefore we muſt by little and little accuſtome our ſelves to this, that when there be anie letters brought unto us, we do not open them preſently and in great haſte, as many do, who if their hands be not quicke enough to doe the feat, ſet their teeth to, and gnaw in ſunder the threds that ſewd them up faſt. Alſo if there be a meſſenger comming toward us from a place with any tidings, that we run not to meete him, nor ſo much as once riſe and ſtir for the matter; and if a friend come unto thee ſaying, I have ſome newes to tell you of: yea mary (muſt you ſay againe) but I had rather that you brought me ſomething indeed that were profitable, fruitfull and commodious. I remember upon a time when I declaimed and read a lecture at *Rome*, hapned to be there to heare me: Now in the mids of my lecture there came into the place a Soldiour with letters from the Emperour, which he delivered to *Ruffius* aforeſaid, whereupon there was great ſilence in the ſchoole, and I my ſelfe made ſome paule, whiles he might reade the letter, but he would not reade it then, nor ſo much as breake it open before I had made an end of my diſcourſe, and diſmiſſed the auditory: for which all the company there preſent, highly praized and admired the gravitie of the man. Now if one do feed and nourish all that he can, (beit but in lawfull and allowable things) this veine and humor of curioſitie, ſo as thereby it becommeth in the end mighty and violent, it will not be an eaſie matter to reſtraine and hold it in when it ſhall breake out & run on end to ſuch things as be unlawfull & forbidden, by reaſon that it is ſo uſed already to intermeddle & be doing. But ſuch men as theſe, breake open and unſcale letters (as I ſaid) intrude themſelves into the ſecret counſels of their friends; they will needs diſcover and ſee thoſe ſacred myſteries, which it is not lawfull for to ſee; in place wherunto there is no lawfull acceſſe they love to be walking; enquire they do into the ſecret deeds and words of kings and princes; and notwithstanding there be nothing in the world that cauſeth tyrants, who muſt of neceſſitie know all, ſo odious as this kinde of people, who be called their cares; (promoters I meane, and ſpies) who heare all and bring all unto their cares. The firſt that ever had about him theſe Otaconſtes (as a man would ſay, Princes eares) was *Darius* the youonger; a prince diſtruſting himſelfe, ſuſpecting alſo and fearing all men. As for thoſe which were called Proſagogidæ, that is to ſay, Courries, Spies, and Enformers, the *Dionyſi*, tyrants of *Sicilie*, intermingled ſuch among the Syracuſians: wherupon, when the State was altered, thoſe were the firſt that the Syracuſians apprehended and maſſacred. Alſo thoſe whom we call Sycophants, are of the confraternitie, houſe and lineage of theſe curious perſons, ſave onely this difference there is, that Sycophants enquire what evill any man hath either deſſigned or committed; whereas our Polypragmons hearken after and diſcover the very calamities and miſadventures of their neighbours, which happen even againſt their will and purpoſe: and when they have ſo done, ſet them abroad to the view of the whole world. Furthermore, it is ſaid, that the name *Aliterius* came up firſt by occaſion of this over-much meddling, called Curioſity. For when there was (by all likelihood) a great famine at *Athens*, they that had come, kept it in and would not bring it abroad to the market, but privily & in the night, ground the ſame into meale within their houſes: Now theſe fellows, named *Aliterij*, would go up and downe cloſely hearkening where the querne or mill went, and thereupon tooke the ſaid name. Semblably, as it is reported, the name of Sycophants aroſe upon the like occaſion: for when there was a law made, forbidding that any figges ſhould be carried forth out of the land, ſuch promoters as bewraied the delinquents, and gave information againſt thoſe that conveyed figges away, were alſo thereupon called Sycophants. To conclude therefore, it were not unprofitable for theſe curious Polypragmons (of whom we have diſcourſed all this while) to know thus much; That they might

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be ashamed in themselves to be noted for maners and profession to be like unto those who are accounted the most odious and hatefull persons in the world.



## OF THE TRANQVILLITY AND CONTENTMENT OF MINDE.

The Summarie.

**I**N this Treatise a man may see the excellent discourses and most sound arguments of Morall Philosophie; the scope whereof is to make the scholars and students therein resolute, and to keepe them from wavering and tottering to and fro; not withstanding that either the skie were ready to fall upon their heads, or the earth to chinke and open under their feet. True it is that in this place Plutarch sheweth sufficiently what blindness there is in humane wisdom, when the question is to pronounce and speake precisely, wherein consisteth true repose and assured felicitie? For to teach a man whom he calleth vertuous, to search for contentment and quiet rest in his owne reason, were as much as to fetch light out of darkness, and life out of death it selfe. And therefore (for this time) needlesse it is to treat long upon this point, considering that we minde not to dispute or declare how insufficient humane learning and Philosophy is in comparison of true Divinity & Theology. For the present, this may suffice, that seeing he was no better than a pagan, who hath disputed of this theme, let us receive both this discourse and other such, wherein he endeavourth to withdraw us from vice, and bring us unto vertue, as written and penned by a man, guided and conducted by a divine and darke light: in which notwithstanding appeare certaine sparks of the truth, which as they are not able to shew the way sufficiently, so they give them to understand, who be farre remote from the true light, how miserable and wretched they are every way. Proovead he had before, that Flattery, Choler, and Curiosity are vices that overturne the soule up-side downe, and transport it so farre off that it is not at home, nor mistress of herselfe: and after he had taught how a man might reclaime and reduce her againe to her owne house, he treateth now of those meanes, whereby she may be kept quiet, peaceable, joyous and contented within. For the effecting hereof, at the very entry of this Treatise, he proposeth one expedient meane to attaine thereto, requiring that a man should fortifie and defend his minde with reasons against the evils and dangers to come: then he comforteth the Epicureans, who for to set a man in peace, would make him blockish, senselesse and good for nothing: he answereth likewise to those who are of opinion that a man may finde certaine kinde of vacation and impassibilitie without all trouble and molestation: which done, he sheweth that reason well ruled & ordered, is the foundation and ground of our tranquillity: and all in one and the same traine, he teacheth how a man may be furnished & assisted with this reason. Having thus sufficiently in general termes discoursed of these premisses, he doth particularise and decipher the same point by point, giving severall counsels, whereby a man may attaine to this contentment and repose of spirit; the which he have distinguished particularly, and shewed in each one the substance of them, which I thought not good to infer in this place, because the Summary should not exceed over-much. Furthermore, the said counsels be enriched with notable examples, similitudes and sentences; which (no doubt) would have bene much more forcible and effectfull, if the principall in deed had bene joined therewith, to wit, true pietie and religion: which hath bene cleane omitted by the author, who in deed never knew what was the onely true and perfect tranquillitie of the soule. Howbeit, woonderfull it is, how he should proceed so farre as he doeth, having no other helpe and meanes but his owne selfe: which may so much the better serve our turnes, considering that we have aides and guides farre more excellent to bring us so farre, as to make entrie, and take assured possession of that soveraigne good and felicity, whereof he here speaketh.

OF

## OF THE TRANQVILLITY AND contentment of minde.

PLUTARCH to PACCIVS sendeth greeting:



**O** Verlate it was before I received your letter; wherein you requested me to write somewhat as touching the Tranquillity of the Soule, and withall of certaine places in *Platoes* Dialogue *Timæus*, which seeme to require more exact exposition: but so it happened, that at the very same time, your friend and mine *Eros*, had occasion to faile with speed to *Rome*, upon the receipt of certaine letters from that right worshipfull gentleman *Fundanus*, by vertue whereof he was to depart suddenly and to repaire unto him with all expedition. By which occasion having not sufficient time and leisure to performe your request in such manner as I purposed, & yet unwilling that the man coming from me, should be seene of you emtie-handed; I have collected certaine notes, chosen out of those commentaries, which for mine owne memorie & private use I had compiled long before, concerning this argument, to wit, The Tranquillity & contentment of spirit: supposing that you also demaund this present discourse, not for any pleasure that you take to read a treatise penned curiously, and affecting or hunting after fine phrases and exquisite words; but onely in regard of some doctrine that may serve your turne and helpe you to the framing of your life as you ought; knowing withall full well (for the which I doe congratulate and rejoyce heartily on your behalfe) that notwithstanding your inward acquaintance, friendship and favor with the best and principall persons of the citie, and that for eloquence you come behind none that plead causes at the bar in open court, but are reputed a singular Oratour, yet for all that, you do not as that Tragickall *Metrops*, suffer your selfe foolishly and beyond the course of nature to be carried away as he was with the vaine-glorie and applaude of the multitude, when they do admire and account you happie therefore; but still you keepe in memorie that which oftentimes you have heard from us; That it is neither a rich Partitions (those that cureth the gout in the feet; nor a costly and pretious ring that healeth the whitlaw or felon in the fingers; nor yet a princely diademe that easeeth the head-ach, For what use is there at all of goods and riches to deliver the soule from griefe and sorrow, or to lead a life in rest and repose without cares and troubles? What good is there of great honors, promotions, and credit in court? unlesse they that have them know how to use the same well and honestly; and likewise if they be without them, can skill how to finde no misse of them, but be alwaies accompanied with contentment; never coveting that which is not? And what is this else but reason accustomed and exercised before hand, quickly to restraine and effronces to reprehend the passionate and unreasonable part of the soule, which is given oftentimes to breake out of her bounds; and not to suffer her to range and vague at her pleasure, and to be transported by the objects presented unto her? Like as therefore *Xenophon* giveth us good counsell: Alwaies to remember the gods, and most of all to worship and honor them when we are in prosperitie, to the end that whensoever we stand in neede, we may more boldly invoke and call upon them; with full assurance that they will supply our necessities, being thus before-hand made propitious and gracions unto us; even so, wise men and such as are of good conceit, ought alwaies to be furnished and well provided of reasons sufficient to serve their turne for to encounter their passions before they arise, to the end that being once laid up in store, they may doe most good when time serveth. For as curle and angrie malives by nature, which at every noise that they heare keepe an eager baying and barking as if they were affrighted, become quiet and appeased by one onely voice which is familiar unto them; and wherewith they have bene acquainted; so it is no small paine and trouble to still and compose the passions of the minde (which as they be and growne wilde) unlesse a man have ready at hand proper and familiar reasons to repress the same so soone as ever they begin to stir and grow out of order.

Now as touching those who affirme that if a man would live in tranquillity and rest, he ought not to meddle nor deale in many affaires, either in publique or private: First and formost thus I say, that they would make us pay deere for tranquillitie of minde, when they would have us buy

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when he was bidden to stand up, but cavilled with him after a mocking and jesting manner, what (quoth he) and if you sold a fish would you bid it rise up? Likewise *Socrates* discoursed familiarly with his fellows and followers as touching Philosophie, even when he was in prison. Whereas *Phaethon*, notwithstanding he was mounted up into heaven, wept for anger and despight that no man would give him the rule and regiment of the chariot-fleeds belonging to the sunne his father. And as a shoe is wrested and turned according to the fashion of a crooked or play-foot, but never doth the foot writhe to the forme of a shoe; even so it is for all the world with the dispositions of mens minds; they frame their lives and make them like thereto. For it is not use and custome that causeth the best life to be pleasant also unto them that have made choise thereof, as some one haply is of opinion; but wisdom rather and discretion maketh that life which is best to be also sweetest and most pleasant. Since that therefore the source and fountaine of all tranquillitie and contentment of spirit is in our selves, let us cleanse and purifie the same spring, as cleane as possibly we can, that all outward and casuall occurrences whatsoever, may be made familiar and agreeable unto us, knowing once how to use them well.

*If things go crosse, we ought not, in vnto;  
To fret; for why? such choler will not broot:  
But he that know's when ought is done amisse,  
To set all straight, shall chieve full well, I wot.*

*Plato* therefore compared our life to a game at Tables; wherein the plaier is to winn for the luckiest cast of the dice, but whatsoever his chance is, he must be fure to play it well, and make the best of it: Now of these two points, the former, to wit, a good throw, is not in our power and choise; but the other resteth in us, namely, whatsoever our lot is, to take in good woorth, and to dispose every thing in that place where it may profit most if it fortuneth well: and contrariwise, if it fell out crosse, where it may doe least harme. This (I say) is our part and duty to performe, if we be as wise as we should be. As for brain-sicke fooles, and such as know not how to carrie themselves in this life (like unto those that have crasse and diseased bodies, who neither can abide burning heat nor chilling colde) as in prosperity they spread and set up their failes too high, so in adversitie they strike them as low. Troubled they are mightily with both extremities; or to speake more truly, with themselves, as much in the one as the other, and no lesse in that state which yeeldeth those things that we call and repute Goods. *Theodorus* that infamous Philosopher, who for his profane opinion was furnamed *Atheos*, that is to say, The Atheist, was wont to say: That he delivered his speeches with the right hand to his auditors and scholars, but they tooke the same with their left; even so ignorant and untaught persons many times when fortune presenteth herselfe unto them on the right hand, receive her awkwardly, turning to the left side undecently, and by that meanes commit many untoward & lewd parts. But those that be wise doe fare better: for as Thyme yeeldeth unto Bees the quickest and driest hony; even so they out of the most unfortunate accidents that be, can skill often-times to get somewhat which is agreeable and commodious unto themselves. This is then the first and principall point, wherein a man ought to be trained and exercised, upon this must he study and meditate. And like as that fellow, when he flung a stone at a curst bitch, missed her, and chanced to hit his step-mother, saying withall: It makes no matter; for it hath not light amisse; even so we, may turne all our fortune to our owne purpose, and make the best use of it, in case things fall out otherwise than we would or meant. *Diogenes* his hap was to be banished and driven out of his owne countrey; yet this exile of his proved not ill to him; for by that meanes and thereupon he beganne to studie and professe Philosophie. *Zeno* the Cittizian had but one frigat or shie-boat left him, and hearing newes that both it and all therein was cast away, drowned and perished in the mids of the sea: O Fortune (quoth he) thou hast done well, to drive us againe to put on our poore and simple scholars habit, and to send us to our gallerie and schoole of Philosophie. What should hinder us then, but that we may follow the examples of these men. Art thou deprived and put out of some publike office or magistracie which thou didst exercise? Go so and live in the countrey; there follow thine owne businesse, and plie thy private affaires: Hast thou made sute and great meanes to be entertained in the Court, and to winde into speciall favour with some Prince and Potentate, and after all thy travell suffered repulse? Well, thou shalt live privately at home, without danger, without trouble. Again, Art thou entred into action, and doest thou manage State affaires, wherein thou hast cares enough, and no time to breathe thy selfe?

*The holme water, and hot baines*

*Do not so much alay our paines:  
And if our limmes be dull or sicke,  
Refresh the same and make them quicke:  
As when a man himselfe doth see  
Advanc't to honour and high degree,  
His glory, care and paine doth ease,  
Not travell then will him displease.*

as *Pindarus* saith very well: Art thou in some disgrace, and cast out of favour with reproch, by reason of some slanderous calumnniation or envie? Thou hast a gale of fore-wind at the poope, which will soone bring thee directly to the Muses and to the Academie; that is to say, to follow thy booke, and study Philosophie: for this was *Platoes* helpe, when he was in disfavour with *Demys* the tyrant. And therefore one meanes this is (of no small importance) to worke contentment in a mans mind; namely, to looke backe unto the state of famous and renowned persons, and to see whether they (haply) have not suffered the like at any time; as for example: Art thou discontented with thy childlesse estate, for that thy wife hath brought thee no children? Doe but marke the Kings of *Rome*, how there was not one of them that left the crown unto his sonne. Is it povertie that pincheth thee, so as thou art not able to endure it? Tell mee which of all the *Beootians* wouldst thou chuse to resemble, sooner than *Epaminondas*? or what *Romane* wouldst thou be like unto, rather than *Fabrizius*? But say thy wife hath plaid false by thee, and made thee weare hornes? Didst thou never reade that Epigram of King *Agis* at *Delphos*?

*Agis, of sea and land a crowned king,  
Gave me sometime a sacred offering.*

And yet as mightie a Prince as he was, you have heard (I am sure) that *Alcibiades* lay with his wife *Tumax*, and she would not bath to call the sonne that she had by him in adulterie, *Alcibiades*, especially amongst her women & waiting-maidens, whispering and speaking as much softly unto them: But what of all that? This crooked crosse was no bar unto *K. Agis*, but that he proved the greatest and most renowned personage of all the Greeks in his time. No more was it any hinderance to *Stipo*, but that he lived all the daies of his life most merrily, and no Philosopher like to him in those daies, notwithstanding he had a daughter that plaid the harlot: and when *Metrocles* the Cynick reproched him therewith; Is this (quoth he) my fault or hers? To which when *Metrocles* answered againe: The fault is indeed hers, but the infortunity and mishap is yours: What now, (replied *Stipo* again) how can that be? Are not (I pray you) all faults and mischances or misfortunes? *Metrocles* could not deny it: Why then (inferred *Stipo* at last) what are mischances or misfortunes, other than infortunities and mishaps to them whose mischances they are. By this milde kinde of Sorites and Philosophicall reasoning thus from point to point, he shewed that the reprochfull language of this Cynicall *Metrocles* was nothing els, but a vaine and foolish baying and barking of a cur-dogge. But on the contrary side, the most part of men are provoked and troubled not onely for the vices of their friends, familiars, and kinsfolke, but also of their very enemies. For reprochfull taunts, anger, envie, malice, and spitefull jealousies, are the mischiefs and plagues (I must needs say) of such especially that have them; howbeit they molest and vex those also that are wiselike and without discretion, no otherwise than the hafty and cholericke fits of our neighbors, the peevish and froward dispositions of our familiar acquaintance, and some shrewd demeanors of our servants in that they go about: with which me thinks you also troubling and disquieting your selfe as much as with any thing else, like unto those Physicians of whom *Sophocles* thus writeth;

*Who bitter choler cleanse and scoure  
With Drugs as bitter and as foure.*

so do unseemely and not wis for the credite of your person, thus to chafe and fret at their passions and imperfections beyond all reason, and shew your selfe as passionate as they. For surely the affaires and negotiations wherewith you are put in trust, and which be managed by your direction, are not executed ordinarily by the ministerie of such persons whose dealings be plaine, simple and direct, as instruments most meet and fit for such a purpose; but for the most part by crooked, rough, and crabbed pieces. To reforme and amend these enormities, I would not have you thinke that it is either your worke and dutie, or an enterprise otherwise easily performed. But if you making use of these, being such by nature as the Chirurgians do of tooth-drawing



pincers, and those instruments wherewith they doe bring the edges of a wound together; will shew you selfe milde, moderate, and tractable in every respect, according as the present occasion will give leave; surely you shall not receive so much discontentment and displeasure at the untoward and unhappie dealings of others, as joy in the conscience of your owne good disposition, as making this account, that such ministers of yours do but their kind, like as dogs when they bark: But if you feed and cherish this pusillanimitie and weaknesse of yours, as other follies, you shall be sure to heape up many troubles and follies of other men ere you be aware, which will be ready to fall and run as into some low ground and hollow trench, unto that weaknesse of yours. For what should I say, that some Philosophers reprove the pittie and commiseration which we have for them that are in distresse & miserie, acknowledging that it is a good, and charitable deed to helpe and succour such as be in calamitie, but not commending that condolence and fellow-feeling with our neighbours, as if we yeelded with them unto Fortune? And more than so, the same Philosophers will not permit and give us leave, in case we be subject to some vice and ill disposed, for to be seene and known for to grieve and sorrow therefore: but rather to correct and amend what is amisse, without any shew at all of sad cheere and heavinesse; which being so, consider then how little reason and small cause we have, nay how absurd it were, that we should suffer our selves to be troubled, vexed and angry, in case all those who commerce and converse with us, deale not so well and kindly as they should? But above all things my good friend *Paccius*, let us fectio this, that our selfe love deceive and seduce us not; let us beware (I say) that we do not so much shew an hatred and detestation of wickednesse and sinne in general; as beware some private and particular regard of our owne, in that we seeme so to abhorre and dread the naughtinesse of those that have to do with us. For to be exceeding much mooved and beyond all measure affectionate at some time to such and such affaires; to cover (I say) and pursue the same over-hotly, and otherwise than in meeete and beleeming; or contrariwise, to loth, despise, and abhor the same, must needs breed discontentments, suspitions, and offences in those persons by whom we seeme either to have bene prevented & disappointed of some things, or to have runne and fallen too soone upon other: But he that is used to carie himselfe cheerefully and with moderation in his affaires, (fall out as they will) and can frame to their events, he will soone learne to negotiate and converse with any man in all dexteritie and gentle behaviour. Well then, let us set in hand againe to discourse of those matters which we have intermitted for a while: for like as in a feaver all things that we taste seeme at the first bitter and unfavorie; but when we see others take without any shew and signification of dislike the same which we spit out, then we blame no more either meats or drinks, but lay the fault upon our disease; even so, when we perceive that other men have entred upon and gone through the same affaires with great alacritie, and without any paine at all, whereof we complained and made much adoe; let us for shame cease to find fault and bee offended so much at the things. And therefore if at any time there shall befall unto us some adverse and crooked accident against our wils, it will be very good for the working of our contentment in minde, not to passe over but to regard such things as at other times have happened to our minds and as we could wish them; but to conferre them together, and by a good medly of them both to darken and dor the worst with laying the better to. But now, whereas we are wont when our eyes be dazzled and offended with beholding that which is too bright & glittering, we refresh & comfort our sight againe with looking upon pleasant colours of flowers, and Greene grassie; herein contrariwise wee direct our mindes and cogitations upon heave and dolorous objects, and violently force our thoughts to be amuzed upon the remembrance of calamities and adverse fortunes, plucking them perforce as it were from the consideration of better. And heere in this place me thinks I may very fitly apply that sentence to our present purpose, which was said to a busie and curious person,

*Ab sparefull minde and most envious hart  
Why others faults do'st thou so quickly spie  
With eagles sight, but in thine owne thou art  
Starke blinde or else do'st winke with howlets eie?*

Even so good sir, How is it that you regard and advise fo wistly your owne miserie and calamitie, making it alwaies apparent and fresh in remembrance, but upon your present prosperitie you set not minde? And like as ventoses, cupping glasses or boxes draw the must corrupt humors to them out of the flesh; even so you gather against your selfe the worst things you have, being no better than the merchant of *Chus*, who when he sold to others a great quantity of

the best wine, fought up and downe tasting every vessell untill he met with that for his owne dinner, which began to sowe and was little better than starke naught. This man had a servant who ranne away, and being demanded what his man had done unto him, for which hee should shew him a paire of heeles? Because (quoth hee) when hee had plentie of that which was good, he would needes seeke for naught. And most men verily are of the same nature, who passing by good and desireable things, which be (as a man would say) the pleasant and potable liquors that they have, betake themselves to those that bee harsh, bad, and unfavourie. But *Aristippus* was of another humour; for like a wife man and one that knew his owne good, hee was alwaies disposed to make the best of everie occurrence, raising and lifting up himselfe to that end of the ballance which mounted aloft, and not to that which went downward. It fortuned one day that he lost a faire mannor or Lordship of his owne, and when one of his friends above the rest made most semblance to lament with him, and to be angry with Fortune in his behalfe; Heare you (quoth he) know you not that your selfe have but one little farme in the whole world, and that I have yet three houses more left with good lands lying to them? Yes marie do I (quoth the other: ) Why then (quoth *Aristippus* againe) wherefore doe not we rather pittie your case, and condole with you? For it is meeere madnesse to grieve and sorrow for those things that are lost and gone, and not to rejoice for that which is saved. And like as little children, if a man chance to take from them but one of their gauds, among many other toies that they play withall, throw away the rest for verie curst heart, and then fall a puling, weeping and crying out aright; semblably, as much folly and childishnesse it were, if when fortune thwarteeth us in one thing, we be so farr out of the way and disquieted therewith, that with our plaints and moanes we make all her other favours unprofitable unto us. But wil some one say, What is it that we have? Nay, What is it that we have not? might he rather say: One man is in honour, another hath a faire and goodly house; one hath a wife to his minde, and another a trustie friend.

*Antipater of Tarso* the Philosopher, when he drew toward his end and the houre of his death, in recounting and reckoning up all the good and happie daies that ever he saw in his life time, left not out of this roll so much as the Bon-voiage that he had when he sailed from *Cilicia* to *Athens*. And yet we must not forget nor omit those blessings and comforts of this life which we enjoy in common with many more, but to make some reckoning & account of them: and namely to joy in this, that we live; that we have our health; that we behold the light of the sunne; that we have neither warre abroad nor civill edition and dissention at home; but that the land yeeldeth it selfe arable and to be tilled, and the sea navigable to everie one that will, without feare of danger; that it is lawful for us to speake, and keepe silence at our pleasure; that we have libertie to negotiate and deale in affaires, or to rest and be at our repose. And verily the enjoying of these good things present, will breed the greater contentment in our spirit, if wee would but imagine within our selves that were absent; namely, by calling to minde effoonnes, what a misse and desire those persons have of health, who bee sicke and diseased? How they wish for peace, who are afflicted with warres? How acceptable it is either to a stranger or to a meane person and unknown, for to bee advanced unto honour, or to bee friended in some famous and puissant citie? And contrariwise, what a great griefe it is to forgoe these things when a man once hath them? And surely a thing can not bee great or precious when we have lost it, and the same of no valour and account all the while we have and enjoy it: for the not being thereof, addeth no price and woorth thereto. Neither ought wee to holde these things right great and excellent, whiles wee stand alwaies in feare and trembling to thinke that we shall be deprived and bereft of them, as if they were some woorthie things: and yet all the time that they be sure and safe in our possession, neglect and little regard them as if they were common and of no importance. But we ought to make use of them whiles they be ours, and that with joy, in this respect especially, that the losse of them if it shall so fall out, wee may beare more meekly and with greater patience. Howbeit, most men are of this opinion (as *Arcefilas* was wont to say) that they ought to follow diligently with their eie and cogitation the Poemes, Pictures, and Statues of others, and come close unto them for to behold and peruse exactly each of them; yea, and consider everie part and point therein from one end to the other: whiles in the meane time they neglect and let alone their owne lives and manners; notwithstanding there be many unpleasant sights to be spied and observed therein: looking evermore without, and admiring the advancements, welfare and fortunes of others: much like as adulterers who have an eie after their neighbours wives, but loath and set naught by their owne.

And

And verily this one point also is of great consequence, for the setting of a mans minde in sure repose; namely, to consider principally himselfe, his owne estate and condition; or at least wife (if he do not so) yet to looke backe unto those that be his inferiours and under him; and not as the most fort do, who love alwaies to looke forward and to compare themselves with their betters and superiors. As for example, slaves that are bound in prison and lie in irons, repute them happy who are abroad at libertie; such as be abroad and at libertie, thinke their state blessed who be manumifed and made free; being once a franchised, they account themselves to be in verie good case if they were citizens; and being citizens they esteeme rich men most happie; the rich imagine it a gay matter to be Lords and Princes; Lords and Princes have a longing desire to be Kings and Monarchs; Kings and Monarchs aspire still higher and would be Gods; and yet they rest not so, unless they may have the power to flash lightnings and shoot thunderbolts, as well as *Jupiter*. Thus whiles they evermore come short of that which is above them and covet still after it, they enjoy no pleasure at all of those things that they have, nor be thankfull therefore.

*The treasures great I care not for  
Of Gyges King so rich in gold;  
Such cov'rice I do abhor,  
Nor money will I touch untold.  
I never long'd with gods above,  
In their high works for to compare:  
Grand signories I do not love,  
Far from mine eyes all such things are.*

A Thracian he was that protested thus. But some other, that were a Chian, a Galatian or a Bithynian (I dare warrant you) not contenting himselfe with his part of honor, credit & authoritie in his owne countie and among his neighbours and fellow-citizens, would be ready to weepe and expostulate the matter with teares, if he might not also weare the habite and ornaments of a Patritian or Senatour of *Rome*. And say it were graunted and allowed him to be a noble Senatour, he would not be quiet untill he were a Romaine Lord Pretor: Be he Lord Pretor, he will aspire to a Consulship; and when he is created Consul, whine he will and crie if he were not nominated and pronounced the former of the twaine, but elected in the second place. And I pray you what is all this? What doeth a man herein but gather pretended excuses of ingratitude to Fortune, in punishing and chastising himselfe after this manner? But the man who is wife and of sound judgement, in case some one or two among so infinite thousands of us mortall men

*Whom sunne from heaven so daily doth behold,  
Who feed on fruits of earth so manifold,*

be either more honoured or richer than himselfe, will not therefore be cast downe straight way, and sit mourning and lamenting for sorrow: but rather in the way as he goeth, and whensoever he cometh abroad, salute & beseech with praise and thanksgiving, that good fortune of his and blessed angell that guideth his life, for that his lot is to live farre better, more at hearts ease, and in greater reputation than many millions of millions of other men. For true it is, that in the solemne games at *Olympus*, no champion may choose his concurrents with whom he is to wrestle or enter into combat for a prize: but in this life, our state standeth so, and our affaires bee in that manner composd, that everie man hath meanes to match, yea and excell many others, and so to beate himselfe aloft, that he be rather envied than envious; unless haply he be such an one, as will presume to deale with *Briareus* or *Hercules* for the Maftrie. Well, when thou shalt behold some great Lord or honorable personage borne aloft in a litter upon mens shoulders, stand not wondring so much at him, but rather cast thine eyes downe a litle lower, & looke upon the poore porters that carrie him. Again, when thou shalt repute that great Monarch *Xerxes* a right happy man, for that he made a bridge of ships over the Streights of *Hellefont*; so consider with all, those painfull slaves who under the verie whip and for feare of scourging, digged thorough the mountaine *Atlas*, and made passage that way for an arme of the sea; as also those miserable wretches, who had their eares cropt and their noses cut off, for that the foresaid bridge by a mightie tempest was injoynted and broken; and therewith imagine with thy selfe what those seely soules might thinke, and how happie they would repute thy life and condition in companie of their owne. *Socrates* upon a time when one of his familiar friends seemed to complaine and say: What a costly place is this? How deere are things sold in this citie? The

wine

wine of *Chios* will cost a pound; purple is sold for three, and a pinte of honie is held at five dragmes: Tooke him by the hand and led him to the Meale-hall. Loe (quoth he) you may buy here halfe a sextare of good meale for an half-penie. The market (God be thanked) is cheape: from thence he brought him into an Oile-cellar, and where they sold Olives: Here you shall have (quoth he) a measure called *Chenix*, for two brazen dodkins (a good market beleve me.) He tooke him then with him to the Brokers shops that sold clothes, where a man might buy a suite of apparell for ten dragmes. You see (quoth he) that the peni-worths are reasonable, and things be bought and sold good cheape throughout the citie; even so we, when we shall heare other men say; Our state is but meane, we are exceeding bare, & our condition is passing base: For why? We can not come to be Consuls, we shall never be rulers & governors of Provinces, nor rise to the highest places of authoritie. We may verie well answere in this wise; Nay marie, but our case is right good; we live gallantly, and lead a blessed and happie life: we beg not; we go not from doore to doore to crave folks almes; we are no porters; we beare no burdens; neither like parasites and smell-fests, do we get our bread by flatterie. But forasmuch as we are for the most part grown to this folly, that we are accustomed to live rather according to others than ourselves, and our nature is so far corrupted with a kinde of jealous affectation and envie, that it joyeth not so much in her owne proper goods, as grieveth at the welfare of another) I would advise you not onely to regard those things that be resplendent, glorious and renowned in those whom you admire and esteeme so happie; but also to set open and lift up the vaile a litle, and to draw (as it were) that glittering courtaine of outward shew, apparence and opinion that men have of them which covereth all, and so to looke in. Certes, you shall finde that they have within them many matters of trouble, many grievances and discontentments. That noble *Pittacus*, so famous for his valor and fortitude, and as much renowned also for wisdom and justice, feasted upon a time certaine of his friends that were strangers: and his wife coming in at mids of the dinner, being angry at somewhat els, overthrew the table, and there lay all under foot. Now when his guests and friends were woonderously dismaied and abashed hereat: *Pittacus* made no more ado at the matter, but tuning unto them. There is not one of us all (quoth he) but he hath his crosse, and one thing or other to exercise his patience: and for mine owne part this is the onely thing that checketh my felicitie: for were it not for this throw my wife, I were the happiest man in the world: So that of me may these verses be well verified:

*This man who while he is in street  
or publicke place is happiest thought,  
No sooner sets in house his feet  
but wo is him: and not for nought.  
His wife him rules; and that's a sight  
She chides, she fights from morne to night.*

Well my masters, you have many occasions (I am sure) that vex you: as for my selfe I grieve at nothing. Many such secret foreshadowings there be that put them to anguish and paine who are rich and in high authoritie; yea and trouble Kings and Princes themselves; howsoever the common people see no such matter; and why, their pompe and outward glorie covereth and hideth all. For when we read thus in *Homer*,

*O happy King, sir Agamemnon high  
The sonne of Atreus that mighty knight  
Borne in good horse, and tall in fortunes lap,  
Most puissant rich, and thrall to no mishap.*

This is a cheerful surety of an outward beatitude onely, in regard of his armes, horses, and men of war about him: for the voices which are breathed out and uttered from his passions, which do falsifie that opinion of him; and beare witness of the contrarie: as may appeere by this testimony of himselfe in *Homer*,

*Great Jupiter god Saturnes sonne,  
Hath plung'd me deepe in wo begun.  
Euripides also to the like effect;  
Your state, old sir, I happy deeme,  
and his no lesse I do admire  
Who led his life, unknowne, unseen,  
from danger far, from vaine desire.*

By

By these and such like meditations, a man may by litle & litle spend & diminish that quarrellsome and complaining discontentment of the minde against Fortune, in debasing and casting downe his owne condition with the wonderfull admiration of his neighbors state. But there is nothing that doth so much hurt unto our tranquillitie of minde as this, when our affection and will to a thing is disproportioned unto our might and power; as if we set up greater failes then our vessel will beare, building our hopes and desires as castles in the aire without a sound foundation, and promising our selves more than reason is; for afterwards when by prooffe we see, that we cannot reach thereto, and finde that the successe is not answerable to our conceit, we grumble by and by against fortune, and we blame our destinie; whereas we should accuse our owne follie and rashnes. For neither he that would seeme to shoote an arrow out of a plough; or ride upon to an Oxe backe to hunt the Hare; can say that he is unluckie; nor hee that goeth about to catch the Hart and Hinde with fishers drag-nets, or with grins, snares and traps, may justly finde fault with his fortune, and give out that some wicked angel doth crosse him, or malignant spirit haunt him, if he faile and misse of his purpose: but surely such are to condemne their owne foolishnesse and inconsiderate temeritie, in attempting things impossible. And what might be the cause of such errors and grosse oversight? surely our fond and blinde selfe-love. This is it that causeth men to affect ever to be foremost; this mooveth them to strive and contend for the highest place; this maketh them opinionative in every thing, aiming and reaching at all things unsatiably, and never rest contented. For it sufficeth them not to be both rich and learned; eloquent withall and mightie; good fellows at the table and pleasant companions; minions and favorites of Kings and Princes; rulers of cities and governors of provinces; unless they may be masters also of the swiftest and hottest hounds for running; the principall horses for service and stomacke; quails and cocks of the best game for fight; If they faile in any of these, they be cast downe, and their hearts are done. *Demys* the elder of that name, not being contented and satisfied in minde that he was the most mighty and puissant tyrant in his time; but because hee was not a better Poet than *Philoxenus*, nor able to discourse and dispute so learnedly as *Plato*; in great choler and indignation, he cast the one into a dungeon within the Stone quarries, where malefactors, felons, and slaves were put to punishment; and confined the other as a catie, and sent him away into the Ile *Aegine*. *Alexander* the great was not of that disposition, who when *Brison* the famous runner in the race contended with him for the best game in foot-man-ship, and for the nonce to please the King, seemed to faint and lag behinde, and so to yeeld the honour of the course unto him; being advertised thereof, was mightily offended and displeased with him for it. Very wisely therefore and aptly to this purpose the Poet *Homer* when he had given this commendation of *Achilles*,

*Like unto him there is not one in field  
Of all the Greekes that serve with speare and shield.*

He inferred presently upon it,  
*In feats of armes: but for to speake and plead  
Others there be who can him teach and lead.*

*Megabyzus* the Persian, a great lord, went up one day into the shop of *Apelles*, where he used to paint; and when he was about to speake (I wot not what) as touching painting-craft, *Apelles* not enduring to heare him talke so foolishly, staied him and stopped his mouth, saying preely thus unto him: So long fir as you held your tongue, you were taken to be some great man, by reason of your chaines, corquans, and brooches of gold; your purple robes also, which together with your silence commended your person: but now the very pretentive boies here, who grinde oker and such like colours, are ready to laugh at you, hearing you talke so foolishly, you know not what. And yet some there be who thinke that the Stoicks do, but mocke and jest when they heare them hold this opinion: That the wise man (such as they imagine to themselves) is not onely Prudent, Just and Valiant, but ought also to be called an Oratour, a Captaine and a Poet, a rich and mightie man, yea and a very King; whiles they themselves will needs be invested in these titles, and if they be not, then they are displeased and discontent by and by; what reason they have so to be let them answer. Sure I am that among the gods themselves, some have power one way, and some another; and thereupon tooke their sundry denominations accordingly, & rest contented therewith: as for example, one is surnamed *Engelium*, i. the god of war; another *Mantom*, i. the president of Prophecies; and a third *Cerdous*, which is as much to say, as the patron of those that gaine by trafficke. And heereupon it is that *Jupiter* in *Homer* forbidding *Venus* to meddle in warlike and martiall affaires, as nothing pertinent unto her, sendeth

her to weddings and bride-chambers, and bids her attend them. Moreover some qualities and things there be, that we seeme to affect and wish; the which are in nature contrary, and will not concur and fort well together: as for example, the profession of eloquence, and the studie of Arts Mathematicall require rest and quietnesse, neither have the students therein neede to be employed in any affaires. Contrariwise, policie and managing of the State and weale publicke, the favours of princes and potentates, are not compassed without much adoo; neither can a man be idle at any time, who either is employed in the service of his country, or attendant in the Court. Much feeding upon flesh and libellal drinking of wine, maketh (I must needs say) the bodie able and strong, but the minde feeble and weake. Likewise, the continuall and excessive care both in getting and keeping goods, may well augment riches and increase our substance: but surely it is the contempt and despisement of worldly wealth, that is a great helpe and meanes to learning and Philolophy. And therefore wee may well conclude; that every man is not fit for every thing: but heerein ech one must be ruled by the sage sentence of *Pythim Apollo*, and first learne, To know himselfe; then marke and observe to what one thing he is most framed and enclined; and thereto both apply and employ his wits, and not to offer violence to nature, and draw her perforce, as it were, against the haire, to this or that course of life, which she liketh not.

*The horse serv's best in chariot at the till,  
The oxe at plough, the ground to eare and till:  
Ships under saile the dolphins when they fly,  
Must swiftly then do swim their sides fast by:  
Who would in wood the wilde bore chase and slay,  
Must bring with him the hardie hound away.*

Now if there be one that shall bee angry with himselfe and displeased, that he is not at once both a savage lion of the Forrest, bolde and venturous of his owne strength, and withall a daintie fine puppie of *Mila*, cherished and fostered in the lappe and boosome of some delicate dame and rich widow; commend me to him for a senselesse foole of all fooles, and to say a sooth, I holde him also as very anaffe and doltish fop, who will needs bee such an one as *Empedocles*, *Plato* and *Democritus*; namely, to write of the world, of the nature and true essence of all things therein, and withall, to keepe a rich olde trot and sleepe with her every night, as *Euphorion* did; or els like unto those who kept company with *Alexander* the great, in drinking and gaming (as one *Medius* did) and yet thinke it a great abuse and indignity (forsooth) if he may not be as much admired for his wealth as *Ismenias*, and esteemed no lesse for his vertue than *Epaminondas*. We see that the runners in a race be not discontented at all, if they weare not the garlands and coronets of wrestlers, but rest pleased with their owne rewards, and therein delight and rejoice. It is an olde laid law, and a common proverbe: *Sparta* is thy lot and Province, looke well to it, and adorne the same. For it is a saying also of wise *Salon*;

*And yet we will not change our boome  
With them, for all their wealth and golde:  
Goods passe from man to man full soone,  
Our vertue is, a sure free holde.*

*Strato* the naturall Philosopher, when he heard that *Menedemus* his Concurrent had many more scholars by far than he: What marvel is that (quoth he) if there more that desire to be washed and bathed, than are willing to be anointed & rubbed. *Aristotle* writing to *Antipater*: It is not meet (quoth he) that *Alexander* alone should thinke highly of himselfe, in that he is able to command so many men; but they also have good cause to be aswell conceited of themselves, who have the grace to beleieve of the gods as they ought. For surely, they that thus can make the best use of their owne estate, shall never be vexed, nor at their neighbours well-fare pine away for very envie. Which of us now doeth require or thinke it fit, that the vine-tree should beare figges, or the olive grapes? and yet we our selves, if we may not have all at once, to wit, the superiority and preeminence among rich men, among eloquent orators and learned clerks, both at home and abroad, in the schooles among Philosophers, in the field among warriors; aswell among flattering claw-backs as plaine spoken and tel-truth friends: to conclude, unless we may goe before all pinching peny-fathers in frugalitie; yea, and surpasse all spend-thrifts in riot and prodigality; we are out of our little wits; we accuse our selves daily like lycophants; we are unthankfully we repine and grumble as if we lived in penury and want. Over and besides, do we not see that Nature herselfe doeth teach us sufficiently in this point? For like as she hath provided

for

for sundry kinds of bruit and wilde beasts, divers sorts of food : for all feed not upon flesh, all pecke not upon seeds and graines of plants, neither doe all live upon roots which they worke from under the ground; even so she hath bestowed upon mankind many meanes to get their living, while some live by grafting and feeding of cattell, others by tillage, some be Fowlers, others Fishers: and therefore ought every man to chuse that course of life which sorteth best with his owne nature, and wholly to apply and set his minde thereto; leaving unto others that which pertaineth to them, and not to reprove and convince *Hesiodus* when he thus speaketh, although not to the full and sufficiently to the point:

*The Potter to Potter doth beare envie,*

*One Carpenter to another hath a sightfull eye.*

For jealous we are not onely of those who exercise the same art, and follow that course of life which we do; but the rich also do envie the learned and eloquent; noble men the rich; advocates and lawiers, captious and litigious sophisters; yea, and (that which more is) gentlemen freeborne, and descended from noble and ancient houses, envie Comedians when they have acted well and with a good grace upon the stage in great Theaters; dauncers also and jesters in the court, whom they see to be in favor and credite with Kings and Princes; and whiles they do admire these, and thinke them happy for their good speed and successe in comparison of their owne doings, they fret and grieve, and out of measure torment themselves. Now, that everie one of us hath within himselfe treasures laid up of contentment and discontentment, and certaine tunnes of good things and evil; not bestowed as *Homer* said: unto the doore-fill and attic of *Jupiters* house; but placed in each of our owne mindes, the divers passions whereunto we are subject do sufficiently proove and shew. For such as are foolish and unadvised, doe neglect and let go the very good things that presently they have, and never care to enjoy them, to intensive and earnestly bent are their mindes and spirits alwaies to that which is comming, and future expectation: whereas wise men on the contrary side, call to their fresh remembrance those things that are past, so as they seeme to enjoy the same as if they were present, yea and in make that which is no more, to be as beneficiall unto them, as if they were ready and at hand. For surely that which is present, yielding itselfe to be touched by us but the least moment of time that is, & immediately passing our senses, seemeth unto fooles to be none of ours, nor any more to concerne us. But like as the Roper which is painted in the temple of *Pluto*, or description of Hell, suffereth an asse behind him to gnaw & cate a rope as fast as he twisteth it of the Spanbroome; even so the unthankfull and senselesse oblivion of many ready to catch and devour all good things as they passe by, yea and to dissipate and cause to vanish away every honest and notable action, all vertuous deeds, duties, delectable recreations and pleasant pastimes, all good fellowship and mutuall societie, and all amiable conversation one with another, will not permit, that the life be one and the same, linked (as it were) and cheined by the copulation of things passed and present; but deviding yesterday from to day, and this day from the morrow, as if they were sundry parts of our life, bringeth in such a forgetfulness, as if things once past had never beene. As for those verily who in their disputations and Philosophicall discourses admit no augmentation of bodies, affirming that every substance continually fadeth and vanisheth, would make us beleeve in word, that each one of us every howe altereth from himselfe, and no man is the same to day, that he was yesterday: but these for fault of memorie not able to retaine and keepe those things that are done and past, no nor to apprehend and estoones call them againe to minde, but suffer every thing to passe away and runne as it were through a sieve, doe not in word but in deed and effect, make themselves void and emptie every day more than other, depending onely upon the morrow, as if those things which were done the yeere past, of late, and yesterday, nothing appertained unto them, nor ever were at all. This is therefore one thing that hindreth & troubleth that equanimity & repose of spirit which we seeke for: & yet there is another that doth it more; and that is this: Like as flies creeping upon the smooth places of glasses or mirrors, cannot hold their feet but must needs fall down, but contrariwise they take hold where they meet with any roughnes, & stick fast to rugged flaws, that they can finde even so these men gliding & glancing over all delectable & pleasant occurrences, take hold of any adverse & heavy calamities, those they cleave unto & remember very wel; or rather as (by report) there is about the city *Olynthus* a certain place, into which if any flies called *Beetles* enter in once, they can not get forth againe, but after they have kept turning about, and fetching compasses round to no purpose a long time, they die in the end, whereupon it tooke the name of *Cantharolathron*; sensibly, men after they fall to the reckoning up & commemoration of their harmes & calamities past,

past, are not willing to retire backe, nor to breath themselves and give over multiplying thereupon still. And yet contrariwise, they ought to do after the maner of Painters, who when they paint a table to lay upon the ground, or by a course of dead and dusky colours such as be fresh, gay and gallant, for to palliate & in some sort to hide the unpleasantnes of the other, they ought (I say) to smother and keepe downe the heaviness of the heart occasioned by some crosse mishaps, those that have fallen out of their minde, for to obliterate and wipe them out of their minde quite, and to be freed cleane from them it is not possible: and surely the harmonic of this world is reciprocal and variable, compounded (as it were) of contraries, like as we do see in an harpe or bow; neither is any earthly thing under the cope of heaven, pure, simple, and sincere without mixture. But as Musick doth consist of base and treble sounds; and Grammar of letters, which be partly vocall, & partly mute, to wit, vowels and consonants, and he is not to be counted a Grammarian and Musician, who is offended and displeased with either of those contrarie elements of the arte, but he that affecteth the one as well as the other, and knoweth how to use and mixe both together with skil for to serve his purpose; even so considering that in the occurrences of mans life there be so many contrarieties, and one weigheth against another in maner of counterpoise; for (according to *Empyricides*)

*It cannot stand with our affaires,*

*that good from bad should parted bee:*

*A medley then of mixed paires*

*doth well, and serves in each degree.*

It is not meet that we should let our hearts fall and be discouraged with the one sort whensoever it hapneth, but we ought according to the rules of harmonic in Musick, to stop the point alwaies of the woorth, with strokes of better, and by overcasting misfortunes (as it were) with a vaile and curtaine of good haps, or by setting one to the other, to make a good composition and a pleasant accord in our life, fitting and sorting our owne turnes. For it is not as *Menander* said,

*Each man so soone as he is borne,*

*one spirit good or angell hath,*

*Which him assist: both even and morne,*

*and guides his steps in every path.*

but rather according to *Empedocles*: No sooner are we come into the world, but each one of us hath two angels, called *Dæmones*, two Destinies (I say) allotted unto us, for to take the charge and government of our life, unto which he attributeth divers and sundry names,

*Here Chthonie was, a downward looker hat hat,*

*Heliopie eke, who turneth to the sunne,*

*And Dæris shee, that loves in blood to bat,*

*Harmonie smiles ever and anon,*

*Calisto faire and Aeschre foule among,*

*Thoofa swift, Dinæa stout and strong,*

*Nemertes who is lovely white and pure,*

*But Alaphie with fruis black and obscure.*

Insomuch, as our Nativitie receiving the seeds of each of all these passions blended and confused together, and by reason thereof the course of our life not being uniforme, but full of disordered and unequal dispositions, a man of good and sound judgement ought to wish and desire at Gods hand the better, to expect and looke for the woorth, and to make an use of them both, namely by abridging and cutting off that which is excessive and too much: For not he onely (as *Epicurus* was wont to say) shall come with most delight and pleasure to see the morrow-lunne, who made least account thereof on the eeven; but riches also, glorie, authoritie and rule doth most rejoice their hearts who least feared the contrarie: for the vehement and ardent desire that a man hath to any of these things, doth imprint likewise an exceeding feare of forgoing and losing the same, and thereby maketh the delight of enjoying them to be feeble and nothing firme and constant; even as the blase and flame of the fire which is blown and driven to and fro with the wind. But the man who is so much assisted with reason, that he is able without feare and trembling to say unto Fortune:

*ἔλθ' ὅτε αὖτις φέρῃς, ὅλκον δ' ἔχεις ἐν ἀνελπίστῃ.*

*Wel come to me, if good: how bringest thou't,*

*And if thou faile, I will take little thought.*

Orthus:

*Well maist thou take from me some joy of mind,  
But little griefe, thou shalt me leave behind.*

hath this benefit by his confidence and resolution: that as he taketh most joy of his good fortunes when they are present; so he never feareth the losse of them, as if it were a calamitie insupportable. And herein we may awell imitate as admire the disposition and affection of *Anaxagoras*, who when he heard the newes of his sons death I know full well (quoth he) when I begot him that die he must: and after his example, whosoever any infortunitie hapneth, to be readie with these & such like speeches: I know that riches were not permanent, but transitorie and for a day: I never thought other, but that they who conferred these dignities upon me both might and could deprive me of them I wist: that I had a good wife and vertuous dame, but withalla woman and no more: I was not ignorant that my friend was a man (that is to say) a living creature by nature mutable, as *Plato* used to say. And verily, such preparations and dispositions of our affections as these, if peradventure there shall befall unto us any thing against our intent and minde, but not contrarie to our expectation, as they will never admit such passionate words as these (I never thought it would have fallen out so, I was in great hope of other matters, and little looked I for this) so they shall be able to rid us of all sudden pantings and leapings of the hart, of unquiet & disorderly beating of the pulses, and soone stay and seile the furious & troublesome motions of impatience. *Carnesides* was wont in time of greatest prosperitie to put men in minde of a change; for that the thing which hapneth contrarie to our hope and expectation, is that which altogether and wholly doth breed sorrow and griefe. The kingdom of the Macedonians was not an handfull to the Romaine Empire and dominion; and yet king *Persius* when he had lost *Macedonie*, did not only himselfe lament his owne fortune most pitiously, but in the eyes also of the whole world he was reputed a most unfortunate and miserable man. But behold *Pandus Aemilius* whose hap it was to vanquish the said *Persius*, when he departed out of that Province, and made over into the hands of another his whole armie, with so great command both of land and sea, was crowned with a chaplet of flowers, and so did sacrifice unto the gods with joy and thanksgiving in the judgement of all men, woorthily extolled and reputed as happie. For why? when he received first that high commission and mightie power withall, he knew full well, that he was to give it over and resigne it up when his time was expired; whereas *Persius* on the contrarie side, lost that which he never made account to lose. Certes even the Poet *Homer* hath given us verie well to understand, how forcible that is, which hapneth besides hope and unlooked for, when he bringeth in *Ulysses* upon his returne, weeping for the death of his dog; but when he fate by his owne wife who shed teares plentifully, wept not at all; for that he had long before at his leisure against this comming home of his, prevented and brought in to subjection (as it were) by the rule of reason, that passion which otherwise hee knew well enough would have broken out; whereas, looking for nothing lesse than the death of his dog, he fell suddenly into it, as having had no time before to repress the same. In summe, of all those accidents which light upon us contrarie to our will; some grieve and vex us by the course and instinct of nature; others (and those be the greater part) we are wont to be offended and discontented with, upon a corrupt opinion and foolish custome that we have taken: and therefore we should do verie well, against such temptations as these, to be ready with that sentence of *Mander*:

*No harme nor losse thou dost sustaine:  
But that thou list so for toaine.*

And how (quoth he) can it concerne thee?  
*For if no flesh without it wound,  
Nor soule win him, then all is found.*

As for example, the base parentage and birth of thy father; the adulterie of thy wife; the losse or repulse of any honor, dignitie or preeminence: for what should let, notwithstanding all these crosses, but that thy bodie and minde both may be in right good plight and excellent estate? And against those accidents which seeme naturally to grieve and trouble us, to wit, maladies, paines and travels; death of deere friends and toward children, we may oppose another saying of *Enripides* the Poet:

*Alas, alas and well a day:  
But why alas, and well away?  
Nought els to us hath yet beene delt,*

*But that which daily men have felt.*

For no remonstrance nor reason is so effectually to restrain and stay this passionate and sensual part of our minde, when it is readie to slip and be carried headlong away with our affections, as that which calleth to remembrance the common and naturall necessitie; by means whereof a man in regard of his bodie, being mixed and compounded, doth expose and offer this handle (as it were) a great vantage whereby fortune is to take hold when the wrestleth against him; for otherwise, a the greatest and most principall things, he abideth fast and sure. King *Demetrius* having besieged and woon the citie *Megara*, demanded of *Stripo* the wife Philosopher, whether he would sell any goods in the sackage and pillage thereof? Sir (quoth he) I saw not so much as one man carrying any thing of mine away; seembably, when fortune hath made what spoile we can, and taken from us all other things, yet somewhat there remaineth still within our selves,

*Which Greeks do what they can or may,  
Shall neither drive nor beare away.*

In which regard we ought altogether so to depreffe, debase and throw downe our humane nature, as if it had nothing firme, stable and permanent, nothing above the reach and power of fortune: but contrariwise, knowing that it is the least and woort part of man, and the same fraile, brittle, and subject to death, which maketh us to lie open unto fortune and her assaults; whereas in respect of the better part we are masters over her, and have her at command, when there be-  
20 ing seated and founded most surely the best and greatest things that we have, to wit, found and honest Opinions, Arts and Sciences, good discourses tending to vertue, which be all of a substance incorruptible, and whereof we can not be robbed: we (I say) knowing thus much, ought in the confidence of our selves to cary a minde invincible and secure against whatsoever shall happen, & be able to say that to the face of Fortune, which *Socrates* addressing his speech indeed covertly to the Judges, seemed to speake against his two accusers, *Anitus* and *Meletus*: We'll may *Anitus* and *Meletus* bring me to my death, but hurt or harme me they shall never be able. And even so Fortune hath power to bring a disease or sicknesse upon a man, his goods she can take away, raise she may a slander of him to tyrant, prince or people, and bring him out of grace and favour; but him that is vertuous, honest, valiant and magnanimous, she can not make wic-  
30 ked, dishonest, base-minded, malicious & envious: and in one word, she hath not power to take from him a good habitude, setled upon wisdom and discretion, which wheresoever it is alwaies present, doth more good unto a man for to guide him how to live, than the pilot at sea for to direct a ship in her course; for surely the pilot, be he never so skilfull, knoweth not how to still the rough and surging billowes when he would, he can not allay the violence of a tempest, or blustering winde, neither put into a safe harbor and haven, or gaine a commodious bay to anker in at all times and in every coast, would he never so faire, nor resolutely without feare and trembling when he is in a tempest, abide the danger and under-goe all; thus farre forth onely his art fer-  
40 veth, so long as he is in no despaire, but that his skill may take place;

*To strike main-saile, and downe the lee  
To let ship hull, untill he see  
The foot of mast no more above  
The sea: while he doth not remove,  
But with one hand in other fast  
Quaketh and pantereth all agast.*

But the disposition and staid minde of a prudent man, over and besides that it bringeth the body into a quiet and calme estate, by dissipating and dispatching for the most part the occasions and preparatives of diseases, and that by continent life, sober diet, moderate exercises, and travels in measure; if haply there chance some little beginning or indisposition to a passion, upon which the minde is ready to runne it selfe, as a ship, upon some blinde rocke under the water,  
50 it can quickly turne about his nimble and light crosse-saile yard, as *Aesclepiades* was wont to say, and so avoid the danger.

But say there come upon us some great and extraordinary accident, such as neither we looked for, nor be able by all the power we have, either to overcome or endure; the haven is neere at hand, we may swim safely thither out of the body, (as it were) out of a vessell that leaketh and taketh water, and will no longer holde a passenger: as for foolish folke, it is the feare of death, and not the love of life that causeth them to cling and stick close to the body, hanging and  
clapping



claspeth thereunto no otherwise than *Ulysses* to the wilde figge tree, who hee feared with great horror, the gulfes *Charybdes* roaring under him;

*Whereas the winds would not permit to stay,*

*Nor suffer him to rowe or saile away:*

displeased infinitely in the one, and dreading fearefully the other. But he that, some measure (be it never so little) knoweth the nature of the soule, and casteth this with himselfe: That by death there is a passage out of this life, either to a better state, or at least worse not: a worle: certes he is furnished with no meane way-faring provision to bring him to the security of mind in this life, I meane the fearelesse contempt of death: for he that may (so long as vertue and the better part of the soule (which indeed is proper unto man) is predominant) live pleasantly; and when the contrary passions, which are enemies to nature, doe prevaile, depart resolutely without feare, saying thus unto himselfe:

*God will me suffer to be gone*

*When that I will myselfe, anon.*

What can we imagine to happen unto a man of this resolution, that should encumber, trouble or terrifie him? for whosoever he was that said: I have prevented thee (O Fortune) I have stopped up all thy avenewes, I have intercepted and choked all the waies of access and entry; surely he fortified himselfe, not with barres and barricadoes, not with locks and keyes, ne yet with mures and walles, but with Philosophieall and sage lessons, with sententious sawes, and with discourses of reason, whereof all men that are willing, be capable. Neither ought a man to discredit the truth of these and such like things which are committed in writing, and give no beleefe unto them, but rather to admire, and with an affectionate ravishment of spirit embrace and imitate them; yea, and withall to make a triall and experiment of himselfe; first in smaller matters, proceeding afterwards to greater, until he reach unto the highest, and in no wise to shake off such meditations, nor to shift off and seeke to avoid the exercise of the minde in this kinde, and in so doing, he shall haply finde no such difficultie as he thinketh. For as the effeminate delicacy and nicenesse of our mind, amsted alwaies and loving to be occupied in the most easie objects, and retiring est-soones from the cogitation of those things that fall out troffe, unto such as tend unto greatest pleasure, causeth it to be soft and tender, and imprinteth a certaine daintinesse not able to abide any exercise; so if the same minde would by custome learne and exercise it selfe in apprehending the imagination of a maladie, of paine, travell, and of banishment, and enforce it selfe by reason to withstand and strive against each of these accidents, it will be found and seene by experience, that such things which through an erroneous opinion were thought painefull, grievous, hard and terrible, are for the most part but vaine in deed, deceitfull and contemptible: like as reason will shew the same if a man would consider them each one in particular. Howbeit the most part mightily feare and have in horror that verse of *Menander*,

*No man alive can safely say,*

*I his case shall never me assay.*

as not knowing how materiall it is to the exempting and freeing of a man from all griefe and sorrow, to meditate before-hand, and to be able to looke open-eyed full against fortune, and not to make those apprehensions and imaginations in himselfe soft and effeminate, as if hee were fostered and nourished in the shadow, under many foolish hopes which ever yeeld to the contrary, and bee not able to resist so much as any one. But to come againe unto *Menander*, we have to answer unto him in this maner: True it is indeed, there is no man living able to say: This or this shall never happen unto me; howbeit, thus much may a man that is alive say and assever: So long as I live I will not do this, to wit, I will not lie; I will never be a coufiner, nor circumvent any man; I will not defraud any one of his owne; neither will I fore-lay and surpris any man by a wile. This lieth in our power to promise and performe, and this is no small matter, but a great meane to procure tranquillitie and contentment of minde. Whereas contrariwise, the remorse of conscience when as a man is privie to himselfe, and must needs confesse and say: These and these wicked parts I have committed, festereth in the soule like an ulcer and fore in the flesh; and leaveth behind it repentance in the soule, which fretteth, gallereth, gnaweth, and setteth it a bleeding fresh continually. For, whereas all other sorrowes, griefes, and anguishes, reason doth take away; repentance onely it doth breed and engender, which together with shame biterh and punisheth it selfe; for like as they who quiver and shake in the feavers called *Epidi*; or contrariwise burne by occasion of other agues, are more afflicted and more at ease

ease than those who suffer the same accidents by exterior causes, to wit, winters cold or summers heat; even so all mischances and casuall calamities, bring with them lighter dolours and paines as coming from without. But when a man is forced thus to confesse,

*My selfe I may well thanke for this,*

*None els for it blame worthy is.*

which is an ordinary speech of them who lamentably bewaile their finnes from the bottome of their hearts, it causeth griefe and sorrow to be so much more heavy, and it is joynd with shame and infamie: whereupon it cometh to passe, that neither house richly and finely furnished, nor heapes of gold and silver; no parentage or nobilitie of birth, no dignitie of estate and authority how high soever, no grace in speech; no force and power of eloquence; can yeeld unto a mans life such a caline (as it were) and peaceable tranquillitie; as a soule and conscience cleere from wicked deeds, sinfull cogitations and lewd desseignes, which having the source & fountaine of life (I meane the inward disposition of the heart) not troubled & polluted, but cleere and clemented; from whence all good and laudable actions do flowe and proceed, and the same doe give a lively, cheerefull, and effectual operation, even by some divine instinct and heavenly inspiration, together with a bold courage and haughty minde, and withall yeeld the remembrance of a vertuous and well led life, more sweete, pleasant, firme and permanent, than is that hope whereof *Pindarus* writeth, the nurse and softresse of old age: for we must not thinke, that (as *Orpheus* was wont to say) the \* Censers or perfuming pannes wherein sweet incense is burned, to reteine and render the pleasant odor along time after they be empty, and that the vertuous deeds of a wise and honest man, should not alwaies leave behind them in the soule an amiable, delightful, and fresh remembrance thereof; by meanes whereof, that inward joy being watered, is ever greene, buddeth and flourisheth still, despising the shamefull error of those who with their plaints, moanes, and wallings, diffame this life of ours; saying: It is a very hell and place of torments, or else a region of confined and exiled soules, into which they were sent away and banished forth of heaven. And heere I cannot choose but highly commend that memorable saying of *Diogenes*, who seeing once a certeine stranger at *Lacedemon* dressing and trimming himselfe very curiously against a feastivall & high day: What meanes all this (quoth he) my good friend? to a good and honest man is not everie day in the yeere a feast and holy day? yea verily, 30 and if we be wise we should thinke all daies double feasts, and most solemne gaudie-daies: for surely this world is a right sacred and holy temple, yea and most divine, becomming the majestie of God, into which man is inducted and admitted at his nativitie, not to gaze and looke at statues and images cut and made by mans hand, and such as have no motion of their owne, but to behold those works and creatures which that divine spirit and almightie power in wonderfull wisdom and providence hath made and shewed unto us sensible; and yet (as *Plato* saith) representing and resembling intelligible powers, from whence proceed the beginnings of life and mooving, namely the sunne, the moone, the starres; what should I speake of the rivers which continually send out fresh water still; and the earth which bringeth forth nourishment for all living creatures, and yeeldeth nutriment likewise to every plant? Now if our life be the 40 imitation of so sacred mysteries, and (as it were) a profession & entrance into so holy a religion of all others most perfect, we must needs esteeme it to be full of contentment & continuall joy: neither ought we (as the common multitude doth) attend & wait for the feasts of *Saturne*, *Bacchus*, or *Minerva*, and such other high daies wherein they may solace themselves, make metrie and laugh, buying their mirth and joy for money, giving unto plaiers, jesters, dauncers, & such like their hire and reward for to make them laugh. In which feasts and solemnities, we use to sit with great contentment of minde, arraied decently according to our degree and calling, (for no man useth to mourne and lament, when he is professed in the mysteries of *Ceres*, and received into that confraternitie; no man sorroweth when he doth behold the goodly fights of the *Pythian* games; no man hungreth or fasteth during the *Saturnals*;) what an indignitie and 50 shame is it then that in those feasts which God himselfe hath instituted, and wherein (as a man would say) he leadeth the daunce, or is personally himselfe to give institution and induction, men should contaminate, pollute and profane as they do, dishonoring their life for the most part, with weeping, wailing, sighing and groning, or at the leastwise in deepe thoughts & pensive cares. But the greatest shame of all other is this; that we take pleasure to heare the organs and instruments of musicke found pleasantly; we delight to heare birdes singing sweetly; we behold with right good will, beastes playing, sporting, dauncing, and skipping feately; and contrariwise wee are offended when they howle, roare, snarle, and gnash their teeth, as also

when they shew a fierce, sterne, and hideous looke; and all this while seeing our owne lives heaue, sad, trauailed and oppressed with most unpleasant passions, most intricate and inexplicable affaires, and overwhelmed with infinite and endlesse cares; yet we will not afford our selves some reit and breathing time; nay (that which more is) we will not admit the speech and remonstrances of our friends and familiars, whom if we would give eare unto, we might without fault finding receive the present, remember with joy and thanksgiving that which is past, and without distrust, suspicion and feare, expect with joyfull and lightsome hope that which is to come.



## OF VNSEEMELY AND NAUGHTY BASH- FULNESSE.

### The Summarie.



Althoughe it be needlesse to stand curiously upon the concatenation and coherence of these matters handled by Plutarch, how they be knit and linked together, considering that he penned these discourses of his at sundrie times; and both they who haue reduced them into one volume; and those also who haue translated them out of Greeke into other languages, haue not all followed one order: yet I thinke verily that this present Treatise, as concerning Naughtie Bashfulness, is fitly joined next to the former, as touching the repose and tranquillitie of the spirit. For one of the greatest shaking cracks that our soule can receive in her tranquillitie, is when she secretly and by stealth may be lifted from her seat, for to driue a man to those things which may trouble him immediately, and much more afterwards. Now this euill bashfulness hath this vicious and dangerous qualitie, to know how to seduce and draw us by faire semblant, and nevert helesse to trouble & confound after a strange fashion the contentment of our spirits, as appereth plainly in this little booke, which deserueth to be well perused and considered by all sorts of people. Now after he hath shewed what this euill shamefastnes is; he declareth that it is no lesse pernicious and hurtfull then impudencie; adding moreover that wee ought to take good heed, lest in avoiding it, we fall into contrarie extremities, as they do who are enuious, shamelesse, obstinate, idle and dissolute. Then he proceedeth to teach us, that the first and principall preservative against this poison is, to holde it for to be most dangerous and deadly, which he doth verifie and prooue by notable examples. Which done, he describeth particularly and from point to point, the incommunities, perils, and misfortunes that come by naughty bashfulness, applying thereto good and proper remedies, giuing withall many sage and wise counsels drawn out of Philosophie, tending to this stop and marke; that neither the regard of our friends, kinsfolke and familiars, nor yet the respect of any thing else besides, ought to draw from our thought, our mouth or hands, any thing contrarie to the dutie of an honest man: which both for the present, and also all the rest of our life may leaue in our soule, the cicatrice or scar of repentance, sorrow and heavinesse. In conclusion, to the end that we should not commit those deeds in haste, which afterwards we may repent at lesse; he sheweth that we ought to haue before our eyes the hurts and inconueniences caused before by euill bashfulness, that the consideration thereof might keepe us from falling into fresh and new faultes.

OF

## OF VNSEEMELY AND naughtie bashfulnesse.



Mong those plants which the earth bringeth forth, some there are which not onely by their owne nature bee wilde and savage, and withall bearing no fruit at all; but (that which woofe is) in their growth doe hurt unto good seeds and fruitfull plants: and yet skilful gardeners and husbandmen, iudge them to be arguments and signes, not of bad ground, but rather of a kinde and fat soile; semblably the passions and affections of the minde, simply and in themselves are not good, howbeit they spring as buds and flowers from a towardy nature, and such as gently can yeeld it selfe to be wrought, framed, and brought into order by reason. In this kinde I may range that which the Greekes call *δυσωμία*, which is as much to say, as a foolish and rusticall shamefastnes; no euill signe in it selfe, howbeit the cause and occasion of euill and naughtinesse. For they that be giuen to bash and shame over-much and when they should not, commit many times the same faultes that they doe, who are shamelesse and impudent: heere onely is the difference, that they, when they trespass and do amisse, are displeased with themselves, and grieve for the matter; whereas these take delight & pleasure therein: for he that is gracelesse and past shame, hath no sence or feeling of griefe when he hath committed any foule or dishonest act; contrariwise, whosoever be apt to bash & be ashamed quickly, are soone moved & troubled anon, even at those things which seeme onely dishonest, although they be not indeed. Now, lest the equivocation of the word might breed any doubt, I meane by *δυσωμία*, immoderate bashfulness, whereby one blusheth for shame exceedingly and for every thing, whereupon such an one is called in Greeke *δυσωπύς*, for that his visage and countenance together with his mind changeth, fallett and is cast downe: for like as *καταπίπτειν* in Greeke is defined to be a sacred heavinesse, which causeth a downe-looke; even so, that shame and dismaiednesse which maketh us that we dare not looke a man in the face as we should and when we ought, the call *δυσωμία*. And hereupon it was that the great Orator *Demosthenes* said of an impudent fellow, that he had in his eyes not *νεγες*, but *μεγας*. i. harlots, playing prettily upon the ambiguity of the word *νεγες*, which signifieth both the round apple in the eyes, and also a maiden or virgine: but contrariwise the over-bashfull person (whom wee speake of) sheweth in his countenance a minde too soft, delicate and effeminate, and yet he flattereth himselfe therein, and calleth that fault (wherein the impudent person surpasseth him) Shamefastnesse. Now *Cato* was wont to say, That he loved to see yong folke rather to bluish than to looke pale; as having good reason to acquaint and teach youth to dread shame and reproch more than blame and reproofe; yea, and suspicion or obloquie, rather than perill or danger.

Howbeit, we must abridge & cut off the excesse and over-much, which is in such timidity and feare of reproch; for that often-times it cometh to passe in some, who dreading no lesse to heare ill and be accused, than to be chastised or punished; for false hearts are frightened from doing their duty, and in no wise can abide to haue an hard word spoken of them. But as we are not to neglect these that are so tender, nor ought to feed them in their feeblenesse of heart; so againe, we must not praise their disposition who are stiffe and inflexible: such as the Poet describeth, when he saith:

Who fearelesse is, and basheth not  
all men fast to behold;  
In whom appeares the dogged force  
of Anaxarchus bold:

but we ought to compound a good mixture and temperate medley of both extremities, which may take away this excessive obstinacie which is impudence, and that immoderate modestie which is meere childishnesse and imbecillitie. True it is that the cure of these two maladies is difficult; neither can this excesse both in the one and the other be cut off without danger. For like as the skillfull husbandman when he would rid the ground of some wilde bushes and fruitlesse plants, he laieth at them mainly with his grubbing hooke or mattocke, untill he haue fetched them up by the roote; or else sets fire unto them and so burneth them; but when he comes

to proue or cut a vine, an apple tree, or an olive, he carrieth his hand lightly for feare of wounding any of the sound wood, in fetching off the superfluous and ranke branches, and so kill the heart thereof; even so the Philosopher, intending to plucke out of the mind of a yong man, either envie, an unkind and savage plant, which hardly or unneth at all may be made gentle and brought to any good use; or the unseasonable and excessive greedines of gathering good, or dissolute and disordinate lust; he never feareth at all in the cutting thereof, to draw blood, to presse and pierce hard to the bottom, yea and to make a large wound and deepe skarre. But when he setteth to the keene edge of remembrance and speech, to the tender and delicate part of the soule, for to cut away that which is excessive or overmuch, to wit, wherein is seated this unmeasurable and sheepish bashfulness, he hath a great care and regard, lest ere he be aware he cut away therewith, that ingenuous and honest shamesfastnesse that is so good and commendable. For wee see that even nourishes themselves when they thinke to wipe away the filth of their little infants, and to make them cleane; if they rub anything hard, otherwhiles fetch off the skin withall, make the flesh raw and put them to paine. And therefore we must take heed, that in seeking by all meanes to do out this excessive bashfulness utterly in yong people, we make them not brazen faced, such as care not what is said unto them, and blush thereat no more than a black dog, and in one word standing still in any thing that they do; but rather we ought to doe, as they, who demolish and pull downe the dwelling houses that be neere unto the temples of the gods; who for feare of touching any thing that is holy or sacred, suffer those ends of the edifices and buildings to stand still, which are next and joined close thereto; yea and those they underprop and stay up, that they should not fall downe of themselves; even so (I say) beware and feare we must, whiles we be tempering about this immoderate shamesfastnesse for to remove it, that we do not draw away with it grace and modesty, gentleness and debonariy which be adjacents and lie close unto it; under which qualities lieth lurking and sticketh close to, the foresaid naughty bashfulness, flattering him that is possessed therewith, as if he were full of humanitie, courtesie, civilitie and common sense; not opinionative, severe, inflexible and untractable: which is the reason, that the Stoicke Philosophers when they dispute of this matter, have distinguished by severall names, this aptnes to blush or overmuch bashfulness, from modestie and shamesfastnesse indeed: for feare lest the equivocation and ambiguity of one common word, might give some occasion and vantage to the vicious passion it selle to do some hurt. As for us, they must give us leave to use the termes without calumniation, or rather permit us to distinguish according to *Homer*, when he saith,

*Shame is a thing that doth mickle harme, and profiteth as much.*

neither without good cause is it, that in the former place he putteth downe the harme and discommoditie thereof: for surely it is not profitable but by the meanes of reason, which cutteth off that which is superfluous, and leaveth a meane behinde.

To come then unto the remedies thereof; it behooveth him first and formost, who is given to blushing at every smal matter, to beleve & be perswaded, that he is possessed with such an hurtfull passion: (now there is nothing hurtfull, which is good and honest) neither ought he to take pleasure and delight when he shall be tickled in the eare with praises and commendations, when he shall heare himselfe called gentle, jolly and courteous, in steed of grave, magnanimous and just; neither let him do as *Pegasus* the horse in *Euripides*, who

*When mount his back Bellerophon's should,*

*With trembling stoupe more than his owne selfe would.*

that is to say, give place and yeeld after a base manner to the demands and requests of everie man; or object himselfe to their wil and pleasure, for feare (forsooth) lest one should say of him Lo what a hard man is this? See how inexorable he is. It is reported of *Bacchorus* a king of *Egypt*, that being rough, fell & austere, the goddesse *Isis* sent the serpent called *Apsis*, for to wind and wreath about his head, and so to cast a shadow over him from above, to the end that hee might be put in minde to judge aright: but this excessive shamesfastnesse which alwaies overspreadeth and covereth them, who are not manly but faint-hearted and effeminate, not suffering them once to dare, to deny, or gainsay any thing, surely would avert and withdraw judges from doing justice close up their mouthes, that in counsels and consultations should deliver their opinion frankly; yea and cause them both to say and do many things inconsiderately against their minde, which otherwhiles they would not. For looke whosoever is most unreasonable and importunate, he will ever tyrannize and dominie over such an one, forcing by his impudencie the bashfulness of the other: by which meanes, it cometh to passe that this excessive

shame,

shame, like unto a low piece of soft ground which is ready to receive all the water that comes, and apt to be overflowed and drowned, having no power to withstand and repulse any encounter, say a word to the contrary whatsoever is proposed, yeeldeth access to the lewdest desires, acts and passions that be. An evill guardian and keeper of childhood and yong age, is this excessive bashfulness, as *Brytus* well said, who was of this minde, that neither he nor she could well and honestly passe the flower of their fresh youth, who had not the heart and face to refuse and denie any thing; even so likewise, a bad governesse it is of the bride-bed and womens chamber, according to that which shee saide in *Sophocles* to the adulterer, who repented of the fact,

*Thy flattering words have me seduced,*

*And so perswaded, I am abused.*

In such sort as this bashfulness, over and besides, that it is vicious and faultie it selfe, spoileth and marreth cleane the intemperate & incontinent person, by making no resistance to his appetites and demands, but letting all ly unfortified, unbard, and unlockt, yeelding easie access and entrance to those that will make assault and give the attempt, who may by great gifts and large offers catch and compass the wickedest natures that be: but surely by perswasions and inductions, and by the meanes withall of this excessive bashfulness, they oftentimes conquer and get the mastery even of such as are of honest and gentle disposition. Here I passe by the detriments and damages that this bashfulness hath beene the cause of, in many matters and that of profite and commoditie: namely, how many men having not the heart to say nay, have put forth and lent their money even to those whose credite they distrust; have beene sureties for such as otherwise they would have beene loth and unwilling to engage themselves for, who can approve and commend this golden sentence (written upon the temple of *Apollo*) Be surety thou maist, but make account then to pay: howbeit, they have not the power to do themselves good by that warning, when they come to deale in the world. And how many have come unto their end and died by the meanes of this foolish qualitie, it were hard to reckon. For *Creon* in *Euripides* when he spake thus unto *Medea*,

*For me Madame, it were much better now  
by fast deniall your minde to discontent;*

*Than having once thus yeelded unto you  
sigh afterwards full sore, and ay repent.*

gave a very good lesson for others to follow; but himselfe overcome at length through his foolish bashfulness, granting one day longer of delay at her request, overthrew his owne state, and his whole house. Some there were also who doubting and suspecting that they were laide for, to be bloodily murdered, or made away by poison, yet upon a foolish modestie not refusing to go into the place of daunger, came to their death and were soone destroyed. Thus died *Dionys*, who notwithstanding hee knew well enough that *Callippus* laide wait for him to take away his life, yet (forsooth) abashed he was to distrust his friend and host, and so to stand upon his guard. This was *Antipater* the sonne of *Cassander* massacred; who having first invited *Demetrius* to supper, was bidden the morrow after to his house likewise; and for that he was abashed to mistrust *Demetrius*, who the day before had trusted him, refused not to go, but after supper he was murdered for his labour. Moreover, when *Polyperchon* had undertaken and promised unto *Cassander* for the summe of one hundred talents to kill *Hercules* (a base sonne of king *Alexander* by lady *Barysne*) he sent and requested the said *Hercules* to sup with him in his lodging, the yong gentleman had no liking at all to such a bidding, but mistrusting and fearing his curtesie, alleged for his excuse that he was not well at ease: whereupon *Polyperchon* came himselfe in person unto him, and in this maner began to perswade: Above all things my good childe (quoth he) studie and endeavour to imitate the humanitie and sociable nature of your noble father, unlesse haply you have me in jealousie and suspition as if I went about to compass your death. The youth was abashed to heare him say so, and went with him; well, supper was no sooner ended, but they made an end of the yong gentleman also, and strangled him outright: so that it is no ridiculous and foolish advertisement (as some let not to say) but a wise and sage advise of *Hesiodus* when he saith;

*Thy friend and lover to supper do invite,*

*Thy foe leave out, for he will thee requite.*

Be not in any wife bashfull and ashamed to refuse his offer whom thou knowest to hate thee: but never leave out and reject him once who seemeth to put his trust and confidence in thee:

for

for if thou do invite, thou shalt be invited againe; and if thou be bidden to a supper and go, thou canst not choofe but bid againe; if thou abandon once thy distrust and diffidence, which is the guard of thy safety, and so marre that good tincture and temperature by a foolish shame that thou hast, when thou darst not refuse.

Seeing then that this infirmirie and maladie of the minde, is the cause of many inconveniences, alway we must to chafe it away with all the might we have by exercise, beginning at the first like as men do in other exercises, with things that are not very difficult, nor such as a man may boldly have the face to denie: as for example, if at a dinner one chance to drinke unto thee, when thou hast drunke sufficiently already; be not abashed to refuse for to pledge him, neither force thy selfe, but take the cup at his hand and set it downe againe on the boord; againe, there is another perchance that amidst his cups chalenge thee to hazzard or to play at dice; be not ashamed to say him nay, neither feare thou although thou receive a flout and scoffe at his hands for deniall: but rather do as *Xenophanes* did, when one *Lafus* the sonne of *Hermiones* called him coward, because he would not play at dice with him: I confesse (quoth he) I am a very dastard in those things that be lewd and naught, and I dare do nothing at all; moreover, say thou fall into the hands of a prating & talkative busie bodie, who catcheth hold on thee, hangeth upon thee and will not let thee go? be not sheepish and bashfull; but interrupt and cut his tale short, shake him off I say, but go thou forward and make an end of thy businesse whereabout thou wentest: for such refusals, such repulses, shifts and evasions in small matters, for which men cannot greatly complaine of us, exercising us not to blush and be ashamed when there is no cause, do inure and frame us well before-hand unto other occasions of greater importance. And heere in this place, it were not amisse to call unto remembrance a speech of *Demosthenes*: for when the Athenians being solicited and moved to send aid unto *Harpalus*, were so forward in the action, that they had put themselves in armes against king *Alexander*, all on a sodaine they discovered upon their owne coasts *Philoxenus*, the lieutenant generall of the kings forces, and chiefe admirall of his Armada at sea: now when the people were so astonied upon this unexpected occurrence, that they had not a word to say for very feare: What wilt these men do (quoth *Demosthenes*) when they shall see the sunne, who are so afraid that they dare not looke against a little lampe; even so I say to thee that art given much to blush and be abashed: What wilt thou be able to do in weightie affaires, namely, when thou shalt be encountered by a king; or if the bodie of some people or state be earnest with thee to obtaine ought at thy hand that is unreasonable? when thou hast not the heart to refuse for to pledge a familiar friend if he chance to drinke unto thee & offer thee a cup of wine? or if thou canst not find meanes to escape and wind thy selfe out of the company of a babling busie bodie, that hath fastened and taken hold of thee, but suffer such a vaine prating fellow as this to walke and leade thee at his pleasure up and downe, having not so much power as to say thus unto him: I will see you againe hereafter at some other time, now I have no leasure to talke with you.

Over and besides, the exercise and use of breaking your selves of this bashfulnesse in praising others for small and light matters, will not be unprofitable unto you; as for example: Say, that when you are at a feast of your friends, the harper or minstrell do either play or sing out of tune; or haply an actour of a Comedie, dearly hired for a good piece of money, by his ill grace in acting, marre the play and disgrace the authour himselfe *Menander*, and yet nevertheless, the vulgar sort doe applaud, clap their hands, and highly commend and admire him for his deed: in mine advice it would be no great paine or difficulty for thee to give him the hearing with patience and silence, without praising him after a servile and flattering maner, otherwise than you thinke it meet and reason: for if in such things as these, you be not master of your selfe, how will you be able to hold, when some deare friend of yours shall reade unto you either some foolish time or bad poeise that himselfe hath composed? if he shal shew unto you some oration of his owne foolish and ridiculous penning? you will fall a praising of him, will you? you will keepe a clapping of your hands with other flattering jacks? I would not els. And if you doe so, how can you reprove him when he shall commit some grosse fault in greater matters? how shall you be able to admonish him, if the chance to forget himselfe in the administration of some magistracie or in his carriage in wedlocke, or in politike government? And verily, for mine owne part, I do not greatly allow and like of that answer of *Pericles*, who being requested by a friend to beare false witness in his behalfe, and to binde the same with an oath, whereby he should be forsworne: I am your friend (quoth he) as far as the altar; as if he should have said: Saving my conscience and duty to the gods: for surely he was come too neere already unto him. But he,

who

who hath accustomed himselfe long before, neither to praise against his owne minde, one who hath made an oration, nor to applaud unto him who hath sung, nor to laugh heartily at him who came out with some stale or poore jest which had no grace; hee will (I trow) never suffer his friend and familiar to proceed so farre, as to demand such a request of him, or once be so bolde as to move him (who before had refused in smaller trifies to satisfie his desire) in this maner: Be perjured for me; beare false witness for my sake; or pronounce an unjust sentence for the love of me.

After the same maner we ought to be prepared and provided before-hand against those that be instant to borrow money of us, namely, if we have bene used to deny them in matters that neither be of great moment nor hard to be refused. There was one upon a time, who being of this mind, that there was nothing so honest as to crave and receive, begged of *Archelaus* the king of *Macedonie* (as he sate at supper) the cup of golde whereout he drunke himselfe; the king called unto his page that waited at his trencher, and commanded him to give the said cup unto *Euripides*, who sat at the boord; and withall, casting his eye wistly upon the party who craved it: As for you sir (quoth he) worthy you are for your asking to go without; but *Euripides* deserves to have, though he do not crave. A woorthy speech, importing thus much, that the judgement of reason ought to be the best master and guide to direct us in our gifts and free liberality, and not bashfulnesse and shame to denie. But wee contrariwise, neglecting and despising many times those that be honest and modest persons, yea, our very familiar friends, who have need of our helpe, and seeme to requite the same, are ready to bestow our bounty upon such as incessantly importune us with their impudent craving, not for any affection that we have to pleasure them, but because we can not finde in our heart to say them nay. Thus did king *Antigonus* the elder to *Bias*, after he had bene a long time an importunate begger: Give this *Bias* (quoth he) a talent, for me thinks he will have it perforce: and yet this *Antigonus*, of all princes and kings that ever were, had the best grace and most dexterity to put by, and thrust off such unreasonable beggers: for when a beggerly Cynicall Philosopher craved once at his hands a drachme: It is not for a king (quoth he) to give a drachme: Why then (quoth the other againe) give me a talent: Neither is it meet (quoth the king) for a Cynick to receive a talent. *Diogenes* as he walked otherwiles along the *Ceranicum* (that is, a street in *Athens*, where stood erected the statues of worthy personages) would aske almes of those images; and when some marvelled at him therefore: I do it (quoth he) to learne how to take a repulse and deniall. Semblably, we ought first to be trained in small matters, and to exercise our selves in denying slight requests unto such as would seeme to demand and have at our hands that which is not fit and require, to the end that we may not be to seeke for an answer when we would denie them in matters of greater importance: for as *Demosthenes* was wont to say: He who hath spent and bestowed that which he had otherwise than he should, will never employ those things which he hath, not as he ought, if peradventure he should be furnished againe therewith. And looke how often we doe faile, and be wanting in honest things, and yet abound in superfluities, it is a signe that we are in a great fault, and many waies shame groweth to us by that meanes.

Moreover, so it is, that this excessive bashfulnesse is not onely a bad and undiscereet steward to lay out and disperse our money, but also to dispose of our serious affaires and those of great consequence, wherein it will not admit the advice and counsell that reason giveth; for oftentimes it falleth out, that when we be sicke, we send not for the best and most expert Physicians, in respect of some friend, whom we favour and reverence so, as we are loth to doe otherwise than he would advise us: likewise wee chuse for masters and teachers of our children, not those alwaies who are best and meetest, but such as make sure and meanes unto us to be entertained; yea, and many times, when we have a cause to be tried in the law, we chuse not alwaies the most sufficient & expert Advocates or Barristers for our counsel to plead for us; but for to gratifie some of some familiar friend or kinsman of our owne, we commit the cause to him for to practise and learne to plead in court to our great cost and losse. To conclude we may see manie of those that make profession of Philosophy, to wit, Epicureans, Stoicks, and others, how they follow this or that sect, not upon their owne judgement and election; but for that they were importuned by some of their kinsfolke or friends thereto, whom they were loth to denie. Come on then, let us long before be exercised against such grosse faults in vulgar, final & common occasions of this life; as for example, let us breake our selves from using either a barber to trim us, or a painter to draw our picture, for to satisfie the appetite of our foolish shamefacednesse; from lo:ging also in some bad Inne or Hostellie where there is a better neere at hand,

hand, because haply our host the goodman of the house hath oftentimes saluted us kindly; but rather make we a custome of it, (although there be but small difference and odds between one and another) alwaies to chuse the better: and like as the Pythagoreans observed evermore precisely not to crosse the right legge with the left, neither to take an odde number for an even, though otherwise all things else were equal and indifferent; even so are we to draw this into an ordinarie practise, that when we celebrate any solemne sacrifice, or make a wedding dinner, or some great feast, we invite not him, who is wont with reverence to give us the gentle greeting and good morrow, or who seeing us a great way off useth to runne unto us, rather than him whom we know to be an honest man and a well-willer of ours; for whosoever is thus inured and exercised long before, shall be hardly caught and surpris'd; nay rather he shall never be once assailed and set upon in weightie matters. And thus much may suffice as touching exercise and custome.

Moreover to come unto other profitable instructions which we have gathered for this purpose, the principall in mine advice is this, which sheweth & teacheth us, that all the passions and maladies of the minde be ordinarily accompanied with those inconveniences which we would seeme to avoid by their meanes: as for example, ambition and desire of honor hath commonly attending upon it dishonor; paine usually followeth the love of pleasures; labour and travell ensueth upon ease and delicacie; repulse, overthrowes, and condemnations are the ends that ensue daily upon those that are given to be litigious, contentious, and desirous to cast, foile, and conquer others; sensibly it hapneth unto excessive bashfulness, which seeming to be and shun the smoke of blame, casteth it selfe into the very fire and flame of infamie. For those who be abashed to gaine say and denie them, who importune them unreasonably, and will take no nay in things unjust, are constrained afterwards to beare both shame and blame at their hands who justly call them to their answer and accuse them woorthily; and whilst they feare some light checke or private rebuke, many times they are faine to incurre and susteine open disgrace and reproch: for being abashed to denie a friend who craveth to borrow money, as being loth to say they have none, within a while after (with shame enough) they blush, when they shal be convinced to have had none; and having promised to asist and stand to some who have suit in law, by that meanes are forced to contend with others, and afterwards being ashamed thereof, are driven to hide their heads and flie out of the way. Also there be many whom this foolish modestie hath caused to enter into some disadvantageous promise as touching the marriage either of daughter or sister, and being entangled therewith have beene constrained afterwards upon change of minde to breake their word and faile in their promise; as for him who said in old time, that all the inhabitants of *Asia* served as slaves unto one man; for that they knew not how to pronounce one only negative syllable, that is, No; he spake not in earnest but by way of bourd, and was disposed to jest: but surely these bashfull persons may if they list without one word spoken, by knitting and bending their browes onely, or nodding downward to the ground, avoid and escape many offices and absurd inconveniences, which oftentimes they do unwillingly and onely upon importunitie. For as *Euripides* said very well,

*Wise men do know how things to take:*

*And of silence an answer to make.*

And haply we have more cause to take that course with such as be senselesse and unreasonable: for to those who be honest, sensible, and of more humanitie, we need not feare to make excuse and satisfie them by word of mouth. And for this purpose it were not amisse to be furnished with many answers and notable apothegmes of great and famous persons in times past; and to have them ready at hand to allege against such importunate & impudent fellows. Such was that saying of *Phocion* to *Anipater*: You can not have me to be your friend and a flatterer to; likewise the answer which he made unto the Athenians, who were earnest with him to contribute and give somewhat toward the charges of solemnizing a great feast, and withall applauded and clapped their hands: It were a shame (quoth he) that I should give any thing over and above unto you, and not to pay that which I owe to him yonder, pointing therewith to *Callicles* the usurer; for as *Thucydides* said; It is no shame to confesse and acknowledge povertie; but more shamefull it is indeed not to avoid and eschew it. But he who by reason of a faint, feeble, and delicate heart dare not for foolish shame answer thus unto one that demaundeth to borrow money,

*My friend, I have in house or purse  
No silver white, for to disburse.*

and then suffreth to passe out of his mouth a promise (as it were) an earnest pennie or pawne of assurance,

*Is tied by foot with fetters not of brasse*

*Or you wrought, but shame, and cannot paye.*

But *Perseus* when he lent looth a summe of money to one of his familiar friends and acquaintance, went into the open market place to passe the contract at the very banke or table of exchangers and usurers; being mindfull of that rule and precept of the Poet *Hesiodus*, which teacheth us in these words,

*How ever thou laugh with brother more or lesse,*

*With him make no contract without witnesse.*

now when his friend marvelled hereat and said; How now *Perseus*, so formally and according to law? Yea (quoth he) because I would receive my money againe of you friendly, & not require it by comte and suit of law. For many there be, who at the first upon a kinde of foolish modestie, are abashed to call for assurance & securitie, but afterward be forced to proceed by order of law, & so make their friends their enemies. Againe, *Cato* lending commendatory letters unto *Deniu* the Tyrant, in the behalfe and favour of one *Heliconus Cysicena*, as of a kind, modest, and courteous person, subscribed in manner of a post-date under his letter thus: That which you read above, take it as written in the commendation of a man, that is to say, of a living creature by nature mutable. Contrariwise *Xenocrates*, although he were otherwise in his behaviour austere, yet being overcome and yielding to a kind of foolish modestie of his owne, recommended in his letters unto *Polyperchon*, a man of no worth or qualitie, as it proved afterwards by the sequell: Now when as that Macedonian Lord bade the partie welcome, and friendly gave him his hand, and withall used some words of course and complement, demaunding whether he had neede of ought, and bidding him call for what he would; he made no more ado but craved a whole talent of silver at his hands; which *Polyperchon* caused presently indeed to be weighed out unto him; but he dispatched his letters withall unto *Xenocrates* to this effect: That from thenceforth he should be more circumspect, and consider better whom he recommended unto him: and verily, herein onely was the error of *Xenocrates*, for that he knew not the man for whom he wrote: but we oftentimes knowing well enough that they be leawd and naughty persons, yet are verie forward with our commendatorie letters; yea and that which more is, our purse is open unto them; we are ready to put money into their hands to our owne hinderance and damage; not with any pleasure that we take, nor upon affection unto them, as they do, who bestow their silver upon court-fanes, pleasers, and flatterers to gratifie them; but as displeased and discontented with their impudencie, which overturneth our reason, upside downe, and forceth us to do against our owne judgement, in such sort, that if ever there were cause besides, we may by good reason say unto these bold and shamelesse beggers, that thus take vantage of our bashfulness:

*I see that I must for your sake,*

*Leawd courses ever undertake.*

namely, in bearing false witness; in pronouncing wrong judgement; in giving my voice at any election for an unworthie and unmeet person; or in putting my money into his hands, whom I know insufficient, and who will never repay it. And therefore of all passions, this leawd and excessive modestie is that, which is accompanied presently with repentance, and hath it not following afterwards as the rest: for at the verie instant when we give away our money, we grieve; when we beare such witness, we blush; when we asist them and set to our helping hand, we incurre infamie; and if wee furnish them not with that which they require, wee are convinced as though we were not able. And forasmuch as our weaknesse is such, that we cannot denie them simply that which they would have; we undertake and promise many times unto those who do importune & ly upon us uncessantly, even those things that we are not able to copasse & make good; as namely, our commendatorie letters for to finde favour in princes courts; to be mediators for them unto great titlers and governors, and to talke with them about their causes, as being neither willing nor so hardie as thus to say; The king knoweth not us; hee regardeth others more, and you were better go to such and such. After this manner, when *Lyfander* had offended king *Agelamus* and incurred his heavy displeasure, and yet was thought woorthie to be chiefe in credit above all those that were about him, in regard of the great opinion and reputation that men had of him for his noble acts, he never bathed to repell and put backe those letters that came unto him, making excuse and bidding them to go unto others, and assay them, who



were in greater credit with the king than himselfe. For it is no shame not to be able to effect all things, but for a man to be driven upon a foolish modestie to enterprife such matters, as he is neither able to compasse nor meet to mannage; besides that it is shamefull, I hold it also a right great corrosive to the heart.

But now to goe unto another principle, we ought willingly and with a ready heart to doe pleasure unto those that request at our hands such things as be meet and reasonable; nor as forced thereto by a rustickall feare of shame, but as yielding unto reason and equity. Contrariwise, if their demands be hurtfull, absurd, and without all reason, we ought evermore to have the saying of *Zeno* in readinesse, who meeting with a yoong man one of his acquaintance, walking close under the towne wall secretly as if he would not be seene; asked of him the cause of his being there, and understanding by him that it was because he would avoide one of his friends; who had bene earnest with him to beare false witness in his behalfe: What saist thou (quoth *Zeno*) for that thou art? Was thy friend so bold and shamelesse to require that of thee which is unreasonable, unjust and hurtfull unto thee? And dar'st thou not stand against him in that which is just and honest? For whose sake was that said,

*A crooked wedge is fit to cleave  
a knotted knurrie tree,  
It will be seemes against leawd folke  
with lewdnesse arms to be.*

teacheth us an ill lesson, to learne to be naught our selves, when we would be revenged of naughtyne. But such as repulse those who impudently and with a shamelesse face doe molest and trouble them, not suffering themselves to be overcome with shamefacednesse, but rather shame to graunt unto shamelesse beggers those things that be shameful, are wise men and well advised, doing herein that which is right and just. Now as touching those importunate and shamelesse persons, who otherwise are but obscure, base and of no worth, it is of no great matter to resist them when they be troublesome unto us. And some there be who make no more ado but shitt them off with laughter or a scoffe: like as *Theocritus* served twaine who would seeme to borrow of him his rubber or currying combe in the verie baine; of which two, the one was a meere stranger unto him, the other he knew well enough for an notorious theefe: I know not you (quoth he) to the one; and to the other, I know what you are well enough; and so he sent them both away with a meere frumpe. *Lyfiasche* the priestesse of *Minerva* in *Athens*, surnamed *Polaris*, that is, the patronesse of the citie; when certaine Muleters who brought sacrifices unto the temple, called unto her for to powre them out drinke freely: No (quoth she) my good friends, I may not do so, for feare you will make a custome of it.

*Anigonus* had under him in his retinue a yoong gentleman, whose father in times past had bene a good warrior, and lead a band or company of souldiours, but himselfe was a very coward, and of no service; and when he succ unto him (in regard of his birth) to be advanced unto the place of his father, late deceased: Yoong man (quoth he) my maner is to recompense and honour the prowess and manhood of my souldiours, and not their good parentage. But if the party who assaileth our modesty, be a noble man, of might and authority (and such kinde of persons of all other will most hardly endure a repulse, and be put off with a deniall or excuse, and namely, in the case of giving sentence or award in a matter of judgement, or in a voice at the election of magistrates) peradventure it may be thought neither easie nor necessarie to doe that which *Cato* sometimes did, being then but of yoong yeeres, unto *Catulus*; now this *Catulus* was a man of exceeding great authoritie among the Romans, and for that time bare the Censureship, who came unto *Cato*, (then Lord high treasurer of *Rome* that yeere) as a mediator and intercessour for one, who had bene condemned before by *Cato* in a round fine, pressing and importuning him so hard with earnest prayer and entreaty, that in the end *Cato* seeing how urgent and unreasonable he was, and not able to endure him any longer, was forced to say thus unto him: You would thinke it a foule disgrace and shame for you *Catulus*, Censour as you are, since you will not receive an answer and be gone, if my sergeants and officers here should take you by the head and shoulders, and send you away: with that, *Catulus* being abashed and ashamed, departed in great anger and discontentment. But consider rather and see, whether the answer of *Agellus* and that which *Themistocles* made, were not more modest, and favoured of greater humanity: for *Agellus*, when his own father willed him to give sentence in a certain cause that was brought before him, against all right, and directly contrary to the lawes: Father (quoth he) your selfe have taught me from my very child-hood to obey the lawes; I will be therefore obedient

ent still to your good precepts, and passe no judgement against law. As for *Themistocles*, when as *Simonides* seemed to request of him somewhat which was unjust and unlawful: Neither were you *Simonides* (quoth he) a good Poet, if you should not keepe time and number in your song, nor I a good Magistrate, if I should judge against the law. And yet (as *Plato* was wont to say) it is not for want of due proportion betweene the necke and body of the lute, that one citie is at variance with another citie, and friends fall out and be at difference, doing what mischief they can one to another, and suffering the like againe; but for this rather, that they offend and faile in that which concerneth law and justice. Howbeit, you shall have some, who themselves observing the precise rules most exactly according to art in Musick, in Grammaticall orthographic, and in the Poeticall quantitie of syllables and measures of feet, can be in hand with others, and request them to neglect and forget that which they ought to do in the administration of government, in passing of judgements, and in their other actions. And therefore with such as these be, I would have you take this course which I will now tell you: Is there an Advocate or Rhetorician that doth importune you sitting as judge upon the bench? or is there an Orator that troubleth you with an unreasonable sute as you sit in counsell? grant them both, that which they request, upon condition that the one in the entrie of his plea will commit a solecisme or incongruity, and the other in the beginning of his narration come out with some barbarisme: but it is all to nothing, that they will never do so, it would be thought such a shame; and in very truth, we see that some of them are so fine eared, that they can not abide in a speech or sentence that two vowels should come together: againe, Is he one of the nobilitie, or a man of honour and authoritie, that troubleth you with some dishonest sute? will him likewise for your sake to passe thorow the market place hopping and dancing, making mowes, and wriking his mouth; but if he denie so to doe, then have you good occasion and fit opportunity to come upon him with this revie, and demand of him; whether of the twaine be more dishonest? to make incongruity in speech, and to make mowes, and set the mouth awry; or to breake the lawes, commit perjury, and beside all right, equitie and conscience, to award and adjudge more unto the leawd and wicked, than to good and honest persons. Moreover, like as *Nicostratus* the Argive answered unto *Archidamus*, who sollicitized him with a good summe of money (promising him besides in marriage what Lady he would himselfe chuse in all *Lacedaemon*) to betray and render up by treason the towne *Cromcum*: I see well (quoth he) *Archidamus*, that you are not descended from the race of *Hercules*, for that he travelled thorow the world, killing wicked persons whom he had vanquished, but your study is to make them wicked who are good and honest; even so we ought to say unto him, who would bee thought a man of worth and good make, and yet cometh to prelle and force us to commit those deeds which are not befitting, that he doth that which becometh not his nobility or opinion of vertue.

Now if they be meane and bale persons to account, who shall thus tempt you, go this way to worke with such: If he be a covetous miser, and one that loveth his money too well, see and trie whether you can induce and perswade him by all importunity to credit you with a talent of silver upon your bare word, without schedule, obligation or specialtie for his security; or if he be an ambitious and vaine-glorious person; trie if you can prevaile with him so much, as to give you the upper hand or higher seat in publicke place; or if he be one that desireth to beare rule and office; assay him, whether he will give over his possibilitie that he hath to such a magistracie, especially when he is in the ready way to obtaine it? Certes, we may well thinke it a very strange and absurd thing, that such as they in their vices and passions should stand and continue so stiffe, so resolute and so hard to be removed; and we who professe and would be reputed honest men, lovers of vertue, justice and equity, can not be masters of our selves, but suffer vertue to be subverted, and cast it at our heeles. For if they who by their importunity urge our modestie, doe it either for their owne reputation or their authoritie, it were absurd and beside the purpose, for us to augment the honour, credit and authority of another, and to dishonour, discredit and disgrace our selves; like unto those, who be in an ill name, and incur the obloquie of the world, who either in publicke and solemne games defraude those of the prizes and rewards who have achieved victory, or who at the election of magistrates, deprive those of their right of suffrages and voices to whom it doth belong, for to gratifie others that deserve it not, thereby to procure to the one sort, the honour of sitting in high places, and to the other the glory of wearing coronets, and so by doing pleasure unto others, falsifie their owne faith, defame themselves, and lose the opinion and reputation they had of honesty and good conscience. Now if we see that it is for his owne lucre and gaine, that any one urge us beyond all reason to do a thing; how is it

that we doe not presently consider, that it is absurd and without all sence to hazzard and put to comprinise (as it were) our owne reputation and vertue for another man, to the end that the pursle of some one (I know not who) should thereby be more weightie and heauie?

But certainly many there be unto whom such considerations as these are presented, and who are not ignorant that they tread aside and do amisse; much like to them, who being challenged to drinke off great bolles full of wine, take paines to pledg them with much ado, even so long till their cies be ready to start out of their heads, changing their countenance, and paining for want of winde, and all to pleasure those that put them to it. But surely this feeblenes of minde and faint heart of theirs, resembleth the weake constitution and temperature of the bodie, which cannot away either with scorching heat or chilling cold. For be they praised by those who set upon them thus impudently, they are ready to leape out of their skins for joy; and say they doubt for to be accused, checked, rebuked or suspected, if haply they deny, then they are ready to die for woe and feare. But we ought to be well defended & fortified against the one & the other, that we yeeld neither to them that terrifie us, nor to those that flatter us. *Thucydides* verily supposing it impossible for one to be great or in high place & not enuid, saith, That the ma is well advised & led by good counsell who stooreth at the greatest & highest affaires, if he must be subject unto envie. For mine owne part, thinking as I do, that it is no hard matter to escape envie, but to avoid all complaints & to keepe our selves from being molested by some one or other that conuerse with us & keepe our company, a thing impossible: I suppose it good counsell for us, & the best thing we can do for our owne safetie, to incurre rather the ill will and displeasure of leaud, importunate, and unreasonable people, than of those who have just cause to blame and accuse us, if against all right and justice we satisfie their minds and be ready to do them service and pleasure: as for the praises and commendations which proceed from such leawd & shamelesse persons, being as they are in every respect counterfeite and fopishlicall, we ought to beware and take heed of; neither must we suffer our selves as swine to be rubbed, scratched, or tickled, and all the whiles stand still and gently, letting them do with us what they will, untill they may with ease lay us all along, when we have once yeilded to be so handled at their pleasure: for surely they that give care to flatterers, differ in no respect from those who set out their legs of purpose to be supplanted and to have their heeles tripped up from under them; save onely in this, that those are woofe foiled and catch the more shamefull fall, I meane as well such as remit punishment to naughtie persons, because forsooth they love to be called mercitull, milde and gentle; as those on the contrary side, who being perswaded by such as praise them, do submit themselves to enmities and accusations needlesse, but yet perilous; as being borne in hand & made beleve they were the onely men, & such alone as stood invincible against all flatterie, yea and those whom they sliche not to tearme their very mouthes & voices; and therefore *Bion* likened them most aptly to vessels that had two eares, for that they might be caried so easily by the eares which way a man would: like as it is reported of one *Aleximus* a Sophister, who upon a time as he walked with others in the gallerie *Peripatos*, spake all that naught was of *Stilpo* the *Megarean*: & when one of the company said unto him, What meane you by this, considering that of late & no longer since than the other day, he gave out of you al the good that may be: I wol we (quoth he) for hee is a right honest gentleman, and the most courtoous person in the worlde. Contrariwise *Menedemus* when he heard that *Aleximus* had praised him many a time; But I (quoth he) do never speake well of *Aleximus*; & therefore a bad man he must needs be, that either praiseth a naughty person, or is dispraised of an honest man. So hard it was to turn or catch him by any such meanes, as making use, and practising that precept which *Hercules* *Attithemus* taught his children, when hee admonished and warned them that they should never call those thanke who praised them: and this was nothing else, but not to suffer a mans selfe to be overcome by foolish modestie, nor to flatter them againe who praised him. For this may suffice in mine opinion which *Pindarus* answered upon a time to one who said unto him: That in euery place and to all men he never ceased to commend him: Grand mercie (quoth he) and I will do this favor unto you againe that you may be a true man of your word, & be thought to have spoken nothing but the truth.

To conclude, that which is good and expedient against all other affections and passions, they ought surely to remember who are easily overcome by this hurtfull modestie, whensoever they giving place soone to the violence of this passion, doe commit a fault and tread away against their minde: namely to call to remembrance the markes and prints of remorse and repentance sticking fast in their minde, and to repent efsouones and keepe the same a long time.

For

For like as waifaring men, after they have once stumbled upon a stone; or pilots at sea when they have once split their ship upon a rocke and suffred shipwracke, if they call those accidents to remembrance, for ever after doe feare and take heed not onely of the same, but of such like; even so they that set before their cies continually the dishonours and damages which they have received by this hurtfull and excessive modestie, and represent the same to their minde once wounded and bitten with remorse and repentance, will in the like afterwards reclaime themselves, and not so easily another time be perverted and seduced out of the right way.



## OF BROTHERLY LOVE OR AMITIE.

### The Summarie.

**A** Man should have profited but badly in the schoole of vertue, if endeavouring to carry himselfe honestly toward his friends and familiars, yea and his verie enemies, he continue still in euill demeanor with his owne brethren, unto whom he is joined naturally, by the straightest line and linke that can be devised. But for that ever since the beginning of the world, this proverbiall sentence from time to time hath bene current and found true; that the Unitie of Brethren is a rare thing: *Plutarch* after he had complained in the *reuerence* of this little booke, that such a maladie as this, raigned mightily in his time goeth about afterwards to apply a remedie thereto. And to this effect he sheweth, that since brotherly amitie is 30 taught and prescribed by nature, those who love not their brethren, be blackish, unnatural, enemies to their owne selves; yea, and the greatest Atheists that may be found. And albeit the obligation wherein we are bound to our parents, amounteth to so high a summe as we are never able fully to discharge; he prooveth notwithstanding, that brotherly love may stand for one verie good payment toward that debt: whereupon he concludeth, that hatred betwene brethren ought to be banished; for that if it once creepe in and get betweene, it will be a verie hard matter to reioine and reconcile them againe. Afterwards he teacheth a readie and compendious way, how a man ought to manage and use a brother ill disposed. In what manner brethren should carrie themselves one to another, both during the life of their father and also after his decease; discoursing at large upon the dutie of those who are the elder or higher advanced in other respects; as also what they should doe, who are the younger; 40 namely, that as they are not equall to their other brethren in yeeres, so they be their inferiours in place of honor and in wealth; likewise what meanes as well the one as the other are to follow, for to avoid envie and jealousy. Which done, he teacheth brethren who in age come verie neere, their natural dutie and kindnesse that they ought to shew one unto another; to which purpose he produceth proper examples of brotherly amitie among the Pagans: In the ende, since he cannot possibly effect thus much, that brethren should evermore accord well together, he setteth downe what counse they are to take in their differences and disagreements; and how their friends ought to be common betweene them; and for a final conclusion, he treateth of that honest care and 50 respectue regard one of another that they ought to have, and especially of their kinsefolke, which he enricheth with two other notable examples.

## OF BROTHERLY LOVE or amitie.



These ancient statues representing the two brethren *Castor* and *Pollux*, the inhabitants of the citie *Sparta*, were wont in their language to call *Siagras*. And two parallell pieces of timber they are of an equall distance asunder, united and joined together by two other pieces overthwart : now it should seeme, that this was a device fitting verie well and agreeable to the brotherly amitie of the said two gods, for to shew that undivisible union which was betweene them; and even so, I also do offer and dedicate unto you, *o Nigerrimus* and *Quintus*, this little treatise as touching the amitie of brethren, a gift common unto you both as those who are woorthie of the same:

for seeing, that of your owne accord you practise that already, which it teacheth and exhorteth unto, you shall be thought not so much to be admonished thereby, as by your example to confirme and testifie the same which therein is delivered; and the joy which you shall conceive to see that approved and commended which your selves do, shall give unto your judgement a farther assurance to continue therein; as if your actions were allowed and praised by vertuous and honest beholders of the same.

*Aristarchus* verily, the father of *Theodectes*, scoffing at the great number of those Sophisters or counterfeite sages in his daies, said : That in old time hardly could be found seven wise men throughout the world; but in our daies (quoth he) much ado is to finde so many fooles or ignorant persons. But I may verie well and truly saie : That I see in this age wherein we live, the amitie of brethren to be as rare, as their hatred was in times past. The examples wherof being so few as they were among our auncests, were thought by men in those daies living, notable arguments to furnish Tragedies and Theaters with, as matters verie strange and in a manner fabulous. But contrariwise, all they that live in this age if haply they meete with two brethren, that be good and kind one to another, wonder and marvell thereat as much as if they saw those *Molionides* (of whom *Homer* speaketh) whose bodies seemed to grow together in one : and as incredible and miraculous doe they thinke it, that brethren should live in common the partition, goods, friends and slaves which their fathers left behind unto them, as if one and the same soule alone ruled the feet, hands and eies of two bodies. And yet nature herselfe hath set downe a lively example of that mutuall behaviour and carriage that ought to be among brethren, and the same not farre off, but even within our owne bodies, wherein she hath framed and devised for the most part those members double, and as a man would say, brethren-like and twinnes, which be necessarie, to wit, two hands, two feet, two eies, two eares, and two nose thrills; shewing thereby, that she hath thus distinguished them all, not onely for their naturall health and safetie, but also for a mutuall and reciprocall helpe, and not for to quarrell and fight one with another. As for the hands when she parted them into many fingers, and those of unequal length and bignesse, she hath made them of all other organically parts, the most proper artificious and workmanlike instruments; inasmuch as that ancient Philosopher *Alexander* ascribed the verie cause of mans wisdom and understanding unto the hands. Howbeit, the contrarie unto this should seeme rather to be true; for man was not the wisest of all other living creatures in regard of his hands, but because by nature being endued with reason, given to be wittie and capable of arts and sciences, he was likewise naturally furnished with such instruments as these. Moreover, this is well known unto everie man, that nature hath formed of one and the same seed, as of one principle of life, two, three, and more brethren; not to the end that they should be at debate and variance, but that being apart and asunder, they might the better and more commodiously helpe one another. For those men with three bodies and a hundred armes apiece, which the Poets describe unto us (if ever there were any such) being joined and grown together in all their parts, were not able to doe any thing at all when they were parted asunder, or as it were, without themselves: which brethren can doe well enough, namely, dwell and keepe within house and go abroad together, meddle in affaires of State, exercise husbandrie and tillage one with another, in case they preferre and keepe well that principle of amity

and benevolence which nature hath given them. For otherwise they should (I suppose) nothing differ from those feet which are readie to trip or supplant one another, and cause them to catch a fall : or they should resemble those hands and fingers which enfolded and claspe one another untowardly against the course of nature. But rather according as in one and the same bodie, the cold, the hot, the drie, and the moist, participating likewise in one and the same nature and nourishment, if they doe accord and agree well together, engender an excellent temperature and most pleasant harmonie, to wit, the health of the bodie, without which, neither all the wealth of the world, as men say,

*Nor power of roiall majestie,  
Which equall is to deitie.*

have any pleasure, grace or profit: but in case these principall elements of our life, covet to have more than their just proportion, and thereupon breake out into a kind of civill sedition, seeking one to surcrease and over-grow another, soone there ensueh a filthy corruption and confusion which overthroweth the state of the bodie and the creature it selfe; fembly, by the concord of brethren, the whole race and house is in good case and flourisheth, the friends and familiars belonging to them (like a melodious quire of musicians) make a sweet content and harmonie: for neither they doe, nor say nor thinke any thing that jarreth or is contrarie one to the other,

*Where as in discord such an taking part,  
The worse oft soones do speed, whiles better smart.*

to wit, some ill-tongued varlet and pickthanke carrie-tale within the house, or some flattering claw-backe coming betweene, and entring into the house, or else some envious and malicious neighbour in the citie. For like as diseases do ingender in those bodies which neither receive nor stand well affected to their proper & familiar nourishment, many appetites of strange and hurtfull meates; even so, a slanderous calumpny of jealousie being gotten once among those of a blood & kindred, doth draw and bring withall evil words and naughtie speeches, which from without are alwaies readie enough to runne thither where as a breach lieth open, and where there is some fault already. That divine master and soothsayer of *Arcadie*, of whom *Herodotus* writeth, when he had lost one of his owne naturall feet, was forced upon necessitie to make himselfe another of wood: but a brother being fallen out and at warre with a brother, and constrained to get some stranger to be his companion, either out of the market place and common hall of the citie as he walketh there, or from the publike place of exercise, where he useth to behold the wrestlers and others; in my conceit doth nothing else but willingly cut-off a part or limbe of his owne bodie made of flesh, and engrafted fast unto him, for to let another in the place which is of another kinde and altogether a stranger. For even necessitie it selfe which doth entertaine, approve and seeke for friendship and mutuall acquaintance, teacheth us to honor, chearish and preserve that which is of the same nature and kind; for that without friends societie and fellowship we are not able to live solitarie and alone as most savage beasts, neither will our nature endure it: and therefore in *Menander* he saith very well and wisely:

*By jolly cheere and bankers day by day,  
Thinke we to finde (of asher) trustie friends,  
To whom our selves and life commit we may?  
No speciall thing for cost to make amends;  
I found he hath, who by that means hath met  
With shade of friends; for such I come no bet.*

For to say a truth, mozt of our friendships be but shadowes, semblances and images of that first amitie, which nature hath imprinted and engrafted in children toward their parents, in brethren toward their brethren: and he who doth not reverence nor honor it, how can he perswade and make strangers believe that he beareth found and faithfull good will unto strangers. Or what mar is he who in his familiar greetings and salutations, or in his letters, will call his friend and companion Brother, and can not finde in his heart so much as to go with his brother in the same way? For as it were a point of great folly and madnesse, to adorne the statue of a brother, and in the meane time to beat and maime his bodie; even so, to reverence and honor the name of a brother in others, and withall to shun, hate and disdain a brother indeed, were the case of one that were out of his wits, and who never conceived in his heart and minde, that Nature is the most sacred and holy thing in the world. And heere in this place, I can not choose but call to minde, how at *Rome* upon a time I tooke upon me to be umpier betweene two brethren, when

whom the one seemed to make profession of Philosophie; but he was (as after it appeared) not onely untruly entitled by the name of a Brother; but also as falsely called a Philosopher: for when I requested of him that he should carrie himselfe as a Philosopher toward his brother, and such a brother as altogether was unlettered and ignorant: In that you say (ignorant quoth he) I hold well with you, and I avow it a trueth; but as for Brother, I take it for no such great and venerable matter, to have sprung from the same loines, or to have come forth of one wombe. Well (said I againe) It appeares that you make no great account to issue out of the same natural members; but all men else besides you, if they doe not thinke and imagine so in their hearts; yet I am sure they doe both sing and say that Nature first, and then Law (which doth preserve and maintaine Nature) have given the chiefe place of reverence and honor next after the gods, unto father and mother; neither can men performe any service more acceptable unto the gods, than to pay willingly, readily and affectionately unto parents who begat and brought them forth, unto nourishes and fosters that reared them up, the interest and usurie for the old thanks, besides the new which are due unto them. And on the other side againe, there is not a more certaine signe & marke of a verie Atheist; than either to neglect parents, or to be any waies ungracious or defective in duty unto them: and therefore whereas we are forbidden in expresse termes by the law, to doe wrong or hurt unto other men: if one doe not behave himselfe to father and mother both in word and deed, so as they may have (I do not say no discontentment and displeasure but) joy and comfort thereby, men esteeme him to be profane, godlesse and irreligious. Tell me now, what action, what grace, what disposition of children towards their parents, can be more agreeable and yeeld them greater contentment, than to see good will, kinde affection, fast and assured love betwene brethren? the which a man may easily gather by the contrarie in other smaller matters. For seeing that fathers and mothers be displeased otherwhiles with their sonnes, if they misuse or hardly intreat some home-borne slave whom they set much store by: if I say, they be vexed and angrie, when they see them to make no reckoning & care of their woods and grounds wherein they tooke some joy and delight; considering also that the good kind-hearted old folke of a gentle and loving affection that they have, be offended if some hound or dog bred up within house, or an horse be not well tended and looked unto; last of all, if they grieve when they perceive their children to mocke, find fault with, or despise the lectures, narrations, sports, fights, wrestlers, and others that exercise fears of activitie, which themselves sometime highly esteemed: Is there any likelihood that they in any measure can indure to see their children hate one another? to entertaine brailes and quarrels continually? to be ever snarling, railing and reviling one another? and in all enterprises and actions alwaies crossing, thwarting and supplanting one another? I suppose there is no man will so say. Then on the contrarie side, if brethren love together and be ready one to do for another; if they draw in one line and carrie the like affection with them: follow the same studies and take the same courses; and how much nature hath divided and separated them in bodie, so much to joine for it againe in minde; lending one another their helping hands in all their negotiations and affaires; following the same exercises; repaire to the same disputations; and frequenting the same plaies, games and pastimes, so as they agree and communicate in all things: certainly this great love and amitie among brethren, must needs yeeld sweet joy and happie comfort to their father and mother in their old age: and therefore parents take nothing so much pleasure, when their children prove eloquent orators, wealthy men, or advanced to promotions and high places of dignities; as loving and kind one to another; like as a man shall never see a father so desirous of eloquence, of riches, or of honor, as he is loving to his owne children. It is reported of Queene *Apollonia* the Cyzicen, mother to King *Eumenes*, and to three other Princes, to wit, *Atalus*, *Philerterus* and *Athenaus*, that shee reputed and reported her selfe to bee right happy, and rendered thanks unto the immortal gods, not for her riches, nor roiall port and majestie; but that it was her good fortune to see those three younger sonnes of hers, serving as Pensioners and Elquiers of the bodie to *Eumenes* their elder brother, and himselfe living fearlessse and in as securitie in the mids of them, standing about his person with their pollaxes, halberds, and partisans in their hands, and girded with swords by their sides. On the other side, King *Xerxes* perceiving, that his sonne *Ochus* set an ambush and laid traines to murder his brethren, died for verie sorrow and anguish of heart. Terrible and grievous are the warres, said *Euripides*, betwene brethren; but unto their parents above all others most grievous; for that whosoever hateth his owne brother, and may not vouchsafe him a good eie and kinde looke, can not choose but in his heart blame the father that begat him, and the mother that bare him. We read that *Pisistratus* married

married his second wife, when his sonnes whom he had by the former were now men grown, saying: That since he saw them prove so good and towardly, he gladly would be the father of many more that might grow up like them; even so, good and loyall children will not onely affect and love one another for their parents sakes, but also love their parents so much the more, in regard of their mutuall kindnesse, as making this account, thinking also and saying thus to themselves; That they are obliged and bounden unto them in many respects, but principally for their brethren, as being the most precious heritage, the sweetest and most pleasant possession that they inherit by them. And therefore *Homer* did verie well, when he brought in *Telemachus* among other calamities of his, reckoning this for one, that he had no brother at all; and saying so thus:

*For Jupiter my fathers race in me alone,  
Now ended hath, and given me brother none.*

As for *Hesiodus* he did not well to with & give advice to have an only begotten sonne, to be the full heire and universall inheritour of a patrimony; even that *Hesiodus* who was the disciple of those Muses, whom men have named *piores*, as it were *pius* ones, for that by reason of their mutual affection and sister-like love they keepe alwaies together. Certes, the amitie of brethren is so respective to parents, that it is both a certaine demonstration that they love father and mother, & also such an example & lesson unto their children to love together, as there is none other like unto it, but contrariwise, they take an ill president to hate their owne brethren from the first originall of their father: for he that liveth continually & waxeth old in suits of law, in quarrels and dissensions with his owne brethren, and afterward shall seeme to preach unto his children for to live friendly & lovingly together, doth as much as he, who according to the common proverbe:

*The sores of others will seeme to heale and cure  
And in himselfe of ulcers full impure.*

and so by his owne deeds doth weaken the efficacye of his words. If then *Eteocles* the Thebane, when he had once said unto his brother *Polynices*, in *Euripides*,

*To starve about sunne-rising would I mount,  
And under earth descend as farre againe,  
By these attempts, if I might make account  
This soveraigne roialtie of gods to gaine.*

should come afterwards againe unto his sonnes, and admonish them

*For to maintaine and honour equall state,  
Which knits friends ay in perfect unitie,  
And keeps those link't who are confederate,  
Preserving cities in league and amitie:  
For nothing more procures securitie,  
In all the world, than doth equalitie.*

who would not mocke him and despise his admonition? And what kinde of man would *Atreus* have bene reputed, if after he had set such a supper as he did before his brother, he should in this manner have spoken sentences and given instruction to his owne children?

*When great mishap and crosse calamitie  
Upon a man is fallen suddenly,  
The onely meed is found by amitie  
Of those whom blood hath joined perfectly.*

Banish therefore we must, and rid away cleane, all hatred from among brethren, as a thing which is a bad nurse to parents in their olde age, and a woofe for tresse to children in their youth; besides, it giveth occasion of slander, calumny and obloquie among their fellow-citizens and neighbours, for thus do men conceive and deeme of it: That brethren having bene nourished and brought up together so familiarly from their very cradle, it can not be that they should fall out and grow to such termes of enmity and hostility, unlesse they were privie one to another of some wicked plots and most mischievous practises. For great causes they must bee, that are able to undoe great friendship and amitie, by means whereof hardly or uneth afterwards they can bee reconciled and surely knit againe. For like as sundry pieces which have bene once artificially joined together by the means of glue or foder, if the joint bee loose or open, may bee rejoined or fodered againe; but if an entire body that naturally is united and grown in one, chauce to bee broken or cut and slit asunder, it will be an hard piece of worke to finde any glew or foder so strong as to reunite the same and make it whole and found,

found, even so those mutuall amities which either for profit or upon some neede were first knit betwene men, happen to cleave and part in twaine, it is an easie matter to reduce them close together; but brethren if they bee once alienated and estranged, so as that the naturall bond of love can not hold them together, hardly will they peece againe or agree ever after: and say they be made friends and brought to attonement, certainly such reconciliation maketh in the former rent or breach an ill favoured and filthy skar, as being alwaies full of jealousie, distrust, and suspition. True it is that all jars and enmities betwene man and man, entering into the heart, together with those passions which be most troublefome and dangerous of all others, to wit, a peevish humor of contention, choler, envie, and remembrance of injuries done and past, do breed griefe, paine, and vexation; but surely that which is fallen betwene brother and brother, who of necessitie are to communicate together in all sacrifices and religious ceremonies belonging to their fathers house, who are to be interred another day in one and the same sepulchre, and live in the meane time otherwhiles under one rooffe, and dwell in the same house, and enjoy possessions, lands, and tenements confining one upon another, doth continually present unto the eie that which tormenteth the heart, it putteth them in minde daily and howely of their follie and madnesse; for by meanes thereof that face and countenance which shoulde bee most sweete, best knowne, and of all other likest, is become most strange hideous, and unpleasant to the eie; that voice which was wont to be even from the cradle friendly and familiar, is now become most fearefull & terrible to the eare; and whereas they see many other brethren cohabit together in one house, sit at one table to take their repast, occupie the same lands, and use the same servants, without dividing them; what a griefe is it, that they thus fallen out, should part their friends, their hostis and guests, and in one word, make all things that be common among other brethren, private, and whatsoever should be familiar & acceptable, to become contrarie & odious? Over and besides, here is another inconvenience and mischief, which there is no man so simple, but he must needs conceive and understand: That ordinary friends and table companions may be gotten and stollen (as it were) from others; alliance and acquaintance there may be had new, if the former be lost, even as armour, weapons and tooles may be repaired, if they be worne, or new made, if the first be gon; but to recover a brother that is lost, it is not possible, no more than to make a new hand, if one be cut away, or to set in another eie in the place of that which is plucked out of the head: and therefore well said that Persian ladie, when she chose rather to save the life of her brethren than of her children: For children (quoth she) I may have more, but since my father and mother be both dead, brother shall I never have.

But what is to be done, will some man say, in case one be matched with a bad brother? First, this we ought evermore to remember, that in all sorts of amities there is to be found some badnesse; and most true is that saying of *Sophocles*:

*Who list to search throughout mankind,*

*More bad than good is sure to finde.*

No kintred there is, no societie, no fellowship, no amitie and love, that can be found sincere, sound, pure and cleare from all faults. The Lacedaemonian who had married a wife of little stature: We must (quoth he) of evils chuse ever the least; even so in mine advice, a man may very well and wisely give counsell unto brethren, to beare rather with the most domesticall imperfections and the infirmities of their owne blood, than to trie those of strangers; for as the one is blamelesse, because it is necessarie, so the other is blame-worthy, for that it is voluntarie: for neither table friend and fellow gamester, nor play-fere of the same age, ne yet host or guest

*Is bound with links (of brass by hand not wrought)*

*Which blame by kinde hath forg'd, and cost us nought,*

but rather that friend, who is of the same blood, who had his nourishment and bringing up with us, begotten of one father, and who lay in the same mothers wombe; unto whom it seemeth that \*Vertue herselfe doth allow connivence and pardon of some faults, so as a man may say unto a brother when he doth a fault,

*Witlesse, sturke nought, yea wretched though thou be,*

*Yet can I not forsake and cast off thee.*

lest that (ere I be well aware) I might seeme in my hatred towards thee, for to punish sharply, cruelly, and unnaturally in thy person, some infirmities or vice of mine owne father or mother in-filled into thee by their feed. As for strangers and such as are not of our blood, we ought not to love first, and afterwards make triall and judgement of them; but first we must trie and then trust and love them afterwards; whereas contrariwise, nature hath not given unto proove and

experience

experience the precedence and prerogative to go before love, neither doth she expect according to that common proverbe; That a man should eate a \*buthell or two of salt with one whom he minded to love and make his friend; but even from our nativitie hath bred in us and with us the very principle and cause of amitie, in which regard we ought not to be bitter unto such, nor to search too neerely into their faults and infirmities.

But what will you say now if contrariwise some there be, who if meere aliens and strangers otherwise, yet if they take a foolish love and liking unto them, either at the taveme or at some game and pastime, or fall acquainted with them at the wrestling or fencing schoole, can be content to winke at their faults, be ready to excuse and justifie them, yea and take delight and pleasure therein; but if their brethren do amisse, they be exceeding rigorous unto them and inexorable; nay, you shall have many such, who can abide to love churlish dogs, & skittish horses, yea and finde in their hearts to feed and make much of fell ounces, shrewd cats, curst unhappie apes, and terrible lions; but they cannot endure the haatie and cholerick humor, the error and ignorance, or some little ambitious humor of a brother. Others againe there be, who unto their concubines and harlots will not sticke to assigne over and passe away goodly houses and faire lands lying thereto; but with their brethren they will wrangle and go to law, nay they will be ready to enter the lists and combat for a plot of ground whereupon a house standeth, about some corner of a messuage or end of a little tenement, and afterwards attributing unto this their hatred of brethren, the colourable name of hating sinne and wickednesse, they go up & downe cursing, detesting and reproching them for their vices, whiles in others they are never offended nor discontented therewith, but are willing enough daily to frequent and haunt their company. Thus much in generall rearmes by way of preamble or proæme of this whole treatise.

It remaineth now that I should enter into the doctrine and instructions thereto belonging: wherein I will not begin as other have done at the partition of their heritage or patrimonie; but at the naughtie emulation, hart-burning and jealousie which ariseth betwene them during the life of their parents. *Agesilaus* king of Lacedaemon was wont alwaies to send as a present unto each one of the auncients of the citie, ever as they were created Senatours, a good oxen in testimony that he honored their vertue: at length the lords called *Ephori*, who were the censurers & overseers of each mans behavior, condemned him for this in a fine to be paid unto the State, forbidding and adding a season withall; for that by these gifts and largesses he went about to steale away their hearts and favors to himselfe alone, which ought indifferently to regard the whole body of the citie; even so a man may do well to give this counsell unto a sonne, in such wise to respect & honour his father and mother, that hee seeke not thereby to gaine their whole love, nor seeme to turne away their favour and affection from other children wholly unto himselfe; by which practise many doe prevent, undermine and supplant their brethren, and thus under a colourable and honest pretense in shew, but in deed unjust and unequall, cloke and cover their avarice and covetous desire; for after a cautelous and subtill manner they insinuate themselves and get betwene them and home, and so defraud and couzen them ungentlemanly of their parents love, which is the greatest and fairest portion of their inheritance, who espying their time, and taking the opportunitie and vantage when their brethren be otherwise employed, and least doubt of their practises, then they bestir them most, and shew themselves in best order, obsequious, double-diligent, sober and modest, and namely in such things as their other brethren do either faile or seeme to be slacke and forgetfull. But brethren ought to do cleane contrarie, for if they perceive their father to be angrie and displeased with one of them, they should interpose themselves and undergo some part of the heave load, they ought to ease their brother, and by bearing a part, helpe to make the burden lighter: then (I say) must they by their service and ministerie gratifie their brother so much, as to bring him in some sort in grace and favour againe with their father, and when he hath faile so far forth in neglecting the opportunity of time, or omitting some other businesse which hardly will afford excuse, they are to lay the fault and blame upon his very nature and disposition, as being more meere and fitted for other matters. And hecetero accordeth well that speech of *Agamemnon* in *Homer*,

*He faulted not through idlenesse,*

*nor yet for want of wit,*

*But lookt on me, and did expect*

*my motive unto it.*

even so one good brother may excuse another and say; He thought I should have done it, and lest this due to me to doe: neither are fathers themselves strait laced, but willingly enough

to

\* *Medinoma* is a measure containing 6 mds, which is about 6 pecks with us.



to admit such translations and gentle inferences of names as these; they can be content to beleeve their children, when they terme the supine negligence of their brethren plaine simplicitie, their stupiditie and blockishnesse, upright dealing and a good conscience; their quarrellous and litigious nature, a minde loth to be troden under-foot and utterly despised. In this manner he that will proceed with an intent only to appeale his fathers wrath, shall gaine thus much moreo-  
 vers: That not only his fathers choler will thereby be much diminished toward his brother, but his love also much more encreased unto himselfe: howbeit, afterwards when he hath thus made all well, and satisfied his father to his good contentment, then must he turne and addresse himselfe to his brother apart, touch him to the quicke, spare him never a whit, but with all libertie of language tell him roundly of his fault, and rebuke him for his trespasse; for surely it is not good to use indulgencie and connivencie to a brother, no more than to insult over him too much, and tread him under foote if hee have done amisse, (for as this bewraith a joy that one taketh at his fall; so that implieth a guiltinesse with him in the same transgression: but in this rebuke and reproofe, such measure would be kept, that it may testifie a care to do him good, and yet a displeasure for his fault; for commonly he that hath bene a most earnest advocate and affectionate intercessor for him to his father and mother, will be his sharpest accuser afterwards when he hath bene alone by himselfe. But put the case, that another having not at all offended, be blamed notwithstanding and accused to father and mother, howsoever in other things, it is the part of humanitie and civill kindnesse to susteine and beare all anger and froward displeasure of parents; yet in this case, the allegations and defenses of one brother in the justification of another, when he is innocent, unjustly traduced, and hardly used or wronged by his parents, are not to be blamed, but allowable and grounded upon honestie: neither need another feare to heare that reproch in *Sophocles*:

*Thou givest me so farre grown out of kinde,  
 As with thy sword, a counter pleat to finde,*

when frankly & freely he speaketh in the behalfe of his brother, seeming to be unjustly condemned and oppressed. For surely by this manner of proccesse and pleading, they that are convicted take more joy in being overthrowen, than if they had gained the victorie and better hand.

Now after that a father is deceased, it is well becoming and fit, that brethren should more affectionally love than before, and stick more close together: for then presently their naturall love unto their father which is common to them all, ought to appeere indifferently in mourning together and lamenting for his death: then are they to reject and cast behinde them all suspicions surmized or buzzed into their heads by varlets & servants, all slanderous calumniation and false reports, brought unto them by pick-thankes and carrie-ales on both sides, who would gladly sow some dissension betweene them: then are they to give eare unto that which fables doe report of the reciprocall love of *Castor* and *Pollux*; and namely, how it is said, That *Pollux* killed one with his fist for rounding him in the eare, and whispering a tale against his brother *Castor*. Afterwards, when they shall come to the parting of their patrimonie and fathers goods among them, they ought not (as it were) to give defiance and denounce warre one against another, as many there be who come prepared for that purpose ready to encounter, singing this note,

*O Alas! Alas! now hearken and come fight,  
 Who art of warre so fell the daughter right.*

But that verie day of all others they ought to regard and observe most, as being the time which to them is the beginning either of mortall warre and enmitie irreconcilable, or else of perfect friendship and amitie perdurable: at which instant they ought among themselves alone, to divide their portions if it be possible; if not, then to do it in the presence of one indifferent and common friend betweene them, who may be a witnes to their whole order and proceeding; and so when after a loving and kinde manner, and as becometh honest and well disposed persons, they have by casting lots gotten ech one that which is his right: by which course (as *Plato* said) they ought to thinke that there is given and received that which is meet and agreeable for every one, and so to hold themselves therewith contented: this done, if ay they are to make account that the ordering, manning, and administration onely of the goods and heritage is parted and divided; but the enjoying, use and possession of all remaineth yet whole in common betweene them. But those that in this partition and distribution of goods, plucke one from another the nourishes that gave them sucke, or such youths as were fostered and brought up together with them: of infants, and with whom alwaies they had lived and loved familiarly; well may they pre-  
 vaile

vaile so farre forth with eager pursuing their wilfulnesse, as to go away with the gaine of a slave, perhaps of greater price: but in stead thereof, they lose the greatest and most pretious things in all their patrimonie and inheritance, and utterly betray the love of a brother, and the confidence that otherwise they might have had in him. Some also we have knowne, who upon a peece with wilfulnesse onely, and a quarrellous humour, and without any gaine at all, have in the partition of their fathers goods, carried themselves no better nor with greater modestie and respect, than if it had bene some bootie or pillage gotten in war. Such were *Charicles* and *Antiochus*, of the cite *Opus*, two brethren, who ever as they met with a peece of silver plate, made no more ado but cut it quite thorough the mids, and if there came a garment into their hands, in two peece it went, slit (as neere as they could aime) just in the middle, and so they went either of them away with his part, dividing (as it were) upon some tragicall curse and execration.

*Their house and all the goods therein  
 By edge of sword so sharpe and keen.*

Others there be who make their boast and report with joy unto others, how in the partition of their patrimonie they have by cunning calls, connie-catched their brethren, and over-wrought them so by their cautious circumvention, fine wit and lie policies, as that they have gone away with the better part by ods: whereas indeed they should rejoyce rather and please themselves, if in modestie, courttesie, kindnesse, and yielding of their owne right they had surpassed and gone beyond their brethren. In which regard *Athenodorus* deserveth to be remembered in this place; and indeed there is not one here in these parts but remembreth him well enough. This *Athenodorus* had one brother elder than himselfe, named *Zenon*, who having taken upon him the management of the patrimonie, left unto them both by their father, had imbezeld and made away a good part of it; and in the end, for that by force he had carried away a woman and married her, was condemned for a rape, and lost all his owne and his brothers goods, which by order of law was forfait and confiscate to the Exchequer of the Emperor: now was *Athenodorus* above said, a verie heartlesse boy still, without any haire on his face; and when by equitie and the court of conscience, his portion out of his fathers goods was awarded and restored unto him, he forsooke not his brother, but brought all abroad and parted the one halfe thereof with him againe; and notwithstanding that he knew well enough that his brother had used no faire play, but cunningly defrauded him of much in the division thereof, yet was he never angrie with him nor repented of his kindnesse, but mildly, cheerefully, and patiently endured that unthankfulness and folly of his brother, so much divulged and talked of throughout all *Greece*. As for *Salon* when he pronounced sentence and determined in this manner as touching the government of the weale-publike; That equalitie never bred sedition; seemed verie confusedly to bring in the proportion Arithmetically which is popular, in place of that other faire and good proportion called Geometrical. But he that in an house or familie would advise brethren (as *Plato* did the citizens of his Common-wealth) above all, if possible it were to take away these words, *Mine* and *Thine*; *Mine* and not *Mine*; or at leastwise (if that may not be) to stand contented with an egall portion, and to maintaine and preserve equalitie; certes, he should lay a notable and singular foundation of amitie, concord and peace, and alwaies build thereupon the famous examples of most noble and renowned personages, such as *Pittachus* was, who when the King of *Lydia* demanded of him whether he had money and goods enough? I may have (quoth he) more by one halfe if I would, by occasion of my brothers death whose heire I am.

But forasmuch as not onely in the possession, augmentation and diminishing of goods, the lesse is evermore set as an adverse and crosse enemy to the more, but also (as *Plato* said) simply and universally there is alwaies motion and stirring in unequallitie, but rest and repose in equalitie; and so all uneven dealing and unequal partition is dangerous for breeding dissension among brethren: and impossible it is, that in all respects they should be even and equally for that either Nature at first from their very nativitie, or Fortune afterwards, hath not divided with even hand their severall graces and favours among them, whereupon proceed envie and jealousy, which are pernicious maladies and deadly plagues, as wel to houses and families as also to States and Cities: in these regards (I say) therefore, a great regard and heed would be taken, both to prevent and also to remedie such mischiefs with all speed, when they begin first to ingender. As for him who is indued with better gifts, and hath the vantage over his other brethren, it were not amisse to give him counsell, first to communicate unto them those gifts wherein he seemeth to excell and goe beyond them; namely, in gracing and honouring them as well as himselfe by his credit and reputation, in advancing them by the means of his great friends, and

drawing

drawing them unto their acquaintance; and in case he be more eloquent than they, to offer them the use thereof, which although it be employed (as it were) in common, is yet nevertheless his owne still: then let him not shew any signe of pride and arrogancie, as though he did disdain them, but rather in some measure by abasing, submitting and yeelding a little to them in his behaviour, to preserve himselfe from envie, unto which his excellent parts do lie open; and in one word, to reduce that inegalitie which fortune hath made, unto some equalitie, as farre forth as possible it is to do, by the moderate carriage of his minde. *Lucillus* verily would never daigne to accept of any dignitie or place of rule, before his brother, notwithstanding he was his elder, but letting his owne time slip, expected the turne and course of his brother. Neither would *Pollux* take upon him to be a god alone by himselfe, but chose rather with his brother *Caster* to be a demigod, and for to communicate unto him his owne immortalitie, thought it no disgrace to participate with his mortall condition; and even so may a man say unto one whom hee would admonish: My good friend, it lies in you without diminishing one whit of those good things which you have at this present, to make your brother equall unto your selfe, and to joine him in honour with you, giving him leave to enjoy (as it were) your greatnesse, your glory, your vertue, and your fortune; like as *Plato* did in times past, who by putting downe in writing, the names of his brethren, and bringing them in as persons speaking in his most noble and excellent Treatises, caused them by that meanes to be famous and renowned in the world. Thus he graced *Glaukus* and *Adamantus* in his books of Politie: thus he honoured *Antiphon* the yongest of them all, in his Dialogue named *Armenides*.

Moreover, as it is an ordinary thing to observe great difference and oddes in the natures and fortunes of brethren; so it is in manner impossible, that in all things and in every respect any one of them should excell the rest. For true it is, that the foure elements, which they say were created of one and the same matter, have powers and qualities altogether contrary; but surely it was never yet scene, that of two brethren by one father and mother, the one should be like unto that wife man, whom the Stoicks do faine and imagine, to wit, faire, lovely, bountifull, honourable, rich, eloquent, studious, civill and courteous; and the other, foule, ill-favoured, contemptible, illiberrall, needie, not able to speake and deliver his minde, untaught, ignorant, uncivill and unfociable. But even in those that are more obscure, base and abject than others, there is after a sort some sparke of grace, of valour, of apinesse and inclination to one good thing or other: for as the common proverbe goeth;

*With Calibrap thusles rough and keene, with Prickyreft-barow,  
Close Sions faire and soft, yea, White-wallflowers are scene to grow.*

These good parts therefore, be they more or lesse in others, if he that seemeth to have them in farre better and in greater measure, do not debase, smother, hide and hinder them, nor deject his brother (as in some solemnitie of games for the prize) from all the principall honours, but rather yeeld reciprocally unto him in some points, and acknowledge openly that in many things he is more excellent, and hath a greater dexteritie than himselfe, withdrawing alwaies closely all occasions and matter of envie, as it were fewell from the fire, shall either quench all debate, or rather not suffer it at all to breed or grow to any head and substance. Now he that alwaies taketh his brother as a colleague, counsellor and coadjutor with him, in those causes wherein himselfe is taken to be his superiour: as for example; If he be a professed Rhetorician and Oratour, using his brother to plead causes; if he be a Politician, asking his advice in government; if a man greatly friended, employing him in actions and affaires abroad; and in one word, in no matter of consequence and which may win credit and reputation, leaving not his brother out, but making him his fellow and companion in all great and honourable occasions, and so giving out of him, taking his counsell if he be present, and expecting his presence if he be absent; and generally, making it known that he is a man not of lesse execution than himselfe, but one rather that loveth not much to put himselfe forth, nor stands so much upon winning reputation in the world, and seeking to be advanced in credit; by this meanes he shall lose nothing of his owne, but gaine much unto his brother. These be the precepts and advertisements that a man may give unto him that is the better and superiour.

To come now to him who is the inferiour, he ought thus to thinke in his minde: That his brother is not one alone that hath no fellow, nor the onely man in the world who is richer, better learned, or more renowned and glorious than himselfe, but that often-times he also is inferiour to a great number, yea, and to many millions of us men,

*Who on the earth so large do breed,*

*upon her fruits who live and feed.*

but if he be such an one as either goeth up and downe, bearing envie unto all the world; or if he be of so ill a nature, as that among so many men that are fortunate, he alone and none but he troubleth him, who ought of all other to be dearest, and is most necerly joined unto him by the obligation of blood, a man may well say of him; That he is unhappy in the highest degree, and hath not left unto another man living, any meane to go beyond him in wretchednesse. As *Mellus* therefore thought that the Romans were bound to render thanks unto the gods in heaven, for that *Scipio* so noble and brave a man was borne in *Rome*, and not in any other citie; so everie man is to wish and pray unto the gods, that himselfe may surmount all other men in prosperitie, if not, yet that he might have a brother at least wife to attaine unto that power and authoritie so much desired; but some there be so unfortunate and unlucky by nature, in respect of any goodnesse in them, that they can rejoice and take a great glorie in this, to have their friends advanced unto high places of honor, or to see their hostis and guests abroad, princes, rulers, rich and mightie men, but the resplendent glorie of their brethren they thinke doth eclipse and darken their owne renowne; they delight and joy to heare the fortunate exploits of their fathers recounted, or how their great grandfathers long ago had the conduct of armies, and were lord pratorous and generals in the field, wherein they themselves had never any part, nor received thereby either honor or profit; but if there have fallen unto their brethren any great heritages or possessions, if they have risen unto high estate and achieved honorable dignities, if they are advanced by rich and noble mariages, then they are cast downe and their hearts be done. And yet it had behooved and right meet it were in the first place, to bee envious to no man at all; but if that may not be, the next way were to turne their envie outward, and eie-bite strangers, and to shew our spite unto aliens who are abroad, after the manner of those who to rid themselves from civill seditions at home, turne the same upon their enemies without, and set them together by the eares, and like as *Diomedes* in *Homer* said unto *Glaukus*,

*Of Trojanes and their allies both,  
who aide them for good will*

*Right many are beside your selfe  
for me in fight to kill:*

*And you likewise have Greeks enough  
with whom in bloodie field*

*You may your prowess try, and not  
meete me with speare and shield.*

even so it may be said unto them; There be a number besides of concurrents upon whom they may exercise their envie and jealousy, and not with their naturall brethren; for a brother ought not to be like unto one of the balance scales, which doth alwaies contrarie unto his fellow, for as one riseth the other falleth; but as small numbers do multiplye the greater, and serve to make both them bigger, and their selves too; even so an inferior brother by multiplying the state of his brother who is his superiour, shall both augment him and also increase and grow himselfe together with him in all good things: marke the fingers of your hand, that which holdeth not the pen in writing, or striketh the string of a lute in playing (for that it is not able so to do, nor disposed and made naturally for those uses) is never a whit the worse for all that, nor serveth lesse otherwise, but they all stir and moove together, yea and in some sort they helpe one another in their actions, as being framed for the nonce, unequal & one bigger & longer than other, that by their opposition and meeting as it were round together, they might comprehend, claspe, and hold any thing most sure, strong, and fast. Thus *Craterus* being the naturall brother of king *Antigonus* who reigned and swaid the scepter: Thus *Perillus* also the brother of *Cassander* who wore the crowne, gave their minds to be brave warriors and to lead armies under their brethren, or else applied themselves to governe their houses at home in their absence; whereas on the contrary side, the *Antiochi* and *Seleuci*, as also certaine *Grypi* and *Cyziceni* and such others, having not learned to beare a lower faile than their brethren, and who could not content themselves to sing a lower note, nor to rest in a second place, but aspiring to the ensignes and ornaments of roiall dignitie, to wit, the purple mantle of estate with crowne, diademe and scepter, filled themselves and one another with many calamities, yea and heaped as many troubles upon all *Asia* throughout. Now so farre as those especially who by nature are ambitious and disposed to thirst after glory, be for the most part envious & jealous toward those who are more honored & renowned than they; it were very expedient for brethren if they would avoid this inconveni-

ence, not to seeke for to attaine either honour or authoritie and credit all by the same meanes, but some by one thing and some by another: for we see by daily experience, it is an ordinarie matter that wilde beaſts do fight and warre one with another, namely when they feede in one and the same pasture; and among champions and such as strive for the maſterie in feats of activitie, we count those for their adversaries and concurrents onely, who proſeſſe and praſtiſe the ſame kinde of game or exerciſe; for thoſe that goe to it with ſilts and buſſets, are commonly friends good enough to ſuch ſword-fencers as fight at ſharpe to the utterance, and well-willers to the champions called *Paneratiaſtæ*: likewise the runners in a race agree full-well with wrestlers: theſe I ſay, are ready to aide, aſſiſt and favor one another, which is the reaſon, that of the two ſonnes of *Tyndarus*, *Pellus* won the prize alwaies at buſſets, but *Caſtor* his brother went away with the victorie in the race. And *Homer* very well in his Poeme feigned that *Tecuer* was an excellent archer; and became famous thereby, but his brother *Ajax* was beſt at cloſe fight and hand-strokes, ſtanding to it heavily armed at all peeces,

And with his ſhield ſo bright and wide  
His brother *Tecuer* he did hide.

And thus it is with them that governe a State and common weale; thoſe that be men of armes and manage martiall affaires, never lightly do envie them much who deale in civill cauſes and uſe to make ſpeeches unto the people; likewise among thoſe that proſeſſe Rhetoricke and eloquence, advocates who plead at barre, never fall out with thoſe Sophiſters that read lectures of oratorie; among proſeſſors of Phyſicke, they that cure by diet envie not the chirurgeions who worke by hand; whereas they who endeavour and ſeek to win credite and eſtimation by the ſame art, or by their facultie and ſufficiencie in any one thing, do as much (eſpecially if they be badly minded withall) as thoſe rivals who loving one miſtreſſe, would be better welcome and finde more grace and favour at her hands one than another. True it is I muſt needs confeſſe; that they who go divers waies, doe no good one to another; but ſurely ſuch as chooſe fundrie courſes of life doe not onely avoid the occaſions of envie, but alſo by that meanes the rather have mutuall helpe one by the other: thus *Demosthenes* and *Chares* ſorted well together; *Aſſeſſines* likewise and *Eubulus* accorded; *Hyperides* alſo and *Leosthenes* were lovers and friends; in every which couple, the former imploied themſelves in pleading and ſpeaking before the people, &c were writers and pen-men, whereas the other conducted armies, were warriors and men of action. Brethren therefore who cannot communicate in glorie and credit together without envie, ought to ſet their deſires and ambitious mindes as farre remote one from another, and turne them full as contrarie as they can, if they would finde comfort, and not receive diſpleaſure by the proſperitie and happy ſucceſſe of one of another: but above all, a principall care and regard they muſt have of their kindred and alliance, yea and otherwhiles of their verie wives and namely, when they be readie with their perillous ſpeeches many times to blow more coales, and thereby enkindle their ambitious humour. Your brother (quoth one) doth wonder; he carrieth all before him; he beareth the ſway; no talke there is but of him; he is admired, and every man maketh court to him: whereas, there is no reſort to you; no man commeth toward you; nothing is there in you that men regard or ſet by. When theſe ſuggeſtions ſhall be thus whiſpered, a brother that is wiſe and well minded, may well ſay thus againe: I have a brother in deed whoſe name is up and carrieth a great ſide; and verily the greater part of his credit and authoritie is mine and at my commaundement. For *Socrates* was wont to ſay, that hee would chooſe rather to have *Darius* his friend, than his \*Daricks. And a brother who is of ſound and good judgement, will thinke that he hath no leſſe benefit, when his brother is placed in great eſtate of government, bleſſed with riches, or advanced to credit and reputation by his gift of eloquence, than if himſelfe were a ruler, wealthy, learned and eloquent. Thus you may ſee the beſt and readieſt meanes that are to qualifie and mitigate this unequalitie betwene brethren. Now there be other diſagreements beſides, that grow quickly betwene, eſpecially if they want good bringing up and are not well taught, and namely, in regard of their age. For commonly the elder, who thinke that by good right they ought to have the command, rule and government of their younger brethren in everie thing, and who held it great reaſon that they ſhould be honored, and have power and authoritie alwaies above them, commonly do uſe them hardly and are nothing kinde and lightſome unto them: the younger againe being ſtubborne, wilfull and unruly, ready alſo to ſhake off the bridle, are wont to make no reckoning of their elder brethrens prerogative, but ſet them at naught and deſpiſe them; whereby it commeth to paſſe, that as the younger of one ſide envied, are held downe with envie, and kept under alwaies by their elder

\* An ancient  
piece of coin  
with his  
image, worth  
2. ſhillings  
4. pence, or a  
Tetradrachm  
Attick

elder brethren, and ſo ſhunne their rebukes and ſhorne their admonitions; ſo theſe on the other ſide deſirous to hold their owne and maintaine their preeminence and ſoveraigntie over them, ſtand alwaies in dread left their younger brethren ſhould grow too much, as if the riſing of them were their fall. But like as the caſe ſtandeth in a benefit or good turne that is done, ſo ſay it is meet that the receiver ſhould eſteeme the thing greater than it is, and the giver make the leaſt of it; even ſo, he that can perſwade the elder, that the time whereby he hath the vantage of his other brethren is no great thing; and likewise the younger, that he ſhould reckon the ſame birth-right for no ſmall matter, he ſhall do a good deed betwene them, in delivering the one from diſdaine, contempt and ſuſpicion, and the other from irreverence and negligence. Now ſo farre as it is meet, that the elder ſhould take care and charge, teach and inſtruct, admoniſh and reprove the younger; and as ſit likewise the younger ſhould honor, imitate and follow the elder: I could wiſh that the ſollicitude and care of the elder, favoured rather of a companion and fellow, than of a father; that himſelfe alſo would ſeeme not ſo much to command as to perſwade, and to be more prompt and ready to joy for his younger brothers well-doing, and to praife him for it, than in any wiſe take pleaſure in reprehending and blaming him if happily he have forgotten his dutie; and in one word, to do the one not onely more willingly, but alſo with greater humanitie than the other. Moreover, the zeale and emulation in the younger ought rather to be of the nature of an imitation, than either of jealousie or contention; for that imitation preſuppoſeth an opinion of admiration, whereas jealousie and contention implieth envie, which is the reaſon that they affect and love thoſe who endeavour to reſemble, and be like unto them; but contrariwiſe, they are offended at thoſe and keepe them downe, who ſtrive to be their equals. Now among many honors, which it becometh the younger to render unto his elder, obedience is that which deſerveth moſt commendation, and worketh a more aſſured and heartie affection accompanied with a certaine reverence, which cauſeth the elder reciprocally and by way of requitall to yeeld the like and to give place unto him. Thus *Cato* having from his infancy honored and revered his elder brother *Capion*, by all manner of obeifance and ſilence before him; in the end gained thus much by it, that when they were both men grown, he had ſo won him and filled him (as it were) with ſo great a reſpect and reverence of him, that hee would neither ſay nor doe ought without his privie and knowledge. For it is reported, that when *Capion* had one day ſigned and ſealed with his owne ſignet a certaine letter teſtimoniall; *Cato* his brother coming afterwards would not ſet to his ſeale; which when *Capion* underſtood, he called for the ſealed teſtimoniall and pluckt away his owne ſeale, before he had once demanded for what occaſion his brother would not beleieve the deed, but ſuſpected his teſtimonie? It ſeemeth likewise, that the brethren of *Epiciurus* ſhewed great reſpect and reverence unto him, in regard of the love and carefull good will that he bare unto them; which appeared in this, that as to all other things elſe of his; ſo to his Philoſophie eſpecially, they were ſo wedded, as if they had beene inſpired therewith. For albeit they were ſeduced and deceived in their opinion, giving out and holding alwaies (as they did) from their infancy, that never was any man ſo deepe a cleare, nor ſo great a Philoſopher as their brother *Epiciurus*; yet it is wonderfull to conſider as well him that could ſo frame and diſpoſe them, as themſelves alſo for being ſo diſpoſed and affectionate unto him. And verily even among the more moderne Philoſophers of later time, *Apollonius* the Peripareticke, had convinced him of untrueth (whoſoever hee was) that ſaid Lordſhip and glorie could like no fellowſhip, for he made his brother *Sotion* more famous and renowned than himſelfe. For mine owne part, to ſay ſomewhat of my ſelfe; albeit that fortune hath done me many favours, in regard whereof I am bound to render unto her much thanks; there is not any one for which I take my ſelfe ſo much obliged and beholden unto her, as for the love that my brother *Timon* hath alwaies ſhewed and doth yet ſhew unto me; a thing that no man is able to denie, who hath never ſo little bene in our companie, and you leaſt of all others may doubt who have converſed ſo familiarly with us. Now there be other occaſions of trouble which ought to be taken heed of, among thoſe brethren which are of like age or ſomewhat neere in yeeres; ſmall paſſions (I wote well) they be, but many they are, and thoſe ordinary and continually; by means whereof they bring with them an evil cuſtome of vexing, fretting and angering one another ever and anon for ſmall things, which in the end turne into hatred and enmity irreconcilable: for when they have begun to quarrell one with another at their games and paſtimes, about the feeding and fighting of ſome little creatures that they keepe, to witt, quailles or cocks, and afterwards about the wrelling of their boies and pages at the ſchoole, or the hunting of their hounds in the chafe, or the capa-

rison of their horses; they can no more holde and refraine (when as they be men) their contentious veine and ambition in matters of more importance: thus the greatest and mightiest men among the Greeks in our time, banding at the first one against another in taking parts with their dancers, and then in sliding with their minstrels, afterwards by comparing one with another who had the better ponds or bathing pooles in the territorie of *Edepsus*, who had the fairest galleries and walking places, the faterlier halles and places of pleasure, evermore changing and exchanging, and fighting (as it were) for the vantage of a place, striving still by way of odious comparison, cutting and diverting another way the conduct pipes of fountaines, are become so much exasperate one against another, that in the meane time they are utterly undone; for the tyrant is come, and hath taken all from them; banished they are out of their owne native country; they wander as poore vagabonds thorow the world, and I may be holde (well heere) to say, they are so farre changed from that they were afore, that they be others quite, this onely excepted, that they be the same still in hatred one to another. Thus it appeareth evidently, that brethren ought not a little to resist the jealousie and contentions which breed among them upon small trifles, even in the very beginning, & that by accustomed themselves to yeeld & give place reciprocally one to another, suffering themselves to be overcome & take the foile, and joying rather to pleasure and content one another, than to win the better hand one of another: for the victorie which in olde time they called the Cadmian victorie, was nothing els but that victorie betwene brethren about the citie of *Thebes*, which is of all other the most wicked and mischievous.

What shall we say moreover? do not the affaires of this life minister many occasions of disagreement and debate even among those brethren which are most kind and loving of all others verily. But even therein also, we must be carefull to let the said affaires to combat alone by themselves, and not to put thereto any passion of contention or anger, as an anker or hooke to catch holde of the parties, and pull them together for to quarrell, and enter into debate; but as it were in a ballance, to looke jointly together, on whether side right and equitie doth encline and bend, and so soone as ever we can, to put matters in question to the arbitrement and judgement of some good and indifferent persons, to purge and make cleere all, before they are grown so farre, as that they have gotten a staine or tincture of cankred malice, which afterwards will never be washed or scoured out: which done, we are to imitate the Pythagoreans, who being neither joined in kintred or consanguinitie, nor yet allied by affinity, but the scholars in one schoole, and the fellows of one and the same discipline, if peradventure at any time they were so farre carried away with choler, that they fell to interchange reprochfull & reviling taunts, yet before the fume was gone downe they would shake hands, kisse and embrace one another, be reconciled, and become good friends againe. For like as if there be a fever, occasioned by a botch orising in the share, there is no danger thereof, but if when the said botch is gone, the fever still continue, then it seemeth to be a maladie proceeding from some more inward, secret and deeper cause; even so the variance betwene two brethren, when it ceaseth together with the deciding of a businesse, we must thinke dependeth upon the same businesse & upon nothing els, but if the difference remaine still when the controversie is ended, surely then it was but a colourable pretence thereof, and there was within some root of secret malice which caused it. And here in this place it would serve our purpose very well, to heare the maner of proceeding in the deciding of a controversie betwene two brethren of a barbarous nation, and the same not for some little parcell of land, nor about poore slaves or silly sheepe, but for no lesse than the kingdom of *Perfus*: for after the death of *Darius* some of the Persians would have had *Ariamenes* to succeed and wear the crowne, as being the eldest sonne of the King late deceased; others againe stood earnestly for *Xerxes*, as well for that he had to his mother *Aroffa* the daughter of that great *Cyrus*, as because hee was begotten by *Darius* when hee was a crowned king. *Ariamenes* then came downe out of *Media*, to claime his right; not in armes, as one that minded to make warre, but simply and peaceably, attended onely with his ordinary traine & retinue, minding to enter upon the kingdom by justice & order of law. *Xerxes* in the meane while, & before his brother came, being present in place, ruled as king, & exercised all those functions that appertained thereto: his brother was no sooner arrived, but he tooke willingly the diademe or roiall frontlet from his head, & the princely chaplet or coronet which the Persian kings are wont to wear upright, he laid downe, & went toward his brother to meet him upon the way, & with kind greeting embraced him: he sent also certaine presents unto him, with commandement unto those that carried them, to say thus: *Xerxes* thy brother honoreth thee now with these presents here, but if by

the sentence and judgement of the peeres and lords of *Perfus* he shall be declared king, his will and pleasure is, that thou shalt be the second person in the realme, and next unto him. *Ariamenes* answered the message in this wise: These presents I receive kindly from my brother, but I am perswaded that the kingdom of *Perfus* by right belongeth unto me; as for my brethren, I will reserve that honour which is meet and due unto them next after my selfe, and *Xerxes* shall be the first and chiefe of them all. Now when the great day of judgement was at hand, when this weightie matter should be determined; the Persians by one generall and common consent declared *Artabanus* the brother of *Darius* late departed, to be the umpire and competent judge for to decide and end this cause. *Xerxes* was unwilling to stand unto his award, being but one man, as who repoled more trust and confidence in the number of the princes and nobles of the realme; but his mother *Aroffa* reproving him for it: Tell me (quoth she) my sonne, wherefore refusest thou *Artabanus* to be thy judge, who is your uncle, and besides, the best man of all the Persians? and why dost thou feare so much the issue of his judgement, considering that if thou misse, yet the second place is most honourable, namely to be called the kings brother of *Perfus*? Then *Xerxes* perswaded by his mother, yeilded; and after many allegations brought and pleaded on both sides judicially, *Artabanus* at length pronounced definitively, that the kingdom of *Perfus* appertained unto *Xerxes*: with that *Ariamenes* incontinently leapt from his seat, went and did homage unto his brother, and taking him by the right hand, enthroned and entailed him king: from which time forward he was alwaies the greatest person next unto his brother; and shewed himselfe so loving and affectionate unto him, that in his quarrell he fought most valiantly in the navall battell before *Salaminas*, where in his service and for his honour he lost his life. This example may serve for an original patterne of true benevolence and magnanimitie, so pure and uncorrupt, as it cannot in any one point be blamed or stained. As for *Antiochus* as a man may reprehend in him his ambitious minde, and excessive desire of rule; so he may as well wonder that considering his vaine-glorious spirit, all brotherly love was not in him utterly extinct; for being himselfe the younger, he waged war with *Seleucus* for the crowne, and kept his mother sure enough for to side with him and take his part: now it hapned that during this warre and when it was at the hottest, *Seleucus* stricke a battell with the *Galatians*, lost the field, and was himselfe not to be found, but supposed certainly to have beene slaine and cut in peeces, together with his whole armie, which by the Barbarians were put to the sword and massacred; when news came unto *Antiochus* of this defeature, hee laide away his purple robes, put on blacke, caused the court gates to be shut, and mourned heavily for his brother, as if he had beene dead: but being afterwards advertised that he was alive safe & sound, and that he went about to gather new forces and make head againe; hee came abroad, sacrificed with thanksgiving unto the gods, & commended all those cities & states which were under his dominion to keepe holiday, to sacrifice & wear chapplets of flowers upon their heads in token of publike joy. The Athenians when they had devised an absurd and ridiculous fable as touching the quarrell betwene *Neptune* and *Minerva*, intermeddled withall another invention, which soundeth to some reason, tending to the correction of the same, and as it were to make amends for that absurditie, for they suppress alwaies the second of August, upon which day hapned (by their saying) that debate aforesaid betwene *Neptune* and *Minerva*. What should let and hinder us likewise, if it chance that we enter into any quarrell or debate with our allies and kinsfolke in blood, to condemn that day to perpetuall oblivion, and to repute and reckon it among the cursed and dismal daies: but in no wise by occasion of one such unhappie day to forget so many other good and joyfull daies wherein we have lived and bene brought up together; for either it is for nothing and in vaine that nature hath endued us with meekenesse, and harmelesse long sufferance, or patience the daughter of modestie and mediocrity, or else surely wee ought to use these vertues and good gifts of her principally to our allies and kinsfolke; and verily to crave and receive pardon of them when we our selves have offended and done amisse, declareth no lesse love and naturall affection than to forgive them if they have trespassed against us. And therefore wee ought not to neglect them if they be angrie and displeased; nor to be straight laced and stiffely stand against them when they come to justifie or excuse themselves; but rather both when our selves have faulted, oftentimes to prevent their anger by excuse, making or asking forgiveness, and also by pardoning them before they come to excuse if we have beene wronged by them. And therefore *Euclides* that great scholer of *Socrates* is much renowned and famous in all schooles of Philosophie, for that when he heard his brother breake out into these beastly and wicked words against him, The soule ill take me if I be not revenged and meet with thee; and

a mischief come to me also (quoth he againe) if I appeale not thine anger, & perswade thee to love me as well as ever thou didst. But king *Emmenes* not in word but in deed & effect surpassed all others in meekenesse and patience: for *Persus* king of the Macedonians being his mortall enemie, had secretly addressed an ambush, and set certaine men of purpose to murder him about *Delphos*, espying their time when they saw him going from the sea side to the said towne for to consult with the oracle of *Apollo*: now when he was gone a little past the ambush, they began to assaile him from behinde, tumbling downe and throwing mightie stones upon his head and necke, wherewith he was so astonishd that his sight failed, and he fell withall, in that manner as he was taken for dead: now the rumour hereof ran into all parts, inasmuch as certaine of his servitors and friends made speed to the citie *Pergamus*, reporting the tidings of this occurrence, as if they had bene present and scene all done; whereupon *Attalus* the eldest brother next unto himselfe, an honest and kinde hearted man, one also who alwaies had caried himselfe most faithfully and loyally unto *Emmenes*, was not onely declared king, and crowned with the royall diademe; but that which more is, espoused and married *Queene Stratonice* his said brothers wife, and lay with her. But afterwards, when counter-newes came that *Emmenes* was alive and coming homeward againe, *Attalus* laid aside his diademe, and taking a partisan or javelin in his hand (as his manner before time was) with other pensioners and squires of the bodie, he went to meet his brother: king *Emmenes* received him right graciously, tooke him lovingly by the hand, embraced the *Queene* with all honour, and of a princely and magnanimous spirit put up all; yea and when he had lived a long time after without any complaint, suspition, and jealousy at all, in the end at his death made over and assigned both the crowne and the *Queene* his wife unto his brother the aforesaid *Attalus*: and what did *Attalus* now after his brothers decease? he would not foster and bring up (as heire apparant) so much as one childe that he had by *Stratonice* his wife, although the bare unto him many; but he nourished and carefully cherisht the sonne of his brother departed, until he was come to full age, and then himselfe in his life time with his owne hands fet the imperiall diademe and royall crowne upon his head, and proclaimed him king. But *Cambyses* contrariwise frighted upon a vaine dreame which he had; That his brother was come to usurpe the kingdome of *Asia*, without expecting any proofe or presumption thereof, put him to death for it; by occasion whereof, the succession in the empire went out of the race of *Cyrus* upon his decease, and was devolved upon the line of *Darius*, who reigned after him; a Prince who knew how to communicate the government of his affaires, and his regall authoritie, not onely with his brethren, but also with his friends.

Moreover, this one point more is to be remembered & observed diligently in all variances and debates that are risen betweene brethren: namely, then especially, and more than at any time else, to converse and keepe companie with their friends; and on the other side to avoide their enemies and evil-willers, and not to be willing so much as to vouchsafe them any speech or entertainment. Following herein the fashion of the Candiot, who being oftentimes fallen out and in civill dissension among themselves, yea and warring hot one with another, no sooner heare newes of forrein enemies coming against them, but they rancke themselves, banding jointly together against them; and this combination is that, which thereupon is called *Syncretismos*. For some there be, that (like as water runneth alwaies to the lower ground, and to places that chinke or cleave asunder) are readie to side with those brethren or friends that be fallen out, and by their suggestions buzzed into their cares, ruinate and overthrow all acquaintance, kindred and amitie, having indeed both parties, but seeming to beare rather upon the weaker side, and to settle upon him, who of imbecillities soone yeeldeth and giveth place. And verily those that be simple and harmlesse friends, such as commonly yong folke are, apply themselves commonly to him that affecteth a brother, helping & increasing that love what he may; but the most malicious enemies are they, who espying when one brother is angrie or fallen out with another, seeme to be angrie and offended together with him for companie; and these do most hurt of all others. Like as the hen therefore in *Aesope* answered unto the cat, making semblance as though she heard her say she was sicke, and therefore in kindnesse and love asking how the did? I am well enough (quoth she) I thank you, so that you were farther off; even so, unto such a man as is inquisitive and entrench into talke as touching the debate of brethren to sound and search into some secrets betweene them, one ought to answer thus: Surely there would be no quarrell betweene my brother and me, if neither I nor he would give care to carrie-tales and pick-thankes betweene us. But now it cometh to passe (I wot not how) that when our eyes be sore and in paine, we turne away our sight from those bodies and colours which make no reverberation

repercussion

repercussion backe againe upon it; but when we have some complaint and quarrell, or conceive anger or suspition against our brethren, we take pleasure to heare those that make all woofe, and are apt enough to take any colour and infection, presented to us by them, where it were more needfull and expedient at such a time to avoide their enmities and evil willers, and to keepe our selves out of the way from them; and contrariwise to converse with their allies, familiars and friends; and with them to beare company especially, yea and to enter into their owne houses for to complaine and blame them before their very wives frankly and with libertie of speech. And yet it is a common saying, That brethren when they walke together, should not so much as let a stone to be betwixt them; nay they are discontented and displeased in minde, in case a dog should chance to runne overthwart them; and a number of such other things they feare, whereof there is not one able to make any breach or division betweene brethren; but in the meane while, they perceive not how they receive into the mids of them, and suffer to traverse and crosse them, men of a curthill and dogged nature, who can do nothing els but barke betweene, and sowe false rumours and calumniationes betweene one and another, for to provoke them to jarre and fall together by the eares: and therefore to great reason and very well to this purpose said *Theophrastus*; That if all things (according to the old proverbe) should be common among friends, then most of all they ought to entertaine friends in common; for private familiarities and acquaintances apart one from another, are great meanes to disjoine and turne away their hearts; for if they fall to love others, and make choise of other familiar friends, it must needs follow by consequence to take pleasure and delight in other companies, to esteeme and affect others, yea and to suffer themselves to be ruled and led by others. For friendships and amities frame the natures and dispositions of men; neither is there a more certaine and assured signe of different humors and divers natures, than the choise & election of different friends, in such sort as neither to eate and drinke, nor to play, nor to passe and spend whole daies together in good fellowship and companie, is so effectually to hold and maintaine the concord and good will of brethren, as to hate and love the same persons; to joy in the same acquaintance; and contrariwise to abhor and shun the same companie; for when brethren have friends common betweene them, the said friends will never suffer any surmises, calumniationes & quarrels to grow betweene; and say that peradventure there do arise some sudden heat of choler or grudging fit of complaint, presently it is cooled, quenched, and suppressed by the mediation of common friends; for readie they will be to take up the quarrell and scatter it so as it shall vanish away to nothing if they be indifferently affectionate to them both, and that their love incline no more to the one side than to the other: for like as tin-foder doth knit and rejoyne a cracke peece of brasse, in touching and taking hold of both sides and edges of the broken peeces, for that it agreeth and setteth as well to the one as to the other, and suffreth from them both alike; even so ought a friend to be fitted and futable indifferently unto both brethren, if he would knit surely, and confirme strongly their mutuall benevolence and good will. But such as are unequal, and cannot intermeddle and go betweene the one as well as the other, make a separation and disjunction, and not a sound joint, like as certaine notes or discords in musicke. And therefore it may well be doubted and question made whether *Hesiodus* did well or no when he said,

*Make not a seere I thee advise*

*Thy brothers peece in any wise.*

For a discreet and sober companion common to both (as I said) before, or rather incorporat (as it were) into them, shall ever be a sure knot to fasten brotherly love. But *Hesiodus* (as it should seeme) meant and feared this in the ordinary and vulgar sort of men, who are many of them naught, by reason that so customably they be given to jealousy and suspition, yea and to self-love which if we consider and observe, it is well; but with this regard alwaies, that although a man yeeld equal good will unto a friend as unto a brother; yet nevertheless in case of concurrence, he ought to reserve ever the preeminence and first place for his brother, whether it be in preferring him in any election of Magistrates, or to the manning of State affaires; or in bidding and inviting him to a solemne feast, or publick assembly to consult and debate of weightie causes; or in recommending him to princes & great lords. For in such cases which in the common opinion of the world are reputed matters of honor and credit, a man ought to render the dignitie, honor, and reward, which is becomming and due to blood by the course of nature. For in these things the advantage and prerogative will not purchase so much glorie and reputation to a friend, as the repulse and putting-by, bring disgrace, discredit and dishonor unto a brother.

Well,



Well, as touching this old said law and sentence of *Hesiodus*, I have treated more at large elsewhere; but the sententious saying of *Alexander* full wisely set downe in these words:

*No man who lov's another shall you see  
Well pleas'd, himselfe neglected for to bee.*

pertheth us in minde and teacheth us to have good regard and care of our brethren, and not to presume so much upon the obligation of nature, as to despise them. For the horse is a beast by nature loving to a man, and the dog loves his master; but in case you never thinke upon them, nor see unto them (as you ought) they will forgoe that kind affectiō, estrange themselves & take no knowledge of you. The bodie also is most neerely knit and united to the soule by the greatest bond of nature that can be; but in case it be neglected and contemned by her, or not cherished so tenderly as it looketh to be, unwilling shall you see it to helpe and assist her, nay full un-  
towardly will it execute, or rather give over it will altogether everie action. Now to come more neere and to particularise upon this point, honest and good is that care and diligence which is employed and shewed to thy brethren themselves alone; but better it would be farre, if thy love and kind affections be extended as far as to their wives fathers and daughters husbands, by carrying a friendly minde and readie will to pleasure them likewise, and to do for them in all their occasions; if they be courteous and affable in saluting their servants, such especially as they love and favour; thankfull and beholding to their Physicians who had them in cure during sickness and were diligent about them; acknowledging themselves bound unto their faithfull and trustie friends, or to such as were willing and forward to take such part as they did in any long voyage and expedition, or to beare them company in warfare. And as for the wedded wife of a brother whom he is to reverence, repute and honor no lesse than a most sacred and holy relique or monument, if at any time he happen to see her, it will be come him to speake all honour and good of her husband before her; or to be offended and complaine (as well as the) of her husband, if he set not that store by her as he ought, and when she is angred to appease and still her. Say also that she have done some light fault, and offended her husband, to reconcile him againe unto her and entreat him to be content and to pardon her; and likewise if there be some particular and private cause of difference betwene him and his brother, to acquaint the wife therewith, and by her meane to complaine thereof, that she may take up the matter by composition and end the quarrell.

Lives thy brother a bachelor and hath no children? thou oughtest in good earnest to be angrie with him for it, to sollicite him to marriage, yea with chiding, rating, and by all meanes urge him to leave this single life, and by entering into wedlocke to be linked in lawfull alliance and affinitie: hath he children? then you are to shew your good will and affection more manifestly, as well toward him as his wife, in honouring him more than ever before, in loving his children as if they were your owne, yea and shewing your selfe more indulgent, kinde and affable unto them; that if it chanceth they do faults and shrewd turnes (as little ones are wont) they runne not away, nor retire into some blind and solitarie corner for feare of father and mother, or by that meane light into some light, unhappie and ungracious companie, but may have recourse & refuge unto their uncle, where they may be admonished lovingly, and find an intercessor to make their excuse & get their pardon. Thus *Plato* reclaimed his brothers son or nephew *Spensippus*, from his loose life and dissolute riot, without doing any harme or giving him soule words, but by winning him with faire and gentle language (whereas his father and mother did nothing but rate and crie upon him continually, which caused him to runne away and keepe out of their sight) he imprinted in his heart a great reverence of him, and a fervent zeale to imitate him, and to set his mind to the studie of Philosophie, notwithstanding many of his friends thought hardly of him and blamed him not a little, for that he tooke not another course with the untoward youth, namely, to rebuke, checke, and chastise him sharply: but this was evermore his answer unto them: That he reprovved and tooke him downe sufficiently, by shewing unto him by his owne life and carriage, what difference there was betwene vice and vertue, between things honest and dishonest. *Alexas* sometime King of *Thessalie*, was hardly used and over-  
awed by his father, for that he was insolent, proud, and violent withall; but contrariwise, his uncle by the fathers side, would give him entertainment, beare him out and make much of him. Now when upon a time the *Thessalians* sent unto *Delphos* certaine lots, to know by the oracle of god *Apollo* who should be their king? The foresaid uncle of *Alexas* unwitting to his brother, put in one for him: Then *Pythia* the Prophetesse gave answer from *Apollo* and pronoun-

ced, That *Alexas* should be king: The father of *Alexas* denied, and said that he had cast in no lot for him; and it seemed unto every man that there was some error in writing of those billes or names for the lotterie; whereupon new messengers were dispatched to the Oracle for to cleere this doubt; and then *Pythia* in confirmation of the former choise, answered:

*I meane that youth with reddish haire,  
Whom dame Archedice in wombe did beare.*

Thus *Alexas* declared and elected king of *Thessalie*, by the oracle of *Apollo*, and by the meanes withall of his fathers brother, both proved himselfe afterward a most noble prince, excelling all his progenitours and predeceffours, and also raised the whole nation and his country a great name and mighty puissance.

Furthermore, it is seemely and convenient by joying and taking a glory in the advancement, prosperity, honours and dignities of brothers children, to augment the fame, and to encourage and animate them to vertue, and when they do well, to praise them to the full. Haply it might be thought an odious and unseemely thing for a man to commend much his owne sonne, but surely to praise a brothers sonne is an honourable thing, and since it proceedeth not from the love of a mans selfe, it can not be thought but right, honest, and (in truth) divine: for surely one thinks the very name it selfe (of uncle) is sufficient to draw brethren to affect & love dearly one another, and so consequently their nephewes: and thus we ought to propose unto our selves, for to imitate the better sort, & such as have bene immortalised & deified in times past: for so *Hercules* notwithstanding he had 70 sonnes within twaine of his owne, yet he loved *Iolas* his brothers sonne no lesse than any of them; inasmuch as even at this day in most places there is but one altar erected for him and his said nephew together, and men pray jointly unto *Hercules* and *Iolas*. Also when his brother *Iphiclus* was slain in that famous battell which was fought nere *Lacedaemon*, he was so exceedingly displeased, and tooke such indignation thereat, that he departed out of *Peloponneus*, and left the whole country. As for *Leucothea*, when her sister was dead, she nourished and brought up her childe, and together with her, ranged it among the heavenly faints: whereupon the Romane dames even at this day, when they celebrate the feast of *Leucothea* (whom they name *Matuta*) carrie in their armes and cherish tenderly their sisters children, and not their owne.



## OF INTEMPERATE SPEECH OR GAR- RULITIE.

### The Summarie.

**T**hat which is commonly said, All extremities be naught, requirerh otherwhiles an exposition, and namely, in that vertue which we call Temperance, one of the kinds or branches whereof, consisteth in the right use of the tongue, which is as much to say, as the skill and knowledge how to speake as it becometh: now the moderation of speech hath for the two extreames, Silence (a thing more often praise-worthy than reprobable) and Babbie; against which this Discourse is addressed. Considering then, that silence is an assured regard unto wise men, and opposite directly unto much prating, and comely and seemely speecus in the mids, we call not silence a vice, but say, That a man never findeth harme by holding his peace. But as touching Garrulitie or Intemperate speech, the author sheweth in the very beginning of his Treatise, that it is a maladie incurable and against nature: for it doth frustrate the talkative person of his greatest desire, to wit, for to have audience and credit given him; also that it maketh a man inconsiderate, importune and malapert, ridiculous, mocked and hated, plunging him ordinarily into danger, as many events have proovved by experience. For to discover this matter the better, he saith consequently:

sequently: That the nature of vertuous men and those who have noble bringing up, is directly opposite unto that of long-tongued persons; and joining the reasons by which a man ought not to bewray his secret, together with those evils and inconveniences which curiosity & much babble do bring, and confirming all by fine similitudes and notable examples: afterwards, taking in hand againe his former speech and argument, he compareth a traitor and busie talker together, to the end that all men should so much the rather detest the vice of garrulitie: then he proceedeth immediately to discover and apply the remedies of this mischief, willing us, in the first place and generally to consider the calamities and miseries that much babbling causeth; as also the good & commodity which proceedeth of silence: which done, he discouseth of those particular remedies, which import thus much in effect: That a man ought to shame and accustom himselfe, either to be silent, or els to speake last; to avoid all hastinesse in making his answer; to say nothing, but that which is either needfull or civill; to shun and forbear those discourses which please us most, and wherein we may be some over scene and proceed too farre; to finde busie praters occupied apart from them; to provide them the companie of men who are of authority and aged; In summe, to consider whether that which a man hath said, be convenient, meet and profitable, and never to beleeve, to thinke alwaies of this: That other-whiles a man may repent of some words spoken, but never of keeping silence.

## OF INTEMPERATE speech or Garrulitie.



Very hard and troublesome cure it is that Philosopher hath undertaken, namely, To heale the disease of much prating; for that the medicine and remedie which the useth, be words that must be received by hearing; and these great talkers will abide to heare no man, for that they have all the words themselves, and talke continually; so that the first mischief of those who can not hold their tongue and keepe silence, is this: That they neither can nor will give eare to another; inso much as it is a wilfull kinde of deafenesse in men, who seeme thereby to controll nature, and complaine of her, in that where the hath allowed them two eares, she hath given them but

one tongue. If then Euripides said very well unto a foolish auditor of his,

*Powre I wise words, and counsell what I can  
With all my skill, into a sottish man,  
Unmeth if all I be able him to fill,  
If holde and keepe the same he never will.*

a man may more truly and justly say unto (or rather of) a prating fellow,

*Powre I wise words, and counsell what I can  
With all my skill unto a sottish man,  
Unmeth I shall be able him to fill,  
In case receive the same he never will.*

and in truth, more properly it may be said: That one powreth good advertisements about such an one and beside him rather, than into him, so long as he either speaketh unto him that listeth not, or giveth no eare unto them that speake: for if a prating fellow chance to heare some short and little tale, such is the nature of this disease called Garrulitie, that his hearing is but a kinde of taking his winde new, to babble it forth againe immediately, much more than it was, or like a whistle-poele which whatsoever it taketh once, the same it sendeth up againe very often with the vantage. Within the city Olympia there was a porch or gallery called *Heptaphonos*, for that from one voice by sundry reflections and reverberations it rendred seven echoes: but if some speech come to the eares of a babbler, and enter never so little in, by and by it refundeth againe on every side,

*And stirs the strings of secret heart within,  
Which should be still, and not be moov'd therein.*

inso much, as a man may well say: That the conducts and passages of their hearing reach not to the braine where their soule and minde is seated, but onely to their tongue: by reason whereof, whereas in others, the words that be heard doe rest in their understanding, in praters they vnderstand

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away and runne out presently, and afterwards they goe up and downe like emptie vessels, void of sense and full of found. Well, as incurable as such seeme to be, yet if it may be thought available to leave no experiment untied for to doe such good, we may begin our cure, and say thus unto a busie prater:

*Peace my good sonne, for Taciturnitie  
Brings ay with it much good commodity.*

But among the rest, these be the two chiefe and principall, namely: To heare and to be heard; of which twaine, our importunate talkers can attaine neither the one nor the other, so unhappie they are as to be frustrate of that which they so much desire. As for other passions and maladies of the soule, namely, Avarice, Ambition, Love and Voluptuousnesse, they doe all of them in some sort enjoy their desire; but the thing that troubleth and tormenteth these babbling fellows most, is this: That seeking for audience so much as they do, and nothing more, they can never meet with it, but every man shunneth their company, and flieth away as fast as his legges will carrie him; for whether men be set together in a knot, sadly talking in their round chaires, or walking in companie, let them espie one of these praters comming toward them, away they goe every one, that a man would say the retreat were sounded, so quickly they retire. And like as when in some assembly if all be hushed on a sudden so as there is not a word, wee use to say that *Mercurie* is come among them; even so when a prating foole entrench into a place where friends are either set at the boord to make merry, or otherwise met together in counsell, everie man straightwaies is silent and holdeth his peace, as being unwilling to minister occasion unto him of talke; but if himselfe begin first to open his lips, up they rise all and are soone gone, as mariners suspecting, & doubting by the whistling northern wind from the top of craggie rocks, and promontories, some rough sea, and fearing to be stomacke-sicke, retire betimes into a bay for harbor: whereby it cometh to passe also, that neither at a supper can he meet with guests willing to eate and drinke with him, nor yet companions to lodge with him, either in journey by land, or voiage by sea, unlesse it be by constraint. For so importunate he is alwaies, that one while he is ready to hang upon a mans cloake wherefoever he goes, another while he takes hold on the side of his beard, as if he knocked at the doore with his hand to force him to speake; in which case well fare a good paire of legs, for they are woorth much monie at such a time; as *Archilochus* was wont to say, yea and *Aristotle* also that wise Philosopher: for when upon a time he was much troubled with one of these busie praters, who haunted and wearied him out of measure with cavilling tales and many foolish and absurd discourses, iterating effoones these words; And is not this a woonderful thing *Aristotle*? No iwis (quoth he againe) but this were a wonder rather, if a man that hath feet of his owne should stand still and abide to heare you thus prate. Unto another also of the same stamp, who after much pricke prattle and a long discourse, said thus unto him: I doubt I have bin tedious unto you Philosopher with my many words; No in good sooth (quoth *Aristotle* unto him): for I gave no eare at all unto you, For if otherwhiles men cannot shake such praters off, but must of necessitie let their tongues walke, this benefit he hath by the foule, that the retirith inwardly all the while lending the outward eares onely for them to beat upon, and dash as it were all about with their jangling bibble babble; for the in the meane time is otherwise occupied, and discourseth to herselfe of divers matters within; by which meanes such fellows can meet with no hearers that take heed what they say, or beleve their words. For as it is generally held, that the naturall seed of such as are lecherous and much given to the companie of women is unfruitfull and of no force to engender; even so the talke of these great praters is vaine, barren, and altogether fruitlesse. And yet there is no part or member of our body that nature hath so surely defended (as it were) with a strong rampar, as the tongue: for before it the hath set a pallaizado of sharpe teeth, to the end that if peradventure it will not obey reason, which within holdeth it hard as with a strait bridle, but it will blatter out and not tarry within, we might bite it until it bleed againe, and so refraine the intemperance thereof. For

*But tongues and mouth's unbri'dled if they bee  
Shall find in the end mishap and miserie.*

And those in my conceit who say that houses without doores, and purses without strings, serve their matters in no steed; and yet in the meane time, neither set hatch nor locke unto their mouths, but suffer them run out and overflow continually, like unto the mouth of the sea *Pontus*, these I say in mine opinion seeme to make no other account of words than of the basest thing in the world; whereby they are never beleaved (say what they will) and yet this is the proper

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per end and scope that all speech tendeth to, namely to winne credit with the hearers; and no man will ever beleeeve these great talkers, no not when they speake the truth. For like as wheat if be it enclosed within fomes danke or mould vefsell, doth well and yeeld more in measure, but for use is found to be worse; even so it is with the talke of a prating person; well may he multiply and augment it with lying, but by that meanes it leeseeth all the force of perswasion. Moreover what modest, civil, and honest man is there, who would not verie carefully take heed of drunkenness? for anger (as some say) may well be ranged with rage & madness; and drunkenness doth lodge and dwell with her, or rather is it madnes it selfe, onely in circumstance of time it may be counted lesse, for that it continueth lesse while, but surely in regard of the cause it is greater, for that it is voluntarie, and we runne wilfully into it, and without any constraint. Now there is no one thing for which drunkenness is so much blamed and accused as for intemperate speech and talke without end: for as the Poët saith,

*Wine makes a man who is both wise and grave  
To sing and chime, to laugh full varronly,  
It causeth him to dance, and kee to rave,  
And many things to do unadcently.*

for the greatest and worst matter that ensueth thereupon is not singing, laughing and dancing; there is another inconvenience in comparison whereof all these are nothing, and that is,

*To blurt abroad, and those words to reveale,  
Which better were within for to conceale.*

This is (I say) the mischief most dangerous of all the rest: and it may bethat the Poët covertly would asseile that question which the Philosophers have propounded and disputed upon; namely, what difference there might be, betweene liberal drinking of wine, and stark drunkenness? in attributing unto the former mirth and jocundnesse extraordinarie, and to the latter much babbling and toolish prattle: for according to the common proverbe, that which is feared in the heart and thought of a sober person, lieth aloft in the mouth and tongue of a drunkard. And therefore wisely answered the Philosopher *Alex* unto one of these jangling and prating companions: for when he seemed to marke him for sitting still, and saying nothing at a feast, inso much as he gave him the lob and foole for it: And how is it possible (quoth he) that a foole should hold his peace at the table? There was upon a time a citizen of *Athens* who feasted the embassadours of the king of *Persia*, and for that he perceived that these great Lords would take delight in the companie of learned men and Philosophers, upon a brave minde that he carried, invited they were all & met there together: now when all the rest began to discourse in general, and everie man seemed to put in some vie for himselfe, and to hold and maintaine one theame or other, *Zeno* who sat among them was onely silent and spake not a word; whereupon the said Embassadours and strangers of *Persia* began to bee merrie with him and to drinke unto him round, saying in the end: And what shall we report of you Sir *Zeno* unto the King our master? *Marie* (quoth he) no more but this, that there is an ancient man at *Athens* who can sit at the boord and say nothing. Thus you see that silence argueth deepe and profound wisdom; it implereth sobriety, and is a mysticall secret and divine vertue; whereas drunkenness is talkative, full of words, void offense and reason; and indeed thereupon multiplieth so many words, and is ever jangling. And in truth the Philosophers themselves when they define drunkenness say: That it is a kinde of raving and speaking idly at the table upon drinking too much wine; whereby it is evident, that they do not simply condemne drinking, so that a man keepe himselfe within the bounds of modestie and silence; but it is excessive and foolish talke, that of drinking wine maketh drunkenness. Thus the drunkard raveth and talketh idly when he is cup-shotten at the boord; but the prater and man of many words doth it alwaies and in every place, in the market and common hal, at the theatre, in the public galleries and walking places, by day and by night. If he be a physician and visit his patient, certes he is more grievous, and doth more hurt in his cure than the maladie it selfe; if he be a passenger with others in a ship, all the companie had rather be sea-sicke than heare him prate; if he set to praise thee, thou wert better to be dispraised by another; and in a word, a man shall have more pleasure and delight to converse and commune with lewd persons so they be discreet in their speech, than with others that be buisie talkers, though otherwise they be good honest men. True it is indeed that old *Nestor* in a tragedie of *Sophocles* speaking unto *Ajax* (who overthor himselfe in some hot and hasty words) for to appeale and pacifie him, saith thus after a milde and gracious maner,

*I blame not you sir Ajax for your speech*

*Nought though it be, your deeds are nothing lesse.*

But surely we are not so well affected unto a vaine-prating fellow; for his importunate and unseasonable words, marre all his good works, and make them to lose their grace. *Lysias* upon a time, at the request of one who had a cause to plead unto at the barre, penned an oration for his purpose and gave it him. The partie after he had read and read it over againe, came unto *Lysias* heave and ill-appealed saying: The first time that I perused your oration, me thought it was excellently well written, and I wondred at it; but when I took it a second and third time in hand, it seemed very simply endited & carried no forcible and effectual stile with it. Why (quoth *Lysias*, and smiled withall) know you not that you are to pronounce it but once before the judges? and yet see & marke withall the perswasive eloquence and sweet grace that is in the writing of *Lysias*, for I may be bold to say and affirme of him, that

*The Muses with their broidered violet haire,  
Grae'd him with favour much and beauty faire.*

And among those singular commendations that are given out of any Poët; most true it is that *Homer* is he alone of all that ever were, who overcame all fatietie of the reader; seeming evermore new and fresh, flourishing alwaies in the prime of lovely grace, and appeering young still and amiable to win favour; howbeit in speaking and professing thus much of himselfe,

*It grieves me much for to chafe againe*

*A tale that once delivered hath bene plaine.*

He sheweth sufficiently that he avoideth what he can, and seareth that tedious fatietie which followeth hard at heeles, & lieth wait (as it were) unto all long traines of speech; in which regard he leadeth the reader & hearer of his Poëmes from one discourse & narration to another, and evermore with novelties doth to refresh and recreate him, that he thinketh he hath never enough; whereas our long-tongued chatteringers do alter a sort wound and weary the eares of their hearers by their tautologies and vaine repetitions of the same thing as they that soile and floury writing tables when they be faire scoured and clensed; and therefore let us set this first and formost before their eies, that like as they who force men to drinke wine out of measure and undelaid with water, are the cause that the good blessing which was given us to rejoyce our hearts and make us pleasant and merry, driveth some into sadness, and others into drunkenness and violence; even so they that beyond all reason and to no purpose use their speech (which is a thing otherwise counted the most delightfull and amiable meanes of conference and societie that men have together) cause it to bee inhumane and unfociable, displeasing those whom they thought to please, making them to be mocked at their hands, of whom they looked to be well esteemed, and to have their will and displeasure, whose love and amitie they made reckoning of. And even as hee by good right may be esteemed uncourteous and altogether unciwill, who with the girdle and tisse of *Venus*, wherein are all sorts of kind and amiable allurements, should repell and drive from him as many as desire his companie; so hee that with his speech maketh others heave and himselfe hatefull, may well be held and reputed for a gracelesse man and of no bringing up in the world. As for other passions and maladies of the minde, some are dangerous, others odious, and some againe ridiculous and expoled to mockerie; but garrulity is subject unto all these inconveniences at once. For such folke as are noted for their lavish tongue, are a meere laughing stocke, and in every common and ordinary report of theirs, they minister occasion of laughter; hated they be for their relation of ill newes, and in danger they are because they cannot conceale and keepe close their owne secrets: heereupon *Anacharsis* being invited one day & feasted by *Solan*, was reputed wise, for that being asleepe he was found and seene holding his right hand to his mouth, and his left upon his privities and natural parts: for good reason he had to thinke, that the tongue required and needed the stronger bridle and bit to restraine it: and in very truth it were a hard matter to reckon for many persons undone, and overthrowed by their intemperate and loose life, as there have bene cities and mightie States ruined and subverted utterly, by the revealing and opening of some secrets. It befell that whiles *Sylla* did league before the citie of *Athens*, and had not leasure to stay there long and continue the siege, by reason of other affaires and troubles pressed him sore, for of one side king *Mithridates* invaded and harmed *Asia*, and on the other side the faction of *Marius* gathered strength; and having gotten head, prevailed much within *Rome*: certeine old fellows being met in a barbers shop within the city of *Athens*, who were blabs of their tongues, clattered it out in their talk together, that a certeine quarter of the citie named *Heptaneleion* was not sufficiently

guarded, and therefore the towne in danger to be surpris'd by that part; which talke of theirs was over-heard by certtine espies, who aduertised *Sylla* so much; whereupon immediately hee brought all his forces to that side, and about midnight gave an hot assault, made entrie and went within a very litle of forcing the citie, and being matter of it all, for he filled the whole streete called *Ceramicum* with slaughter and dead carcasses, inso much as the chaelers ran downe with blood. Now was hee cruelly bent against the Athenians more for their hard language which they gave him than for any offence or injurie otherwise that they did unto him, for they had flouted and mocked *Sylla*, together with his wife *Metella*; and for that purpose they would get upon the walles and say: *Sylla* is a Sycamore or Mulberie, bestrewed all over with dusty-meale; besides many other such foolish jibes and taunts; and so for the lightest thing in the world (as *Plato* saith) to wit, words which are but winde, they brought upon their heads a most heave and grievous penaltie. The garrulitie and over-much talke of one man, was the onely hinderance that the citie of *Rome* was not set free and delivered from the tyrannie of *Nero*. For there was but one night betweene the time that *Nero* should have bene murdered on the morrow, and all things were readie and prepared for the purpose: but he who had undertaken the execution of that feat, as he went toward the Theatre, espied one of those persons who were condemned to die, bound and pinnioned at the prison doore, and readie to be led and brought before *Nero*; who hearing him to make piteous moane and lamenting his miserable fortune, steps to him and rounding him softly in the care: Pray to God poore man (quoth he) that this one day may passe over thy head, and that thou die not to day, for to morrow thou shalt come, thanks. The poore prisoner taking hold presently of this enigmaticall and darke speech, and thinking (as I suppose) that one bird in hand is better than two in bush, and according to the common saying, that

*A fowle is he who leaving that  
which readie is and sure,  
Dare follow after things that be  
unreadie and unsure.*

made choise of saving his life by the surer way, rather than by the juster meanes; for he discovered unto *Nero* that which the man had whispered secretly unto him: whereupon presently the partie was apprehended and carried away to the place of torture, where by racking, scotching and scourging; he was urged miserable wretch, to confesse and speake out that perforce, which of himselfe he had revealed without any constraint at all. *Zeno* the Philosopher fearing that while his body was put to dolorous and horrible torments, he should be forced even against his will to bewray and disclose some secret plot; bit off his tongue with his owne teeth and spit it in the Tyrants face. Notable is the example of *Leana*, and the reward which she had for continuing and ruling her tongue in singular. An harlot she was and verie familiar with *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*; by means of which inward acquaintance, privie she was and partie as farre forth as a woman might be to that conspiracie which they had complotted against the usurping tyrants of *Athens*, and the hopes that they builded upon (Drunke she had out of that faire cup of Love, and thereby vowed never to reveale the secrets of god *Cupid*.) Now after that these two paramours and lovers of hers had failed of their enterprize and were put to death; she was called into question and put to torture, and therewith commaunded to declare the rest of the complices in that conspiracie, who as yet were unknown and not brought to light: but so constant and resolute she was, that she would not detect so much as one, but endured all paines and extremities whatsoever; whereby she shewed that those two young gentlemen had done nothing unfitting their persons and nobilitie, in making choise to be enamoured of her. In regard of which rare secrecie of hers, the Athenians caused a Lionesse to be made of brasse without a tongue, and the same in memoriall of her to be erected and set up at the verie gate and entrie of their Citadell; giving posteritie to understand by the generosity of that beast, what an undaunted and invincible heart she had; and likewise of what taciturnitie and trust in keeping secrets, by making it tonguelesse: and to say a truth, never any word spoken served to so good steed as many concealed and held in, have profited. For why? A man may one time or other utter that which he once kept in; but being spoken, it cannot possibly be recalled and unsaid, for out it is gone alreadie and spread abroad sundrie waies. And hereupon it is (I suppose) that we have men to teach us for to speake, but we learne of the gods to hold our peace. For in sacrifices, religious mysteries, and ceremonies of divine service we receive by tradition, a custome to keepe silence. And even so, the Poet *Homer* feigned *Ulysses* (whose eloquence otherwise was so sweet) to be of

all

all men most silent and of fewest words; his sonne likewise, his wife and nourse, whom you may heare thus speaking:

*As soone shall stocke of sturdayeake it tell,  
Or iron so strong, as I will it reveale.*

And *Ulysses* himselfe sitting by *Penelope*, before he would be known unto her who he was, Grieved in his mind, and pited to behold His wife by teares to shew what hearts did feeble, But all the while his eyes he stiffe did hold, Which sturde no more than horne or sturdie Steele.

so full was his tongue of patience, and his lips of continence. For why? reason had all the parts of his bodie so obseisant and readie at command, that it gave order to the eyes not to shed teares; to the tongue not to utter a word; to the heart not to pant or tremble, nor so much as to sob or sigh:

*Thus unto reason obseisant was his heart,  
Perswaded all to take in better part.*

yea his reason had gotten the matrie of those inward and secret motions which are voide and incapable of reason, as having under her hand the verie blood and vitall spirits in all obeyfance: his people also and traine about him were for the most part of that disposition; for what wanted this of constancy & loyalty to their lord in the highest degree, to suffer themselves to be pulled 20 & haled, to be tugged & toiled, yea & dashed against the hard ground under foote by the giant *Cyclops*, rather than to utter one word against *Ulysses*, or to bewray that logge of wood which was burnt at the one end, & an instrument made readie for to put out his onely eye that he had? may they endured rather to be eaten & devoured raw by him, than to disclose any of *Ulysses* his secrets. *Pittacus* therefore did not amisse, who when the King of *Egypt* had sent unto him abeast for sacrifice, and willed him withall to take out and lay apart the best and woorst piece thereof, plucked out the tongue and sent it unto him, as being the organ of many good things, and no lesse instrument of the woorst that be in the world. And *Ladie Ivo* in *Euripides* speaking freely of herselfe, saith that she knew the time,

*When that she ought her tongue to hold,  
And when to speake, she might be bold.*

30 For certainly those who have had noble and princely bringing up in deed, learne first to keepe silence, and afterwards how to speake. And therefore king *Antigonus* the great, when his sonne upon a time asked him, When they should dislodge and breake up the campe: What sonne (quoth hee) art thou alone afraid, that when the time comes thou shalt not heare the trumpet sound theremove? Loe, how he would not trust him with a word of secrecie, unto whom he was to leave his kingdom in succession! teaching him thereby, that he also another day should in such cases be wary and spare his speech. Olde *Metellus* likewise, being asked such another secret as touching the armie and setting forward of some expedition: If I wist (quoth he) that my shirt which is next my skinne, knew this my inward intent and secret purpose, I would put it off 40 and sling it into the fire. King *Enmenes*, being advertised that *Craterus* was coming against him with his forces, kept it to himselfe, and would not acquaint any of his neere friends therewith, but made semblance and gave it out (though untruly) that it was *Neopolemus* who had the leading of that power; for him did his fouldiours contemne and make no reckoning of, whereas the glory and renowne of *Craterus* they had in admiration, and loved his vertue and valour: now when no man els but himselfe knew of *Craterus* his being in the field, they gave him battell, vanquished him, slew him before they were aware, neither tooke they knowledge of him before they found him dead on the ground. See how by a stratageme of secrecie and silence the victorie was achieved, onely by concealing so hardie and terrible an enemy; inso much, as his very friends about him admired more his wisdom in keeping this secret from 50 them, than complained of his diffidence and distrust of them. And say that a man should complaine of thee in such a case, better it were yet to be challenged and blamed for distrusting, all the while thou remainest safe and obtaine a victorie by that meanes, than to be justly accused after an overthrow, for being so open and trusting so easily. Moreover, how darrest thou confidently and boldly blame and reprove another for not keeping that secret, which thou thy selfe hast revealed? for if it was behoovefull and expedient that it should not be known, why hast thou tolde it to another? but in case when thou hast lettie a secret from thy selfe unto a man, thou wouldest have him to holde it in, and not blurt it out, surely it can not be but thou hast bet-

ter confidence in another than thy selfe : now if he be like thy selfe , who will pity thee if thou come by a mischiefe? is he better , and so by that meanes saveth thee harmelesse beyond all reason and ordinary course? then hast thou met with one more faithfull to thee than thou art thy selfe : but haply thou wilt say : He is my very friend ; so hath he another friend (before) whom he will do as much for , and disclose the same secret unto , and that friend (no doubt) hath another. Thus one word will get more still, it will grow and multiply by a sute and sequence linked & hanging to an intemperate tongue: for like as Unitie, so long as the pasteth not her bounds, but continueth and remaineth still in herselfe, is one and no more, in which respect she is called in Greeke, *Monas*, that is to say, Alone; whereas the number of twaine is the beginning of a diversitie (as it were) and difference, and therefore indefinite; for straight waies is Unitie passed forth of it selfe by doubling, and so turneth to a plurality; even so a word or speech all the while it abideth enclosed in him who first knew it, is truly and properly called a Secret, but after it is once gotten forth and let a going, so that it is come unto another, it beginneth to take the name of a common brute and rumour : for as the Poet very well saith; *Words have wings*. A bird, if she be let flie once out of our hands, it is much adoe to catch againe; and even so, when a word hath passed out of a mans mouth, hardly or unnethe may we withholde or recover; for it flieeth amaine, it flappeth her light wings, fetching many a round compasse, and spreadeth every way from one quarter to another: well may mariners flay a ship with cables and ankers, when the violence of the winde is ready to drive and carrie her an end, or at least wile they may moderate her swift & flight course; but if a word be issued out of the mouth, as out of her haven, and have gotten sea-roume, there is no bay nor harbour to tide in, there is no casting of anker will serve the turne, away she goes with a mighty noise and hurry, untill in the end she runnes upon some rocke and is split, or els into a great and deepe gulf, to the present danger of him who let her forth;

*For in small time, and with a little sparke  
Of fire, a man may burne the Forrest tall  
Of Ida mount; ev'n so (who list to marke)  
All towne will heare, a word do one let fall.*

The Senate of Rome upon a time sat in sadde and serious counsell many daies together about a matter of great fecerie : now the thing being so much the more suspected and hearkened after, as it was lesse apparent and known abroad; a certaine Romane dame, otherwise a good-foller and wife matron (howbeit a woman) importuned her husband and instantly befought him, of all loves to tell her what this secret matter might be upon which they did sit so close in consultation; protesting with many an oath and execrable curse to keepe silence and not to utter to any creature in the world; you must thinke also, that she had teares at command, lamenting and complaining withall, what an unhappie woman she was, in case her husband would not trust her so much as with a word : the Romane Senatour her husband minding to trie and reprove her folly: Thou hast overcome me (sweet heart, quoth hee) and through thine importunitie, thou shalt heare of a strange and terrible occurrent that troubleth us all. So it is, that we are advertised by our Priests, that there hath bene a larke of late seene flying in the aire, with a golden cop or crest on her head in manner of an helmet, and withall, bearing a javelin: hereupon we do conferre and consult with our Soothsaiers and Diviners, desirous to be certified out of their learning, whether this prodigious token portend good or hurt to the Common-weale? but keepe it to thy selfe (as thou lovest me) and tell it no bodie. When he had thus said, he went forth toward the Common hall and Market place: his wife incontinently had no sooner spied one of her waiting-maidens coming into the roome, but she drew her apart, begunne to heat and knocke her owne brest, to rent and teare the haire off her head, and therewith: Ah, woe's me (quoth she) for my poore husband, my sweet native country; alas and weladay, what shall we doe, and what will become of us all; as if shee taught her maide and were desirous that shee should say thus unto her againe: Why, what is the matter mistresse? Now when the maiden thereupon asked her, What newes? shee fell tale an end and told all, marie shee forgot not the common and ordinarie burden or clause, that all blabs of their tongue use to come in with: But in any case (quoth she) say nothing, but keepe it to thy selfe. Scarfe was shee gone out of her mistresse sight, but seeing one of her fellowes whom shee found most at leisure and doing little or nothing to her shee imparted all. That wench againe made no more adoe, but to her lover shee goes, who haply then was come to visite her, and telleth him as much. By this meanes the tale was bruted abroad, and passed roundly from one to another; inasmuch as the rumour thereof

was

was runne into the market place, and there went currant before the first author, and devised thereof himselfe was gotten thither. For there meetes with him one of his familiars and friends: How now (quoth he) are you come but now directly from your house to the market place: No (quoth he againe) I am but newly come: Why then belike (saith the other) you have heard no newes? Newes (quoth he) what newes should I heare? and what tidings can you tell me of? Why man (answered he againe) there hath bene of late a Larke seene flying with a golden cop or crest on her head, and carrying beside a javelin; and the Consult with other Magistrates are ready to call a Senate house for to sit upon this strange occurrent. With that the Senatour before said, turning aside & smiling, thus said to himselfe: Wel done wife, I can thee thank for thy quicknes & celeritie, thou hast quit thy selfe well indeed, that the word which erewhile I uttered unto thee, is gotten before me into the market place. Well, the first thing that he did was this, To the Magistrates he went straightwaies, signified unto them the occasion of this speech, and freed them from all feare and trouble: but when he was come home to his owne house he fell in hand to chastise his wife: How now Dame (quoth he) how is this come to passe; you have undone me for ever; for it is found and knowen for a truth, that this secret and matter of counsell which I imparted to you, is divulged and published abroad, and that out of my house: and thus your unbridled tongue is the cause that I must abandon and fly my country, and forthwith depart into exile. Now when at the first she would have denied the thing stoutly, and alledged for her excuse and defence, saying: Are not there three hundred Senatours besides you your selfe, who heard it as well as you? No marvel then if it be known abroad. What tell you me of three hundred (quoth he?) upon your importunate instance, I devised it of mine owne head, in mirth to trie your silence, and whether you could keepe counsell. Certes, this Senator was a wife man and went safely and warily to worke, who to make proofe of his wife, whom hee tooke to be no foundier nor surer than a crackt and rotten vessell, would not poure into it either wine or oile, but water only, to see if it would leake & run out. But Fulvius one of the favorites & minions of Augustus the Emperor, when he was now well stepped in yeeres, having heard him toward his latter daies, lamenting and bewailing the desolate estate of his house, in that he had no children of his owne bodie begotten; and that of his three nephewes or sisters children two were dead, and *Posthumus* (who onely remained alive) upon an imputation there upon him confined, and living in banishment, whereupon he was enforced to bring in his wives sonne, and declare him heire apparent to succeed him in the Empire: notwithstanding upon a tender compassion, he was otherwhiles in deliberation with himselfe, and minded to recall his foresaid sisters sonne from exile, and the place whereunto he was confined. *Fulvius* (I say) being privy to these moanes and desseignes of his, went home and told his wife all that he had heard. Shee could not hold but goes to the Emperesse *Livia*, wife of *Augustus*, and reported what her husband *Fulvius* had told her. Whereupon *Livia* taking great indignation, sharply did contest and expostulate with *Cesar* in these termes: That seeing it is so (quoth she) that you had so long before projected & determined such a thing, as to call home againe your nephew afore said; why sent you not for him at the first, but exposed me to hatred, enmity & war with him, who another day should weare the Diademe and be Emperor after your decease? Well the next morning betimes, when *Fulvius* came, as his maner was, to salute *Cesar* and give him good morrow, after he had said unto him, *Salve Kalpae*; that is, God save you *Cesar*. He resaluted him no other wise but this, *Salve Fulvius*; that is, God make you wife *Fulvius*. *Fulvius* soone found him and conceived presently what hee meant thereby; whereupon hee retired home to his house with all speede, and called for his wife; unto whom *Cesar* (quoth hee) is come to the knowledge that I have not kept his counsell nor concealed his secrets; and therefore I am resolved to make my selfe away with mine owne handes. And well woorthie (quoth shee) for justly you have deserved death, who having lived so long with me, knew not the incontinence of my tongue all this while, nor would take heed and beware of it; but yet suffer me first to die upon your sword; and with that catching hold thereof, killed herselfe before her husband. And therefore *Philippides* the Comedian, did verie wisely in his answer to King *Lysimachus*, who by way of all courtesie making much of him, and minding to do him honour, demanded of him thus: What wouldst thou have me to impart unto thee of all other treasure and riches that I have? What it shall please your Majestie (quoth he) my gracious Lord, so it be none of your secrets.

Moreover, there is adjoined ordinarily unto Garrulitie, another vice no lesse than it; namely, Bussie intermeddling and Curiositie, for men desire to heare and know much newes, because they



they may report and blafe the fame abroad, and eſpecially if they be ſecrets. Thus goe they up and downe liſtning, enquiring and ſearching if they can find and diſcover ſome cloſe and hidden ſpeeches, adding as it were ſome olde ſurcharge of odious matters to their toies and fooleries; which maketh them afterwards to be like unto little boies, who neither can hold yee in their hands, nor yet will let it goe; or to ſay more truly, they claſpe and containe in their boſoms ſecret ſpeeches, reſembling ſerpents, which they are not able to hold and keepe long, but are eaten and gnawen by them. It is ſaid that certaine fiſhes called the Sea-needles, yea and the vipers doe cleave and burſt when they bring forth their yoor; and even ſo, ſecrets when they be let fall out of their mouthes who can not containe them, undo and overthrow thoſe that reveale them. King *Seleucus* (him I meane who was ſurnamed *Callinicus*, that is, the victorious Conquerour) in one battell againſt the Galatians, was defeated hee and his whole power; whereupon he tooke from his head the Diademe or Royall band that he ware, and rode away on the ſpurre on horſebacke with three or foure in his companie, wandring through deſarts and by-ways unknowne ſo long, untill both horſe and man were done, and readie to faint for wearineſſe: at length he came unto a countrey kearnes or peaſants cottage; and finding (by good fortune) the good man of the houſe within, asked for bread and water; which the ſaid peaſant or cottier gave unto him; and not that onely, but looke what the field would afford els beſides, he imparted unto him and his company with a willing heart and in great plentie, making them the beſt cheere that hee could deviſe: in the end he knew the kings face, whereupon he tooke ſuch joy, in that his hap was to entertaine the king in his neceſſitie, that he could not containe himſelfe, nor ſecond the king in diſſembling his knowledge, who deſired nothing more, than to be unknowne: when hee had therefore brought the king onward on his way, and was to take his leave of him: Adieu (quoth he) king *Seleucus*: with that the king reached forth his hand, and drew him toward him, as if he would have kiſſed him, & withall, beckned to one of his followers, and gave him a ſecret token to take his ſword and make the man ſhorter by the head.

*Thus whiles he ſpake (I wot not what) his head  
Off goes, and lies in duſt when he was dead.*

whereas, if he could have held his tongue a little while longer, and maſtered himſelfe, when the king afterwards had better fortune and recovered his greatneſſe and power, he ſhould in my conceit have gotten more thanks at his hands, and beene better rewarded for keeping ſilence, than for all the courteſie and hoſpitalitie that he ſhewed. And yet this fellow had in ſome ſort a colourable excuſe for this intemperate tongue of his, to wit, his owne hopes and the good will that he bare unto the king; but the moſt part of theſe praters vndo themſelves without any cauſe or pretence at all of reaſon: like as it befall unto *Dennis* the tyrants barbar: for when (upon a time) there were ſome talking in his ſhop as touching his tyrannicall government and eſtate, how aſſured it was, and as hard to be ruined or overthrowen, as it is to breake the Diamond: the ſaid barbar laughing thereat: I marvell (quoth he) that you ſhould ſay ſo of *Dennis*, who is ſo often under my hands, and at whoſe throat in a manner every day I holde my raſor: theſe words were ſoone carried to the tyrant *Dennis*, who faire crucified this barbar and hanged him for his fooliſh words. And to ſay a trueth, all the ſort of theſe barbars be commonly buſie fellows with their tongue; and no marvell, for lightly the greateſt praters and idleſt perſons in a countrey, frequent the barbars ſhop, and ſit in his chaire, where they keepe ſuch chat, that it can not be, but by hearing them prate ſo cuſtomably, his tongue alſo muſt walke with them. And therefore king *Archelaus* answered very pleaſantly unto a barbar of his, that was a man of no few words, who when he had caſt his linnen cloth about his ſhoulders, ſaid unto him: Sir, may it pleaſe your Highneſſe to tell me how I ſhall cut or have you: Mary (quoth he) holding thy tongue, and ſaying not a word. A barbar it was, who firſt reported in the city of *Athens*, the newes of that great diſcomſure and overthrow which the Athenians received in *Sicily*; for keeping his ſhop (as he did) in that end of the ſuburbs called *Pyraum*, he had no ſooner heard the ſaid unlucky newes of a certaine ſlave who fled from thence out of the field, when it was loſt, but leaving ſhop and all at fixe and ſeven, ran directly into the city, and never reſted to bring the ſaid tidings, and whiles they were freſh and fire-new,

*For ſeeve ſome els might all the honour win,  
And be too late, or ſecond, ſhould come in.*

Now upon the broching of theſe unwelcome tidings, a man may well thinke (and not without good cauſe) that there was a great ſtirre within the city; inſomuch, as the people aſſembled together into the Market place or Common hall, and ſearch was made for the authour of this

mour:

mour: hereupon the ſaid barbar was haled and brought before the bodie of the people, and examined; who knew not ſo much as the name of the partie of whom hee heard this newes; But well aſſured I am (quoth he) that one ſaid ſo, mary who it was or what his name might be, I can not tell. Thus it was taken for an headleſſe tale, and the whole Theatre or Aſſembly was to move to anger, that they cried out with one voice; Away with the villaine, have the varlet to the racke, ſet the knave upon the wheele, he it is onely that hath made all on his owne fingers ends, this hath he and none but he deviſed; for who els hath heard it, or who beſides him hath beleev'd it? Well, the wheele was brought, and upon it was the barbar ſtretched: meane while, and even as the poore wretch was hoiled thereupon, beholde there arrived and came to the citie, thoſe who brought certaine newes in deed of the ſaid deſeature, even they who made a ſhift to eſcape out of that infortunate field: then brake up the aſſembly, and every man departed and retired home to his owne houſe, for to bewaile his owne private loſſe and calamity, leaving the ſilly barbar lying along bound to the wheele, and racked out to the length, and there remained he untill it was very late in the evening, at what time he was let looſe; and no ſooner was he at liberty, but he muſt needs enquire newes of the executioner, & namely; what they heard abroad of the Generall himſelfe *Nicias*, and in what ſort he was ſlaine? So inexpugnable and incorrigible a vice is this, gotten by cuſtome of much talke, that a man can not leave it, though he were going to the gallowes, nor keepe in thoſe tidings which no man is willing to heare: for certes, like as they who have drunke bitter potions or unfavoury medicines, can not away with the very cups wherein they were; even ſo, they that bring evil and heave tidings, are ordinarily hated and deteſted of thoſe unto whom they report the ſame. And therefore *Sophocles* the Poet hath verie finely diſtinguiſhed upon this point in theſe verſes:

MESSENGER.

*Is it your heart, or els your eare,  
That this offends, which you do heare?*

CREON.

*And why doſt thou ſearch my diſſeſe,  
To know what griefe doth me diſpleaſe?*

MESSENGER.

*His deeds (I ſee) offend your heart,  
But my words cauſe your cares to ſmart.*

Well then, thoſe who tell us any wofull newes be as odious as they who worke our wo; and yet for all that, there is no reſtreint and bridling of an untemperate tongue that is given to walke and overreach. It fortun'd one day at *Lacedaemon*, that the temple of *Iano* called there *Chalciceos* was robbed, and within it was found a certaine emptie flagon or ſtone bottle for wine: great running there was and concourſe of the people thither, and men could not tell what to make of that flagon: at laſt one of them that ſtood by; My maſters (quoth he) if you will give me leave, I ſhall tell you what my conceit is of that flagon, for my minde gives me (ſaith he) that theſe church-robbers who projected to execute ſo perilous an enterpriſe, had firſt drunke the juice of hemlocke before they entred into the action, and afterwards brought wine with them in this bottle, to the end that if they were not ſurprized nor taken in the manner, they might ſave their lives by drinking each of them a good draught of meere wine; the nature and vertue whereof (as you know well enough) is to quench as it were and diſſolve the vigour and ſtrength of that poiſon, and ſo got their waies ſafe enough, but if it chance that they were taken in the deed doing, then they might by means of that hemlocke which they had drunke die an eaſie death, and without any great paine and torment, before that they were put to torture by the magiſtrate. He had no ſooner delivered this ſpeech, but the whole companie who heard his words, thought verily that ſuch a contrived deviſe, and ſo deepe a reach as this never came from one that ſuſpected ſuch a matter, but rather knew that it was ſo indeed; whereupon they flockt round about, and hemmed him in, and on everie ſide each one had a ſaying unto him: And what art thou (quoth one?) From whence art thou faith another? Here comes one and aſkerth, who knew him? there ſets upon him another, ſaying: And how commeſt thou by the light of all this that thou haſt delivered: to be ſhort, they handled the matter ſo well, that they forced him to bewray himſelfe in the end, and to confeſſe that he was one of them that committed the ſacriledge. Were not they alſo who murdered the Poet *Ibycus*, diſcovered and taken after the ſame manner? It hapned that the ſaid murderers were ſet at a Theatre to behold the plaies and paſſtimes which were exhibited; and ſeeing a flight of Cranes over their heads, they whiſpered

one

one to another: Loe these be they that will revenge the death of *Ibycus*. Now had not *Ibycus* beene a long time before scene, and much searce was made after him, because he was out of the way and missed; whereupon they that late next unto these men over-hearing those words of theirs, and well noting the speech, went directly to the Magistrates and Iustices to give intelligence and information of their words. Then were they attached and examined; and thus being convicted, suffered punishment in the end, not by the means of those Cranes that they talked of, but surely by their own blab-tongues; as if some hellish furie had forced them to disclose that murder which they had committed. For like as in our bodies the members diseased and in paine, draw humours continually unto them, and all the corruption of the parts neere unto them flow thither; even so, the tongue of a babbling fellow, being never without an inflammation and a feverous pulse, draweth alwaies and gathereth to it one secret and hidden thing or other. In which regard it ought to be well fenced with a rampar, and the bulwarke of reason should evermore be set against it, which like unto a barre may stay and stop that overflowing and inconstant lubricitie which it hath; that we be not more undiscereet and foolish beasts than geese are, who when they be to take a flight into *Cilicia* over the mountaine *Taurus*, which is full of eagles, take up everie one in their bill a good big stone, which serveth them in stead of a Locke or bridle to restrain their gagling; by which device they may passe all night long without any noise, and not be heard at all or detected by the said eagles.

Now if one should demand and aske of me, what person of all others is most mischievous and dangerous? I believe very well there is no man would name any other but a traitour. And yet *Euthyrates* (as faith *Demosthenes*) for his treason covered his owne house with a rouf made of timber that he had out of *Macedonie*. *Philocrates* also lived richly and gallant of that great masse of gold and silver, which he had of King *Philip* for betraying his country, and therewith furnished himselfe with brave harlots, gallant concubines, and daintie sitnes. *Euphorbus* also and *Philagrus* who betrayed *Eretria*, were endowed by the King, with faire lands and possessions: but a prater is a traitor voluntarie and for nothing, he demandeth no hire at all, neither looketh he to be solicited, but offereth himselfe and his services; nor betrayeth unto the enemies either horses or wales, but revealeth hidden secrets, and discloseth speeches which are to be concealed, whether it be in judiciall matters of law or in seditious discords, or in managing of State affaires, it makes no matter, and no man cannet him thanks; nay he will thinke himselfe beholden to others, if they will vouchsafe to give him audience. And therefore, that which is commonly said to a prodigal person, who foolishly mispendeth and vainely wasteth his substance he cares not how, to gratifie every man: Thou art not liberal; this is no courtesie; a vice it is rather that thou art disposed unto, thus to take pleasure in nothing, but giving and giving still. The same rebuke and reprehension serveth verie fitly for a babler: Thou art no friend nor well-willer of mine, thus to come and discover these things unto me; this is thy fault, and a disease which thou art sicke of, that lovest to be clattering and hast no mind but of chating.

Now would I have the Reader to thinke that I write not all this, so much to accuse and blame the vice and maladie of garrulitie, as to cure and heale the same. For by judgement and exercise we surmount and overcome the vices and passions of the minde; but judgement, that is to say, knowledge, must go before: for no man accustometh himselfe to void, and (as it were) to weed them out of the soule, unless he hate and detest them first. Now then, and never before, begin we to take an hatred to vices, when by the light of reason we consider and weigh the shame and losse that cometh unto us by them: as for example, we know and see that these great praters, whiles they desire to win love, gaine hatred; thinking to do a pleasure, they displease; looking to be well esteemed, are mocked and derided; they lay for lucre, and get nothing; they hurt their friends, aide their enemies, and undoe themselves.

So then, let this be the first receipt and medicine for to cure this maladie; even the consideration and reckoning up of the shamefull infamies and painfull inconveniences that proceed and ensue thereof. The second remedy is, to take a survey of the contrary; that is to say, to heare all waies, to remember and have ready at hand the praises and commendations of silence, the majestie (I say) the mysticall gravitie and holinesse of taciturnitie, to represent alwaies unto our minde and understanding, how much more admired, how much more loved, and how farre wiser they are reputed, who speake roundly at once, and in few words, their minde pithily; who in a short and compendious speech comprehend more good matter and substance a great deale, than these great talkers, whose tongues are unbridled and run at randon. Those (I say) be they whom *Plato* so highly esteemeth, comparing them to skilfull and well practised Archers and

Darters,

Darters, who have the feat of shooting arrowes and launcing darts; for they know how and when to speake graciously and bitterly, foundly, pithily and compactly. And verily, wife *Lycurgus* framed and exercised his citizens immediatly from their child-hood by keeping them downe at the first with silence to this short and sententious kinde of speech, whereby they spake plaines compendiously, and knit up much in a litle. For like as they of *Bisky* or *Celtiberia* do make their Steele of yron, by entering it and letting it lie first within the ground, and then by purging and refining it from the grosse, terrene and earthly substance that it hath; even so the Laconians speech hath no outward barke (as a man would say) or crust upon it, but when all the superfluitie thereof is taken away, it is Steele (as it were) and tempered, yea, and hath an edge upon it, fit for to worke withall and to pierce: and verily that apophthegmaticall and powerfull speech of theirs, that grace which they had to answer sententiously and with such gravity, together with a quicke and ready gift to meet at every turne with all objections, they attained unto by nothing els but by their much silence. Wherefore, it were very expedient to see ever before the eyes of these great praters, those short and witty speeches, that they may see what grace and gravity both, they have: as for example; The Lacedaemonians unto *Philip*, greeting: *Dionysius* in *Corinth*. Also another time, when *Philip* had written unto them to this effect: If I enter once into the confines of *Laconia*, I wil destroy you utterly that you shal never rise againe. They returned this answer againe in writing: *Alas*; that is, If. Likewise when King *Demetrius* in great displeasure and indignation, cried out aloud in these words: *The Lacedaemonians have sent unto me an embassador alone, and who hath no fellow*; meaning that there came but one: the said embassador nothing daunted at his words, answered readily: *One for one*. Certes, they that used to speake short and sententiously, were highly esteemed long ago with our ancients & forefathers. And hereupon it was that the *Amphyctones*, that is to say, the Deputies or States for the generall council of all *Greece*, gave order, that there should be written over the doore of the Temple of *Apollo Pythius*, not the *Odysee* or *Ilias* of *Homer*; ne yet the Canticles or *Pans* of *Pindarus*; but these briefe sentences: *Enchi mienis*; that is, Know thy selfe. *Musis agas*; that is, Too much of nothing. Also *Erytus*, *metes d'ans*; that is, Be suretie and make account to pay: so highly esteemed they a plaine, simple and round manner of speaking, which comprised in few words much matter, and a sentence massive and found: and no marvell, for *Apollo* himselfe loveth brevity, and is in his oracles verie fuccinct and pithy; wherefore els is he furnamed *Loxias*? but because he chooseth rather to avoide pluralitie than obscuritie of words. They also who without word uttered at all, signifie the conceptions of their minde by certaine symbollicall devices, and after that maner deliver good lessons unto us; are they not sundrie waies commended and admired exceedingly? Thus *Heraclitus* in times past, being requested by his neighbours and fellow-citizens, to make a sententious speech unto them, and deliver his opinion as touching civil unitie and concord, mounted up into the pulpit, and taking a cup of cold water in his hand, bespiced it (as it were) with some meale, and with a sprig or two of the herbe *Pennirovall*, shooke all together: which done, he dranke it off, and so came downe and went his way: giving them by this demonstration, thus much to understand; that if men would take up with a litle and be content with things at hand, without desiring costly superfluities, it were the next way to keepe and preserve cities in peace and concord.

*Scyllurus* a King of the Scythians left behind him fourscore sonnes; and when the houre of his death drew neere, he called for a bundle of darts or a sheaf of arrowes to be brought unto him, which he put into his childrens hands one after another, and willed each one to brake and burst the same in pieces, bound as it was entire and whole together: which when they had assaied to do, and putting all their strength unto it, could not, but gave over: himselfe tooke out of the sheaf or knith the darts aforesaid one by one, and knapt them in twaine single as they were with facilitie: declaring by this device, that so long as they held together, their union and agreement would be strong and invincible; but their discord and disunion would make them so feeble, and be an occasion that they should not long continue. He then, that continually shall have these & such like precedents in his mouth, and ordinarily repeat and remember the same, will peradventure take no great pleasure and delight in idle and superfluous words. For mine owne part, surely I am abashed mightily at the example of that domestical servant at *Rome*, when I consider with my selfe what a great matter it is to be well advised before a man speaketh, and constantly to hold and maintaine the resolution of any purpose. *Publius Pifo* the great Orator and Rhetorician, because he would provide that his people and servitors about him should not trouble his head with much prattle, gave order and commaundement unto them, that

that they should make answer unto his demands onely, and no more: now being minded one day to entertaine *Clodius* the chiefe ruler of the city at his house, he bad him to supper, and caused him to be sent for and called at the time accordingly; for a stately and royall feast he had provided, by all likelihood, and as any man would thinke no lesse: now when supper time was come, the rest of the invited guests now present, *Clodius* onely they staied and looked for, meane while, *Piso* had sent out oftentimes unto him one of his servitors who was wont ordinarily to bid his guests for to see whether he were coming, or would come to supper or no? But when it grew late in the evening, so that there was no hope now that hee would be there: Now firrha (quoth *Piso* to his man aforesaid) didst thou not invite and bid him? Yes iwis Sir: Why then comes he not: said the master againe? Forsooth (quoth he) because he denied to come: And why toldst thou not me this immediately? Because sir, you never asked me the question, Well this was a Romane servitor; but an Athenian servant I trow whiles he is digging and delving, will tell his master newes, and namely, what be the articles and capitulations, in the treaty and composition of peace. So powerfull and forcible is use and custome in all things, whereof I purpose now to treat; for that there is no bit nor bridle that is able to repress, tame, and keepe in a talkative tongue, but it is custome that must do the deed and conquer this maladie.

First and foremost therefore, when in companie there shall be any question propounded by them that are about thee, frame and use thy selfe to hold thy tongue and be silent, untill thou see that everie man else refuseth to speake and make answer: for according to *Sophocles*.

*To counsell and to runne a course in race*

*Have not both mine one end, so haffe apace.*

No more verily doeth a voice and an answer shoot at the same marke that running aimeth at: for there, to wit, in a race, he winneth the prize that getteth to be foremost; but heere, if another man have delivered a sufficient answer, it will be well enough, by praising and approving his speech, to gaine the opinion and reputation of a courteous person; if not, then will it not be thought impertinent, neither can envie or hatred come of it, in case a man do gently shew and open that wherein the other was ignorant, and so after a milde and civil manner supply the defect of the former answer: but above all, this regard would be had: That when a question or demand is addressed and directed unto another, we take it not upon our selves; and so anticipate and prevent his answer; and peradventure, neither in this nor in any thing els, is it decent and commendable to offer and put forth our selves too forward before we be required; and in this case, when another man is asked a question, our owne intrusion, with the putting by of him is not seemely; for we may be thought (in so doing) both to injurie and discredit the party demanded, as if hee were not able to performe that which was put upon him, and also to reproch the demandant, as though hee had little skill and discretion, to aske a thing of him who could not give the same: and that which more is, such malapert boldnesse and heady hastinesse in rash answering, importeth (most of all) exceeding arrogancie and presumption; for it seemeth, that hee who taketh the answer out of his mouth of whom the question is demanded, would say thus much in effect: What need have wee of him? what can he say unto it? what skill or knowledge hath hee? when I am in place, no man ought to aske any other of these matters, but my selfe only. And yet many times we propose questions unto some, not of any great desire that we have to heare their answers, but onely because we would finde talke, and minister occasion of discourse, seeking thereby to draw from them some words that may yeeld matter of mirth and pleasant conference: after which sort, *Socrates* used to provoke *Theætetus* and *Charmides*. To prevent therefore the answer of another, to turne away mens eares, to divert their eies, and draw their cogitations from him to our selves, is as much as if we should run before and make haste to kisse one first, who was minded to be kist of another, or to enforce him to looke upon us, whose eies were set and fixed upon another; considering, that although the partie unto whom the demand was made, be either not able nor willing to make answer, it were befitting for a man, after some little pause made, to present himself in all modesty and reverence, & then to frame & accommodate his speech as nere unto that as may be, which he thinketh will content the minde of him that made the demand, and so answer (as it were) in the name of the other: for if they who are demanded a question, make no good & sufficient answer, great reason they have to be pardoned and held excused; but he who intrudeth himselfe, & taking the words out of anothers mouth, is ready to speake before he be spoken unto, by good right is odious, although he answer otherwise sufficiently; but if he faile, and make no good answer, certes he maketh himselfe, ridiculous, and a very laughing stocke to the whole company.

The

The second point of exercise and meditation, is in a mans owne particular answers, wherein he ought especially to be careful and take heed who is given to over-much talke, to the end that they who would provoke him to speake, and all to make themselves merry and to laugh at him, may well know that he answereth nor he knowes not what inconsiderately, but with good advice and seriously to the point: for such there be in the world, who for no need at all, but only for to passe time in mirth, devise certaine questions for the nonce, and in that manner propound them to such persons for no other end, but to provoke them to prattle; and therefore they ought to have a good eie and regard before them, not to leape out and runne all on a sudden hastily to their answer, as if they were well pleased and beholden unto them for to have such an occasion of speech; but with mature deliberation to consider the nature and behaviour of him that putteth out the question, together with the necessity thereof, and the profit that may ensue thereby; and if it appeare indeed, that the partie be in good earnest, and desirous to learne and be instructed, then he must accustom himselfe to repress his tongue and take some pause, allowing a competent space of time betweene the demand and the answer; during which silence, both the demander may have while to bethinke himselfe and adde somewhat thereto, if he list, and also the demandé time to thinke of an answer, and not let his tongue runne before his wit, and so huddle up a confused answer before the question be fully propounded: for often-times it falleth out, that for very haste they take no heed of those things which were demanded, but answer him kam, and one thing for another. True it is (I must needs say) that *Pythia* the priestesse of *Apolloes* temple, is wont to give answer by oracle at the same instant that the question is demanded, yea, and often-times before it be asked; for why? the god whom she serveth

*Doth understand: he dumbe, who can not speake,*

*And knowes ones minde, before the tongue it brake.*

but among men, he that would wisely and to the purpose answer, ought to stay untill he conceive the thought, and fully understand the intent of him that proposeth a question, lest that befall unto him which is said in the common proverbe:

*About an hooke I question made,*

*And they gave answer of a spade.*

and otherwise also, if that inconvenience were not, yet are we to bridle this lavish & haffe tongue of ours, and restraîne the inordinate and hungry appetite which we have to be talking; lest it be thought that we had a fluxe (as it were) of humours gathered a long time about the tongue, and grown into an impostume, which wee are very well content should be let out, and have issue made by a question tendered unto us, and so by that meanes be discharged thereof. *Socrates* was wont in this manner to restraîne and repress his thirst, after that he had enchafed his body and set himselfe into an heat, either by wrestling, or running, or such like exercises; he would not permit himselfe to drinke before he had powred out the first bucket of water that he had drawn out of the pit or well, acquainting this his sensuall appetite to attend the fit and convenient time that reason appointed.

Moreover, this would be noted, that there be three kinds of answers unto interrogations; the first necessarie, the second civil, and the third needlesse and superfluous: as for example: If one should aske whether *Socrates* be within or no; he that is unwilling or not ready and forward with his tongue, would make answer and say: He is not within; but if he be disposed to lacerize a little, and speake more brieffe, he would leave out the word (within) and say: He is not; or yet more short than so, pronouncing onely the negative Adverbe, and saying no more but No. Thus the Lacedæmonians dealt once by *Philip*; for when he had dispatched his letters unto the to this effect: To know whether they would receive him into their city or no: they wrote backe againe, in faire great capitall letters, within a sheet of paper, no more but O Y, that is to say, No: & so sent it unto him: but he that would make answer to the former question of *Socrates* a little more civilly and courteously, would say thus: He is not within sir, for he is gone to the banke or exchange; & to give yet a somewhat better measure, he might perhaps adde moreover & say: He looketh there for certaine strangers and friends of his. But a vaine prating fellow, and one that loves many words, especially if his hap hath beene to read the booke of *Antimachus* the Colophonian, will make answer to the demand aforesaid in this wise: He is not within sir, gone he is to the Burse or Exchange, for there he expecteth certaine strangers out of *Ionia*, of whom and in whose behalfe *Alcibiades* wrote unto him, who now maketh his abode within the citie of *Miletum*, so journeyeth with *Tissaphernes*, one of the lieutenants generall of the great King of *Persia*, who before time was in league with the Lacedæmonians, stood their friend, and sent them aid;

S

but

but not for the love of *Alibiades*, he is turned from them and is sided with the Athenians: for *Alibiades* being desirous to returne into his owne country, hath prevailed so much that hee hath altered *Tissaphernes* his minde, and drawn him away from our part: and thus (shall you have him rehearse in good earnest the whole eight booke (in manner) of *Thucydides* his story, untill he have overwhelmed a man with a multitude of narrations, and made him beleeve that in *Miletus* there is some great sedition; that it is ready to be lost, and *Alibiades* to be banished a second time. Herein then ought a man principally to set his foote and stay his overmuch language, so as the center and circumference of the answer be that, which he who maketh the demand desireth and hath need to know. *Carnedes* before he had any great name, disputed one day in the publike schooles and place appointed for exercise: unto whom the master or president of the place sent before hand, and gave him warning to moderate his voice (for hee spake naturally exceeding big and loud, so as the schooles rung againe therewith.) Give men then (quoth he) a gage and measure for my voice; upon whom the said master replied thus not improperly: Let him that disputeth with thee be the measure and rule to moderate thy voice by; even so a man may in this case say: The measure that hee ought to keepe who answereth, is the very will and minde of him that propoeth the question. Moreover, like as *Socrates* forbade those meats which drew men on to eat when they are not hungry; and likewise those drinks which caused them to drinke who are not a thirst: even so should a man who is given to much prattle, be afraid of those discourses wherein he delighteth most, and which he is wont to use and take greatest pleasure in; and in case hee perceive them to run willingly upon him for to withstand the same, and not give them intertainment. As for example, martiall men and warriors love to discourse and tell of battels; which is the reason that the Poet *Homer* bringeth in \* *Nestor* estoones recounting his owne prowesse and feats of armes: and ordinarie it is with the who in iudiciall trials have had the upper hand of their adversaries, or who beyond the hope and opinion of everie man have obtained grace and favour with kings and princes, to be subject unto this maladic that evermore followeth them, namely to report and recount estoones the manner how they came in places; after what fort they were brought in; the order of their pleading; how they argued the case; how they convinced their accusers, & overthrew their adversaries; last of all, how they were praised and commended: for to say a truth, joy and mirth is much more talkative than that olde *Agrypina* which the Poets doe feigne and devise in their comedies: for it rouseth and stirreth up, it reneweth and refresheth it selfe ever & anon, with many discourses and narrations; whereupon ready they are to fall into such speeches upon every light and colourable occasion: for not onely is it true which the common proverbe saith:

*Looke where a man doth feele his paine and grieve,  
His hand will soone be there to yeeld reliefe.*

but also joy and contentment draweth unto it the voice, it leadeth the tongue alwaies about with it, and is evermore willing to be remembered and related. Thus we see that amorous lovers passe the greater part of their time in rehearsing certaine words which may renew the remembrance of their loves, inso much that if they cannot meet with one person or other to relate the same unto, they will devise and talke of them with such things as have neither sense nor life: like as we read of one who brake forth into these words:

*O dainty bed, most sweet and pleasant couch,  
O blessed lamp, O happie candle light,  
No lesse than God doth Bacchus you avouch  
may God you are the mightiest in her sight.*

And verily a busie prater is altogether (as one would say) a white line or strake in regard of all words, to wit, without discretion he speaketh indifferently of all matters; howbeit if he be affected more to some than to others, he ought to take heed thereof, and abstaine from them; he is (I say) to withdraw and writhe him self from thence; for that by reason of the contentment which he may therein take, and the pleasure that he receiveth thereby, they may lead him wide & carrie him every while very farre out of the way: the same inclination to overhoothe themselves in prating, they finde also when they discourse of those matters wherein they suppose themselves to have better experience, and a more excellent habit than others: such an one I say being a self-lover and ambitious withall,

*Most part of all the day in this doth spend,  
Himselfe to passe, and others to transcend.*

As for example in histories if he hath read much, in artificiall stile and couching of his words,

he that is a Grammarian; in relation of strange reports and newes, who hath bene a great traveler and wandered through many forren countries: hereof therefore great heed would bee taken; for garrulitie being therein fished and baited, willingly runneth to the old and usuall haunt, like as every beaſt seeketh out the ordinary and accustomed pasture. And in this point was the young prince *Cyrus* of a wonderfull and excellent nature, who would never challenge his play-fellows and comforts in age unto any exercise wherein he knew himselfe to be superior; and to surpasse, but alwaies to such feats wherein he was lesse practised than they; which he did as well because he would not grieve their hearts in winning the prize from them, as also for that he would profit thereby, and learne to doe that wherein hee was more raw and unready than they. But a talkative fellow contrariwise, if there be a matter propoſed whereby he may heare and learne somewhat that he knew not before, rejecteth and refuseth it; he cannot for his life hold his tongue and keepe silence a little while, to gaine thereby some hire and reward, but casting and rolling his thought round about, he never rests untill he light upon some old ragged rapodies and overworne discourses, which hee hath patched and tacked together a thousand times. Such a one there was among us, who hapned by chance to have perused two or three bookes of *Epichurus*; whereby he tooke himselfe to be so great a cleane and so well read, that he wearied everie mans eares who heard him talke; there was no afficibly nor fealt unto which he came, but he would force the companie to arise and depart with his unmeasurable prating of the battel of *Leuctres*, and the occurrences that ensued thereupon, inso much as he got himself a by-name, and everie man called him *Epaminondas*. But this is the least inconvenience of all others that followeth this infirmitie of much babbling; and surely one good meane is it to the cure thereof; To turne the same from other matters to such as these: for thereby shall their tongue be lesse troublesome and offensive, when it passeth the bonds in the tearmes onely of literature.

Over and besides, for the remedie of this their disease, they shall do well to inure and accustom themselves to write somewhat, and to dispute of questions apart. Thus did *Antipater* the Stoick, who as it may be thought, being not able nor willing to hold out in disputation hand to hand with *Carnedes*, who with a violent streame (as it were) of his forcible wit and eloquence refused the sect of the Stoicks, answered the said *Carnedes* by writing, and filled whole bookes with contradictorie assertions and arguments against him; inso much as thereupon he was furnamed *Calamobos*, which is as much to say, as the lustie Crier with his pen: and so by all likelihood this manner of fighting with a shadow and lowd exclaiming in secret, and apart by themselves, training these stout praters everie day by little and little from the frequencie and multitude of people, may make them in the end more sociable and fitter for companie. Thus cuſtome cures after they have spent and discharged their choler and anger upon the cudgels or stones which have bene thrown at them, become thereby more gentle and tractable to men. But above all, it were verie expedient and profitable for them to be alwaies neere unto personages for yeeres elder, and in authoritie greater than themselves, and with those to converse; for the reverent regard and feare that they have in respect of their dignitie and gravitie, may induce and direct them in time and by custome to keepe silence; and evermore among those exercises heretofore by us specified, this adviſement would be mingled and interlaced; That when we are about to speake, and that words be readie to runne out of our mouth, we say thus unto our selves by way of reasoning: What manner of speech is this that is so urgent and presseſth so hard to be gone? What ailes my tongue, that it is so willing to be walking? What good may come by the utterance thereof? What harme may ensue by concealing it in and holding my peace? For we must not thinke that our words be like an heavy burden over-loading us, and whereof we should thinke our selves well eased when we are discharged of them: for speech remaineth still as well when it is uttered as before: but men ought to speake, either in the behalfe of themselves when they stand in need of something, or to benefit others, or else to pleasure and recreate one another by pleasant devises and discourses, (as it were) with salt to mitigate the painefull travels in so actions and worldly affaires, or rather to make the same more favorie whiles we are employed therein. Now if a speech be neither profitable to him that delivereth it, nor necessarie for him that heareth it, ne yet carrie therewith any grace or pleasure; what need is there that it should be uttered? For surely, a man may as soone speake a word in vaine, as do a thing to no purpose. But above and after all other good adviſements in this case, we ought alwaies to have in readinesse and remembrance this wise saying of *Simonides*: A man (quoth he) may repent many a time for words spoken, but never for a word kept in: this also we must thinke: That exercise is all in all, and a matter of that moment and efficacie, that it is able to master and conquer everie

thing: considering that men will take great paines and be careful; yea they will endure much sorrow for to be rid of an old cough; to chase away the troublefome yex or hicket. Besides, Taciturnitie hath not onely this one faire propertie and good vertue, that (as Hippocrates saith) It never breedeth thirst; but also that it engendreth no paine, no griefe nor displeasure, neither is any man bound to render an account thereof.



## OF AVARICE OR COVETOUSNES.

### The Summarie.

**I**F there be any excess in the world that troubleth the repose and tranquillitie of the spirit, causing our life to be wretched & miserable, it is Avarice; against which the sages and wise men of all ages from time to time have framed sharpe and terrible invectives, which in sum and effect doe shew thus much; That this covetousnes and greedy desire of gathering goods is (as it were) the capitall vice and seat-towne of all wickednes; the verie sinke of sinne and receptacle of all vices. Now albeit all men with one voice, yea and the most covetous persons of all others do confesse as much; yet the heart of man is so affectionate a friend to the earth, that needfull it is to propole and let downe divers instructions for to avert the same from thence, and to cause it to range & sort with other occupations and affaires, more becoming it selfe than is the over curious searching after transitorie & corruptible things. This is the reason, that those Philosophers who have handled the doctrine as touching manners are employed herein: and Plutarch among the rest, who teacheth us here in few words, with what considerations we ought to be furnished & fortified, that we do not permit such a pestilent plague as this to seaze upon our souls: and therewith he sheweth the miseries that befall unto avarice; whereof this is the first & principal; That in stead of giving contentment, it maketh her slave most wretched and putteth him to the greatest paine and torture in the world. And hereupon he interlaceth and inserteth a description of three sorts of covetous persons. First, of those who covet things rare and dangerous, whereas they should seeke after necessities. Secondly, of such as spend nothing, have much, and yet desire more and more; and these he depaupereth in all their colours. Thirdly, of them that be miggards and base minded pinch-pennies. Which done, he discovereth the second miserie of covetous wretches, to wit; That avarice doth tyrannize over her cause and slave, not suffering him to use that which she commaunded him to winne and get. The third is this; That it causeth him to gather and heape up riches, for some promoter or catch-poll, or else for a Tyrant, or else for some wicked and gracelesse heire, whose nature and properties hee doeth represent and describe verie lively. Afterwards having concluded that covetous persons are herein especially miserable; for that the one sort of them use not their goods at all, and other abuse the same: he prescribeth three remedies against this mischievous maladie. The first; That those who greedily gaze after riches, have no more in effect than they who stand contented with that which is necessarie for nature. The second; That we are not to count them happy, who be richly furnished with things unprofitable. And the last; That it is vertue, wherein we ought to ground and seeke for contentment; for there it is to be found and not in riches.

OF

## OF AVARICE OR Covetousnesse.



**H**ippomachus, a great master of wrestling & such exercises of the bodie, hearing some to praise a certaine tall man, high of stature, and having long armes and handes, commending him for a singular champion, and fit to fight at buffers: A proper fellow hee were (quoth he) if the garland or prize of the victory were hung on high, for to be reached with the hand; slemably it may be said unto them who esteeme so highly and repute it a great felicitie to be possessed of much faire lands, to have many great and stately houes, to be furnished with mighty masses and summes of money, in case felicity were to be bought and folde for coine. And yet a man shall see

many in the world, chuse rather to be rich and wretched withall, than to give their silver for to be happy and blessed: but surely it is not silver nor golde that can purchase either repose of spirit void of griefe and anguish, or magnanimity, ne yet settled constancie and resolution, confidence and suffisance, or contentment with our owne estate. Be a man never so rich, he can not skill thereby to contemne riches, no more than the possession of more than enough worketh this in us; That we want not still, and desire even things that be superfluous. What other vice and maladie then doeth our wealth and riches rid us from, if it delivereth us not from avarice? By drinke men quench their thirst, by meat they slake their hunger. And he that said:

*Give Hippomachus a cloak to keepe him warme,*

*For cold extreame I shike, and may take harme.*

if there were many clothes hung or cast upon him, would be offended therewith and fling them from him; but this their strong desire and love of money, it is neither silver nor gold that is able to quench: and let a man have never so much, yet he coveteth nevertheless to have more still. And well it may be verified of riches which one said sometime to an ignorant and deceitfull Physician:

*Your drugs and salves augment my sore,*

*They make me sicker than before.*

For riches verily, after that men have once met therewith, (wheras before they stood in need of bread, of a competent house to put in their heads, of meane comment and any viands that come next hand) fill them now with an impatient desire of golde, silver, ivory, emerauds, horses and hounds, changing and transporting their naturall appetite of things needfull and necessarie, into a disordinate lust to things dangerous, rare, hard to be gotten, and unprofitable when they be had. For never is any man poore in regard of such things as suffice nature; never doeth he take up money upon usurie, for to buy himselfe meat, cheefe, bread or olives; but one indebted himselfe for to build a sumptuous and stately house; another runnes in debt, because he would purchase a grove of olive trees that joineeth to his owne land; one is engaged deeply in the usurers books, by laying corne-grounds and wheat-fields to his owne demaines, another, because he would be possessed of fruitfull vineyards; some are indebted with buying mules of *Gallia*, and others, because they would be matters:

*Of lustie steeds, to win the prize*

*by running in a race,*

*With a tiring boile of emperie catch,*

*when it is drayen apace,*

have cast themselves into the bottomlesse gulfes of obligations, conditions, covenants, interests, statutes, reall gages & pawns: and afterwards it cometh to passe, that like as they who drinke when they be not drie; & eat without a stomacke, many times cast up by vomit, even that which they did eat & drinke when they were hungry & thirsty; even so, when they will needs have such things as be superfluous and to no use, doe not enjoy the benefit of those things that are needfull and necessarie indeed. Lo what kinde of people these be!

As for those who are at no cost, nor will lay out any thing, and notwithstanding they have much, yet ever covet more; a man may rather marvell and woonder at them, if he would but remember that which *Aristippus* was wont to say: He that eateth much (quoth he) and drinketh



likewise much, and is never satisfied nor full, goeth to the Physicians, asketh their opinion what his disease and strange indisposition of the body might be, and withall craveth their counsell for the cure and remedie thereof: but if one who hath five faire beddes already with the furniture thereto belonging, and seeketh to make them ten; and having ten tables with their cupboards of plate, will needs buy ten more; and for all that he is possessed of faire manours and goodly lands, have his bags and coffers full of money, is never the better satisfied, but still gappeth after more, breaketh his sleeps, devising and casting as he lieth awake, how to compasse the same, and when he hath all, yet is he not full; such an one (I say) never thinks that he hath need of a Physician to cure his maladie or to discourse unto him, from what cause all this doth proceed. And verily a man may looke, that of those who are thirstily ordinarily, and he that hath, not drunke, will be delivered of his thirst so soone as he meeteth with drinke; but in case such an one as evermore drinketh and powreth in still, never giving over, yet nevertheless continueth drie and thirstie, we judge him to have no need of repletion, but rather of purging and evacuation; him (I say) we appoint for to vomit, as being not troubled and distempered upon any want, but with some extraordinary heat or unkinde acrimonies of humours that be within him; even so it is with those that seeke to get and gather goods: he that is bare and poore in deed, will haply give over seeking so soone as he hath got him an house to dwell in, or found some treasure, or met with a good friend to helpe him to a summe of money to make cleere with the usurer, and to be crossed out of his booke: but he that hath already more than enough and sufficient, and yet craveth more, surely it is neither golde nor silver that will cure him, neither hore, nor theepe, nor yet beeves will serve his turne; need had he of purgation and evacuation, for poverie is not his disease, but covetousnesse and an unsatiabie desire of riches, proceeding from false judgement and a corrupt opinion that he hath, which if a man do not rid away out of his mind, as a winding gulle or whirle-poole that is croffe and overthwart in their way they will never cease to hunt after superfluities, and seeme to stand in need thereof (that is to say) to covet those things which they know not what to doe with. When a Physician commeth into the chamber of a patient, whom he findeth lying along in his bed groaning, and refusing all foode, he taketh him by the hand, feelth his pulse, asketh him certaine questions, and finding that he hath no ague; This is a disease (quoth he) of the minde, and so goeth his way; even so, when we see a worldly minded man altogether set upon his gets and gaines, pining away, and even consumed with the greedie worme of gathering good, weeping, whining and fighting at expences, and when any money is to goe out of his purse, sticking at no paine and trouble, sparing for no indignitie, no unhoneft and indirect means whatsoever, nor caring which way he goes to worke, whether it bee by hooke or crooke, so that hee may gaine and profit thereby; having choise of houses and tenements, lands lying in everie countrey, droves, herds and flocks of cattell, a number of slaves, wardrobes of apparell and clothes of all sorts: what shall we say that this man is sicke of, unlesse it be the poverie of the soule? As for want of money and goods, one friend (as *Menander* saith) may cure and helpe with his bountifull hand; but that penurie and needinesse of the soule all the men in the world, that either live at this day, or ever were before time, are not able to satisfie and suffice: and therefore of such *Solon* said verie well,

*No limit set, nor certaine bound, men have  
Of their desire to goods, but still they crave.*

For, those who are wife and of sound judgement are content with that measure and portion which nature hath set downe and assigned for them; such men know an ende, and keepe themselves within the center and circumference of their need and necessitie onely. But this is a peculiar propertie that avarice hath by it selfe. For a covetous desire it is, even repugnant to satisfie, and hindereth it selfe that it never can have sufficient, whereas all other desires and lusts are aiding and helpfull thereto. For no man (I trow) that is a glutton, forbeareth to eat a good morcel of meat for gourmandise, nor drunkard abstaineth from drinking wine upon an appetite and love that he hath to wine, as these covetous wretches do, who spare their money and will not touch it, through a desire onely that they have of money. And how can we otherwise thinke, but it were a piteous and lamentable case, yea and a disease next cousin to meere madnesse, if a man should therefore spare the wearing of a garment, because he is readie to chill and quake for cold, or forbear to touch bread, for that he is almost hunger-starved; and even so not to handle his goods because he loveth them: certes, such a one is in the same plight and piteous perplexitie that *Thrasymides* was, who in a certaine comedie describeth his owne miseries:

*At home it is within my power,*

*I may enjoy it everie hower:  
I wish a thing as if I were  
In raging love, yet I forbere:  
When I have lockt and seald up all,  
Or else put forth by count and tale,  
My come to brokers for the use,  
Or other factours whom I chuse,  
I plod and plonder still for more,  
I burne, I seeke to fetch in store,  
I chide and bridle with servants mine,  
The husbandman and eke the hine  
I bring to count; and then anon  
My debtors all I call upon:  
By Dan Apollo now I sweare,  
Was any man that earth did beare,  
Whom thou hast ever known or seene,  
In love more wretched to have bene?*

*Sophocles* being on a time demanded familiarly by one of his friends, whether he could yet keepe companie with a woman if need were: God blesse me (quoth he) my good friend, take no more of that I pray you, I am free from those matters long since, and by the benefit of mine olde age, I have escaped the servitude of such violent and furious mistresses. And verily it is a good and gracious gift, that our lusts and appetites should end together with our strength and abilitie, especially in those delights and pleasures, which as *Alcibiades* saith neither man nor woman can well avoide. But this is not to be found in avarice and desire of riches; for shee like a curst, sharpe and strewed queane, forceth indeed a man to get and gather, but shee forbiddeth him withall to use and enjoy the same; shee stirreth up and provoketh his lust, but shee denieth him all pleasure. I remember that in old time *Stratonice* taxed and mocked the Rhodians for their wastfull and superfluous expences in this manner: They build sumptuously (quoth he) as if they were immortall and should never die; but they fare at their boords as though they had but a small while to live. But these covetous misers gather wealth together like mightie magnificoes, but they spend like beggerly mechanicals; they endure the paine and travell of getting, and taste no pleasure of the enjoying.

*Demades* the Orator came one day to visite *Phocion*, and found him at dinner; but seeing but a little meat before him upon the table, and the same nothing fine and daintie, but coorse and simple: I marvell (quoth he) *Phocion* how you can take up with so short a dinner and so small a pittance, considering the paines you doe endure in manning the affaires of State and common-wealth. As for *Demades* he dealt indeed with government, and was a great man in the city with the people, but it was all for his bellie, and to furnish a plentiful boord, in so much as, supposing that the citie of *Athens* could not yeeld him revenue and provision sufficient for to maintaine his excessive gourmandise, he laid for cates and victuals out of *Macedon*, whereupon *Antipater* when he saw him an old man with a wrinkled and withered face, said pleasantly: That he had nothing left now but his paunch and his tongue, much like unto a sheepe, or some other beast killed for sacrifice when all is eaten besides. But thou most unhappie and wretched miser, who would not make a woonder at thee, condering that thou canst lead so base and beggerly a life, without societie of men or courtesie to thy neighbors, not giving ought to any person, shewing no kindnesse to thy friends, no bountie nor magnificence to the common-wealth, yet still dost afflict thy poore selfe, lie awake all the night long, toile and moile like a drudge and hireling thy selfe, hire other labourers for day-wages, lie in the winde for inheritances, speake men faire in hope to be their heire, and debase thy selfe to all the world, and care not to whom so thou cap and knee for gaine, having I say so sufficient means otherwise to live at ease (to wit, thy niggardie and pinching parsimonie) whereby thou maist be dispensed for doing just nothing. It is reported of a certaine Bizantine, who finding an adulterer in bed with his wife, who though the were but foule, yet was illfavoured enough, said unto him: O miserable caitife what needest thou have driven thee thus to doe? what needes *Sapragoras* dowrie? well, goe to: thou takest great paines poore wretch, thou fillest and stirrest the lead, thou kindlest the fire also underneath it. Necessarie it is in some sort, that Kings and Princes should seeke for wealth and riches, that these Governours also and Deputies under them should bee great gatherers, yea and those

those also who reach at the highest places and aspire to rule and soveraign dignities in great States and cities; all these (I say) have need perforce to heape up grosse summes of money, to the end that for their ambition, their proud port, pompe, and vaine-glorious humour, they might make sumptuous feasts, give largesses, retaine a guard about their persons, send presents abroad to other States, maintaine and wage whole armies, buie slaves to combat and fight at sharpe to the outtrance: but thou makest thy selfe so much ado, thou troublest and tormentest both body and minde, living like an oyster or a shell-fnaile, and for to pinch and spare, art content to undergo and endure all paine and travell, taking no pleasure nor delight in the world afterwards, no more than the Baine-keepers poore asse which carying billots and fagots of drie brush and sticks to kindle fire and to heat the stoupes, is evermore full of smooke, soot, ashes, and finders; but hath no benefit at all of the bane, and is never bathed, washed, warmed, rubbed, scoured, and made cleane. Thus much I speake in reproch and disdain of this miserable asse. like avarice, this bafe raping and scraping together in manner of ants or pismires.

Now there is another kind of covetousnesse more savage and beast-like, which they professe who backbite and slander, raise malicious imputations, forge false wils and testaments, lie in wait for heritages, coge and couzen, and intermeddle in all matters, will bee seene in everie thing, know all mens states, busie themselves with many cares and troubles, count upon their fingers how many friends they have yet living, and when they have all done, receive no fruition or benefit by all the goods which they have gotten together from all parts, with their cunning casts & subtil shifts. And therefore like as we have in greater hatred and detestation, vipers, the 20 venomous flies Cantharides, and the stinging spiders called Philangia & Tarantale, than either beares or lions, for that they kill folke and stinge them to death; but receive no good or benefit at all by them when they are dead; even so be these wretches more odious and worthy to be hated of us, who by their miserable parsimonie and pinching doe mischief, than those who by their riot and wastfulness be hurtfull to a common-weale, because they take and catch from others that which they themselves neither will nor know how to use. VV hereupon it is that such as these when they have gotten abundance, and are in manner full, rest them for a while, and doe no more violence as it were in time of truce and surcease of hostilitie; much after the manner as *Demoisthenes* said unto them who thought that *Demades* had given over all his lewdnesse and knavery: O (quoth he) you see him now full as lions are, who when they have filled their bellies, prey no more for the lice, untill they be hungrie againe: but such covetous wretches as be employed in government of civill affaires, and that for no profit nor pleasure at all which they intend, those I say never rest nor make holiday, they allow themselves no truce nor cessation from gathering & heaping more together still, as being evermore emptie, & have alwaies need of all things though they have all. But some men perhaps will say: These men (I assure you) do save & lay up goods in store for their children and heires after their death, unto whom whiles they live they will part with nothing: If that be so, I can compare them very well to those mice and cats in gold mines, which feed upon the gold-ore, and lick up all the golden sand that the mines yeeld, so that men can not come by the golde there, before they be dead and cut up in manner of anatomies. But tell me (I pray you) wherefore are these so willing to treasure up so much money, and so great substance, and leave the same to their children, inheritours, and successors after them? I verily beleeve to this end, that those children and heires also of theirs should keepe the same still for others likewise, and so to passe from hand to hand by descent of many degrees, like as earthen conduct-pipes by which water is conveyed into some cellerne, withhold and retaine none of all the water that passeth through them, but doe transpire and send all away from them, each one to that which is next, and reserve none to themselves; thus doe they untill some arise from without, a meere stranger to the house, one that is a scyphont or very tyrant, who shall cut off this keeper of that great stocke and treasure, and when he hath dispatched and made a hand of him, drive and turne the course of all this wealth and riches out of the usuall channell another way; or at leastwise untill it fall into the hands (as commonly men say it doth) of 50 the most wicked and ungracious imp of that race, who wil disperse and scatter that which others have gathered, who will consume and devour all unthrifely, which his predecessors have gotten and spared wickedly: for not onely as *Enripides* saith,

*Those children wastfull prove and bad,  
Who serve vile slaves for parents bad.*

but also covetous carles & pinching peni-fathers, leave children behind the that be loose & riotous & spend-thrifts; like as *Diogenes* by way of mockery said upon a time: That it were better to

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be a Megarians ram than his sonne: for wherein they would seeme to instruct and informe their children, they spoile and mar them cleane, ingrafting into their hearts a desire and love of money, teaching them to be covetous and bafe minded pinch-penies, laying the foundation (as it were) in their heires of some strong place or fort, wherein they may surely guard and keepe their inheritance. And what good lessons and precepts be these which they teach them: Gaine and spare, my sonne, get and save; thinke with thy selfe and make thine account that thou shalt be esteemed in the world according to thy wealth and not otherwise. But surely this not to instruct a childe, but rather to knit up fast or sow up the mouth of a purse that it may hold and keepe the better whatsoever is put into it. This onely is the difference that a purse or money-bag becommeth foule, sullied and ill-favoring after that silver is put into it; but the children of covetous persons before they receive their patrimonies or attaine to any riches, are filled already even by their fathers with avarice, and a hungrie desire after their substance: and verily such children thus nourred, reward their parents againe for their schooling with a condigne far-larie and recompense, in that they love them not because they shall receive much one day by them, but hate them rather for that they have nothing from them in present possession already, for having learned this lesson of them; To esteeme nothing in the world in comparison of wealth and riches, and to aime at nought els in the whole course of their life, but to gather a deale of goods together, they repute the lives of their parents to be a blocke in their way, they will in heart that their heads were well laid, they do what they can to shorten their lives, making 20 this reckoning; That how much time is added to their olde age, so much they lose of their youthfull yeeres. And this is the reason, why during the life of their fathers, secretly and under-hand they steale (after a sort, by snatches) their pleasure, and enjoy the same; They wil make semblance as if it came from other, when they give away money and distribute it among their friends, or otherwise spend it in their delights; whiles they catch it privily from under the very wing of their parents, and when they goe to heare and take out their lessons, they will be sure to picke their purses if they can, before they goe away; but after their parents be dead and gone, when they have gotten into their hands the keies of their coffers and signets of their bags, then the case is altered, and they enter into another course and fashion of life: you shall have my young masters then, put on a grave and austere countenance, they will not seeme to laugh, nor be spoken to, or acquainted with any body; there is no talke now of anointing the body for any exercise, the racket is cast aside, the tennis court no more haunted, no wrestling practised, no going to the schooles either of the Academie or *Lyceus*, to heare the lectures and disputations of Professors and Philosophers. But now the officers and servants be called to an audit and account; now they are examined what they have under their hands; now the writings, billes, obligations and deeds are sought up and perused; now they fall to argue and reason with their receivers, stewards, factours and debtors; so sharpe-set they are to their negotiations and affaires; so full of cares and businesse, that they have no leisure to take their dinners or noone-meales; and if they sup, they can not intend to go into the baine or hot-houfe before it be late in the night; the bodily exercises wherein they were brought up and trained in, be laid downe; no swimming 40 nor bathing any more in the river *Dirce*; all such matters be cast behinde and cleane forgotten. Now if a man say to one of these: Will you go and heare such a Philosopher reade a lecture, or make a sermon: How can I go? (will he say againe) I have no while since my fathers death. O miserable and wretched man, what hath hee left unto thee of all his goods, comparable to that which he hath bereaved thee of, to wit; Repose and Libertie: but it is not thy father so much, as his riches flowing round about thee, that environeth and compasseth thee so, as it hath gotten the matter over thee; this hath set foot upon thy throat, this hath conquered thee; like unto that shrewd wife in *Hesiodus*,

*Who burnes a man without a match  
or brand of scorching fire,  
And driveth him to gray-old age  
before that time require.*

causing thy soule (as it were) to be full of rivels and hoarie haire before time, bringing with it carking cares and tedious travels proceeding from the love of money, and a world of affaires without any repose, whereby that alacrity, cheerefulness, worship and sociable courttesie which ought to be in a man, are decayed and faded cleane to nothing.

But what meane you sir by all this? (will some one haply say unto me) See you not how there be some that bestow their wealth liberally with credit and reputation? unto whom I answer thus:

thus: Have you never heard what *Aristotle* said: That as some there are who have no use at all of their goods, so there be others who abuse the same; as if he should say: Neither the one nor other was seemly and as it ought to be: for as those get neither profit nor honour by their riches, so these susteine losse and shame thereby. But let us consider a little what is the use of these riches which are thus much esteemed: Is it not (I pray you) to have those things which are necessary for nature? but these who are so rich and wealthy above the rest, what have they more to content nature, than those who live in a meane and competent estate? Certes, riches (as *Theophrastus* saith) is not so great a matter that wee should love and admire it so much, if it be true that *Callias* the wealthiest person in all *Athens*, and *Ismenias* the richest citizen of *Thebes*, use the same things that *Socrates* and *Epaminondas* did. For like as *Agathon* banished the flute, cornet, and such other pipes from the solemne feasts of men, and sent them to women in their solemnities, supposing that the discourses of men who are present at the table are sufficient to entertaine mirth; even so may he aswell rid away out of houses, hangings, coverlets and carpets of purple, costly and sumptuous tables, and all such superfluities, who seeeth that the great rich worldlings use the very same that poorer men do. I would not as *Hesiodus* saith;

*That plough or beeme should hang in smoke to drie,*

*Or painfull tillage now be laid aside,*

*Nor works of oxen and mule for ever drie,*

*Who serve our turnes to draw, to till, to ride;*

but rather that these goldsmiths, turners, gravers, perfumers and cooks would be chased and sent away, forasmuch as this were indeed, an honest and civill banishment of unprofitable artificers as forreiners, that may be spared out of a city. Now if it be so, that things requisite for the necessitie of nature, be common aswell to the poore as the rich, and that riches doe vaunt and stand so much upon nothing els but superfluities, and that *Scopas* the Thebesian is worthily commended in this; That being requested to give away and part with somewhat of his household stuffe which he might spare and had no need of: Why (quoth he) in what things els consisteth the felicity of those who are reputed happy and fortunate in this world above other men, but in these superfluities that you seeme to aske at my hands, and not in such as be necessarie and requisite? If it be so I say, see that you be not like unto him that praiseth a pompe and solemne shew of plaies and games more than life indeed, which standeth upon things necessary. The procession and solemnitie of the Bacchanales which was exhibited in our country, was wont in old time to be performed after a plaine and homely manner, merily and with great joy: You should have seene there one carrying a little barrell of wine, another a branch of a vine tree; after him comes one drawing and plucking after him a goat; then followeth another with a basket of dried figs; and last of all one that bare in shew *Phallus*, that is to say, the resemblance of the generall member of a man: but nowadaies all these ceremonies are despised, neglected, and in manner not at all to be seene, such a traine there is of those that carie vessels of gold and silver, so many sumptuous and costly robes, such stately chariots richly set out are driven & drawn with brave steeds most gallantly dight, besides the pageants, dumbe-shewes and masks, that they hide and obscure the auncient and true pompe according to the first institution; and even so it is in riches; the things that be necessarie and serve for use and profit, are overwhelmed and covered with needlesse toies and superfluous vanities, & I assure you the most part of us be like unto young *Telemachus*, who for want of knowledge and experience, or rather indeed for default of judgement and discretion when he beheld *Nestors* house furnished with beds, tables, hangings, tapistrie, apparell, and well provided also of sweete and pleasant wines, never reckoned the master of the house happy for having so good provision of such necessarie and profitable things: but being in *Menelaus* his house, and seeing there store of Ivorie, gold, and silver, and the mettall *Electrum*, he was ravished and in an ecstatic with admiration thereof, and brake out in these words:

*Like unto this, the palace all*

*within I judge to be,*

*Of Jupiter that mightie god*

*who dwels in azure skie:*

*How rich, how faire, how infinite*

*are all things which I see!*

*My heart, as I do them behold,*

*is ravish't wondrously.*

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But *Socrates* or *Diogenes* would have said thus rather:

*How many wretched things are here?*

*how needlesse all and vaine?*

*When I them view, I laugh thereat,*

*of them I am not faine.*

And what saiest thou foolish and vaine for as thou art? Where as thou shouldst have taken from thy verie wife her purple, her jewels and gaudie ornaments, to the end that shee might no more long for such superfluitie, nor runne a nodding after forrein vanities, farre fetcht and deere bought; dost thou contrariwise embellish and adorne thy house, like a theatre, scaffold and stage to make a goodly sight for those that come into the shew-place? Lo where in lieth the felicitie and happines that riches bringeth, making a trim shew before those, who gaze upon them, and to testifie and report to others what they have seene: set this aside (that they be not shewed to all the world) there is nothing at all therein to reckon. But it is not so with temperance, with philosophie, with the true knowledge of the gods, so farre forth as is meete and behoovefull to be knownen, for these are the same still and all one, although everie man attaine not thereto but all others be ignorant thereof. This pietie (I say) and religion hath alwaies a great light of her owne and resplendant beames proper to it selfe, wherewith it doth shine in the soule, evermore accompanied with a certaine joy that never ceaseth to take contentment in her owne good within, whether any one see it or no, whether it bee unknownen to gods and men or no, it skilleth not. Of this kinde and nature is vertue indeed, and trueth, the beautie also of the Mathematicall sciences, to wit, Geometrie and Astrologie; unto which who will thinke of the gorgeous trappings and capparifons, the brooches, collars and carkans of riches are any waies comparable, which (to say a truth) are no better than jewels and ornaments good to trim young brides and set out maidens for to be seene and looked at? For riches, if no man doe regard, behold, and set their eyes on them (to say a trueth) is a blinde thing of it selfe, and sendeth no light at all nor raies from it; for certainly say: That a rich man dine and sup privately alone, or with his wife and some inward and familiar friends, he troubleth not himselfe about furnishing of his table with many services, daintie dishes, and festivall fare; he stands not so much upon his golden cups and goblets, but useth those things that be ordinarie, which goe about everie daie and come next hand, as well vessell as viands; his wife sits by his side and beares him companie, not decked and hung with jewels and spangles of gold, nor arraid in purple, but in plaine attire and simply clad; but when he makes a feast (that is to say) sets out a theatre, wherein the pompes and shewes are to meete and make a jangling noise together, when the plaies are to be represented of his riches, and the solemne traine therof to be brought in place; then comes abroad his brave furniture indeed; then he fetcheth out of the ship his faire chaufers and goodly pots; then bringeth hee forth his rich three-footed tables; then come abroad the lampes, candlesticks, and branches of silver; the lights are disposed in order about the cups; the cup-bearers, skinkers and tasters are changed; all places are newly dight and covered; all things are then stirred and remooved that saw no sunne long before; the silver plate, the golden vessels, and those that be set and enriched with pretious stones; to conclude, now there is no shew els but of riches; at such a time they confesse themselves and will be knownen wealthy. But all this while whether a rich man suppe alone, or make a feast, temperance is away and true contentment.

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OF



# OF THE NATURALL LOVE OR KINDNES OF PARENTS TO THEIR CHILDREN.

## The Summarie.

**W**isely said one, (whoſoever it was) That to baniſh amitie and friendſhip from among men, were as great hurt to the ſocietie of mankind, as to deprive them of the light and heat of the Sunne : which being verified and found true in the whole courſe of this life, and in the maintenance of all ſtates; not without great cauſe Nature hath caſt and ſprinkled the ſeed thereof in the generation and nourishment of a race and kinde, whereof ſhe giveth evident teſtimonies in brute beaſts, the better to moove and incite us to our duty. That we may ſee therefore this precious ſeed and graine of amitie, how it doth flower and fructifie in the world, we muſt begin at the love and naturall kindneſſe of fathers and mothers to their children; for if this be well kept and maintained, there proceed from it an infinite number of contentments which do much aſſuage and eaſe the inconveniences and diſcommodities of our life. And Plutarch entering into this matter, ſheweth firſt in generallity: That men learne (as it were) in the ſchool of brute beaſts, with what affection they ſhould beget, nourish and bring up their children: afterward he doth particulariſe thereof, and enrich the ſame arguments by divers examples. But for that he would not have us thinke that he extolled dumbe beaſts above man and woman, he obſerveth and ſeteth downe verie well the difference that is of amities, diſcourſing in good and modeſt tearmes as touching the generation and nouriture of children, and biſſely by the way repreſenteth unto us the miſerable entrance of man into this race upon earth, where he is to runne his courſe. Which done, he proveth that the nourishing of infants hath no other cauſe and reaſon, but the love of fathers and mothers; he diſcovereth the ſource of this affection; and for a concluſion, ſheweth that what defect and fault ſoever may come betwene and be medled among, yet it can not alſogether abolith the ſame.

# OF THE NATURALL LOVE OR KINDNES OF PARENTS to their children.



**T**hat which mooved the Greeks at firſt, to put over the deciſion of their controverſies to ſtraine judges, and to bring into their country, ſtrangers to be their umpires, was the diſtruſt and diffidence that they had one in another, as if they confeſſed thereby that juſtice was indeed a thing neceſſarie for mans life, but it grew not among them: And is not the caſe even ſo as touching certaine queſtions diſputable in Philoſophie? for the determining whereof, Philoſophers (by reaſon of the ſundry and divers opinions which are among them) have appealed to the nature of brute beaſts, as it were into a ſtrange city, and remitted the deciding thereof to their properties and affections, according to kinde, as being neither ſubject to partiall favour, nor yet corrupt, depraved and polluted. Now ſurely, a common reproch this muſt needs be to mans naughty nature and leaſd behaviour; That when we are in doubtfull queſtion concerning the greateſt and moſt neceſſary points pertaining to this preſent life of ours, we ſhould goe and ſearch into the nature of horſes, dogs and birds for reſolution; namely, how we ought to make

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our marriages, how to get children, and how to reare and nourish them after they be borne, and as if there were no ſigne (in manner) or token of nature imprinted in our ſelves, we muſt be faine to alledge the paſſions, properties and affections of brute beaſts, and to produce them for witneſſes, to argue and prove how much in our life we tranſgreſſe and go aſide from the rule of nature, when at our firſt beginning and entrance into this world, we finde ſuch trouble, diſorder and conſuſion; for in thoſe dumbe beaſts beforeſaid, nature doth retaine and keepe that which is her owne and proper, ſimple, entire, without corruption or alteration by any ſtrange mixture; whereas contrariwiſe, it ſeemeth that the nature of man, by diſcourſe of their reaſon and cuſtome together, is mingled and conſuſed with ſo many extravagant opinions and judgements, ſet from all parts abroad (much like unto oile that commeth into perfumers hands) that thereby it is become manifolde variable, and in every one ſeverall and particular, and doeth not retaine that which the owne indeed, proper and peculiar to it ſelfe; neither ought we to thinke it a ſtrange matter and a wonderfull, that brute beaſts void of reaſon, ſhould come neerer unto nature, and follow her ſteps better, than men endued with the gift of reaſon: for ſurely, the verie ſenſeleſſe plants heerein ſurpaſſe thoſe beaſts beforeſaid, and obſerve better the inſtinct of nature; for conſidering that they neither conceive any thing by imagination, nor have any motion, affection or inclination at all; ſo verily their appetite (ſuch as it is) varieth not nor ſtirreth to and fro out of the compaſſe of nature, by means whereof, they continue and abide as if they were kept in and bound within cloſe-prison, holding on ſtill in one and the ſame courſe, and not ſtepping once out of that way wherein nature doth leade and conſect them: as for beaſts, they have not any ſuch great portion of reaſon to temper and mollifie their naturall properties, neither any great ſubtiltie of ſenſe and conceit, nor much deſire of libertie; but having many inſtincts, inclinations and appetites, not ruled by reaſon, they breake out by the means thereof other-whiles, wandering at ray, and running up and downe to and fro, howbeit, for the moſt part, not very farre out of order, but they take ſure holde of nature; much like a ſhip which lieth in the rode at anchor, well may the daunce and be rocked up and downe, but ſhe is not caried away into the deepe at the pleaſure of windes and waves; or much after the manner of an aſſe or hackney, travelling with bit and bridle, which go not out of the right & ſtraight way, wherein the maſter or rider guideth them; whereas in man, even reaſon herſelfe, the miſtreſſe that ruleth and commandeth all, findeth out new cuts (as it were) and by-ways, making many ſtarts and excuſions at her pleaſure to and fro, now heere, now there; whereupon it is that ſhe leaveth no plaine and apparant print of natures traacts and footing.

Conſider I pray you in the firſt place the marriages (if I may ſo terme them) of dumbe beaſts and reaſonleſſe creatures; and namely how therein they folow precifely the rule and direction of nature. To begin withall; they ſtand not upon thoſe lawes that provide againſt ſuch as marrye not, but lead a ſingle life; neither make they reckoning of the acts which lay a penalitie upon thoſe that be late ere they enter into wedlocke, like as the citizens under *Lycurgus* and *Solon*, who ſtood in awe of the ſaid ſtatutes; they feare not to incur the infamie which followed thoſe perſons that were barren and never had children; neither doe they regard and ſeeke after the honours and prerogatives which they attained, who were fathers of three children, like as many of the Romans do at this day, who enter into the ſtate of matrimonie, wedde wives and beget children, not to the end that they might have heires to inherit their lands and goods, but that they might themſelves be inheritors & capable of dignities & immunities. But to proceed unto more particulars, the male afterwards doth deale with the female in the act of generation not at all times; for that the end of their conjunction and going together is not groſſe pleaſure ſo much, as the engendering of young and the propagation of their kinde: and therefore at a certaine ſeaſon of the yeare, to wit, the very prime of the ſpring, when as the pleaſant winds ſo apt for generation do gently blow, and the temperature of the aire is friendly unto breeders, commeth the female full lovingly and kindly toward her fellow the male, even of her owne accord and motion (as it were) trained by the hand of that ſecret inſtinct and deſire in nature; and for her owne part, ſhe doth what ſhe can to woo and ſollicite him to regard her, as well by the ſweet ſcent of her fleſh, as alſo by a ſpeciall and peculiar ornament and beautie of her body, ſhewing herſelfe freſh and cheerefull, full of dew and verdure of greene herbes, pure and neat I warrant you; in this manner doth ſhe preſent her ſelfe unto the male and courteth him: now when ſhe perceives once that ſhe is ſped and hath conceived by him, ſhe leaveth him and retireth apart in good ſort full decently; and then her whole care is to provide for that which the goeth withall, fore-caſting how to be delivered of it in due time, and bethinking how to ſave, preſerve,

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and

and reare it when it is fallen and brought forth. And certes it is not possible to expresse sufficiently and worthily the particulars that are done by these dumbe creatures (but onely this, that every thing proceedeth from the tender love and affection which they have to their young ones) in providence, in patience, in abstinence.

We all acknowledge the Bee to be wife, we call her so, we celebrate her name for producing and working so diligently that yellow honie, yea and we flatter in praising her, feeling as we do the sweetnesse of the said honie, how it tickleth and contenteth our tongue & taste; and all this while what one is there of us that maketh any account of the wisdom, wit, and artificial subtiltie that other creatures shew, as well in the bringing forth their young, as the fostering and nouriture of them? for first and foremost doe but consider the sea bird called Alcyon, no sooner doth she perceive herselfe to be knit with egge, but she falleth presently to build her nest, she gathereth together the chine-bones of a certaine sea fish which the Greekes call *Beryn*, that is to say, the sea-needle, these the coucheth, plaiteth, windeth and interlaced one within another, so artificially working the same and weaving them close together in a round and large forme, after the maner of a fishers leape or weele net; and when she hath knit and fortified the same exactly with many courses of the saide bones driven and united jointly together in good order, she exposeth it full against inundation and dashing of the sea waves, to the end that the superficial outside of the worke beaten upon gently and by little & little with the water, being thickned and felted thereby might be more solide and firme, and so it prooveth indeed; for so hard it groweth by this meanes, that scarcely any stone can crush it, or edged instrument of iron cleave it; but that which is yet more wonderfull, the mouth and entrie of the said nest is composed and wrought proportionably just to the measure and bignesse of the bird Alcyon afore said, so as no creature bigger or lesse than her selfe, no nor the very sea (as men say) nor the least thing in the world can get into it. And will you see moreover what kindnesse and naturall affection the sea weefils or sea dogs doe shew unto their little ones? They breed their young whelpes or kitlings alive within their bellies, and when they list, let them forth and suffer them to run abroad for reliefe and to get their foode, and afterwards receive them into their bodies againe, enclosing them whiles they be asleepe themselves, cherishing them cowed in their bowels and wombe. The she beare a molt fell, savage and cruell beast, bringeth forth her young whelpes, without forme or fashion, unknit and unjointed, having no distinct limmes or members to be seene; howbeit with her tongue as it were with a toole and instrument for the purpose, she keepeth such a licking of them, the formeth and fashioneth those membranes where in they were lapped in her wombe in such sort, that she seemeth not onely to have brought forth her young, but also to have wrought them afterwards workman-like to their shap and proportion. As for that lion which *Homer* describeth in this wise,

*Who leading forth his tender whelps  
to seeke abroad for praie  
In forest wilde; no sooner meets  
with hunters in the waie,  
But looking sterne with bended browes  
which cover both his eyes,  
He makes a stand, and them affronts  
in fierce and threatening wise.*

Thinke you not by this description that he resembleth one who is bent to capitulate and stand upon termes of composition with the hunters for to save the life of his little ones? To speake in a word, this tender love and affection of beasts toward their young, maketh them that otherwise be timorous, hardie and bold; those that be slow and idle by nature, laborious and painfull; and such as of themselves are greedy and ravenous, to be spare and temperate in their feeding, like as the bird whereof the same *Homer* speaketh,

*Which brings in mouth unto her nest,  
such food as she abroad  
Could get to feed her naked young,  
and doth her selfe defraud.*

For content she is even with her owne hunger to nourish her little ones, and the same food or bait that she hath for them, being so neere as it is unto her owne craw and gizzard, she holdeth close and falk in her bill, for feare lest shee might swallow it downe the throat ere shee were aware;

Or

*Or like the burch running about  
her young whelps, at the sight  
Of strangers, baies and barks apace,  
and ready to fight.*

No doubt the feare which she hath lest her little one should take harme redoubleth her courage, and maketh her more hardie and angrie than before: as for the partridges when they be laid-for by the fowler, together with their covein of young birds, they suffer them to the away as well as they can, and make shift to save themselves, but the old rowens full subtilly seeme to wait the coming of the said hunters, abiding until they approach neere unto them, and by keeping about their feet, traine them still away after them, ready ever as it were to be caught; now when the fowler shall seeme to reach unto them with his hand, they will runne a little or take a short flight from him, and then they staie againe, putting him in new hope of his pray and bootie, which every-foot he thinketh to take with his hand: thus they play mock-holiday with the fowlers, and yet with some danger to themselves for the safetie of their young, untill they have trained them a great way off, who fought for their lives. Our hens which we keepe about our houses so ordinarily, and have daily in our eyes, how carefully doe they looke unto their young chickens whiles they receive some under their wings, which they spread and hold open for the nonce that they may creepe in, others they suffer to mount upon their backs, gently giving them leave to climbe and get up on every side, and this they doe not without great joy and contentment, which they testifie by a kind of clocking and speciall noise that they make at such a time; if when they be alone without their chickens, and have no feare but of themselves a dogge or a serpent come in their way, they fle from them; let their brood be about them when such a danger is presented, it is wonderfull how ready they will be to defend the same, yea and to fight for, even above their power. Do we thinke now that nature hath imprinted such affections and passions in these living creatures, for the great care that she hath to mainteine the race and posteritie (as it were) of hens, dogs, or beares; or doe we not rather make this construction of it, that the shame, pricketh, and woundeth men thereby when we reason and discourse thus within our selves, that these things be good examples for as many as follow them, and the reproches of those that have no sense or feeling of naturall affection; by which no doubt they do blame and accuse the nature of man onely, as if she alone were not affectionate without some hire and reward, nor could skill of love but for gaine and profit; for admired he was in the theaters that thus spake first:

*For hope of gaine one man will love another,  
Take it away, what one will love his brother?*

This is the reason (according to the opinion and doctrine of *Epicurus*) that the father affectioneth his sonne, the mother is tender over her childe, and children likewise are kind unto their parents: but yet such that brute beasts could both speake and understand language, in some open theater, and that one called to meet together a sufficient assembly of beets, horses, dogs, and fowles, certes if their voices were demanded upon this point now in question, hee would set downe in writing, and openly pronounce, that neither bitches loved their whelpes, nor mares their foales, hens their chickens, and other fowles their little birds in respect of any reward, but freely and by the instinct of nature: and this would be found a true verdict of his, iustified and verified by all those passions and affections which are observed in them; and what a shame and infamie unto mankind is this to grant and avouch, that the act of generation in brute beasts, their conception, their breeding, their painfull deliverie of their young, and the carefull feeding and cherishing of them be natures works meerely, and duties of gratuitie; and contrariwise that in men they be pawnes given them for securitie of interest, hires, gages, and earnest pennies respective to some profit and gaine which they draw after them? But surely as this project is not true, so it is not worth the hearing, for nature verily as in savage plants and trees, to wit, wilde vines, wilde figge trees, and wilde olives she doth ingenerate certaine raw and imperfect rudiments, (such as they be) of good and kinde fruits; so she hath created in brute beasts a naturall love and affection to their young, though the same be not absolute nor fully answerable to the rule of justice, ne yet able to passe farther than the bonds and limits of necessitie. As for man, a living creature, endued and adorned with reason, created and made for a civill societie, whom she hath brought into the world for to observe lawes and justice, to serve honour and worship the gods, to found cities and governe common-wealths, and therein to exercise and performe all offices of bountie: him she hath bestowed upon noble, generous, faire and fruitfull seeds of all these

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these



these things, to wit, a kinde love and tender affection toward his children; and these the following still, and persisteth therein, which she infused together with the first principles and elements that went to the frame of his body and soule: for nature being every way perfect and exquisite, and namely in this inbred love toward infants, wherein there wanteth nothing that is necessarie, neither from it is ought to be taken away as superfluous; It hath nothing (as *Erasistratus* was wont to say) vaine, frivolous and unprofitable, nothing inconstant, and shaking too and fro, inclining now one way, and then another. For in the first place, as touching the generation of man, who is able to expresse her prudence sufficiently? neither haply may it stand with the rule of decent modestie to be over-curious and exquisite in delivering the proper names and tearmes thereto belonging: for those naturall parts serving in that act of generation and conception secret as they be and hidden, so they neither can well, nor would willingly be named; but the composition and framing thereof, so aptly made for the purpose, the disposition and situation likewise so convenient, we ought rather to conceive in our minde than utter in speech.

Leaving therefore those privie members to our private thoughts, passe we to the confection, disposition and distribution of the milke, which is sufficient to shew most evidently her providence, in desire and diligence; for the superfluous portion of blood which remaineth in a womans bodie, over and above that which serveth for the use whereunto it is ordeined, floating up and downe within her afterwards, for defect or feebleness of spirits wandereth (as it were) to and fro, and is a burden to her bodie; but at certaine set-times & daies, to wit, in every monthly revolution, nature is carefull and diligent to open certaine sculces and conduits, by which the said superfluous blood doth void and passe away, whereupon shee doth not onely purge and lighten all the bodie besides, but also cleanseth the matrice, and maketh it like a piece of ground brought in order and temper, apt to receive the plough, and desirous of the seed after it in due season: now when it hath once conceived and retained the said seed, so as the same take root and be knit, presently it draweth it selfe strait and close together round, and holdeth the conception within it; for the navill (as *Democritus* saith) being the first thing framed within the matrice, and serving in stead of an anchor against the waving and wandering of it to and fro, holdeth sure the fruit conceived, which both now groweth and hereafter is to be delivered (as it were) by a sure cable and strong bough, then also it stoppeth and shutteth up the said riverets and passages of those monthly purgations; and taking the foresaid blood, which otherwise would run an void by those pipes and conduits, it maketh use thereof for to nourish, and (as it were) to water the infant, which beginneth by this time to take some consistence and receive shape and forme, so long, untill a certaine number of daies which are necessarie for the full growth thereof within be expired; at which time it had need to remove from thence for a kinde of nutriment else-where in another place; and then diverting the said course of blood with all dexterity & a skilfull hand (no gardener nor fountainer in drawing of his trenches and channells with all his cunning so artificiall) and employing it from one use to another, she hath certaine cesterne (as it were) or fountaine-heads, prepared of purpose from a running source most readie to receive that liquor of blood quickly, and not without some sense of pleasure and contentment; but withall, when it is received, they have a power and facultie, by a milde heat of the naturall spirits within them, and with a delicate and foemine tendernes, to concoct, digest, change and convert it into another nature and qualitie, for that the paps have within them naturall, the like temperature and disposition answerable unto it: now these teares which spout out milke from the cocks of a conduit, are so framed and disposed, that it floweth not forth all at once, neither do they send it away suddenly: but nature hath so placed the duct that as it endeth one way in a spongeous kinde of flesh full of small pipes, and made of purpose to transmit the milke, and let it distill gently by many little pores and secret passages, so it yeeldeth a nipple in manner of a faucet, very fit and ready for the little babes mouth, about which to nuzzle and nudge with it pretty lips it taketh pleasure, and loveth to be tugging and lugging of it; but to no purpose and without any fruit or profit at all, had nature provided such tooles and instruments for to engender and bring forth a childe; to no end (I say) had she taken so good order, used so great industry, diligence and forecast, if withall she had not imprinted in the heart of mothers a wonderful full love and affection, yea, and an extraordinarie care over the fruit of their wombe, when it is borne into the world; for

*Of creatures all which breath and walke  
upon the earth in sight,*

None

*None is there wretched more than man  
new borne into this light.*

And whosoever saith thus of a yoong infant newly coming forth of the mothers wombe, maketh no lie at all, but speaketh trueth; for nothing is there so imperfect, so indigent and poore, so naked, so deformed, so foule and impure, than is man to see to presently upon his birth, considering that to him (in maner alone) nature hath not given so much as a cleane passage and way into this light; so furred he is all over & polluted with blood, so full of filth and ordure, when he entrencheth into the world, resembling rather a creature freshly killed & flaine, than newly borne; that no bodie is willing to touch, to take up, to handle, dandle, kisse and clip it, but such as by nature are lead to love it: and therefore, whereas in all other living creatures, nature hath provided that their udders and paps should be set beneath under their bellies, in a woman onely, she hath seated them aloft in her breasts, as a very proper and convenient place, where shee may more readily kisse, embrace, coll and huggle her babe while it sucketh; willing thereby to let us understand, that the end of breeding, bearing and rearing children, is not gaine and profit, but pure love and meere affection. Now, if you would see this more plainly proved unto you, propose (if you please) and call to remembrance the women and men both in the olde world, whose hap was either first to beare children, or to see an infant newly borne; there was no law then to command and compell them to nourish and bring up their yoong babes; no hope at all of reciprocal pleasure or thanks at their hands that indured them; no expectation of reward and recompense another day to be paid from them, as due debt for their care, paines and cost about them: nay, if you goe to that, I might say rather: That mothers had some reason to deale hardly with their yoong infants, and to beare in minde the injuries that they have done them, in that they endured such dangers and so great paines for them:

*As namely, when she painfull throwes  
as sharpe as any dart,  
In travell pinch a woman neere,  
and pierce her to the hart:  
Which midwives, Junoes daughters then,  
do put her to, poore wretch,  
With many a pang, when with their hand  
they make her body stretch.*

But our women say; It was never *Homerus* (surely) who wrote this; but *Homerus* rather: that is to say, some Poetresse or woman of his poeticall veine, who had bene herselfe at such a busines, and felt the dolorous pangs of child-birth, or els was even then in labour, and upon the point to be delivered, feeling a mixture of bitter and sharpe throwes in her backe, belly and flanks, when shee powred out these verses: but yet, for all the sorrow and deare bargain that a mother hath of it, this kinde and naturall love doth still bend, incline and leade her, that notwithstanding she be in a heat full upon her travell, full of paines and after-throwes, panting, trembling and shaking for very anguish, yet she neglecteth not her sweet babe, nor windeth or shrinketh away from it; but the turneth toward it, she maketh to it, she smileth and laugheth upon it, she taketh it into her armes, she hugleth it in her bosome, and kisseth it full kindly: neither all this whiles gathereth she any fruits of pleasure or profit, but painfully (God wot) and carefully

*She laps it then in raggs full soft,  
With swaddling bands she wraps it off,  
By turnes she cooles and keeps it warme,  
Loth is she that it should take harme:  
And thus as well by night as day,  
Paines after paines she taketh ay.*

Now tell me (I pray you) what reward, recompense and profit do women reape for all this trouble and painfull hand about their little ones? None at all (surely) for the present, and as little in future expectation another day, considering their hopes are so farre off, and the same so uncertaine. The husbandman that diggeth and laboureth about his vine at the Aequinox of the Autumne. He that soweth his corrie when the starres called *Pleiades*, doe couch and goe downe, reapeth and hath his harvest afterwards when they rise and appeare againe; kine calve, mares foale, hennes hatch, and soone after there cometh profit of their calves, their colts and their chickens: but the rearing and education of a man is laborious, his growth is very slow and late; and whereas

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long

long it is ere he commeth to prooffe and make any shew of vertue, commonly most fathers die before that day. *Neocles* lived not to see the noble victorie before *Salamis* that *Themistocles* his sonne achieved: neither saw *Miltiades* the happie day wherein *Cimon* his sonne won the fildes at the famous battell neere the river *Euryndon*: *Xenippus*, was not so happy as to heare *Pericles* his sonne, out of the pulpit preaching and making orations to the people; he lived not to see the good fortune of *Ariston* to be at any of his sonne *Platoes* lectures and disputations in Philosophie: the fathers of *Euripides* and *Sophocles*, two renowned Poets, never knew of the victories which they obtained, for pronouncing and rehearsing their tragedies in open theater, they might heare them peradventure when they were little ones to stammer, to lisse, to spel and put syllables together, or to speake broken Greeke, and that was all. But ordinary it is that men to live to see, heare, and know when their children fall to gaming, revelling, masking, and banquetting, to drunkenesse, wanton whooring, love and such like misdemeanors. So as in these regards this one Mot of *Enemius* in an Epigram of his, deserveth to be praised and remembered.

*See how great paines all fathers undergoe,  
What daily griefes their children put them to.*

And yet for all this, fathers cease not still to nourish and bring up children, and such most of all who stand least in need of their children another day; for a meere mockery it were, and a ridiculous thing if a man should suppose; that rich & wealthy men do sacrifice unto the gods, and make great joy at the nativite and birth of their children, because that one day they shall feede and suite in them in their old age, and interre them after they be dead; unless perhaps it may be said, they reioice thus and be so glad to have and bring up children, for that otherwise they should leave none heires behind them; as who would say, it were so hard a matter to finde out and meet with those that would be willing to inherite the lands and goods of strangers. Certes the sands of the sea, the little motes in the sunne raised of dust, the feathers of birds together with their variable notes, be not so many in number, as there be men that gape after heritages, and be ready to succeed others in their livings. *Danaus* (who as they say was the father of 50 daughters) if his fortune had beene to be childlesse, I doubt not but he should have had more heires than so to have parted his goods and state among them, and those verily after another sort than the heires of his owne body. For children yeeld their parents no thanks at all for being their inheritors, neither in regard thereof do they any service, dutie, or honour unto them; for why? they expect and looke for the inheritance as a thing due and of right belonging unto them: but contrariwise you heare how those strangers that hang and hunt about a man who hath no children, much like to those in the comedies, singing this song,

*O sir, no night shall do you any harme,  
I will revenge your wrongs and quarrels ay:  
Hold heare, three-halfe-pence good to keepe you warme  
Pursu it, drinke it, sing wo and care away.*

As for that which *Euripides* saith,

*The worldly goods procure men friends to chuse,  
And credit most, who then will them refuse.*

It is not simply and generally true, unless it be to those as have no children; for such indeed are sure to be invited and feasted by the rich; lords and rulers will make court and be serviceable to such; for their great oratours and advocates will plead at the bar without fee, and give their counsell gratis,

*How mightie is a rich man with each one,  
So long as his next heire is knowne to none?*

whereas you shall see many in the world, who before time having a number of friends and honour enough and no sooner had a little childe borne unto them, but they lost all their friends, credit, and reputation: at once, so that by this reckoning the having of children maketh nothing at all to the authoritie of their parents, so that in regard thereof, it is not that they doe so love their children; but surely the cause of this their kindeesse and affection proceedeth altogether from nature, and appeereth no lesse in mankind than in wilde beasts: Howbeit otherwhiles this naturall love dwelle as many other good qualities in men, are blemished and obscured by occasion of vice that buddeth up afterwards; like as we see wilde briars, bushes and brambles to spring up and grow among good and kind feeds, for otherwise we might as well collect and say that men love not themselves because many cut their owne throates, or wilfully fall down headlong from steepe rocks and high places. For *Oedipus*

With

*With bloody hand his owne eie-lids did force,  
And plucked out his eies upon remorse.*

*Hegeſias* disputing and discoursing upon a time of abstinence, caused many of his auditours and scholars to pine themselves to death.

*Such accidents of many sorts there be,  
Permitted by the gods we daily see.*

But al of them like as those other passions and maladies of the mind before named, transport a man out of his owne nature, and put him beside himselfe, so as they testifie against themselves that this is true, and that they doe amisse herein; for if a sow having farrowed a little pigge, devoure it when she hath done, or a bitch chance to teare in peeces a puppie or whelp of her own litter, presently men are amazed at the sight thereof, and woonderfully affrighted, whereupon they sacrifice unto the gods certaine expiatorie sacrifices, for to divert the sinister praefages thereof, as taking it to a prodigious woonder, as confessing thereby, that it is a proptie given to all living creatures, even by the instinct and institution of nature; To love, foster and cherish the fruit of their owne bodies: so farre is it from them to destroy the same. And yet, notwithstanding her corruption and depravation in this behalfe: Like as in mines, the gold (although it be mixed with much clay, and furred all over with earth) shineth & glittereth thorow the same, and is to be seene as farre off; even so nature amid the most depravate maners and corrupt passions that we have, sheweth a certeine love and tender affection to little ones. To conclude, whereas the poore many times make no care at all to nourish and reare up their children, it is for nothing els but because they feare left having not so good bringing up nor so civill education as they ought, they should proove servile in behavior, untaught, unmanerly, rude, and void of all good parts; and judging (as they do) poverty to be the extremity of all miseries that can befall so man, their heart will not serve them to leave unto their children this hereditarie calamity, as a most grievous and dangerous discaſe.



## OF THE PLVRALITY OF FRIENDS.

### The Summarie.

**N** certeine discourses going before, it appeareth what a benefit and good thing friendship is. And now *Plutarch* addeth thereto a certeine correction very necessary, in regard of our nature which is given alwaies to bend unto extremities, and not able long to holde the golden-meane. Like as therefore, it becometh a miserable, wretched and cursed mind to be desirous for to leade a life without acquaintance and familiarity with any person; even so to make friends (as they say) hand over head and upon every occasion, is peradventure impossible, but surely not expedient. Our author therefore, willing to reforme this disordinate affection that is in many, who because they would have a number of friends, often-times have not one assured, sheweth that it is farre better for a man to get one fast and faithfull friend, than a great multitude of whom he can not make any certaine account; propounding as a remedie for this covetous minde of entreaining such a plurality of friends, the examples of those who are contented with few, and by that meanes thinke their estate more sure and stedfast. After this, he treateth of the choise of friends, but especially of one. Then discourses he of that which is requisite in true friendship, annexing thereto many proper and apt similitudes, which represent aswell the benefit that sincere affection bringeth, as the hurt which commeth off fained and counterfeited amitie. This done, he proveth, that to enterteine a number of friends, is a very hard matter, yea, and impossible; for that a man is not able to converse with them, nor to frame and sort with them all, but that he shall procure himselfe enemies on all sides: and when he hath enriched and adorned the same with notable examples, he proceedeth to describe,

describē, what use a man is to make of friendship, and with what sort and condition of men he ought to joine in amity: but this is the conclusion; That an honest and vertuous man can not quit himselfe well, and performe his devouire unto many friends at once.

## OF THE PLURALITIE of friends.



*Socrates* upon a time demanded of *Menon* the Theſſalian, who was esteemed very ſufficient in all literature, and a great ſchoole-man, exerciſed in long praſtice of diſputations, and named to be one (as *Empedocles* ſaith) who had attained to the very height and perfection of wiſedome and learning, what vertue was; and when he had answered readly and boldly enough, in this wiſe: There is a vertue (quoth he) of a yong childe, and of an olde gray beard; of a man, and of a woman; of a magiſtrate, and of a private perſon; of a maſter, and of a ſervant: I con you thanke (quoth *Socrates* againe, replying unto him) you have done it very well: I asked you but of

one vertue, and you have raiſed and let ſlie a whole ſwarme (as it were) of vertues, gueſſing and collecting not amiſſe by ſuch an anſwere, that this deepe cleark, who had named thus many vertues, knew not ſo much as one. And might not a man ſeeme to ſcorne and mocke us well enough, who having not yet gotten one friendſhip and amity certaine, are afraid (forſooth) left ere we be aware, we fall into a multitude and pluralitie of friends: for this were even as much as if one that is maimed and ſtarke blinde, ſhould feare to become either *Briareus* the giant, with an hundred armes and hands, or *Argus*, who had eyes all over his bodie. And yet we praife and commend exceſſively and beyond all meaſure the yong man in *Menander*, when he ſaith:

*Of all the goods which I do holde,  
To thinke ech one (I would be bolde)  
Right wonderfull, if I might finde  
The shadow onely of a friend.*

But certainly this is one cauſe among many others, & the ſame not the leaſt, that we cannot be poſſeſſed of any one aſſured amity, becauſe we covet to have ſo many much like unto theſe common ſtrumpets and harlots, who for that they prostitute their bodies ſo often and to ſo manie men, cannot make any reckoning to hold & retaine any one paramour or lover faſt and ſure unto them; for that the firſt commers ſeeing themſelves neglected and caſt off by the entertainment of new, retire and fall away from them, and ſeek elsewhere; or rather much after the manner of that \* foſter-childe of lady *Hippſytle*,

*Who being ſet in meadow greene  
With pleaſant flowers all faire beſeene,  
One after other crops them ſtill,  
Hunting this game with bright goodwill:  
For why, his heart tooke great content  
In their gay bew and ſweetly ſent:  
So little wit and ſmall \* diſcretion  
The infant had, and no \* repletion.*

even ſo every one of us for the deſire of noveltie, and upon a ſatiety and fulneſſe of that which is preſent and in hand, ſuffreth himſelfe ever to be caried away with a new-come friend that is freſh and flowing; which fickle and inconstant affection cauſeth us to change often and to begin many friendſhips and finiſh none; to enter ſtill into new amities and bring none to perfection; and for the love of the new which we purſue and ſeek after, wee paſſe by that which we held already and let it go. To begin then firſt and formeſt at antiquity (as it were) from the gooddeſſe *Peſta* (according to the old proverb) let us examine and conſider the common ſame of mans life which hath bene delivered unto us from hand to hand time out of minde, by the ſucceſſion and progreſſe of ſo many ages from the old world unto this day, and take the ſame for a wiſeſſe and counſeller both in this matter, wee ſhall finde in all the yeeeres paſt, theſe onely couples and paires of renowned friends, to wit, *Theſeus* and *Pirithous*; *Achilles* and *Patroclus*; *Oreſtes*

\* *Ophelias* of *Archimedes*.

\* *Whimsy* *discretion* *of* *the* *infant* *had* *and* *no* *repletion* *where*.

*Oreſtes* and *Pylades*; *Pythias* and *Damon*; *Epaminondas* and *Pelopidas*. For friendſhip is indeede (as I may ſo ſay) one of theſe cattell that love company and deſire to feed and paſture with fellows; but it can not abide herds and droves, it may not away with theſe great flocks, as jayes, dawes and choughes do. And whereas it is commonly ſaid and thought, that a friend is another owne ſelfe, and men give unto him the name of *swallow* or *emmet* in Greeke, as if a man would ſay, *swallow*, that is, ſuch another: what implieth all this, but that friendſhip ſhould be reduced within the meaſure and compaſſe of the duall number, that is, of twaine. Well, this is certaine, we can buy neither many ſlaves nor purchaſe many friends with a ſmall piece of coine: but what may be this piece of money that will fetch friends? Surely, kinde affection or good will, and a lovely grace joined with vertue, things I may tell you ſo rare, as looke thoroughout the world and the whole courſe of nature, you ſhall finde nothing more ſeaſon. No marvell then, if it be unpoſſible either to love many or to be loved of many, perfectly and in the height of affection. But like as great rivers, if they be divided into many channells, and cut into ſundry riverets, carry but an ebbe water, and run with no ſtrong ſtreame; even ſo a vehement and affectionate love planted in the minde, if it be parted many and divers waies becommeth enervate and feeble, and cometh in manner to nothing. This is the reaſon in nature, that thoſe creatures which bring forth but one and no more, love their yong more tenderly and entirely, than others do theirs. *Flower* alſo when he would ſignifie a childe moſt dearly beloved, calleth it *μικρον παιδιον*, that is to ſay, only begotten and toward old age, to wit, when the parents have no more betwene them, nor ever are like or doe looke to have another: for mine owne part, I would not deſire to have that *μικρον*, that is to ſay, one friend, and no more; but ſurely, I could with that other he were *μικρον*, yea, and *μακρον*, that is to ſay, long and late firſt ere he be gotten, like as a ſonne which is borne toward the latter daies of his parents, yea, and ſuch a one, as (who according to that proverb ſo common in every mans mouth) hath eaten with me a meaſure of ſalt. And are not many now adaies called friends? what els? if they have but drunke once together at the taverne, or met in the tennis court, or els turned into a tabling houſe, and played at dice and hazzard one with the other, or haply light in company at one hoſtelrie and lodged together, and in one word, they do contract and gather friends in this manner out of common innes, wreſtling places, and ordinary walks in the markets or publike galleries. And verily, the common ſort, when they ſee every morning in the houſes of rich men and mightie rulers, a great multitude and concourſe of people, with much ado and hurrying, giving attendance there to ſalute them and bid them good morrow, kiſſing their right hands, & glad if they may touch them, accompanying them in manner of a guard when they go out of their lodging; oh, they imagine & repute ſuch potentates wondrous happie, as being furniſhed with ſuch numbers of friends; and yet ſurely, as many as they be, they ſhall fee more flies ordinarily in their kitchens: and to ſay a troth, like as theſe flies will be gone if no cat and viands be ſtirring; ſo theſe friends will tary no longer than gaine and profit is to be gotten.

Certes, true and perfect friendſhip requireth theſe three things eſpecially; Vertue, as being honeſt and commendable; Societie, which is pleaſant and delectable; and Profit, which is needfull and neceſſarie: for a man muſt admit and receive a friend upon judgement and after triall made, he ought to delight and joy in his company, and he is to make uſe of him as occaſion ſerveth: all which three are contrarie unto pluralitie of friends, but eſpecially that which is principally, to wit, judgement upon a triall: and to prove this to be true; ſee firſt and formeſt whether it be poſſible in a ſmall time to make prooſe and triall of ſinging men or quierſters, that they may keepe a good concert and harmonie together in their ſong; or to make choiſe of oare-men, who ſhall agree in their rowing, to riſe and fall with their oares juſt together; or of houſholde ſervants ſuch as wee purpoſe to make the bailiffs and ſtewards of our goods, or the governors and bringers up of our children; much more unlikely then is it, that we ſhould have prooſe of many friends in a little ſpace, who will be ready to enter the triall with us of all manner of fortune, and of whom every one will be preſt and willing

*Of his uſefare to yeeld even part to thee,  
And beare like part of thy calamitie.*

For neither is a ſhip ſhot or haled into the ſea againſt ſo many ſtormes & tempeſts; nor mee do ſer & pitch ſo many ſtakes in a palliſado for the defence of any place; or in havens raiſe banks, and oppoſe damps, againſt the like dangers, or in feare of ſo many perils, as friendſhip promiſeth luſcour and refuge for, if it be founded ſurely and aright upon good prooſe and ſufficient experience. As for ſuch as before triall and experiment made do intrude themſelves comming and

and going for friends, such when they be put to the trial & touch indeed, & then found like evil money, counterfeit or light, they that go without them, be glad in their minde, and as many as have them, with with all their hart & pray to God for to be rid of them. But surely this is a troublesome & comberous thing, neither is it an easie matter to void and cast off such a friendship as this, so displeasing & offensive: for like as if some kind of bad meat do trouble and offend the stomacke, a man can neither retaine and hold it still, but it will put him to paine and breed hurt & corruption, nor yet put it off and send it out in such sort as it went in, but all filthy and loathsome, as being furred over with slime, and mixed confusedly with other humours, and whollie altered from the former state; even so an ill friend either tarieth with us still to his owne griefe and ours both, or else away he goeth perforce with euill wil, malice and enmitie like bitter choller that is vomited out of the stomacke. It is not good therefore to receive and admit of friends over-lightly and over-soone, nor to set our mindes and knit our affections to those that come next hand, and present themselves first, ne yet love those incontinently that seeke to us and follow us; but rather to seeke after them and follow them our selves that are worthy of friendship: for we must not alwaies chooe that which is easie to be had & willing to be gotten; for we put by gorse and furzen bushes; we tread under foot briars and brambles though they catch hold of us, and hang unto us as we walke whether we will or no; whereas wee go forward to the olive tree and the vine; and even so it is not alwaies decent & good to entertaine into our familiaritie one that is readie to embrace and hang about us; but rather such ought we our selves affectionately to embrace whom we have tried to be profitable unto us, and who deserve that we should love and make account of them. And like as *Xenxis* the painter answered sometime to those who found fault with him for his slow hand in painting: I confesse indeed (quoth he) that I am long in drawing a picture, for I purpose that my worke should continue long; and even so that friendship and familiaritie is like to last and be preserved long which was a good while in prooofe and triall. Is it then no easie matter to make triall and choise of many friends together? and is it no hard thing to conuerse & keepe companie with many at once, or rather is this also impossible for surely it is conversation and fellowship, whereby we enjoy the benefit of friendship, and the most sweet and pleasant fruit of amitie consisteth in keeping continuall societie, and daily frequenting one anothers companie, like unto those who uttered these words,

*For during life we will not sit  
in counsell from our friends,  
Nor yet resolve of doubtful points  
before we know their minds.*

As *Homer* reporteth in one place: and in another *Menelaw* speaking of *Ulysses*, saith thus,

*Nought else us twaine our mutual love,  
and pleasures shall depart  
untill death close up both our eyes  
and strike us to the hart.*

But this pluralitie of friends whereof we now speake, seemeth to do cleane contrarie; for whereas the simple amitie of twaine draweth us together, holdeth & uniteth us by frequent and continuall conversation, fellowship, and duties of kindenesse,

*Much like as when the fig tree juice,  
you put a white milke among,  
It cruddes, knits, and binds the same,  
no lesse then remnes strong.*

according to the words of *Empedocles*; and surely desirous it is to make the semblable union and concorporation: this friendship of many separateth, distracteth and diverteth us, calling and transporting us sundry waies, not permitting the commixture and fodering (as it were) of good will and kinde affection to grow into one, and make a perfect joint by familiar conversation, enclosing & fastning every part together. But the same anon bringeth withall a great inequality in offices and reciprocal services meet for friends, and breedeth a certaine foolish bashfulness and streining of courtisie in the performance thereof, for by occasion of many friends those parts in amitie, which otherwise are easie and commodious, become difficult and incommodious: And why?

*All men do not agree in humor one,  
Their thoughts their cares bend diversely one,  
and no marvel, for our verie natures do not all incline in affection the same way; neither are we*

at all times conversant and acquainted with the like fortunes and adventures. To say nothing of their sundrie occasions and occurrences which serve not indifferently for all our actions; but like as the windes unto sailers, they are with some and against others; sometimes on our backs and other whiles full in our face. And say that it may fall out so, that all our friends at once do stand in need, and be desirous of one and the same helpe and ministerie at our hands, it were verie hard to fit all their turnes and satisfie them to their content; whether it be in taking our advice and counsell in any negotiations, or in treating about State matters, or in suite after dignities, places of government, or in feasting and entertaining strangers in their houses: But suppose that at one & the same instant, our friends being diversly affected & troubled with sundrie affaires, request all of them together our helping hand; as for example, one that is going to sea for to have our companie in that voiage; another who being defendant & to answer for himselfe in the law, to assist him in the court; and a third that is a plaintife, to second him in his plea; a fourth who either is to buy or sell, for to helpe him to make his markets; a fifth who is to marrie for to sacrifice with him, and be at his wedding dinner; and a sixth, who is to inter a dead corps for to moume & solemnize the funerals with him: in such a medley and confusion as this, as if according to *Sophocles*:

*A citie smackt with insence sweet,  
And ring with songs for mirth so meet,  
With plaints also and groanes resound,  
And all in one and selfe same sound.*

Certes having so many friends, to assist and gratifie them all were impossible, to pleasure more were absurd, and in serving ones turne to reje& many others, were offensive and hurtful: for this is a rule:

*Who to his friend is well affected,  
Loves not himselfe to be neglected.*

and yet commonly such negligences and forgetfull defaults of friends, we take with more patience, and put up with lesse anger and displeasure, when they shall come to excuse themselves by oblivion making these and such like answers. Surely, you were but forgotten; it was out of my head, and I never thought of it: but he that shall alleadge thus and say: I was not your assistant in the court, nor stood to you in your cause, by reason that I attended another friend of mine in a triall of his; or I came not to visite you whiles you had an ague, for that I was buslie employed at a feast, that such a one made to one of his friends; excusing his negligence to one friend, by his diligence to others; surely he maketh no satisfaction for the offence already taken, but increaseth the same and maketh it woorse than before, by reason of jealousy added thereto; howbeit most men as it should seeme aime at nothing else but at the profit and commoditie which friendship bringeth and yeeldeth from without, & never regard what care it doth imprint and worke within; neither remember they that he whose turne hath bene served by many friends, must likewise reciprocally be ready to helpe them as their need requireth. Like as therefore the giant *Briareus* with his 100 hands feeding 50 bellies, had no more sustenance for his whole body die than we, who with two hands furnish and fill one belly; even so the commoditie that wee have by many friends bringeth this discommoditie withall, that we are to be employed also to many, in taking part with them of their griefs and passions, in travailing and in being troubled together with them in all their negotiations and affaires: for we are not to give care unto *Enripides* the poet when he saith thus,

*In mutuall love men ought a meane to keepe,  
That it touch not heart roote nor marrow deepe,  
Affections for to change it well best,  
To rise and fall, now hot now coole by fits.*

giving us to understand that friendship is to be used according as need requireth more or lesse, like to the helme of a ship, which both holdeth it hard, and also giveth head, or the tackling which spread and draw, hoise and strike saile, as occasion serveth. But contrariwise, rather (good *Enripides*) we may turne this speech of yours to enmitie, & admonish men that their quarrels & contentions be moderate and enter not to the heart and inward marrow (as it were) of the soule, that hatred (I say) and malice, that anger, offences, defiance, and suspitions, be so intertained as that they may be soone appeased, laid downe & forgotten. A better precept is that yet of *Pythagoras*, when he teacheth us not to give our right hand to many; that is to say, not to make many men our friends, nor to affect that popular amitie common to all, and exposed or offered to every

every one that commeth, which no doubt cannot chuse but bring many passions with it into the heart, among which, to be disquieted for a friend, to condole or grieve with him, to cunct into troubles, and to plunge ones selfe into perils for his sake, are not very easie matters to be borne by those that carie an ingenuous minde with them, and be kind-hearted: but the saying of wife *Chilena* a professor of philosophie is most true, who answering unto a man that vaunted how he had not an enimie; It should seeme then (quoth he) that thou hast never a friend; for certainly enmities ensue presently upon amities, nay they are both interlaced together; neither is it the part of a friend not to feele the injuries done unto a friend, nor to participate with him in all iniquities, hatred, and quarrels that he incurreth; and one enimie evermore will be sure to suspect the friend of another, yea and be ready to malice him; as for friends oftentimes they 10 envie their owne friends, they have them in jealousie, and traduce them every way. The oracle answered unto *Timeus* when he consulted about the planting and peopling of a new colonie in this wise:

*Thou shalt not lead a swarme of bees full kind,  
But angrie waspes, thou shalt them shortly find.*

Semblable they that seeke after a bee-hive (as it were) of friends, light ere they be aware upon a waspes nest of enmities: where there is a great ods and difference even in this, that the revenging remembrance of an enimie for wrong done, over-weigheth much the thankfull memorie of a friend for a benefit received: and whether this be true or no, consider in what maner *Alexander* the great entreated the friends of *Philotas* and *Parmenio*; how *Dionysius* the tyrant used the familiars of *Dion*; after what sort *Nero* the emperor dealt by the acquaintance of *Plautus*, or *Tiberius Caesar* by the well-willers of *Sejanus*, whom they caused all to be racked, tortured and put to death in the end. And like as the costly jewels of golde, and the rich apparell of king *Creens* daughter, served him in no stead at all, but the fire that tooke holde thereof, flaming light out suddenly, burned him when he ran unto her to take her in his armes, and so consumed father and daughter together; even so you shall have some, who having never received any benefit at all by the prosperitie of their friends, are entangled notwithstanding in their calamities, and perish together: with them for companie; a thing that ordinarily and most of all they are subject unto, who be men of profession, great clearks, and honourable personages. Thus *Thersites*, when *Perithous* his friend was punished and lay bound in prison 30

*With fetters sure to him tied was,  
Fare stronger than of iron or brasse.*

*Thucydides* also writeth; That in the great pestilence at *Athens*, the best men and such as made greatest profession of vertue, were they who did most with their friends that lay sicke of the plague: for that they never spared themselves, but went to visit and looke to all those whom they loved and were familiarly acquainted with. And therefore it is not meet to make so little regard and reckoning of vertue, as to hang and fasten it upon others, without respect, and (as they say) hand over head, but to reserve the communication thereof to those who be worthy; that is to say, unto such who are able to love reciprocally, and know how to impart the like againe. And verily, this is the greatest contrariety and opposition which crosseth pluralitie of friends, in that amitie in deed is bred by similitude and conformitie: for considering that the very brute beasts not endued with reason, if a man would have to ingender with those that are of divers kinds, are brought to it by force, and thereto compelled, in so much, as they shrinke, they couch downe upon their knees, and be ready to flee one from another; whereas contrariwise, they take pleasure and delight to be coupled with their like and of the same kinde, receiving willingly and entertaining their companie in the act of generation, with gentleness and good contentment: how is it possible that any found and perfect friendship should grow betwene those who are in behaviour quite different, in affections divers, in conditions opposite, and whole course of life tendeth to contrary or sundry ends? True it is, that the harmonie of musicke, whether it be in song or instrument, hath symphony by antiphony (that is to say) the accord ariseth from discord, and of contrarie notes is composed a sweet tune, so as the treble and the base concur, after a sort, (I wot not how) & meet together, bringing forth by their agreement that sound which pleaseth the eare: but in this consonance and harmonie of friendship, there ought to be no part unlike or unequal, nothing obscure and doubtfull, but the same should be composed of all things agreeable, to wit, the same will, the same opinion, the same counsell, the same affection, as if one soule were parted into many bodies. And what man is he, so laborious, so mutable, so variable, and apt to take every fashion & form? who is able to frame unto all patterns, and accommodate himselfe

himselfe to so many natures, and will not rather be ready to laugh at the Poet *Theognis*, who giveth this lesson:

*Put on a minde (I thee do wish)  
As variable as Polype fish,  
Who as resemble will the rock,  
To which he neere doth approach.*

and yet this change and transmutation of the said polype or pourcuttle fish, entrench not deeply in, but appeareth superficially in the skin, which by the closeness or laxitie thereof, as he draws it in or lets it out, receiveth the deflections of the colours from those bodies that are neere unto it; whereas amities do require that the maners, natures, passions, speeches, studies, desires and inclinations may be conformable; for otherwise to doe, were the properie of a *Procurer*, who was neither fortunate nor yet verie good and honest, but who by enchantment and forcerie could easily transforme himselfe from one shape to another in one and the same instant; and even so he that entertaineth many friends, must of necessitie be conformable to them all; namely, with the learned and studious, to be ever reading; with professors of wrestling, to bestrew his bodie with dust (as they doe) for to wrestle; with hunters, to hunt; with drunkards, to quaffe and carouse; with ambitious citizens, to sue and manage for offices, without any seled mansion (as it were) of his owne nature for his conditions to make abode in. And like as naturall Philosophers do holde: That the substance or matter that hath neither forme nor any colour, which they call *Materia prima*, is a subject capable of all formes, and of the owne nature so apt to alter and change, that sometimes it is ardent and burning, otherwhiles it is liquid and moist; now rare and of an aircie substance, and afterwards againe grosse and thicke, resembling the nature of earth; even so must the minde applied to this multiplicitie of friends, be subject to many passions, sundry conditions, divers affections pliable, variable and apt to change from one fashion to another. Contrariwise, simple friendship and amitie betwene twaine, requireth a staied minde, a firme and constant nature, permanent and abiding alwaies in one place, and retaining still the same fashions; which is the reason that a fast and assured friend is very generous and hard to be found. 30



## OF FORTUNE.

### The Summarie.

40 **L**ong time hath this Proverbe bene current, That there is nothing in this world but good fortune and misfortune. Some have expounded and taken it thus; as if all things were carried by meere chance and adventure, or mooved and driven by inconstant fortune, an idle forged in their braine, for that they were ignorant in the providence of the True God who conducteth ordinarily all things in this world by second causes and purpose. Now *Plutarch* not able to arise and reach up to this divine and heavenly wisdom hidden from his knowledge, staideth below; and yet poore *Pagan* and *Epicure* though he were, he consulteth that dangerous opinion of Fortune; shewing that it taketh away all distinction of good and evil, quencheth and putteth out the light of mans life, blending and confounding vice and vertue together. 50 Afterwards he provoveth that prudence and wisdom, over-rules his blind fortune, by considering the maistrie and dominion that man hath above beasts: the arts also and sciences whereof he maketh profession, together with his judgement and will directly opposite and contrarie to all casualties and changes.



## OF FORTVNE.



*Lind fortune rul's mans life away,  
Sage counsell therein beares no sway,*

said one (who ever it was) that thought all humane actions depended upon meer casualtie, and were not guided by wisdom. What and hath justice and equitie no place at all in this world? Can temperance and modestie do nothing in the direction and managing of our affaires? Came it from fortune; and was it indeed by mere chance that *Aristides* made choise to continue in povertie, when it was in his power to make himselfe a Lord of much wealth and many goods? or that *Scipio* when he had forced *Carthage*, tooke not to himselfe, nor so much as saw any part of all that pillage? And was it long of fortune, or by casualty that *Philocrates* having received of King *Philip* a great summe of gold, bought there with harlots and daintie filthes; or that *Laisthenes* and *Euthyrates* betrayed the citie *Olympus*, measuring soveraigne good and felicity of man by belly-cheere, and those pleasures which of all other be most dishonest and infamous? And shall we say, it was a worke of fortune that *Alexander*, sonne of *Philip*, not onely himselfe forbore to touch the bodies of the captive women taken in war, but also punished all such as offered them violence and injurie: and contrariwise, came it by ill lucke and unhappie fortune, that another *Alexander* the sonne of King *Priamus* slept and lay with his friends wife, when he lodged and entertained him in his house, and not onely so, but carried her away with him, and by that occasion brought all manner of calamitie upon two maine parts of the continent, to wit, *Europe* and *Asia*, and filled them both with those miseries that follow warres?

If we graunt that all these occurrents came by fortune, what should let us, but we might as well say that cats, goats and apes be likewise by fortune given to be alwaies lickorous, lecherous, sturewd and sawcy. But in case it be true (as true it is) that the world hath in it temperance, justice and fortitude; what reason is there to say, that there is no prudence and wisdom therein? now if it be yeelded that the world is not void of prudence: how can it be maintained that there should not be in it sage counsell? For temperance (as some say) is a kinde of prudence; and most certaine it is, that justice should be assisted by prudence; or to say more truly, ought to have it present with her continually. Certes, sage counsell & wisdom in the good use of pleasures and delights, whereby we continue honest, we ordinarily do call continence and temperance; the same in dangers and travels, we termne tolerance, patience and fortitude; in contracts and management of State affaires we give the name of loialtie, equitie and justice; whereby it cometh to passe, that if we will attribute the effects of counsell and wisdom unto fortune, we must likewise ascribe unto her the works of justice and temperance. And so (believe me) to rob and steal, to cut purses, and to keepe whores, must proceed from fortune; which if it be so, let us abandon all discourse of our reason, and betake our selves wholly to fortune to be driven and carried to and fro at her pleasure like to the dust, chaffe, or sweepings of the floore, by the puffs of some great wind. Take away sage & discreet counsell; farewell then all consultation as touching affaires, away with deliberation, consideration and inquisition into that which is behovefull and expedient: for surely then, *Sophocles* talked idly, and knew not what he spake in saying thus:

*Seeke, and be sure to finde with diligence,*

*But loose, what you for-let by negligence.*

And in another place where dividing the affaires of man he saith in this wise:

*What may be taught, I strive to learne;*

*what may likewise be found*

*I seeke, for wishes all I pray,*

*and would to God be bound.*

Now would I gladly know, what is it that men may finde and what can they learne, in case all things in the world be directed by fortune? What Senate house of citie would not be dissolved and abolished? what counsell chamber of Prince should not be overthrowen and put downe, if all were at the disposition of fortune? we doe her wrong in reproching her for blindness, when we runne upon her as we doe, blinde, and debasing our selves unto her; for how can we chuse but stumble upon her indeed, if we plucke out our owne eyes, to wit, our wisdom & dexterie

terrie of counsell, and take a blinde guide to lead us by the hand in the course of this our life? Certes, this were even as much, as if some one of us should say, the action of those that see, is fortune, and not sight or eyes, which *Plato* calleth *phantasy*, that is, Light-bearers: the action like-wile of them that heare, is nothing else but fortune, and not a naturall power and facultie to receive the stroke or repercussion of the aire, carried by the eare and the braine. But better it were (I trow) and so will everie wise bodie thinke to take heed how to discredit our senses so, as to submit them to fortune: For why? Nature hath bestowed upon us sight, hearing, taste and smelling, with all the parts of the body indued with the rest of their powers and faculties, as ministers of counsell and wisdom. For it is the soule that seeth, it is the soule & understanding that heareth, all the rest are deafe and blinde: and like as if there were no sunne at all we should (for all the starrs besides) live in perpetuall night as *Heraclitus* saith; even so if man had not reason and intelligence, notwithstanding all his other senses, he should not differ in the whole race of his life from brute and wilde beasts; but now in that we excell and rule them all, it is not by chance and fortune: but *Prometheus* (that is to say) the use and discourse of reason is the very cause that hath given us in recompence

*Both horse and asse, with breed of beests so strong  
To cary us, and ease our labour long.*

according as we read in *Aeschylus* the poet. Forasmuch as otherwife fortune and nature both have bene more favourable, and beneficiall to most of the brute beasts in their entrance into this life, than unto man; for armed they be with hornes, tusks, spurs, and stings; moreover as *Empedocles* saith,

*The Urchin strikes with many a pricke,  
Which grow on backe both sharpe and thicke.*

Again there be many beasts clad and covered with scales and shag haire; shod also with claws and hard hoofes: onely man as *Plato* saith is abandoned and forsaken by nature, all naked, unarmed, unshod, and without any vesture whatsoever,

*But by ones gift which she hath given,  
Amends she makes, and all is even.*

and that is, the use of reason, industrie, and providence.

*For strength of mortall man is small,  
His lims but weake and sinewes all:  
Yet by his wit and quick conceit,  
By cunning casts and subrill sleight,  
No beast in sea, or mount, so fell,  
So wilde or ste, but hee doth quell.*

What beast more nimble, more light and swift than is the horse; but for man it is that he runneth in the race: the dogge is couragious and eager in fight, but it is in the defence of man: fishes yeeld a most delicate and sweet meat; and swine be full of good flesh, but both of them serve as viands for the food and nourishment of man: what creature is bigger or more terrible to see to than is the elephant? howbeit he maketh man sport and pastime, he is shewed as a goodly sight in festivall solemnities where people bee assembled, he is taught to friske and daunce his measures, to fall upon his knees likewise and do reverence: and verily these and such like sleights and examples are exhibited not in vaine nor without good profit, but to this end, that thereby we may know how farfoorth reason & wisdom doth advance and lift up a man, above what things it maketh him surmount, and how by means thereof he ruleth all, and surpasseth all:

*As fight with fits we are not good,  
nor yet in tripping feet,  
In wrestling we may well be blam'd,  
our running is not fleet.*

But in all these feats we are inferiour to brute beasts, howbeit for experience, memorie, wisdom and artificiall sleights (as *Anaxagoras* said) wee go beyond them all, and thereby wee have the mastery and use of them, making them to serve our turnes: we streine honie out of the combs of bees; we presse milke out of beasts udders; we rob and spoile them; we drive and carie them away and whatsoever they have, in so much as in all this there is nothing that can be justly attributed to forme, but all proceeds from counsell and fore-cast.

Furthermore, the works of carpenters are done by hand of man, so are they also of smithes

and brasiers, of masons, builders, gravers and imagers: in all which there is nothing to be scene, that a man can say is done by chaunce or fortune, at leastwise when it is wrought abso-  
lutely and as it should be. And say that it may fall out otherwhiles that a good artisan, whether he be a cutter in brasie or a mason, a finith or a carpenter, may meet with fortune and doe some little thing by chance; yet the greatest peeces of worke, and the most number are wrought and finished respectively by their arts, which a certeine poet hath given us secretly to understand by these verses,

*March on your way ech artisan  
Who live upon your handy-craft,  
On soorth I say in comely traine,  
Your sacred panniers beare aloft;  
Tou that Ergane dread and feare  
The daughter grim of Iupiter.*

For this *Ergane* (that is to say *Minerva*) all artificers and artificers acknowledge and honor for their patronesse, and not fortune. True it is that the report goes of a certeine painter, who drawing the picture of an horse, had done verie well in all respects, both in portraiture and also colours, save onely that he pleased not himselfe in painting the some and swelling froth which useth to gather about the bit as hee champeth upon the same, and so falleth from his mouth when he snuffeth and bloweth; this I say he liked not, neither thought he it workmanly done, inso much as hee wiped it out many times and began it a new; but never was it to his mind; at last in a pelling chafe because it would frame no better, he takes me his spung full as it was of colours, and flang it against the table wherein hee wrought; but see the wonderfull chance; this sponge lighting as it did upon the right place, gave such a print, and dashed fo, as that it represented the froth that he so much desired most lively; and to my remembrance there is not in anie historie set downe an artificall thing but this that fortune ever did.

Artificers use altogether in everie piece of worke, their Iquires, their rules, their lines and leavels; they goe by measures and numbers, to the end that in all their workes there should not be any thing found done either rashly or at adventure. And verily these arts are petie kindes of Prudence and so called; or rils and riverets flowing from Prudence, or certaine parcels rather of it, sprinkled and dispersed among the necessities of this life: and thus much is covertly signified by the fable of the fire that *Promethus* divided by sparkles, which flew some heere some there; for semblahy, the small parcels and fragments of wisdom, being cut into sundrie portions, are ranged into their severall ranks and become arts. A woonderfull thing how these arts and sciences should have no dealing with Fortune nor need her helpe, for to attaine unto their proper ends; and yet Prudence which is the greatest soveraigne and most perfect of them all, yea and the verie height of all the glorie, reputation, and goodnesse of man, should be just nothing. In the winding up and letting downe of the strings of an instrument, there is one kind of wisdom, and that is called Musicke; in the dressing and ordering of meates and viands there is another, which they name Cookerie; in washing and scouring of clothes and garments there is a third, to wit, the fullers craft. As for our little children, we teach them to draw on their shoes, to make them readie and dresse themselves in their clothes decendly, to take meat in their right hand, and to hold bread in the left; an evident argument and prooffe, that even such small matters as these, depend not of chance and fortune, but require skill and heed taking. Shall we say then that the greatest and most principall things that are, even those that be most materiall and necessarie for mans felicitie, use not wisdom, nor participate one whit with providence and the judgement of reason? There is no man so blockish and voide of understanding, that after he hath tempered clay and water together, lets it alone and goeth his way when he hath so done, looking that of the owne accord, or by fortune there will be bricks or tiles made thereof: neither is any one such a for, as when he hath bought wool & leather, sits him downe & praies unto fortune, that thereof he may have garments or shooes: and is there any man so foolish thinke you? who having gathered together a great masse of gold and silver, gotten about him a mightie retinue of slaves and servants, and being possessed of divers faire and stately houes with many a doore within and without, and those surely locked on everie side, having before him in his sight a sort of sumptuous beds with their rich and costly furniture, and of tables most precious, will repose soveraigne felicitie therein, or thinke that all this can make him to live happily, without paine, without griefe, secure of chaunge and alteration, if he have not wisdom withall?

There

There was one that cavilled upon a time with Captaine *Iphicrates*, and by way of reproch & minding to proove that he was of no reckoning, demanded what he was? For (quoth he) you are not a man at armes, nor archer, nor yet targuettier: I am not indeed I confesse (quoth *Iphicrates*, but I am he who commaund all these, and employ them as occasion serveth; even so wisdom, is neither gold nor silver, it is not glorie or riches, it is not health, it is not strength, it is not beautie: what is it then? Surely even that which can skill how to use all these, and by means whereof each of these things is pleasant, honorable and profitable; and contrariwise, without which, they are displeasing, hurtfull and dangerous, working his destruction and dishonor who possesseth them. And therefore right good counsell gave *Promethus* in *Hesiodus* to his brother *Epimethus* in this one point:

*Receive no gifts at any time,  
which heavenly Iove shall send:  
But see thou do refuse them all,  
and backe againe them send.*

Meaning thereby these outward goods of fortunes gift, as if he would have said: Goe not about to play upon a Flute, if thou have no knowledge in Musicke; nor to reade if thou know never a letter in the booke; mount not on horsebacke, unless thou canst tell how to sit him and ride; and even so he advised him thereby, not to seeke for office and place of government in common-weale, wanting wit as he did; nor to lay for riches, so long as he bare a covetous minde and wist not how to be liberrall; nor to marrie a wife, for to bee his maister and to lead him by the nose: for not onely wealth and prosperitie hapning above desert unto unadvised folke, giveth occasion (as *Demosthenes* said) unto them for to commit many follies; but also wordly happines beyond all reason and demerit, causeth such as are not wise, to become unhappie and miserable in the end.



## OF ENVIE AND HATRED.

### The Summarie.

*In this briefe Treatise concerning Envie and Hatred, Plutarch after he hath shewed in generall termes that they be two different vices, and declared what the properties of the one and the other, prooveth his difference by divers reasons and arguments ranged in their order: he discovereth the nature of envious persons and malicious; and sheweth by a proper similitude that the greatest personages in the world, be secured from the claws and pawes of envious persons, and yet for all that, cease not to have many enemies. And verily it seemeth that the Author began this little worke, especially for to beat downe envie, and that the insanie thereof might so much more appeere in comparing and matching it with another detestable vice, the which notwithstanding he saith is lesse enormous than it.*

## OF ENVIE AND HATRED.



**L**et seemeth at the first sight, that there is no difference between envie and hatred, but that they be both one. For vice (to speake in generally) having (as it were) many hookes or crotchets, by meanes thereof as it sturreth to and fro, it yeeldeth unto those passions which hang thereto many occasions and opportunities to catch holde one of another, and so to be knit and entrelaced one within the other; and the same verily (like unto diseases of the body) have a sympathie and fellow-feeling one of anothers distemperature and inflammation: for thus it commeth to passe, that a malicious and spightfull man is as much grieved and offended at the prosperitie of another, as the envious person: and so we holde, that benevolence and good-will is oppositely unto them both, for that it is an affection of a man, withing good unto his neighbour: and envie in this respect resembleth hatred, for that they have both a will and intention quite contrary unto love: but forasmuch as no things like to the same, and the resemblances betweene them be not so effectual to make them all one, as the differences to distinguish them asunder; let us search and examine the said differences, beginning at the very source and originall of these passions.

Hatred then, is ingendred and ariseth in our heart upon an imagination and deepe apprehension that we conceive of him whom we hate, that either he is naught & wicked in general to every man, or els intending mischief particularly unto our selves: for commonly it falleth out, that those who thinke they have received some injurie at such an ones hand, are disposed to hate him, yea, and those whom otherwise they know to be maliciously bent and wont to hurt others, although they have not wronged them, yet they hate and can not abide to looke upon them with patience; whereas ordinarily they beare envie unto such onely as seeme to prosper and to live in better state than their neighbours: by which reckoning it should seeme that envie is a thing indefinite, much like unto the disease of the eyes *Ophthalmia*, which is offended with the brightnesse of any light whatsoever; whereas hatred is determinate, being alwaies grounded upon some certaine subject matters respectife to it selfe, and on them it worketh. Secondly, our hatred doeth extend even to brute beasts; for some you shall have, who naturally abhorre and can not abide to see cats nor the flies cantharides, nor todes, nor yet snakes and any such serpents. As for *Germanicus Caesar*, he could not of all things abide either to see a cocke or to heare him crow. The Sages of *Persia* called their *Magi*, killed all their mice and rats, aswell for that themselves could not away with them but detested them, as also because the god (forsooth) whom they worshipped, had them in horror. And in trueth, all the Arabians and Aethiopians generally, holde them abominable. But envie properly is betweene man and man; neither is there any likelihood at all, that there should be imprinted envie in savage creatures one against another; because they have not this imagination and apprehension, that another is either fortunate or unfortunate, neither be they touched with any sense of honour or dishonour; which is the thing that principally and most of all other giveth an edge, and whetteth on envie; whereas it is evident that they hate one another, they beare malice and mainteine enmitie, nay, they go to warre as against those that be disloyall, treacherous, and such as are not to be trusted: for in this wise doe eagles warre with dragons, crows with owles, and the little nonnet or tit-mouse fighteth with the linnet, inasmuch, as by report, the very blood of them after they be killed, will not mingle together; and that which is more, if you seeme to mixe them, they will separate and run apart againe one from the other: and by all likelihood, the hatred that the lion hath to the cocke, and the elephant also unto an hogge, proceedeth from feare: for lightly that which creatures naturally feare, the same they also hate; so that herein also a man may assigne and note the difference betweene envie and hatred, for that the nature of beasts is capable of the one but not of the other.

Over and besides, no man deserveth justly to be envied: for to be in prosperitie and in better state than another, is no wrong or injurie offered to any person; and yet this is it for which men be envied; whereas contrariwise, many are hated worthily, such as those whom in Greeke we call *εὐνοῦμενοι*, that is to say, worthy of publike hatred, as also as many as do not flie from such, detest them

them not nor abhorre their companie. And a great argument to verifie this point, may be gathered from hence, namely, in that some there be who confesse and take it upon them, that they hate many; but no man will be known that he envie any: for in trueth, the hatred of wicked persons and of wickednesse, is commended as a qualitie in men praise-worthy. And to this purpose serveth well that which was said of *Charillus*, who reigned in *Spuria*, and was *Lycorgus* his brothers sonne, whom when there were certaine that commended for a man of milde behaviour and of a relenting and gentle nature: And how can it be (quoth he who was joined with him in the roiall government) that *Charillus* should be good, seeing he is not sharpe and rigorous to the wicked. And the Poet *Homer* describing the deformitie of *Thersites* his bodie, de- painted his defects and imperfections in sundrie parts of his person, and by many circumlocutions; but his perverse nature and crooked conditions he set downe briefly and in one word in this wise:

*Worthy Achilles of all the host*

*And sage Ulysses, he hated most.*

for he could not chuse but be sharke naught and wicked in the highest degree, who was so full of hatred unto the best men. As for those who denie that they are envious, in case they be convicted manifestly therein, they have a thousand pretences and excuses therefore, alledging that they are angry with the man, or stand in feare of him whom indeed they beare envie unto, or that they hate him, colouring and cloaking this passion of envie with the vaile of any other whatsoeuer for to hide and cover it, as if it were the only malady of the soule, that would be concealed and dissembled. It cannot chuse therefore, but that these two passions be nourished and grow as plants of one kinde, by the same meanes, considering that naturally they succede one the other: howbeit, wee rather hate those that be given more to leawdnesse and wickednesse, and we envy such rather who seeme to excel others in vertue. And therefore *Themistocles* (being but a youth) gave out and said, that he had done nothing notable, because as yet he was not envied: for like as the flies cantharides fettle principally upon that wheat which is the fairest and come to full perfection; and likewise sticke unto the roses that are most out, and in the verie pride of their flourishing; even so envie taketh commonly unto the best conditioned persons, and to such as are growing to the height of vertue and honour: whereas contrariwise the leawdest qualities that be, and wicked in the highest degree doe mightily moove and augment hatred: and heereupon it was that the Athenians had them in such detestable hatred, and abhorred them so deadly, who by their slanderous imputations brought good *Socrates* their fellow-citizen to his death, inasmuch as they would not vouchsafe either to give them a coale or two of fire, or light their candles, or deigne them an answer when they asked a question; nay they would not wash or bathe together with them in the same water, but commanded those servitors in the baines which were called *Parachytæ*, that is to say, drawers and ladders of water into the bathing vessels, to let forth that as polluted and defiled, wherein they had washed; whereupon they seeing themselves thus excommunicate and not able to endure this publike hatred which they had incurred, being wearie of their lives, hung and strangled themselves. On the contrary side it is often seene, that the excellency of vertue, honor and glory, and the extraordinarie successe of men is so much, that it doth extinguish and quench all envie. For it is not a likely or credible matter that any man beare envie unto *Cyrus* or *Alexander* the great, after they were become the onely lords and monarches of the whole world: but like as the sunne when he is directly and plumb over the head or top of any thing, causeth either no shadow at all, or the same very small and short by the reason that his light overspreadeth round about; even so when the prosperitie of a man is come to the highest point and have gotten over the head of envie, then the said envie retireth and is either gone altogether, or els drawn within a little roome by reason of that brightnesse over-spreading it: but contrariwise the grandence of fortune and puffance in the enemies, doth not one jot abbreviate or allay the hatred of their evill willers; and so that this is true, may appeere by the example of *Alexander* above named, who had not onely that envied him, but many enemies he found and those malicious, and by them in the end he was traiterously for-laied and murdered.

Sensibly, adversities may well stae envie and cause it cease, but enmitie and hatred they do not abolish; for men never give over to despise their enemies, no not when they are brought lowe and oppressed with calamities; whereas you shall not see one in miserie envied. But most true is that laying found of a certaine sophister or great profleour in our daies: That envious persons of all other be ever pittifull and delight most in commiseration: so that herein lieth

one of the greatest differences between these two passions; that hatred departeth not from those persons of whom it hath once taken hold; neither in the prosperitie nor adversitie of those whom they hate; whereas envie doth avoid and vanish away to nothing upon extremitie aswell of the one as the other.

Over and besides we may the better discover the difference also of them by the contraries: for hatred, enmitie, and malice cease presently so soone as a man is perswaded that he hath caught no harme nor sustained injurie by the party; or when he hath conceived an opinion that such as he hated for their lewdnesse are reformed and become honest men; or thirdly if he have received some pleasure or good turne at their hand: for evermore the last favor that is shewed (as *Thucydides* saith) though it be lesse than many others, yet if it come in season and a good time, he is able to do out a greater offence taken before. Now of these three causes before specified, the first doth not wash away envie; for say that men were perswaded at the first that they received no wrong at all; yet they give not over for all that to beare envie still: and as for the two later they do irritate and provoke it the rather: for such as they esteeme men of qualitie and good woorth, those they doe bite more than before, as having vertue the greatest good that is; and notwithstanding that they do reape commoditie & find favour at their hands, who prosper more than they; yet they grieve and vexe thereat, envying them still both for their good mind to benefit them, and for their might and abilitie to performe the same; for that the one proceedeth from vertue, and the other from an happie estate, both which are good things.

We may therefore conclude, that envie is a passion farre different from hatred, since it is so that wherewith the one is appeased and mollified, the other is made more exasperate and greevous. But let us consider a little in the end the scope and intention aswell of the one as the other: Certes the man that is malicious, purposeth fully to do him a mischief whom he hateth; so that this passion is defined to be a disposition and forward will to spie out an occasion & opportunitie to wait another a shrewd turne; but surely this is not in envie: for many there be who have an envious eie to their kinsfolke and companions, whom they would not for all the good in the world see either to perish or to fall into any greevous calamitie; onely they are grieved to see them in such prosperitie, and would impeach what they can their power, and ecclipse the brightnesse of their glorie; many they would not procure nor desire their utter overthrow, nor any distresses remediable or extreame miseries; but it would content and suffice them to take downe their height, and as it were the upmost garret or turret of an high house which overlooketh them.



## HOW A MAN MAY RECEIVE PROFIT BY HIS ENEMIES.

### The Summarie.



*Among the dangerous effects of envie and hatred, this is not the least nor one of the last, that they shooe (as it were) from within our adversaries, for to slide and enter into us and take possession in our hearts, making us believe that we shall impeach one evil by another; which is as much as to desire to cleanse one or dawe by a new, and to quench a great fire by putting into it plenty of oile. As for hatred it hath another effect nothing lesse pernicious, in that it maketh us blinde, and causeth us that we cannot tell at which end or turning to take our enemies, nor know our selves how to reenter into the way of vertue. Plutarch willing to cut off such effects by the helpe of morall Philosophie, raketh occasion to begin this discourse with a sentence of Xenophon; and prooveth in the first place by divers similitudes: That a man may take profit by his enemies: and this he saith abroad in particulars, shewing that their ambushes and*

*inquisitions*

*inquisitions serve us in very great stead. After this, he teacheth us the true way how to be revenged of those that hate us, and what we ought to consider in blaming another. Now forasmuch as our life is subject to many injuries and calumnies, he instructeth us how a man may turne all to his owne commoditie: which done, he presenteth sower remedies and expedient means against their slanderous language, and how we should confound our enemies: The first is, To comaine our owne tongues, without rendering evil for evil: the second is, To doe them good, to love and praise their vertues: the third, To out-goe them in well doing: and the last, To provide that vertue remaine alwaies on our side, in such sort, that if our enemies be vicious, yet we persist in doing goods; and if they carry some shew and appearance of goodnesse, we endeavour to be indeed and without all comparison better than they.*

## HOW A MAN MAY RECEIVE profit by his enemies.



See that you have chosen by your selfe (ô *Cornelius Pulscher*) the meetest course that may be in the government of common-wealth; wherein having a principall regard unto the weale-publike, you shew your selfe most gracious and courteous in private to all those that have access and repaire unto you. Now forasmuch as a man may well finde some country in the world, wherein there is no venomous beast, as it is written of *Candie*, but the management and administration of State affaires was never knownen yet to this day cleere from envie, jealousy, emulation and contention, passions of all other most apt to engender and breed enmities, unto which it is subject; for that if there were nothing els, even amity & friendship it selfe is enough to entangle and encombe us with enmities; which wise *Chilon* the Sage knowing well enough, demanded upon a time of one (who vaunted that he had no enemies) whether he had not a friend. In regard hereof a man of State and policie, in mine opinion (among many other things wherein he ought to be well studied) should also thorowly know what belongeth to the having of enemies, and give good care unto the saying of *Xenophon*, namely: That a man of wit and understanding isto make his profit and benefit by his enemies. And therefore having gathered into a pretie Treatise, that which came into my minde of late to discourse and dispute upon this matter, I have sent unto you written and penned in the very same tearmes as they were delivered, having this eie and regard as much as possible I could, not to repeat any thing of that which heretofore I had written touching the politike precepts of governing the weale publike, for that I see that you have that booke often in your hand.

Our fore-fathers in the olde world contented themselves in this: That they might not be wounded or hurt by strange and savage beasts brought from forren countreys, and this was the end of all those combats that they had against such wilde beasts; but those who came after, have learned moreover, how to make use of them; not onely take order to keepe themselves from receiving any harme or damage by them; but (that which more is) have the skill to draw some commoditie from them, feeding of their flesh, clothing their bodies with their wooll and haire, curing and healing their maladies with their gall & rennet, arming themselves with their hides and skinnies; inso much as now from henceforth, it is to be feared (and not without good cause) lest if beasts should faile, and that there were none to be found of men, their life should become brutish, poore, needie and savage. And since it is so, that whereas other men thinke it sufficient not to be offended or wronged by their enemies, *Xenophon* writeth: That the wise reape commoditie by their adversaries; we have no reason to derogate any thing from his credit, but to believe him in so saying, yea, and we ought to search for the method & art to attaine and reach unto that benefit, as many of us (at least wise) as can not possibly live in this world without enemies. The husbandman is not able with all his skill to make all sort of trees to cast off their wilde nature, and become gentle and domestically. The hunter can not with all his cunning, make tame and tractable all the savage beasts of the Forrest; and therefore they have fought and devised other means and uses to make the best of them; the one finding good in barren and fruitlesse plants, the other in wilde and savage beasts. The water of the sea is not porable, but brackish and hurtful unto us, howbeit, fishes are nourished therewith, and it serveth mans turne also

also to transport passengers (as in a waggon) into all parts, and to carrie whatsoever a man will. When the Satyre would have killed and embraced fire the first time that ever he saw it, *Prome-*  
*them* admonished him and said:

*Thou wilt bewaile thy goat-beard soone,  
If thou it touch, it will burne anon.*

but it yeeldeth light and heat, and is an instrument serving all arts, to as many as know how to use it well; sensibly, let us consider and see whether an enemy being otherwise harmefull and intractable, or at least-wile hard to be handled, may not in some sort yeeld as it were a handle to take hold by, for to touch & use him so as he may serve our turne, and minister unto us some commodity. For many things there are besides, which be odious, troublesome, comberous, hurtfull, and contrarie unto those that have them or come neere unto them; and yet you see that the verie maladies of the bodie give good occasion unto some for to live at rest and repose; I meane sequestred from affairs abroad, & the travailes presented unto others by fortune, have so exercised them that they are become thereby strong and hardy: and to say more yet, banishment and losse of goods, hath bene the occasion unto divers, yea and a singular means to give themselves to their quiet studie & to philosophie; like as *Diogenes* and *Crates* did in times past. *Zen* himselfe when newes came unto him that his ship wherein he did venture and traffike was split and cast away: Thou hast done well by me fortune (quoth he) to drive me againe to my scholars weed. For like as those living creatures which are of a most sound and healthfull constitution, & have besides strong stomachs, are able to concoct & digest the serpents & scorpions which they devour; nay some of them there be which are nourished of stones, scales, and shels, converting the same into their nutriment by the strength and vehement heat of their spirits; whereas such as be delicate, tender, soft, and crasse, are ready to cast and vomit if they take a little bread onely, or doe but sip of wine; even so foolish folke doe marre and corrupt even friendship and amitie; but those that are wise can skill how to use enemies to their commoditie, and make them serve their turnes. First and foremost therefore in my conceit, that which in enemie is most hurtfull, may turne to be most profitable unto such as be warie and can take good heed: and what is that you will say? Thine enemie as thou knowest well enough watcheth continually, spying and prying into all thine actions, he goeth about viewing thy whole life, to see where he may finde any vantage to take hold of thee, and where thou liest open that he may assaile and surprise thee; his sight is so quicke that it pierceth not onely through an oke, as *Lycene* did, or stones and shels; but also it goeth quite through thy friend, thy domestically servants, yea and every familiar of thine with whom thou daily doest converse, for to discover as much as possibly he can what thou doest or goest about; he soundeth and searcheth by undermining and secret waies what thy designs & purposes be. As for our friends, it chaunceth many times that they fall extreme sicke, yea and die thereupon before we know of it, whiles we defer and put off from day to day to go and visit them, or make finall reckoning of them; but as touching our enemies we are so observant, that we curiously enquire & hearken even after their very dreames; the diseases, the debts, the hard usage of men to their owne wives, and the untoward life betweene them, are many times more unknown unto those whom they touch and concerne, than unto their enemie: but above all, he sticketh close unto thy faults, inquisitive he is after them and those he traceth especially: and like as the gaies or vultures flie unto the stinking sent of dead carions and putrified carcases, but they have no finell or sent at all of bodies sound and whole; even so those parts of our life which are diseased, naught and ill affected, be they that move an enemy; to these leape they in great haste who are our ill willers, these they seize upon, and are ready to worry and plucke in peeces; and this it is that profiteth us most, in that it compelleth us to live orderly, to looke unto our steps that we tread not awry, that we neither do or say ought inconsiderately or rashly; but alwaies keepe our life unblameable, as if we observed a most strict and exquisite diet; and verily this heedfull caution repressing the violent passions of our minde in this sort, and keeping reason at home within dores, engendreth a certaine studious desire, an intention and will to live uprightly and without touch: for like as those cities by ordinary warres with their neighbour cities, and by continuall expeditions and voiajes, learning to be wise, take a love at length unto good lawes and sound government of state; even so they that by occasion of enmity be forced to live soberly, to save themselves from the imputation of idleness and negligence, yea, and to do everie thing with discretion and to a good and profitable end, through use and custome shall be brought by little and little (ere they be aware) unto a certaine settled habit that they cannot lightly trip and do amisse, having their manners

framed

framed in passing good order, with the least helping hand of reason and knowledge beside; for they who have evermore readily before their eyes this sentence:

*This were alone for Priamus,*

*and his sonnes likewise all,*

*Oh how would they rejoyce at heart,  
in case this should befall.*

certaine would quickly be diverted, turned and withdrawn from such things, whereat their enemies are wont to joy and laugh a good: see we not many times stage players, chanters, musicians and such artificers in open theaters, who serve for the celebration of any solemnitie unto *Bacchus* or other gods, to play their parts carelessly, to come unprovided, and to carie themselves I know not how negligently, nothing forward to shew their cunning and doe their best, when they are by themselves alone and no other of their owne profession in place? but if it chance that there be emulation and contention betweene them and other concurrents who shall do best; then you shall see them not onely to come better prepared themselves, but also with their instruments in very good order; then shall you perceive how they will bestir themselves in trying their strings, in tuning their instruments more exactly, & in fitting every thing about their flutes and pipes, and assaying them. Hee then who knoweth that he hath an enemie ready and provided to be the concurrent in his life, and the rivall of his honour and reputation, will looke better to his waies and stand upon his owne guard; he will (I say) sit fast and looke circumspectly about him to all matters, ordering his life and behaviour in better sort: for this is one of the properties of vice, that when we have offended and trespassed, we have more reverence and stand rather in awe of our enemies left we be shamed by them than of our friends. And therefore *Scipio Nasica* when some there were that both thought and gave out that the Romane estate was not settled and in safetie, considering that the Carthaginians who were wont to make head against them and keepe them occupied, were now vanquished and defeated, the Athenians likewise subdued and brought under subjection: Nay many (quoth he) for it is cleane contrarie, and even now are we in greatest danger, being at this passe that we have left our selves none to feare, none to reverence.

And hereto moreover, accordeth well the answer that *Diogenes* made, like a Philosopher and a man of State indeed: One asked him how he should be revenged of his enemie: *Matie* (quoth he) by being a virtuous and honest man thy selfe. Men seeing the horses of their enemies highly accounted of, or their hounds praised and commended, do grieve thereat, if they perceive also their land well tilled and husbanded, or their gardens in good order, fresh and flourishing, they fetch a sigh and sorrow for the matter. What (thinke you then) will your enemie do? how will he fare, when you shall be seene a just man, wife and prudent, honest and sober, in words well advised and commendable, in deeds pure and cleane, in diet neat and decent?

*Reaping the fruit of wisdom and prudence,  
Sown in deepe furrow of heart and conscience,  
From whence there spring and bud continually  
Counsels full sage, with fruits abundantly.*

*Pindarus* the Poet said: That those who are vanquished and put to foile, are so tongue-tied, that they can not say a word; howbeit, this is not simply true, nor holdeth in all, but in such as perceive themselves overcome by their enemies, in diligence, goodnesse, magnanimity, humanity, bounty and beneficence: for these be the things (as *Demosthenes* saith) which stent the tongue, close up the mouth, stop the wind-pipes and the breath, and in one word, cause men to be silent and dumbe.

*Resemble not leav'd folke, but them out-goe  
In verriest deeds, for this thou maist well doe.*

Wouldst thou doe thine enemie who hateth thee a great displeasure in deed? Never call to him by way of reproch, buggerer, wanton, lascivious, ruffian, scurrile scoffer, or covetous micher; but take order with thy selfe to be an honest man every way, chaste, continent, true in deed and word, courteous and just to all those that deale with thee: but if thou be driven to let fall an opprobrious speech, and to revile thine enemy, then take thou great heed afterwards that thou come not neere in any wise to those vices which thou reprochest him with, enter into thy selfe, and examine thine owne conscience, search all the corners thereof, looke that there be not in thy soule some putrified matter and rotten corruption, for feare lest thine owne vice within may hit thee home, and requite thee againe with this verse out of the tragical Poet:



*Alcech he is, others to cure,  
Pestred himselfe with sores impure.*

If thou chance to upbraid thine enemy with ignorance, and call him unlearned, take thou greater paines at thy booke, love thou thy studie better, and get more learning: if thou twit him with cowardise, and name him dastard, stirre up the vigour of thine owne courage the rather, and shew thy selfe a man so much the more: hast thou given him the tearmes of beastly whoremaster or lascivious lecher, wipe out of thy heart the least taint and spot that remaineth hidden therein of concupiscence and sensualitytie; for nothing is there more shamefull or causeth greater griefe of heart, than an opprobrious and reprochfull speech returned justly upon the author thereof. And as it seemeth that the reverberation of a light doth more offence unto the feeble eyes; even so those reproches which are retorted and sent backe againe by the truth, upon a man that blafed them before, are more offensive: for no lesse than the North-east winde *Cassius* doth gather unto it clouds; so doth a bad life draw unto it opprobrious speeches; which *Plato* knowing well enough, whensoever he was present in place, and saw other men do any unseemly or dishonest thing, was wont to retire apart, and say thus secretly unto himselfe: *Doe not I also labour other-while of this disease?* Moreover, he that hath blamed and reproched the life of another, if presently withall he would goe and examine his owne, reforming the same accordingly, redressing and amending all that he findes amisse, untill he have brought it to a better state, shall receive some profit by that reproving and reviling of his; otherwise it may both seeme (as it is no lesse indeed) a vaine and unprofitable thing. Commonly men cannot chuse but laugh at when they see either a bald-pate or a bunch-backe to taunt and scoffe at others for the same defects or deformities; and so in truth, it were a ridiculous thing and a meere mockerie, to blame or reproch another in that, for which he may be mocked and reproched himselfe. Thus *Levi* the Byzantine cut one home that was crumpe shouldered and bunch-backe, when he seemed to hit him in the teeth with his dimme and feeble eye-sight: *Doe*st thou twit me (quoth he) by any imperfection of nature incident unto a man, when as thy selfe art marked from heaven, and deriect the divine vengeance upon thy backe? Never then reprove thou an adulterer, if thy selfe be an uncleane wanton with boies; nor seeme thou to upbraid one with prodigality, if thou be a covetous miser thy selfe. *Alcemon* reviled *Adrastus* (upon a time) in this wise: Thou

*A sister hast by parents twaine,  
Whose hands her husband deare haveaine.*

But what answered *Adrastus*? He objected not unto him the crime of another, but paict him home with his owne, after this manner:

*But thou thy selfe hast murdered  
Thine owne kinde mother, who thee bred.*

In like sort, when *Domitius* (upon a time) seemed to reproch *Craffus*, saying: Is it not true, that when your lamprey was dead which was kept full deintily for you in a stew, you wept therefore? *Craffus* presently came upon him againe with this bitter reply: And is it not true, that you when you followed three wives of yours one after another to their funerall fire, never shed teare for the matter? It is not so requisite or necessarie iwis (as the vulgar sort doe thinke) that hee who checketh and rebuketh another, should have a ready wit of his owne, and a naturall gift in doing it, or a loud and big voice, or an audacious and bold face; no, but such an one he ought to be, that cannot be noted and taxed with any vice: for it should seeme that *Apollo* addressed this precept of his [*Know thy selfe*] to no person so much as to him who would blame and finde fault with another; for feare lest such men, in speaking to others what they would, heare that againe which they would not. For it happeneth ordinarily as *Sophocles* saith: That such an one

*Who lets his tongue runne foolishly,  
In noting others bitterly,  
Shall heare himselfe (unwillingly)  
The words he gave so wisely.*

Lo what commoditie and profit ensueth upon reproching an enemy.

Neither commeth there lesse good and advantage unto a man by being reproched by another, and hearing himselfe reviled by his enemies: and therefore it was well and truly saide of *Antisthenes*, that such men as would be saved and become honest, another day ought of necessity to have either good friends, or most spitefull and bitter enemies: for as they with their kind remonstrances and admonitions; so these with their reprochfull tearmes were like to reforme their sinfull life. But forasmuch as amity and friendship nowadaies speaketh with a small

and low voice when faults should freely be reprovved, and is very audible and full of words in flattering, altogether mute and dumbe in rebukes and chastisements; but what remaineth now but that we should heare the truth from the mouth of our enemies? much like unto *Telephus*, who for default of a physician that was a friend to cure him, was forced to commit his wound or ulcer to the iron head of his enemies: speare for to be healed; and even so those that have no well willers that dare freely reprove their faults, must perforce endure with patience the stinging tongue of their enemies and evill willer in chastising and rebuking their vices, not regarding so much the intent and meaning of the ill speaker, as the thing it selfe, and the matter that he speaketh; and looke how he who enterprised the killing of *Prometheus* the Thessallian, ran him so deepe with his sword into the impostume or swelling borch which he had about him, that he le forth the corruption, and saved his life by the breaking and issue thereof; even so for all the world it falleth out many times, that a reprochfull speech delivered in anger or upon evill will is the cause of healing some maladie of the soule, either hidden or unknowne altogether, or else neglected; but the most part of those who are in this manner reproched, never consider whether the vice wherewith they are touched be in them or no, but they looke rather if they can finde some other vice to object unto him, who hath thus challenged them; and much like untid wrestlers, they never wipe away their owne dust, that is to say, the reproches that be fastned upon themselves, and wherewith they be defamed, but they bestrew one another with dust, and afterwards trip up one anothers heeles, and tumble downe one upon another, weltering in the same, and loiling one another therewith: whereas indeed it behooved rather that a man which he findeth himselfe tainted by his enemy, to endeavour for to do away that vice wherewith he is noted and defamed, much rather than to fetch out any spot or steine out of his garment, which hath bene shewed him: and although there be charged upon us some slanderous imputation that is not true; yet nevertheless we are to search into the occasion whereupon such an opprobrious speech might arise and proceed, yea and take heed we must and feare, lest ere we be aware we commit the like or come neere unto that which hath bene objected unto us. Thus for example sake *Lacydes* king of the Argives, for that hee did weare his haire curiously set, in manner of a peruke, and because his gate or maner of going, seemed more delicate and nice than ordinary, grew into an ill name and obloquy of effeminate wantonnesse. And *Pompeius* the great could not avoid the like suspition, because he used otherwhiles to scratch his head with one finger onely, and yet otherwise he was so farre from feminine wantonnesse and incontinence as any man in the world. *Craffus* was accused for to have had carnall company with one of the religious nuns or votaries of *Pesta*, for that being desirous to purchase of her a faire peece of land and house of pleasure which he had, he resorted oftentimes privately unto her, spake with her apart, and perhaps made court unto her for to have her good wil in that respect onely. *Posthumia* likewise another vestall virgin, for that she was given much to laugh upon a small occasion, and withall would not sticke to enterteine talke with men, more boldly peradventure than became a maiden of her profession, was so deeply suspected of incontinence, that she was brought judicially into question about it, howbeit found unguilty, and acquit the was; but when *Spurium Alutium* the high-priest for the time being, affoiled her and pronounced the sentence of her absolution, minding to dismishe her of the court; he gave her a gentle admonition by the way, that from thence forward she should forbear to use any words lesse modest & chaste then the cariage of her life was. *Themistocles* likewise notwithstanding he was most innocent indeed, was called into question for treason, because he entertained amitie with *Perseus*, sent and wrote oftentimes unto him, and so by that meanes gave suspition that he minded to betray all *Greece*. When as therefore thou art charged with a false crimination by thine enemy, thou must not neglect it and make final account thereof because it is not true, but rather looke about thee and examine what hath bene done or said, either by thee or any one of those who affect and love thee, or converse with thee, founding and tending any way to so that imputation which might give occasion or likelihood thereof, and carefully to beware and avoid the same: for if by adverse and heavy fortune whereunto others have inconsiderately fallen, they are deere taught what is good for them, as *Alceop* saith in one tragedie:

*Fortune hath taken for her salary,  
My dearest goods of which I am bereft,  
But we she taught by this great misery  
For to be wise, and lest she hath misleft.*

X

What

What should let or hinder us, but that we may learne by a master that costeth us nought, nor taketh nothing for his teaching (even our enemies) to profit and learne somewhat that we knew not before? for an enemy perceiveth and findeth in us many things more than a friend, by reason that (as *Plato* saith) That which loveth is alwaies blinde in the thing that is loved; whereas he who hateth us, besides that he is very curious and inquisitive into our imperfections, he is not meale mouthed (as they say) nor will spare to speake, but is ready enough to divulge and blab all abroad. King *Hierax* chanced upon a time being at words with one of his enemies, so he told in reprochfull manner by him of his stinking breath; whereupon being somewhat dismained in himselfe, he was no sooner returned home to his owne house, but he chid his wife: How comes this to passe (quoth he?) what say you to it? how hapneth it that you never told me of it? she the woman being a simple, chaste, & harmlesse dame; Sir (saith she) I had thought all mens breath had smelled so. Thus it is plaine, that such faults as be object and evident to the senses, grosse and corporall, or otherwise notorious to the world, we know by our enemies sooner than by our friends and familiars.

Over and besides, as touching the continence and holding of the tongue, which is not the least point of vertue, it is not possible for a man to rule it alwaies, and bring it within the compass and obedience of reason, unless by use and exercise, by long custome and painfull labour he have tamed and mastered the worst passions of the soule, such as anger is: for a word that hath escaped us against our willes, which we would gladly have kept in; of which, *Homer* saith thus:

*Out of the mouth a word did fly  
For all the range of teeth fast-by.*

And a speech that we let fall at adventure (a thing hapning often-times, and especially unto those whose spirits are not well exercised, and who want experience, who runne out, as it were, and breake forth into passions) this (I say) is ordinary with such as be hastic and cholericke, whose judgement is not seised and staid, or who are given to a licentious course of life: for such a word, being (as divine *Plato* saith) the lightest thing in the world, both gods and men have many a time paid a most grievous and heavey penalty; whereas Silence is not only (as *Hippocrates* saith) good against thirst, but also is never called to account, nor amerced to pay any fine; and that which more is, in the bearing and putting up of taunts and reproches, there is observed in it a kinde of gravitie becoming the person of *Socrates*, or rather the magnanimity of *Hercules*, if it be true that the Poet said of him:

*Of bitter words he lesse account did make  
Than death he feare, which no regard doth take.*

Neither verily is there a thing of greater gravitie, or simply better, than to heare a malicious enemy to revile, and yet not to be moved nor grow into passions therewith,

*But to passe by a man that loves to raile,  
As rocke in sea, by which we swimme or saile.*

Moreover, a greater effect will ensue upon this exercise of patience, if thou canst accustomethy selfe to heare with silence thine enemy whiles he doth revile; for being acquainted therewith, thou shalt the better endure the violent fits of a curst and threwd wife chiding at home; to heare also without trouble the sharpe words of friend or brother; and if it chance that father or mother let thee bitter rebukes at thee or beat thee, thou wilt suffer all, and never shew thy selfe displeased and angrie with them. For *Socrates* was wont to abide at home *Xanthippe* his wife, a peevish shrewd woman and hard to be pleased, to the end that he might with more ease converse with others, being used to endure her curtnesse. But much better it were for a man to come with a minde prepared and exercised before-hand with hearing the scoffes, railing language, and grie taunts; outrageous and foule words of enemies and strangers, and that without anger and shew of disquietnesse, than of his domestical people within his owne house. Thus you see how a man may shew his meeknesse and patience in enmities; and as for simplicity, magnanimity, and a good nature in deed, it is more seene here than in friendship: for it is not so honest and commendable to do good unto a friend, as dishonest, not to succour him when he standeth in need and requesteth it.

Moreover, to forbear to be revenged of an enemy if opportunitie and occasion is offered, and to let him goe when he is in thy hands, is a point of great humanitie and courtesie; but him that hath compassion of him when he is fallen into adversity, succor him in distresse, at his request

quest is ready for to shew good will to his children, and an affection to susteine the state of his house and familie being in affliction; whosoever doth not love for this kindnesse, nor praise the goodnesse of his nature.

*Of colour blacke (no doubt) and tincture swart,  
Wrongs of stiffe Steele or yron he hath an heart,  
Or rather forg'd out of the Diamant,  
Which will not stirre heret, nor once relent.*

*Cesar* commanded that the statues erected in the honour of *Pompeius*, which had bene beaten downe and overthrown, should be set up againe; for which act *Cicero* said thus unto him: In rearing the images of *Pompeius*, O *Cesar*, thou hast pitched and erected thine owne. And therefore we ought not to be sparing of praise and honour in the behalfe of an enemy especially when he deserveth the same; for by this meanes the partie that praiseth shall winne the greater praise himselfe; and besides, if it happen againe that he blame the said enemy, his accusation shall be the better taken, and carie the more credit, for that he shall be thought not so much to hate the person as disallow and mislike his action.

But the most profitablie and goodliest matter of all, is this: That he who is accustomed to praise his enemies, and neither to grieve or envie at their well-fare, shall the better abide the prosperitie of his friend, and be furthest off from envying his familiars in any good successe or honour that by well-doing they have achieved. And is there any other exercise in the world, that can bring greater profit unto our soules, or worke a better disposition and habit in them, than that which riddeeth us of emulation and the humour of envie? For like as in a city, wherein there be many things necessarie, though otherwise simply evill, after they have once taken sure footing, and are by custome established in manner of a law, men shall hardly remove and abolish, although they have bene hurt and endamaged thereby; even so enmity, together with hatred and malice, bringeth in envie, jealousie, contentment and pleasure in the harme of an enemy, remembrance of wrongs received, and offences passed, which it leaveth behinde in the soule, when it selfe is gone; over and besides, cunning practises, fraud, guile, deceit, and secret for-layings or ambushes, which seeme against our enemies nothing ill at all, nor unjustly used, after they be once seised and have taken root in our hearts, remaine there fast, and hardly or un-neth are removed; insomuch as if men take not heed how they use them against enemies, they shall be so inured to them that they will be ready afterwards to practise the same with their verie friends. If therefore *Pythagoras* did well & wisely in acquainting his scholars to forbear cruelty and injustice, even as farre as to dumb and brute beasts; whereupon he misliked fowlers, and would request them to let those birdes die againe which they had caught; yea and buy of fishers whole draughts of fishes, and give order unto his disciples to put them alive into the water againe, insomuch as hee expressely forbad the killing of any tame beast whatsoever; certes it is much more grave and decent, that in quarrells, debates, and contentions among men; an enemy that is of a generous minde, just, true, and nothing treacherous, should repell, keepe downe, and hold underfoot the wicked, malicious, cautelous, base, and ungentleman-like passions; to the end that afterwards in all contracts and dealings with his friend they breake not out, but that his heart being cleere of them, he may abstaine from all mischievous practises. *Scannius* was a professed enemy and an accuser of *Domitius* judicially; now there was a domestical servant belonging to the said *Domitius*, who before the day of trial and judgement, came unto *Scannius* saying, That he would discover unto him a thing that he knew not of, the which might serve him in good steed when he should plead against his master; but *Scannius* would not so much as give him the hearing; nay he laid hold on the party, and sent him away bound unto his lord and master; *Cato* (the younger) charged *Murana*, and indicted him in open court for popularitie and ambition, and declaring against him that he sought indirectly to gaine the peoples favour and their voices to be chosen Consul; now as he went up and downe to collect arguments and proofes thereof, and according to the manner and custome of the Romanes, was attended upon by certaine persons who followed him in the behalfe of the defendant, to observe what was done for his better instruction in the proceesse & suit commenced; these fellows would oftentimes be in hand with him and aske whether he would to day search for ought, or negotiate any thing in the matter and cause concerning *Murana*? If he said, No; such credite and trust they reposed in the man that they would rest in that answer, and go their waies; a singular argument this was of all other to prove his reputation, and what opinion men conceived of him for his justice; but sure a farre greater testimonie is this, and that passeth

al the rest, to proove that if we be accustomed to deale justly by our very enemies, we shal never shew our selves unjust, cautelous, and deceitfull with our friends. But forasmuch as every lake (as *Simonides* was wont to say) must needs have a cop or crest growing upon her head; and so likewise all men by nature do carie in their head I wot not what jealousie, emulation, and envie, which is if I may use the words of *Pindarus*,

*A mate and fellow (to be plaine)*

*Of brain-sicke fooles and persons vaine.*

A man should not reape a small benefit & commoditie by discharging these passions upon his enemies, to purge & cleanse himselfe quite thereof, & as it were by certene gutters or channells, to derive and drein them as farre as possibly he can from his friends and familiar acquaintances, whereof I suppose *Onomademus* a great politician, & wise Statel-man in the *Isle Chios* was well advised, who in a civile dissention being sided to that faction which was superior, & had gotten the head of the other; coulselled the rest of his part not to chafe & banish out of the city al their adversaries, but to leave some of them still behind: For feare (quoth he) least having no enemies to quarrel withall, we our selves begin to fall out and go together by the eares; semblably if we spend these vicious passions of ours upon our enemies, the lesse are they like to trouble & molest our friends: for it ought not thus to be as *Hesiodus* saith: That the potter should envy the potter, or one minstrell or musician spite another; neither is it necessarie that one neighbor should be in jealousie of another; or cousins and brethren be concurrents & have emulation one at another, either striving to be rich or speeding better in their affaires: for if there be no other way or meanes to be delivered wholly from contentions, envies, jealousies, & emulations, acquaint thy selfe at leastwise to be stung and bitten at the good successe of thine enemies; whet the edge & sharpen the point (as it were) of thy quarrelous & contentious humour, & turne it upon them and spare not: for like as the most skilfull and best gardeners are of this opinion, that they shall have the sweeter roses and more pleasant violets, if they set garlick or fow onions neere unto them, for that all the strong and stinking favour in the juice that feedeth and nourish the saide flowers, is purged away and goeth to the saide garlick and onions; even so an enemie drawing unto himselfe and receiving all our envie and malice, will cause us to be better affected to our friends in their prosperitie, and lesse offended if they out-go us in their estate; and therefore in this regard we must contend and strive with our enemies about honour, dignities, government, and lawfull meanes of advancing our owne estates, and not onely to be grieved and vexed to see them have the better and the vantage of us, but also to marke and observe everie thing whereby they become our superiors, and so to straine and endeavour by carefull diligence, by labour and travell, by parsimonie, temperance, and looking neerely to our selves, to surpasse and go beyond them; like as *Themistocles* was wont to say: That the victorie which *Miltiades* achieved in the plaine of *Marathon* brake his sleepes, and would not let him take his nights rest: for he who thinketh that his enemie surmounteth him in dignities, in patronage of high matters and pleading of great causes, in management of state affaires, or in credit and authoritie with mightie men and grand Segniors, and in stead of striving to enterprise and do some great matter by way of emulation, betaketh himselfe to envie onely, and so sits still doing nothing, and looseth all his courage, surely he bewraith that he is possessed with naught else but an idle, vaine, & enervat kind of envy. But he that is not blinded with the regard & sight of him whom he hateth, but with a right & just eie, doth behold & consider al his life, his maners, descensions, words and deeds, shall soone perceive & find that the most part of those things which he envieth were achieved and gotten by such as have them, which their diligence, wisdom, foresight & vertuous deeds: he thereupon bending all his spirits & whole mind therto, wil exercise (I trow) & sharpen his owne desire of honor, glory & honesty, yea & cut off contrariwise, that yawning drowlines & idle loth that is in his hart. Set safe moreover, that our enemies by flattery, by cautelous shifts & cunning practises, by pleading of causes at the bar, or by their mercenarie and illiberall service in dishonest & foule matters, seem to have gotten some power, ether with princes in courts, or with the people in States & cities; let the same never trouble us, but contrariwise cheere up our harts and make us glad in regard of our owne libertie, the purenesse of our life and innocencie unreachible, which we may oppose against those indirect courses and unlawfull meanes. For all the gold that is either above ground or underneath (according as *Plato* saith) is not able to weigh against vertue. And evermore this sentence of *Solon* we ought to have in readines:

*Many a wicked man is rich;*

*And vertuous men are many poore:*

*But change we never will with such  
Nor give our goodnesse for their store,  
And why? vertue is durable,  
Whereas their wealth is mutable.*

much lesse then, will we exchange the acclamations and shouts of a popular multitude in theaters, which are woon with a feast; nor the honors and prerogatives to sit uppermost at a table neere unto the chamberlaines, minions, favorites, concubines, or lieutenants generall of Kings and Princes. For nothing is desireable, nothing to be affected, nothing indeed honest that proceedeth from an dishonest cause: But he that loveth (according as *Plato* saith) is alwaies blinded by the thing which is loved, and sooner do we perceive and marke any unseemly thing that our enemies doe. Howbeit to conclude, neither our joy and contentment conceived by observing them to do amisse, nor our griefe and displeasure in seeing them do well, ought to be idle & unprofitable unto us; but this reckoning and account we are to make of both; that in taking heed how we fall into their faults we may become better, and in imitating their good parts not worse than they.



## HOW A MAN MAY PER- CEIVE HIS OWNE PROCEE- DING AND GOING FORWARD IN VERTUE.

### The Summarie.

**H**ercules can be defined, whether of these two extremities is more to be feared, to wit, blockish stupidity or vaine presumption, considering the dangerous effects proceeding as well from the one as the other. And contrariwise, an excellent master it is to be able for to teach menthe means to avoid both extreames, and to hold the meane betwene. And this is the verie thing that our Author doth in this present treatise: for as he laboureth to disrobe as it were the lovers of vertue and turne them out of their habit of perverse ignorance, wherewith most part of the world is alwaies clad; so he is desirous to keep them from putting on the habilliment and garment of pride and vaine ostentation, that they might be arrayed with the apparell of vertue, in such sort that in taking knowledge of that good whereof they have already some part, they might endeavour and do what they can to get a greater portion from day to day, until they come unto an assured contentment wherein they may rest. Then teacheth he how to know what a man hath profited in the schoole and exercise of vertue, shewing that he ought to consider first, whether he recule from vice by little and little; wherein he consulteth the opinion of the Stoicks, who imagined that no man was good, unless he became vertuous all at once. This done, he adjoineth foure rules to know the said profit and progresse in vertue, to wit, When we perceive our heart to tend unto good without any intermission: When our affection redemeth and regaineth the time that is lost, growing so much the more, as it was before stained and hindred: When we begin to take our whole pleasure and delight therein: lastly, When we surmount and overcome all impeachments that might turne us aside out of the way of vertue. After all this, he entreth unto the master more specially, and sheweth how a man is to employ himselfe in the studie of wisdom; what vices he ought to flee; wherein his mind and spirits should be occupied; and the profit that he is to reape and gather from Philosophers, Poets and Historians. Item, wit what affection we ought to speake in the presence of our neighbours, whether it be publicly or in private; of what sort our actions should be; and to what end and scope we are to adreffe and direct them, giving a lustre unto all these discourses by excellent similitudes; taxing and reprooving the faults committed ordinarily by them who make a certaine semblance and outward shew

shew of aspiring unto vertue. Having thus discoursed of these points aforesaid, he propoeth and setteth downe againe diuers rules which may resolue us in this advancement and proceeding forward of ours in godnesse, namely: That we ought to loue reprehensions; to take heed even unto our dreames; to examine our passions, and so to hope well, if we perceiue that they waxe milde and gentle to imitate good things; in no wise to heare any speech of euill; to take example by the best persons, to reioice and be glad, to haue witnesses and beholders of our good will and intentions; and not to esteeme any times irreparable small, but to auoide and shun them all: last of all, he closeth up his treatise with an elegant similitude, wherein he discovereth and laith open the nature as well of the vicious as the vertuous; thereby to make the meanes of aspiring and attaining unto vertue, so much the more amiable to each person.

## HOW A MAN MAY PER- ceive his owne proceeding and going forward in Vertue.



It is not possible (my good friend *Sofista Senecio*) that a man by any meanes should haue a feeling in himselfe, and a conscience of his owne amendment and progresse in vertue, if those good proceedings do not daily make some diminution of his follie, but that the vice in him weighing in equall ballance against them all, doe holde him downe

*Like as the lead plucks downe the net,  
Which for to catch the fish was set.*

For so verily in the art of Musicke or Grammar, a man shall neuer know how farre he is proceeded, so long as in the studying and learning thereof, he diminish no part of his ignorance in those arts, but still findeth himselfe as unmusically and unlettered as he was before; neither the cure which the Physician emploiech about his patient, if it worke no amendment at all, nor alleviation of the disease seeming in some sort to yeeld unto medicines and to slake, can procure any sensible difference and change unto a better state, before that the contrary disposition and habit be restored perfectly to the former health, and the body made found and strong againe. But certainly, as in these cases there is no amendment to be accounted of, if those that seeme to amend do not perceive the change by the diminution and remission of that which weighed them downe, and finde themselves to encline and bend (as it were) in a ballance to the contrary; even so it fareth with those that make profession of philosophie; it can not be granted that there is any progresse or sense at all of profiting, so long as the soule cast not off by little and little, and purge away her folly, but until such time as shee can attaine (forsooth) unto the soveraigne and perfect good, continueth in the meane while fully possessed of vice and sinne in the highest degree; for by this meanes it would follow, if at one instant and moment of time a wise man should passe from extreme wickednes unto the supreme and highest disposition of vertue: That he had all at once and in the minute of an houre shed vice and cast it from him fully, whereof in a long time before he was not able to be rid of one little portion. But you know full well already that those who holde such extravagant opinions as these, make themselves worke enough, and raise great doubts and questions about this point, namely, How a man should not perceive and feele himselfe when he is become wise, and be either ignorant or doubtfull that this growth and increase commeth in long processe of time by little and a little, partly by addition of some thing, and partly by subtraction of other, until one arrive gently unto vertue, before he can perceive that he is going toward it. Now if there were so quicke and sudden a mutation, as that he who was to day morning most vicious, should become in the evening as vertuous; and if there ever were known to happen unto any man such a change, that going to bed a very foole and so sleeping, should awake and rise a wise man, and taking his leave of yesterdaies follies, errors and deceits, say unto them:

*My vaine lying dreames so vaine, a day, aday,  
Nought worth you were, I now both see and say.*

Is it possible that such a one (I say) should be ignorant of this sudden change, and not perceive to great a difference in himselfe, nor feele how wisdom all at once hath thus lightened and

illuminated

illuminated his soule? for mine owne part, I would rather thinke that one upon earnest prayer transformed by the power of the gods from a woman to a man (as the tale goes of *Ceneu*) should be ignorant of this Metamorphosis, than he who of a coward, a foole and a dissolute or loose person become hardie, wise, sober and temperate; or being transported from a sensuall and beastly life unto a divine and heavenly life, should not marke the very instant wherein such a change did befall. But well it was said in olde time: That the stone is to be applied and framed unto the rule, and not the rule or squire unto the stone. And they (the Stoicks I meane) who are not willing to accommodat their opinions unto the things indeed, but wrest and force against the course of nature, things unto their owne conceits and suppositions, have filled all philosophie with great difficulties and doubtfull ambiguities; of which this is the greatest: In that they will seeme to comprise all men, excepting him onely whom they imagine perfect, under one and the same vice in general: which strange supposition of theirs hath caused that this progresse and proceeding to vertue, called *Uegium*, seemeth to be a darke and obscure riddle unto them, or a meere fiction little wanting of extreme follie; and those who by the meanes of this amendment be delivered from all passions and vices that be, are held thereby to be in no better state, nor lesse wretched and miserable, than those who are not free from any one of the most enormous vices in the world; and yet they refuse and condemne their owne selves; for in the disputations which they holde in their schooles, they set the iniustice of *Aristides* in equall ballance to that of *Phalaris*; they make the cowardice and feare of *Brasidas*, all one with that of *Dolon*; yea, and compare the follie or error of *Melinus* and *Plato* together, as in no respect different; howbeit, in the whole course of their life, and management of their affaires, they decline and avoid those as implacable and intractable; but these they use and trust in their most important businesse, as persons of great worth and regard: but we who know and see that in every kinde of sinne or vice, but principally in the inordinate and confused state of the soule there be degrees according to more or lesse; and that heerein differ our proceedings and amendments, according as reason by little and little doth illuminate, purge and cleanse the soule in abating and diminishing evemore the viscositie thereof, which is the shadow that darkeneth it, are likewise fully persuaded that it is not without reason to be assured, that men may have an evident sense and perceivance of this mutation, but as if they were raised out of some deepe and darke pit, that the same amendment may be reckoned by degrees in what order it goeth forward. In which computation we may goe first and foremost directly after this maner, and consider, whether like as they who under saile set their course in the maine and vast ocean, by observing together with the length and space of time, the force of the winde that driveth them, doe cast and measure how farre they have gone forward in their voyage, namely, by a probable conjecture how much in such a time and with such a gale of winde it is like that they may passe; so also in philosophie a man may give a gesse and conjecture of his proceeding and going forward, namely, what he may gaine by continuall marching on still, without stay or intermission otherwhiles in the mids of the way, and then beginning a fresh againe to leape forward, but alwaies keeping one pace, gaining and getting ground still by the guidance of reason. For this rule

*If little still to live thou do ad,*

*A shape at length, and mickle will be had.*

was not given respectively to the encrease of summes of money alone, and in that point truly spoken, but it may likewise extend and reach to other things, and namely to the augmentation of vertue, to wit, when with reason and doctrine continuall life and custome is joyned, which maketh maistrise and is effectual to bring any worke to end and perfection; whereas these intermissions at times without order and equalitie, and these coole affections of those that studie philosophie, make not onely many staies and lets in proceeding forward as it were in a journey, but that which is worse, cause going backward, by reason that vice which evermore lies in wait to set upon a man that idly standeth still never so little haleth him a contrary way. True it is that the Mathematicians do call the planets Stationarie, and say they stand still, while they cease to moove forward; but in our progresse and proceeding in philosophie, that is to say, in the correction of our life and maners, there can be admitted no intervall, no pause or cessation, for that our wit naturally being in perpetual motion in maner of a ballance, alwaies casteth with the least thing that is, one way or other, willing of it selfe either to encline with the better or else is forcibly caried by the contrary to the worse. If then according to the oracle delivered unto the inhabitants of *Corinthus*, which willed them if they minded afterwards to live in peace, they should make war both night and day without intermission; thou finde in thy selfe, and

thine



thine owne confidence, that thou hast fought continually with vice as well by night as by day, or at leastwise that thou hast not often left thy ward, and abandoned thy station in the garrison, nor continually admitted the heralds or messengers from comming from far as it were to palle and compound, to wit, pleasures, delights, negligences, and amusements upon other matters, by all likelihood thou maist with confidence and alacritie be assured to go forward and make an end of thy course behind.

Moreover, say that there fall out some interruptions and staies betweene, that thou live not altogether canonically and like a philosopher, yet if thy latter proceedings be more constant than the former, and the fresh courses that thou takest longer than the other, it is no bad signe, but it testifieth, that by labour and exercise idleness is conquered, and sloth utterly chased away; whereas the contrary is a very ill signe, to wit, if by reason of many cessations and those comming thicke one after another, the heat of the former affection be cooled, languish and weareth to nothing: for like as the shoote of a cane or reed whiles it hath the full strength and greatest force, putteth forth the first stem reaching out in length, streight, even, smooth, & united in the beginning, admitting few knots in great distances between, to stay and put backe the growth and rising thereof in height; but afterwards as if it were checked to mount up aloft by reason of short winde and failing of the breath, it is held downe by many knots, and those neere one to another, as if the spirit therein which covereth upward found some impeachment by the way, smiting it backe, and causing it as it were to pant and tremble; even so as many as at first tooke long courses, and made haste unto philosophie or amendment of life, and then afterwards meet with stumbling blocks, continually turning them out of the direct way, or other meanes to distract and plucke them aside, finding no proceeding at all to better them, in the end are wearie, give over, & come short of their journeyes end; whereas the other above-said hath his wings growing still to helpe his flight, and by reason of the fruit which he findeth in his course goeth on apace, cutteth off all pretences of excuse, breaketh through all lets, (which stand as a multitude in the way to hinder his passage) which he doth by fine force and with an industrious affection to attaine unto the end of his enterprise. And like as to joy and delight in beholding of beautie present is not a signe of love beginning, for a vulgar and common thing this is, but rather to be grieved & vexed when the same is gone or taken away; even so many there be who conceive pleasure in philosophie, and make semblance as if they had a fervent desire to the studie thereof; but if it chance that they be a little retired from it by occasion of other businesse and affaires, that first affection which they tooke unto it vanisheth away, and they can well abide to be without Philosophie;

*But he who feeleth indeed the pricke  
Of love that pierceth neerer be quicke.*

as one poet saith; will seeme unto thee moderate, and nothing hot in frequenting the philosophical schoole and conferring together with thee about philosophie; but let him be plucked from it, and drawn apart from thee, thou shalt see him enflamed in the love thereof, impatient, and weary of all other affaires and occupations; thou shalt perceive him even to forget his own friends, such a passionate desire he will have to philosophie. For we ought not so much to delight in learning and philosophie whiles we are in place, as we do in sweet odors, perfumes, and ointments, and when we are away and separated therefro, never grieve thereat, nor seeke after it any more; but it must imprint in our hearts a certaine passion like to hunger and thirst when it is taken from us, if we will profit in good earnest & perceive our owne progresse and amendement; whether it be, that marriage, riches, some friendship, expedition or warfare come between, that may drave him away and make separation, for the greater that the fruit is which he gathered by Philosophie, so much the more will the griefe be to leave and forgoe it. To this first signe of progresse in Philosophie may be added another of great antiquitie out of *Hesiodus*; which if it be not the verie same, certes it commeth neere unto it, and this he describeth after this sort, namely, VVhen a man findeth the way no more difficult, rough & craggy, nor exceeding steep & upright, but easie, plaine, with a gentle descent, as being indeed laid even and smooth by exercise, and wherein now there begins light cleerely to appeere and shine out of darkenes, in stead of doubts, ambiguities, errors, and those repentances and changes of minde, incident unto those who first betake themselves to the studie of Philosophie; after the manner of them who having left behinde them a land which they know well enough, are troubled whiles they cannot descrite and discover that for which they set saile and bend their course; for even so it is with these persons, who when they have abandoned these common and familiar studies whereto they were inured

ured before they came, to learne, apprehend and enjoy better, oftentimes in the verie middle of their course are caried round about and driven to returne backe againe the same way they came. Like as it is reported of *Sextus* a noble man of *Rome*, who having given over the honorable offices and magistracies in the citie, for love of Philosophie, afterwards finding himselfe much troubled in that studie, and not able at the beginning to brooke and digest the reasons and discourses thereof, was so perplexed, that he went verie neere to have throwen himselfe into the sea out of a gallee.

The semblable example we read in histories, of *Diogenes* the Sinopian, when he first went to the studie and profession of Philosophie: for when about the same time it chanced that the Athenians celebrated a publike solemnitie with great feasting and sumptuous fare, with theatri-call plaies and pastimes, meeting in companies and assemblies to make merrie one with another, with revels and daunces all night long, himselfe in an odde corner of the market place lay lapped round in his cloathes, purposing to take a nap and sleepe; where and when he fell into certain fantasticall imaginations which did not a little turne and trouble his braines, yea and brake his heart, discouraging thus in his head: That he upon no constraint or necessitie, should thus wilfully betake himselfe to a laborious & strange course of painful life, sitting thus by himselfe moping, sequestred from all the world, & deprived of all earthly goods; In which thoughts and conceits of his, he spied (as the report goeth) a little mouse creeping & running towards the crums that were fallen from his lofe of bread, and was verie busie about them, whereupon hee tooke heart againe, reprooved and blamed his owne feeble courage, saying thus to himselfe: What saiest thou *Diogenes*? Seest thou not this sillie creature what good cheere it maketh with thy leavings? how merrie she is whiles she feedeth thereupon? and thou (like a trim man indeed as thou art) dost waile, weepe and lament, that thou drinkest not thy selfe drunke as those doe yonder; nor lie in soft and delicate beds, richly set out with gay and costly furniture. Now when such temptations and distractions as these be, returne not often, but the rule and discourse of reason presently riseth up against them, maketh head, turneth upon them suddenly againe (as it were) in the chace and pursued in the route by enemies, and so quickly discomfited and dispatched the anxietie and dispaire of the minde, then a man may be assured that he hath profited indeed in the schoole of Philosophie, and is well seled and confirmed therein. But forasmuch as the occasions which doe thus shake men that are given to Philosophie, yea and otherwhiles plucke them a contrarie way, doe not onely proceed from themselves by reason of their owne iniquitie and so gather strength; but the sad and serious counsels also of friends, together with the reprooves and contradictorie assaults made upon them by adversaries, betweene good earnest and game, doe mollifie their tender hearts, and make them to bow, bend and yeeld, which otherwhiles have beene able in the end to drive some altogether from Philosophie, who were well entred therein: It may be thought no small signe of good proceeding, if one can endure the same meekly without being mooved with such temptations, or any waies troubled and pinched when hee shall heare the names and surnames of such and such companions and equals otherwise of his, who are come to great credit and wealth in Princes courts; or be advanced by marriages, matching with wives who brought them good dowries & portions; or who are wont to go into the common Hall of a citie, attended upon and accompanied with a traine and troupe of the multitude, either to attaine unto some place of government, or to plead some notable cause of great consequence: for he that is not disquieted, astonished, or overcome with such assaults; certaine it is and we may be bold to conclude that he is arrested (as it were) and held sure as he ought to be by Philosophie. For it is not possible for any to cease affecting and loving those things, which the multitude doth so highly honor and adore, unless they be such as admire nothing else in the world but vertue. For to brave it out, to contest, and make head against men, is a thing incident unto some by occasion of choler, unto others by reason of folly; but to contemne and despise, that which others esteeme with admiration, no man is able to performe, so without a great measure of true and resolute magnanimitie: In which respect such persons comparing their state with others magnifie themselves, as *Solon* did in these words:

*Many a wicke man is rich,  
And good men there be many poore:  
But we will not exchange with rich,  
Nor give our goodnes for their store.  
For vertue is durable,  
Whereas riches be mutable.*



And *Diogenes* compared his peregrination and flitting from the city of *Corinth* to *Athens*; and againe his removing from *Thebes* to *Corinth*, unto the progresses and changes of abode that the great king of *Persia* was wont to make; who in the Spring season held his Court at *Susa* in Winter, kept house at *Babylon* and during Summer, passed the time and sojourned in *Media*. *Aeschylus* hearing upon a time the said king of *Persia* to be named, The great king: And why (quoth he) is he greater than my selfe? unless it be that he is more just and righteous. And *Aristotle* writing unto *Antipater* as touching *Alexander* the great, said: That it became not him only to vaunt much and glorifie himselfe for that his dominions were so great; but also any man els hath no lesse cause who is instructed in the true knowledge of the gods. And *Zeno* seeing *Thales* flourish in great admiration because he had many scholars: Indeed (quoth he) his auditory or quite is greater than mine, but mine accordeth better and makes sweeter harmonie than his. Which as therefore thou hast so grounded and established in thine heart that affection unto vertue, which is able to encounter and stand against all externall things, when thou hast voided out of thy soule all envies, jealousies, and what affections soever are wont either to tickle or to fret, or otherwise to deprelle and cast downe the minds of many that have begunne to professe philosophie; this may serve for a great argument and token that thou art well advanced forward; and hast profited much; neither is it a small signe thereof, if thou perceive thy language to be changed from that it was wont to be; for all those who are newly entred into the schoole of philosophie (to speake generally) affect a kinde of speech or stile which aimeth at glory and vaine ostentation: some you shall heare crowing aloud like cocks and mounting up aloft, by reason of their levity and haughty humour, unto the sublimity and splendor of physycall things or secrets in nature; others take pleasure (after the maner of wanton whelps, as *Plato* saith) in tugging and tearing evermore whatsoever they can catch or light upon; they love to be doing with litigious questions, they goe directly to darke problemes and sophistical subtilties; and most of them being once plunged in the quillits & quiddities of Logicke, make that (as it were) a means or preparative to flesh themselves for Sophistrie: many there be, who goe all about collecting and gathering together sententious sawes and histories of ancient times; and as *Anaxarxis* was wont to say: That he knew no other use that the Greeks had of their coined pieces of money, but to tell and number them, or els to cast account and reckon therewith; even so do they nothing els but count and measure their notable sentences and sayings, without drawing any profit or commodity out of them: and the same befallth unto them, which one of *Plato*s familiars applied unto his scholars by way of allusion to a speech of *Asiphanes*: this *Antiphanes* was wont to say in merriment: That there was a city in the world, whereas the words so soone as ever they were out of the mouth and pronounced, became frozen in the aire, by reason of the coldnesse of the place, and so when the heat of Summer came to thaw and melt the same, the inhabitants might heare the talke which had bene uttered and delivered in Winter; even so (quoth he) it is with many of those who come to heare *Plato* when they be young; for whatsoever he speaketh and readeth unto them, it is very long ere they understand the same, and hardly when they are become olde men: and even after the same sort it fareth with them above said, who stand thus affected universally unto Philosophie, untill their judgement being well feted and grown to a found resolution, begin to apprehend those things which may deeply imprint in the minde a morall affection and passion of love, yea, and to search and trace those speeches, whereof the tracts (as *Aesop* was wont to say) leade rather in, than out. For like as *Sophocles* said merrily upon a time, by way of derision: That he would fitt cut off the haughtie and stately invention of *Aeschylus*, and then abridge his affected, curious and artificiall disposition, and in the third place change the maner and forme of his elocution, which is most excellent, and fullest of sweet affections; even so, the students in Philosophie, when they shall perceive that they passe from orations exquisitely penned and framed: for ostentation in frequent and solemne assemblies, unto morall speeches, and those that touch the quicke, as well the milde and gentle motions, as the hote and violent passions of the minde, then begin they indeed to lay downe all pride and vanity, and profit truly in the schoole of Philosophie.

Consider then, not onely in reading the works of Philosophers, or in hearing their lectures, first and foremost, whether thou art not more attentive to the words than to the matter; or whether thou be not carried with a greater affection to those who deliver a more subtil and curious composition of sentences, than such as comprise profitable, commodious, substantiall & fleshy matters (if I may so say) but also in perusing Poemes, or taking in hand any history, observe well and take heed, that there escape thee not any one good sentence tending properly to the reformation

mation of manners or the alleviation of passions: for like as (according to *Symonides*) the bee setteth upon flowers for to sucke out of it the yellow honie, whereas others love onely their colour or pleasure sent, and neither care nor seeke for any thing els therewith; even so, when other men be conversant in Poemes for pleasure onely and pastime, thou finding and gathering somewhat out thereof woorth the noting, shalt seeme at the first sight to have some knowledge already thereof by a certaine custome and acquaintance with it, and a love taken unto it as a good thing and familiar unto thee. As for those that read the books of *Plato* and *Xenophon*, in no other regard but for the beautie of their gallant stile, seeking for nought els but for the purity of speech, and the very naturall Atticke language, as if they went to gather the thin dew or tender moss or downe of herbs; What will you say of such? but that they love physicke drugs, which have either a lovely colour or a pleasant finell onely; but otherwise the medicinable vertues thereof and properties either to purge the bodie or mitigate any paine, they neither desire to know nor are willing to use.

Moreover, such as are proceeded farther, yet profited more, have the skill and knowledge how to reape fruit not onely out of words (spoken or books written, but also to receive profit out of all sights, spectacles; and what things soever they see, gathering from thence whatsoever is fit and commodious for their purpose; as it is reported of *Aeschylus* and other such as he: For *Aeschylus* being upon a time at the Isthmian games, beheld the fight of the sword-fencers that fought at sharpe, and when one of the said champions had received a grievous wound, whereupon the whole theater set up a crie, he jogging one that was by him (named *Ion of Chios*) See you not (quoth he) what use and exercise is able to do? the partie himselfe that is hurt faith never a word, but the lookers on crie out. *Brasides* chanced among drie figs to light upon a fillee moulte that bit him by the finger, and when he had shaken her off and let her goe, said thus to himselfe: See how there is nothing so little and so feeble, but it is able to make shift and save it life, if it dare onely defend it selfe. *Diogenes* when he saw one make meanes to drinke out of the ball of his hand, cast away the dish or cuppe that hee carried in his budget. Loe, how attentive taking heed and continuall exercise maketh men ready and apt to marke, observe and learne from all things that make any way for their good. And this they may the rather doe when the joine wordes and deedes together, not onely in that sort (as *Thucydides* speaketh of) by meditating, and exercising themselves with the experience of present perils, but also against pleasures, quarrels, and altercations in judgements about defences of causes and magistracies; as making prooffe thereby of the opinions that they holde, or rather by carriage of themselves, teaching others what opinions they are to holde. For such as yet bee learners, and notwithstanding that, intermeddle in affaires like pragmaticall persons, spying how they may catch any thing out of philosophie, and goe therewith incontinently in maner of jugglers with their boxe, either into the common place and market, or into the schoole which young men frequent; or els to princes tables, there to let them abroad; we are not to thinke them philosophers; no more than those to be physicians, who only sell medicinable spices, drugs or compound confectiions; or to speake more properly, such a sophister or counterfeited philosopher as this, resemblth the bird that *Homer* describeth, which forsooth, so soone as he hath gotten any thing, carrieth it to his scholars (as the said bird doth in her mouth convey meat to her naked young ones that cannot fie)

And so himselfe he doth beguile

And thereby take much harme the while.

converting and distributing naught of all that which he hath gotten to his owne nourishment, nor so much as concocting and digesting the same: and therefore we ought of necessity to regard and consider well whether we use any discourse and place our words so, that for our selves they may do good; and in regard of others, make no shew of vaine-glorie nor ambitious desire to be knowne abroad, but onely of an intention rather to heare, or els to teach.

But principally we are to observe whether our wrangling humour and desire to be cavilling about questions disputable, be allaid in us or no, as also whether we have yet given over to devise reasons and arguments to assaile others; like as champions armed with hurlebats of tough leather about their armes and bials in their hands, to annoy their concurrents, taking more pleasure and delight to fell and astonish with one rap our adversarie, and so to lay him along on the earth, than to learne or teach him: for surely modestie, mildenesse and courtesie in this kinde will doe well; and when a man is not willing to enter into any conference or disputation, with a purpose to put downe and vanquish another, nor to breake out into fits of choler; nor having

ving evicted his adversarie to be readie as they say to tread and trample him under foot, nor seeme displeased and discontent if himselfe have the foile and be put to the worke; be all good signes of one that hath sufficiently profited. And this shewed *Aristippus* very well upon a time when he was so hardly pressed and overlaid in a certaine disputation, that he knew not what answer to make presently unto his adversarie a jolly bold and audacious sophister; but otherwise a brainicke foole and without all judgement: for *Aristippus* seeing him to vaunt himselfe, puffed up with vaine glorie, that he had put him to a *non plus*: Well (quoth he) I see that for this time I go away with the worke, but surely when I am gone I will sleepe more foundly and quietly than you that have gotten the better. Moreover we may also proove and sound ourselves, whether we have profited or no, even whiles we speake in publicke place; namely, if neither upon the sight of a greater audience than we looked for, we shrinke not for feare and halfe heart, nor contrariwise be discouraged to see fewer come to heare our exercises than we hoped for; neither when we are to make a speech to the people, or before a great magistrate, we lesse the opportunitie thereof, for that we have not well premeditated thereof before, nor come provided of apt words to declare our mind, a thing that by report befell unto *Demosthenes* & *Alcibiades*: for *Alcibiades* as he was passing ingenious and inventive of matter, so he wanted audacitie, and was not so ready as some other to utter the same, but troubled oftentimes in his pleading and deliverie of it, insomuch as many times in the very mids of his oration he would be out and to seeke for a proper and fit terme to expresse the conception of his minde, or els to recover that word againe which was sliped and escaped out of his memorie. As for *Homer* he had such an opinion of his owne perfection, and his poetickall veine in the rest of all his worke, that he stucke not to set downe the very first verse of his poeme defective in measure, and not answerable to the rules of versifying. So much the rather therefore likely it is, that they who set nothing before their eyes, nor aime at ought els but vertue onely and honestie, will make use of the present occasion and the occurrence of affaires, fall out as they will, without regard of applause, hissing or any other noyse whatsoever in token of liking or disliking their speech.

Now every man ought to consider not onely his owne speeches, but also his actions, namely whether they carie with them more profit and sound trueth, than vaine pompe and ostentation; for if the true love indeed of young folke, man or woman, requireth no witnesses, but resteth in the private contentment & enjoying of their sweet delights, although the same were performed and their desires fully accomplished secretly betwene them without the privitie of any person: how much more credible is it that he who is enamoured of honestie and wisdom, using the company and fellowship familiarly of vertue by his actions; and enjoying the same, shall finde in himselfe without saying one word an exceeding great contentment; and demaund no other hearers or beholders but his owne conscience? For like as he was but a vaine foole who called unto his maid in the house and cried with a loud voice: *Dionysia* come and see I am not proud and vain glorious now as I was wont to be; even so hee that hath done some vertuous and commendable act, and then goes forth to tell it abroad and spread the fruit thereof in every place, certaine it is that such an one regards still outward vanities, and is caried with a covetous desire of vaine-glorie, neither hath he ever had as yet a true sight indeed and perfect vision of vertue, but onely a fantastickall dreame of her, imagining as hee lies asleepe, that hee seeth some wandring shadow and image thereof, and then afterward representeth thus unto his view that which he hath done, as a painted table to looke upon. Well then, it is the propertie of him that proceededeth in vertue, not onely when he hath bestowed something upon his friend, or done a good turne unto one of his familiars, for to make no words thereof; but also when hee hath given his voice justly, or delivered his opinion truly, among manie others that are unjust and untrue; or when he hath flatly denied the dishonest request, or stoutly crossed a bad motion of some rich man, great Lord or mightie Magistrate; or refused gifts and bribes; or proceeded so farre that being athirst in the night he hath not drunke at all; or hath refused to kisse a beautiful boy or faire maiden & turned away from them comming toward him as *Agefilus* did; to keepe al this to himselfe and say nothing: For such a one as is content to be proved and tried by his owne selfe, not setting light by that triall and judgement, but joying and taking delight in his conscience, as being a sufficient wimes and beholder, both of good things and commendable actions, sheweth that reason hath turned in, to lodge and keepe residence with him, that it hath taken deepe root there; and as *Democritus* saith: That he is well framed, and by custome brought to rejoyce and take pleasure in himselfe. And like as husbandmen are more glad and willing to see the eares of corn hang downe their heads, and bend toward the

the earth, than those who for their lightnes stand straight, upright, and staring aloft, for that they suppose such eares are emptie, or have liule or nothing in them, for all their faire shew; even so, among young men, students in Philosophie, they that have least in them of any weight, and be most voide, be those that are at the verie first most confident; set the greatest countenance; carrie the biggest port in their gate, and have the boldest face, shewing therein how full they are of pride in themselves, contempt of all others, and sparing of none: but afterwards as they begin to grow on and burnish, surmounting and filling themselves with the fruits indeed of reason and learning; then and never before they lay away these proude looks; then downe goes this vaine pride and outward ostentation. And like as we see in vessels, wherinto men use to powre in liquor, according to the quantitie and measure of the said liquor that goeth in, the aire which was there before flieth out; even so to the proportion of those good things which are certaine and true indeed, wherewith men are replenished, their vanitie giveth place, all their hypocritie vanisheth away, their swelling and puffing pride doth abate and fall, and giving over then to stand upon their goodly long beards and fine robes, they transerre the exercise of outward things into the minde and soule within, using the sharp bit of bitter reprehension principally against themselves. And as for others, they can finde in their hearts to devise, confesse, and talke with them more graciously and with greater countesse; the manner of Philosophie, and reputation of Philosophers, they do not usurpe nor take upon them, neither do they use it as their addition in former time; and if haply one of them by some other be called by that name, he will not answer to it; but if he be a young gentleman indeed, after a smiling and pleasant manner, yea and blushing withall for shame, he will say thus out of the Poet *Homer*:

*I am no God nor heavenly light:*

*Why dost thou give to me their right?*

For true it is as *Aeschylus* saith:

*A dam'sell young if she have known,*

*And tasted man once carnally;*

*Her eie doth it bewray anon,*

*It sparkles fire suspiciously.*

But a young man having truly tasted the profit and proceeding in Philosophie, hath these 30 signes following him, which the Poetesse *Sappho* setteth downe in these verses:

*When I you see, what do I aile?*

*First suddenly my voice doth faile,*

*And then like fire a colour red,*

*Under my skinne doth run and spread.*

It would do you good to view his settled & staied countenance, to behold the pleasant and sweet regard of his eie, and to heare him when he speaketh: for like as those who are professed in any confraternity of holy mysteries, at their first assembly & meeting together, hurry in tumultuous sort with great noyse, insomuch as they thrust and throng one another; but when they come to celebrate the divine service thereto belonging, and that the sacred reliques and ornaments are once shewed, they are verie attentive with reverent feare and devout silence; so, at the beginning of the studie of Philosophie, and in the verie entrie (as it were) of the gate that leadeth unto it, a man shall see much adoe, a foule stirre, great audaciousnes, insolencie, and jangling words more than enough; for that some there be, who would intrude themselves rudely, and thrust into the place violently, for the greedie desire they have to winne reputation and credit: but he that is once within and seeth the great light, as if the sanctuaries and sacred cabinets or tabernacles were set open, anon he putteth on another habit, and a divers countenance with silence and astonishment, he becometh humble, pliable and modest, readie to follow the discourse of reason and doctrine, no lesse than the direction of some god. To such as these, me thinks, I may do verie well to accommodate that speech which *Menedemus* sometime in mirth spake pleasantly: Many there be that faile to *Athens* (quoth he) for to goe to schoole there, who when they come first thither keeme \* *Sophi*, that is, be wise, and afterwards proove \* *Philosophi*, that is, lovers of wisdom; then of Philosophers they become \* *Sophisters*, that is, professors and readers, untill in proceesse of time they grow to be \* *Idiots*, that is to say, ignorant and fooles to see to: for the neerer that they approach to the use of reason and to learning indeed, the more do they abridge the opinion that they have of themselves, and lay downe their presumption. Among those that have need of plyticke, some that are troubled with the tooth-ach, or have a felon or whitlaw on their finger, goe themselves to the physician for to have remedie; others who

who are sicke of an ague send for the physician home to their houses, and desire to be eased and cured by him; but those that are fallen either into a fit of melancholy, or phrensie, or otherwise be distracted in their braines and out of their right wits, otherwhiles will not admit or receive the physicans, although they came of themselves uncalled, but either drive them out of doores, or else hide themselves out of their sight, and so farre gone they bee and dangerously sicke, that they feele not their owne sicknesse; semblably of those who sinne and doe amisse, such bee incorrigible and incurable, who are grievously offended and angry, yea, and in mortall hatred with those who seeme to admonish and reprove them for their misbehaviour; but such as will abide them, and are content to receive and entertaine them, be in better state and in a readier way to recover their health: marie he that yeeldeth to himselfe to such as rebuke him, confessing unto them his errors, discovering of his owne accord his povertie and nakednesse, unwilling that any thing as touching his state should be hidden, not loving to be unknownen and secret, but acknowledging and avowing all that he is charged with, yea, and who praith a man to checke, to reprove, to touch him to the quicke, and so craveth for helpe; certainly herein he sheweth no small signe of good progresse and amendment; according to that which *Diogenes* was wont to say: He that would be saved (that is to say) become an honest man, had need to seeke either a good friend or a sharpe and bitter enemy, to the end that either by gentle reproofe and admonition, or els by a rigorous cure of correction, he may be delivered from his vices. But how much soever a man in a glorious bravery sheweth to those that be abroad either a foule and thred-bare coat or a steined garment, or a rent shoo, or in a kinde of a presumptuous humilitie mocketh himselfe in that peradventure he is of a very low stature, crooked or bunch-backed, and thinketh herein that he doth a woorthy and doughtie deed; but in the meane while covereth and hideth the ordures and filthinesse of his vile life, cloaketh the villanous enormities of his manners, his envie, maliciousnesse, avarice, sensual voluptuousnesse, as if they were beastly botches or ugly ulcers, suffering no bodie to touch them, nay, not so much as to see them, and all for feare of reproofe and rebuke, certes, such a one hath profited but a little, or to speake more truly, never a whit at all; but he that is ready to encounter and set upon these vices, and either is willing and able (which is the chiefe and principall) to chastise and condemne, yea, and put himselfe to sorrow for his faults; or if not so, yet in the second place at the least can endure patiently, that another man by his reprehensions & remonstrances should cleanse and purge him; certes evident it is, that such an one hateth and detesteth wickednesse indeed, and is in the right way to shake it off: and verily, we ought to avoid the very name and apperance onely thereof, and to be ashamed for to be thought and reputed wicked; but hee that grieveth more at the substance of vice it selfe, than the infamie that cometh thereof, will never be afraid, but can very well abide both to speake hardly of himselfe, and to heare ill by others, so he may be the better thereby. To this purpose may very wel be applied a pretty speech of *Diogenes* unto a certain yonker, who perceiving that *Diogenes* had an eye on him within a taverne or tipling house, withdrew himselfe quickly more inward, for to be out of his sight: Never do so (quoth he) for the farther thou sleest backward, the more shalt thou be fill in the taverne; even so a man may say of those that be given to vice, for the more that any one of them seemeth to denie his fault, the farther is he engaged, and the deeper funke in sinne; like as poore men, the greater shew that they make of riches, the poorer they be, by reason of their vanity and bragging of that which they have not. But hee that profiteth in deed, hath for a good president and example, to follow that famous Physician *Hippocrates*, who both openly confessed and also put downe in writing, that he was ignorant in the Anatomie of a mans head, and namely, as touching the veines or situes thereof; and this account will he make, that it were an unworthy indignitie, if (when such a man as *Hippocrates* thought not much to publish his owne error and ignorance, for feare that others might fall into the like) hee who is willing to save himselfe from perdition, can not endure to be reprov'd, nor acknowledge his owne ignorance and follie. As for those rules and precepts which are delivered by *Pyrrho* and *Bion* in this case are not in my conceit the signes of amendment and progresse so much, as of some other more perfect and absolute habit rather of the minde; for *Bion* willed and required his scholars and familiars that conversed with him, to thinke then (and never before) that they had proceeded and profited in Philosophie, when they could with as good a will abide to heare men revile and raile at them, as if they spake unto them in this manner:

*Good sir, you seeme no person leawd,  
nor foolish for, twi:*

All

*All haile, Faire chieve you and adien,  
God send you alwaies blis.*

And *Pyrrho* (as it is reported) being upon a time at sea, and in danger to be cast away in a tempest, shewed unto the rest of his fellow passengers a porker feeding hard upon barley cast before him on ship board: Loe, my masters (quoth he) we ought by reason and exercise in Philosophie, to frame our selves to this paffe, and to attaine unto such an impossibilitie, as to be moved and troubled with the accidents of fortune no more than this pig.

But consider furthermore, what was the conceit and opinion of *Zeno* in this point; for hee was of mind that every man might and ought to know whether he profited or no in the schoole of vertue, even by his very dreames; namely, if hee tooke no pleasure to see in his sleepe any filthy or dishonest thing, nor delighted to imagine that he either intended, did or approved any leawd, unjust or outrageous action; but rather did beholde (as in a feeded calme, without winde, weather and wave, in the cleere bottom of the water) both the imaginative and also the passive facultie of the soule, wholly overspread and lightened with the bright beames of reason: which *Plato* before him (as it should seeme) knowing well enough, hath prefigured and represented unto us, what fantastick motions they be that proceed in sleepe from the imaginative & sensual part of the soule given by nature to tyrannize & overrule the guidance of reason; namely if a man dreame that he seeketh to have carnall company with his owne mother, or that he hath a great minde and appetite to eate all strange, unlawfull and forbidden meats; as if then the said tyrant gave himselfe wholly to all those sensualities & concupiscences as being let loose at such a time, which by day the law either by feare or shame doth repress & keepe downe. Like as therefore beasts which serve for draught or saddle, if they be well taught and trained, albeit their governors and rulers let the reines loose and give them the head, fling not out nor goe aside from the right way, but either draw or make pace forward still, & as they were wont ordinarily keepe the same traine and hold on in one course and order, even so they whose sensual part of the soule is made trainable and obedient, tame, and well schooled by the discipline of reason, will neither in dreames nor sicknesses easily suffer the lusts and concupiscences of the flesh, to rage or breake out unto any enormities punishable by law; but will observe and keepe still in memorie that good discipline and custome which doth ingenerate a certaine power and efficacie unto diligence, whereby they shall and will take heed unto themselves: for if the mind hath bene used by exercise to resist passions and temptations, to hold the bodie and all the members thereof as it were with bit & bridle under subjection, in such sort that it hath at command the eies not to shed teares for pity; the heart likewise not to leape & part in feare; the naturall parts not to rise nor stirre but to be still & quiet without any trouble at all, upon the sight of any faire and beautiful person, man or woman; how can it otherwise be but that there should be more likelihood that exercise having seized upon the sensual part of the soule and tamed it, should polish, lay even, reforme, and bring unto good order all the imaginations and motions thereof, even as farre as to the very dreames and fantasies in sleepe: as it is reported of *Stilpo* the philosopher, who dreamed that he saw *Neptune* expostulating with him in anger, because he had not killed a beeste to sacrifice unto him as the manner was of other priests to doe, and that himselfe nothing altonied or dismayd at the said vision should answer thus againe: What is that thou faist *Neptune*? comest thou to complaine indeed like a child (who pules and cries for not having a peece big enough) that I take not up some money at interest, and put my selfe in debt, to fill the whole citie with the sent and savor of rost and burnt, but have sacrificed unto thee such as I had at home according to my abilitie and in a meane? whereupon *Neptune* (as hee thought) should merrily smile and reach forth unto him his right hand, promising that for his sake and for the love of him he would that yeere send the Megarians great store of raine and good foison of sea-loaches or fishes called *Aphyra* by that meanes comming unto them by whole sculles. Such then, as while they lie asleepe have no illusions arising in their braines to trouble them, but those dreames or visions onely as be joyous pleasant, plaine and evident, not painfull, nor terrible, nothing rough, maligne, tortuous and crooked; may boldly say that these fantasies and apparitions be no other than the reflexions and raies of that light which rebound from the good proceedings in philosophie; whereas contrariwise the furious pricks of lust, timorous frights, unmanly and base flights, childish and excessive joies, dolorous sorrowes, and dolefull mones by reason of some piteous illusions strange and absurd visions appeering in dreames, may be well compared unto the broken waves and billowes of the sea beating upon the rocks and craggie banks of the shore; for that the soule having not as yet that

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settled

fected perfection in it selfe which should keep it in good order, but holdeth on a course still according to good lawes onely and sage opinions, from which when it is farthest sequestred and most remote, to wit, in sleepe, it suffereth it selfe to returne againe to the old wont and to be let loose and abandoned to her passions: But whether these things may be ascribed unto the profit and amendment whereof we treat, or rather to some other habitude, having now gathered more strength and firme constancie not subject by meanes of reasons and good instruction to shaking, I leave that to your owne consideration and mine together.

But now forasmuch as this total impassibilitie (if I may so speake) of the mind, to wit, a state so perfect that it is void of all affections, is a great and divine thing; and seeing that this profit and proceeding whereof we write consisteth in a kind of remission and mildnesse of the said passions, we ought both to consider each of them apart and also compare them one with another, thereby to examine and judge the difference: conferre we shall every passion by it selfe, by observing whether our lusts and desires be more calme and lesse violent than in former time, by marking likewise our fits of feare and anger, whether they be now abated in comparison of those before, or whether when they be up and enflamed, we can quickly with the helpe of reason remove or quench that which was wont to set them on worke or a fire: compare we shall them together, in case we examine our selves whether we have now a greater portion of grace and shame in us than of feare; whether we finde in our selves emulation and not envie; whether we cover honor rather than worldly goods; and in one word, whether after the manner of musicians we offend rather in the extremitie and excesse of harmonic called *Dorian*, which is grave, solemne, and devout, than the *Lydian*, which is light and galliard-like, that is to say inclining rather in the whole maner of our life to hardnes and severitie, than to effeminate softnesse; whether in the enterprise of any actions we shew timiditie and slacknesse, rather than merittie and rashnesse, and last of all, whether we offend rather in admiring too highly the sayings of men and the persons themselves, than in despising and debasing them too low: for like as we say in physicke it is a good signe of health when diseases are not diverted and translated into the noble members & principal parts of the body; even so it seemeth that when the vices of such as are in the way of reformation and amendment of life change into passions that are more milde and moderate, it is a good beginning of ridding them away cleane by little & little.

The Lacedaemonian *Ephori*, which were the high countrollors of that whole State, demanded of the Musician *Phrynis*, when he had set up two strings more to his seven stringed instrument, whether he would have them to cut in (under the trebles or the basses, the highest or the lowest? but as for us, we had need to have our affections cut both above and beneath, if we desire to reduce our actions to a meane and mediocritie. And surely this progresse or proceeding of ours to perfection, professeth rather to let downe the lightest first, to cut off the extremitie of passions in excesse, and to abate the acrimonie of affections before we doe any thing else, in which as saith *Sophocles*:

*Folke foolish and incontinent,  
Most furious be and violent.*

As for this one point, namely that we ought to transferre our judgement to action, and not to suffer our words to remaine bare and naked words still in the aire, but reduce them to effect, we have already said, that is the chiefe propertie belonging to our progresse and going forward: now the principall arguments and signes thereof be these; if we have a zeale and fervent affection to imitate those things which we praise; if we be forward and readie to execute that which we so much admire, and contrariwise will not admit nor abide to heare of such things as we in our opinion dispraise and condemne. Probable it is and standeth with great likelihood that the Athenians al in general praised and highly esteemed the valour and prowesse of *Miltiades*; but when *Themistocles* said; that the victorie and Trophie of *Miltiades* would not give him leave to sleepe, but awakened him in the night, plaine it is and evident, that he not onely praised and admired, but had a desire also to imitate him, and do as much himselfe; semblably, we are to make this reckonings, that our progresse and proceeding in vertue is but small, when it reacheth no farther than to praise onely and have in admiration that which good men have woorthily done, without any motion and inclination of our will to imitate the same and effect the like. For neither is the carnall love of the bodie effectually, unless some little jealousie be mixed withall, not the praise of vertue fervent and active, which doth not touch the quick, and pricke the heart with an ardent zeale in stead of envie, unto good and commendable things, and the same desirous to performe and accomplish the same fully. For it is not sufficient that the heart should

be turned upside downe onely, as *Alcibiades* was wont to say by the words and precepts of the Philosopher reading out of his chaire, even untill the teares gush out of the eyes: but he that truly doth profit & go forward, ought by comparing himselfe with the works & actions of good men, and those that be perfectly vertuous, to feele withall in his owne heart, as well a displeasure with himselfe, and a griefe in conscience for that wherein he is short and defective, as also a joy and contentment in his spirit upon a hope and desire to be equal unto them, as being full of an affection and motion that never resteth and lieth still, but remembreth for all the world (according to the similitude of *Simonides*.)

*The sucking foale that keeps just pace,  
And runs with dam in everie place.*

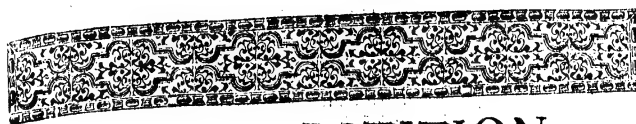
affecting and desiring nothing more than to be wholly united and conporate with a good man, by imitation. For surely this is the passion peculiar and proper unto him that truly taketh profit by the studie of Philosophie; To love and cherish tenderly the disposition & conditions of him whose deeds he doth imitate and desire to expresse, with a certaine good will to render alwaies in words, due honor unto them for their vertue, and to assay how to fashion and conforme himselfe like unto them. But in whomsoever there is instilled or infused (I wot not what) contentious humor, envie, and contestation against such as be his betters, let him know that all this proceedeth from an heart exulcerated with jealousie for some authoritie, might and reputation, and not upon any love, honor, or admiration of their vertues. Now, when as we begin to love good men in such sort that (as *Plato* saith) we esteeme not only the man himselfe happy who is temperate; or those blessed who be the ordinarie hearers of such excellent discourses which daily come out of his mouth; but also that we do affect and admire his countenance, his port, his gate, the cast and regard of his eye, his smile and maner of laughter, inasomuch as we are willing, as one would say to be joined, sodered, and glued unto him; then we may be assured certainly that we profit in vertue; yea and so much the rather, if we have in admiration good and vertuous men, not onely in their prosperitie, but also (like as amorous folke are well enough pleased with the lipping or flammering tongue; yea and do like the pale colour of those whom for the flower of their youth and beautie they love and thinke it bescometh them, as we reade of *Ladie Panthea*, who by her teares and sad silence, all heavie, afflicted and blubbered as she was, for the dolor and sorrow that she tooke for the death of her husband, seized *Araffes* so as hee was enamoured upon her) in their adversitie, so as we neither start backe for feare, nor dread the banishment of *Aristides*, the imprisonment of *Anaxagoras*, the povertie of *Socrates*, or the condemnation of *Phocion*, but repute their vertue, desireable, lovely and amiable even with all these calamities, and runne directly toward her for to kisse and embrace her by our imitation, having alwaies in our mouth at everie one of these croffe accidents this notable speech of *Euripides*:

*Oh how each thing doth well become,  
Such generous hearts both all and some!*

For we are never to feare or doubt that any good or honest thing shall ever be able to avert from vertue this heavenly inspiration and divine instinct of affection, which not onely is not grieved and troubled at those things which seeme unto men most full of miserie and calamitie, but also admireth & desireth to imitate the. Hereupon also it followeth by good consequence, that they who have once received so deepe an impression in their hearts, take this course with themselves: That when they begin any enterprise, or enter into the administration of government, or when any sinister accident is presented unto the, they set before their eyes the examples of those who either presently are or heretofore have bene worthy persons, discoursing in this maner: What is it that *Plato* would have done in this case? what would have *Epaminondas* said to this? how would *Lycorgus* or *Agefilus* have behaved themselves herein? After this sort (I say) will they labour to frame, compose, reforme and adorne their manners as it were before a mirror or looking-glasse, to wit, in correcting any unseemly speech that they have let fall, or repressing any passion that hath risen in them. They that have learned the names of the demi-gods called *Idai Dactyli*, know how to use them as counter-charmes or preservatives against sudden frights, pronouncing the same one after another readily and ceremoniously; but the remembrance and thinking upon great and worthy men represented suddenly unto those who are in the way of perfection, and taking holde of them in all passions and perplexions which shall encounter them, holdeth them up, and keepeth them upright, that they can not fall; and therefore this also may go for one argument and token of proceeding in vertue.

Over and besides, not to be so much troubled with any occurrent, nor to blush exceedingly



[illegible]

OF SUPERSTITION.

### The Summaric.

**T** should seeme that Plutarch composed this booke in mockerie and derision of the Jewes whom he toucheth, and girdest at in one place, and whose religion he mingelith with the superstition of the Egyptians; to asmuch purpose (I wis) as that which he delivereth in a discourse at the table, where he comparcth the Feast of the Tabernacles ordered by the eternall and almighty God, with the Bacchanalles and such stinking ordures of idolaters; thinking verily that Bacchus was the godd of the Iewes. This slander of his and false calumniasion ought to be imputed unto that ignorance of the true God, wherein Plutarch did so remaine invayped: it is not be the man alone who hath derived and sowed the religion of the Jewes: but such coffer and derisions of the Ages and wiser men of this world, especially and above all when they be addresed against God, fall upon the head of the authors and devisers thereof; so their art confoundeth themselves against God, full upon the head of the authors and devisers thereof; so their art confoundeth themselves against God, full upon the head of the authors and devisers thereof; so their art confoundeth themselves against God, full upon the head of the authors and devisers thereof.

Moreover as touching this point, that some have thought this present discourse wherin he endavour and labourth to prove superstition to be more perilous than Atheisme is dangerous to be read, & conteneith false doctrine; for that superstition of the twaine is not so bad: I say that in regard of the foolish devotion of Plutarch and such as himselfe, which in no wise deserveth the name of religion, superstition is more wretched and miserable than Atheisme, considering that lesse hurtfull and dangerous it is for a man not to have his minde and soule troubled at all and disquieted with a fantastical illusion of idoles and Chimeras in the aire, than to feare, honor and serve them in such sort as justice & humanity should in manner be abolished by such superstitious idolaters. To be short, that it were better to desert and overthrow at once all false gods, than to lodge any one in his head, for so languish thereby in perpetuall miserie. Concerning true religion and the extremities thereof, the case is otherwise, and the question disputable, which we leave to Divines and Theologians to scan upon, to discourse and determine, since our intencion and purpose useth us not at this time to discourse hereof.

Atheist cannot find how

upon.

But to returne unto our author, considering that which we come to touch; Atheists cannot find how to prevaile and maintaine their opinion: for sufficient proesse and accusation against themselves, they carry every minute of an houre in their canterized & seered conscience: but he sheweth that to worship  
40 and serve many idols, is a thing without comparison more deplorable than to disavow and disclaime them all. But to prove this, after he had discovered the course of Superstition & Atheisme, and declared the difference of these two extremities, he saith in the first place, that superstition is the most unworthy by and unseemly of all the passions of the soule, proving the same by divers reasons, to wit; That the superstitious man is in continuall perplexity, he dreadeth his owne idole no lesse than a cruel tyrant, and imagineth a thousand evils even after his death. After this he taketh a view of the Atheist, and opposeth him against the superstitious, resolving upon this point; that the superstitious person is more miserable of the twaine, as well in adversitie as prosperitie, and so confirme and satisfie his assertion, he setteth downe many arguments and notable examples. Moreover he sheweth that the superstitious  
50 person is an enemy to all dettie or goodbood, he putteth cleane out of his heart, and treadeth under foote all humanitie and righteousnesse for to please his idols, and in one word, that he is the most wretched cattife in the world. And for a conclusion he exhorteth us so to flee superstition, that we hold our selves from falling into Atheisme, keeping in the middle betweene; of which point every good man ought to consider and thinke upon well  
and in good earnest in these latter times of the world, albeit he who advertiseth us thereof in this place, never knew what was true religion.



## OF SUPERSTITION.



He ignorance and want of true knowledge as touching the gods divided even from the beginning into two branches, meeting on the one side with stubborne and obdurate natures, as it were with a churlish peece of ground, hath in them engendred Impietie and Atheisme; and on the other side, lighting upon gentle and tender spirits like a moist and soft soile, hath bred and imprinted therein superstition: now as all error in opinion and judgement, and namely in these matters, is hurtfull and dangerous enough; so if it be accompanied with some passion of the minde it is most pernicious. For this we must thinke, that every one of these passions resembleth a deception that is feaverous and inflamed; and like as the dislocations of any joints in a mans bodie out of their place joined with a wound be woofe than others to be cured; even so the distortions and errors of the minde meeting with some passion are more difficult to be reformed. As for example, let case that one doe thinke that the little moles and indivisible bodies called *Atomi*, together with voidnesse and emptinesse be the first elements and principles whereof all things are made; certainly this is an erroneous and false opinion of his; howbeit the same breedeth no ulcer, no feaver causing disordinate pulse in the arteries, nor yet any pricking and trouble some paine. Doth some one hold that riches is the soveraigne good of man? This error and false opinion hath a rust or canker and a worme that eateth into the soule and transporteth the same besides it selfe, it suffreth it not to take any repose, it stingeth, it pricketh it and setteth it a gadding, it throweth it downe headlong (as it were) from high rocks, it flitteth and strangleth it, and in one word it bereaveth it of all libertie & franke speech. Againe, are there some perswaded, that vertue and vice be substances corporall and materiall? this haply is a grosse ignorance and a foule error, howbeit not lamentable nor worthie to be deplored: but there be other judgements and opinions like unto this:

*O vertue wretched and miserable,  
Nought else but words and windes variable;  
Thee serv'd I daily with all reverence,  
As if thou hadst beene some reall essence:  
Whereas injustice neglected I have,  
Which would have made me a man rich and brave;  
Intemperance eke have I cast behind.  
Of pleasures all, she mother deere and kind.*

Such as these verily we ought to pittie, yea and withall to be offended at, because in whose minds they are once entered and settled they engender many maladies and passions like unto wormes and such filthly vermine. But now to come unto those which at this present are in question: Impietie or Atheisme, being a false perswasion and lewd belief, that there is no soveraigne Nature most happie and incorruptible, seemeth by incredulitie of a God-head to bring miscreants to a certaine stupiditie, bereaving them of all sense and feeling, considering that the end of this misbeleefe that there is no God, is to be void altogether of feare. As for superstition, according as the nature of the Greeke word (which signifieth *Fear of the Gods*) doth imply, is a passionate opinion and turbulent imagination, imprinting in the heart of man a certaine fearfulnesse, which doth abate his courage and humble him downe to the verie ground, whiles he is perswaded that they be gods indeed, but such as be noyome, hurtfull, and doing mischief unto men: In such sort, that the impious Atheist having no motion at all as touching the Deitie and Divine power, and the superstitious person mooved and affected thereto after a perverse sort, and otherwise than he should, are both out of the right way. For ignorance as it doth ingenerate in the one an unbelief of that soveraigne Nature which is the cause of all goodness; so it imprinteth in the other a misbeleefe of the Deitie, as being the cause of evill: so that as it should seeme, Impietie or Atheisme is a false judgement and opinion of the God-head; and superstition a passion proceeding from an erroneous perswasion. True it is that all maladies of the soule are foule and the passions naught; howbeit in some of them, there is a kinde of (I wot not what) alacritie, haughtines and jollitie, proceeding from the lightnesse of the minde; and to say in a word, there

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is in manner not one of them all, destitute of one active motion or other, serving for action; but a common imputation this is and a blame laid generally upon all passions, that with their violent prick (as it were) they incite, provoke, urge, compell, and force reason; onely feare, which being no lesse void of audacitie and boldnesse, than of reason; carrieth with it a certaine blockishnesse or stupiditie, destitute of action, perplexed, idle, dead, without any exploit or effect whatsoever; whereupon it is named in Greeke *Δειμα*, that is to say, a Bond, and *Ταλας*, that is to say, Trouble, for that it both bindeth and also troubleth the minde. But of all sorts of feare, there is none so full of perplexitie, none so unfit for action as that of superstition. The man who feareth not, is not afraid of the sea; neither feareth he the warres, who followeth not warfare; no more than he who keepeth home and stirreth not out of doores, is afraid of thieves that rob by the high way side; or the poore man that hath nought to loose, of the Sycophant or promotor; nor he that liveth in meane estate, of envie; no more (I say) than he that is in *Gaulle* feareth earth-quake, or in *Aethiopia* thunder and lightning: but the superstitious man that stands in feare of the gods, feareth all things, the land, the sea, the aire the skie, darknesse, light, silence and his verie dreames. Servants whiles they be a sleepe, forget the rigour and hardnesse of their masters. Sleepe easeth the cheines, gives and feters, of those that ly by the heeles bound in prison; dolorous inflammations, smart wounds, painfull ulcers and marimuls that eate and consume the flesh, yeeld some ease and alleviation unto patients whiles they be asleepe, according as he saith in the Tragedie:

*O sweet repose, O sleepe so gracious  
That dost allay our maladies,  
How welcome art thou unto me,  
Bringing in season remedies?*

Thus said he: But superstition will not give a man leave thus to say: For it alone maketh no truce during sleepe; it permitteth not the soule at any time to breath and take rest, no nor suffereth it to plucke up her spirits and take heart againe by removing out of her the unpleasant, tart and trouble some opinions as touching the divine power; but as if the sleepe of superstitious folke were a verie hell and place of damned persons, it doth present unto them terrible visions and monstrous fantasies; it raiseth devils, fiends and furies, which torment the poore and miserable soule; it driveth her out of her quiet repose by her owne fearfull dreames, wherewith she whippeth, scourgeth, and punisheth herselfe (as if it were) by some other, whose cruell and unreasonable commandments she doth obey; and yet here is not all; for, that which worke is, such superstitious persons after they be awakened out of their sleepe and waken, do not as other men, despise their dreames, and either laugh thereat or take pleasure therein, for that they see there is nothing true in all their visions and illusions which should trouble and terrifie them; but being escaped out of the shadow of those false illusions, wherein there is no harme or hurt at all, they deceive and trouble themselves in good earnest, spending their substance and goods infinitely upon magicians, jugglers, enchanters, and such like deceivers whom they light upon, who beare a man in hand and thus say unto him:

*If frighted thou be with fantasies in sleepe,  
Or haunted with Hecate that beneath doth keepe.*

Call for an old trot that tends thy backhouse, and plunge thy selfe in the sea water, and sit a whole day upon the ground,

*O Greekes, you that would counted be most wise,  
These barbarous and wicked totes devise,*

namely, upon a vaine and foolish superstition, enjoining men to begrime and beray themselves with dirt, to lie and wallow in the mire, to observe Sabbaths and cease from worke, to lie prostrate and groveling upon the earth with the face downeward, to sit upon the ground in open place, and to make many strange and extravagant adorations. In times past the manner was, among those especially who would entertaine and observe lawfull musike, to command those that began to play upon the harpe or citterne, to sing thereto with a just mouth, to the end they should speake no dishonest thing; and even we also require and thinke it meet to pray unto the gods with a just and right mouth, & not to prie in the beast sacrificed, to looke into the intrails, to observe whether the tongue thereof be pure and right, and in the meane time perverting and polluting our owne tongues with strange and absurd names, infecting and defiling the same with barbarous tearmes, offending thereby the gods, and violating the dignitie of that religion which is received from our ancestours, and authorised in our owne country. The Comicall

Poet

Poet said pleasantly in one Comedie, speaking of those who laied their bedfeds thicke with golde and silver: Why do you make your sleepe deare and costly unto your selves, which is the only gift that the gods have given us freely: even so may a man very wel say (and with great reason) unto those that are superstitious: Seeing that the gods have bestowed upon us sleepe, for the oblivion and repose of our miseries, why makest thou it a very hel & place of continuall and dolorous torment to thy poore soule, which can not slee nor have recourse unto any other sleep but that which is troublesome unto thee? *Heraculus* was wont to say: That men all the whiles they were awake, enjoied the benefit of no other world, but that which was common unto all; but when they slept, every one had a world by himselfe: but surely, the superstitious person hath not so much as any part of the common world, for neither whiles hee is awake hath hee the true use of reason and wisdom, nor when he slepeeth is he delivered from feare & secured; but one thing or other troubleth him still: his reason is asleepe, his feare is alwaies awake; so that neither can he avoid his owne harme quite, nor finde any meanes to put it by, and turne it off. *Polyarches* the tyrant was dread and terrible in *Samos*, *Periander* in *Corinth*, but no man feared either the one or the other, who withdrew himselfe into any free city or popular State; as for him who standeth in dread and feare of the imperiall power of the gods, as of some rigorous and inexorable tyranny, whither shall he retire & withdraw himselfe? whither shall he flee? where shall he find a land, where shall he meet with sea, without a god? into what secret part of the world (poore man) wilt thou betake thy selfe, wherein thou maiest lie close and hidden, and be assured that thou art without the puissance and reach of the gods? There is a law that provideth for miserable slaves, who being so hardly intreated by their masters, are out of all hope that they shall be enfranchised and made free, namely: that they may demand to be sold againe and to change their master, if haply they may by that meanes come by a better and more easie servitude under another: but this superstition alloweth us not that libertie to change our gods for the better, nay, there is not a god to be found in the world, whom a superstitious person doth not dread, considering that he feareth the tutelard gods of his native countrey, and the very gods protectors of his nativitie: he quaketh even before those gods which are known to be favourable propitious and gracious; he trembleth for feare, when he thinketh of them at whose hands we crave riches, abundance of goods, concord, peace, and the happie successe of the best words and deeds that we have. Now if these thinke that bondage is a great calamitie, saying thus:

*O heavie crosse and wofull miserie,  
Man and woman to be in thrall & ease:  
And namely, if their slavery  
Be under lords unfortunate.*

how much more grievous thinke you is their servitude which they endure, who can not flee, who can not runne away and escape, who can not change and turne to another. Altars there be, unto which bad servants may flee for succour; many sanctuaries there be and priviledged churches for thieves and robbers, from whence no man is so hardy as to plucke and pull them out. Enemies after they are defeated and put to flight, if in the very rout and chase they can take holde of some image of the gods, or recover some temple and get it over their heads once, are secured and assured of their lives; whereas the superstitious person is most affrighted, scared, and put in feare by that, wherein all others who be afraid of extreamest evils that can happen to man, repose their hope and trust. Never goe about to pull perforce a superstitious man out of sacred temples, for in them he is most afflicted and tormented. What needs many words? In all men death is the end of life; but it is not so in superstition, for it extendeth and reacheth farther than the limits and utmost bounds thereof, making feare longer than this life, and adjoining unto death an invagination of immortall miseries; and even then, when there seemeth to be an end and cessation of all sorrows & travels, be superstitious men perswaded that they must enter into others which be endlesse & everlasting: they dream of (I wot not what) deepe gates of a certain *Pluto* or infernall God of hell, which open for to receive them; of fierie rivers alwaies burning; of hollow gulfs and foulds of *Stryx* to gape for them; of ugly and hideous darknesse to overspread them, full of sundry apparitions; of gasty ghosts and sorrowfull spirits, representing unto them grizlie and horrible shapes to see, and as fearefull and lamentable voices to heare: what should I speake of judges, of tormentors, of bottomlesse pits, and gaping caves, full of all sorts of torture and infinite miseries. Thus unhappy and wretched superstition, by feareing overmuch and without reason, that which it imagineth to be nought, never taketh heed how it submitteeth it selfe to all miseries; and for want of knowledge how to avoid this passionate trouble,

occasioned

occasioned by the feare of the gods, forgeth and deviseth to it selfe an expectation of inevitable evils even after death. The impietie of an Atheist hath none of all this geere; most true it is, that his ignorance is unhappie, and that a great calamitie and miserie it is unto the soule, either to see amisse or wholly to be blinded, in so great & woorthy things, as having of many eies the principall and clearest of all, to wit, the knowledge of God extinct and put out; but surely (as I said before) this passionate feare, this ulcer and sore of conscience, this trouble of spirit, this servile abjection is not in his conceit; these goe alwaies with the other, who have such a superstitious opinion of the gods. *Plato* saith that musike was given unto men by the gods, as a singular meanes to make them more modest and gracious, yea and to bring them as it were into tune, and cause them to be better conditioned, and nor for delight and pleasure, nor to tickle the eares: for falling out as it doth many times, that for default and want of the Muses and Graces, there is great confusion & disorder in the periods and harmonies, the accords and consonances of the minde, which breaketh out otherwhiles outrageously by meanes of intemperance and negligence; musike is of that power that it setteth every thing againe in good order and their due place; for according as the poet *Pindarus* saith:

*To what soever from above,  
God *Jupiter* doth cast no love,  
To that the voice melodious  
Of Muses seemeth odious.*

In so much as they fall into fits of rage therewith, and be very fell & angrie, like as it is reported of tygers, who if they heare the sound of drums or tabours round about them, will grow furious and startle mad, untill in the end they teare themselves in peeces: so that there cometh lesse harme unto them who by reason of deafnesse or hard hearing, have no sense at all of musike, and are nothing moved and affected therewith: a great infortunite this was of blind *Tirifus*, that hee could not see his children and friends; but much more unfortunate and unhappie were *Athamas* and *Agave*, who seeing their children, thought they saw lions and stags. And no doubt when *Hercules* fell to be enraged and mad, better it had beene and more expedient for him, that he had not knowne his owne children, than so to deale with those who were most deere unto him, and whom he loved more than all the world besides, as if they had beene his mortall enemies. Thinke you not then, that there is the same difference between the passions of Atheists and superstitious folke? Atheists have no sight nor knowledge of the gods at all; and the superstitious thinke there are gods, though they be perswaded of them amisse; Atheists neglect them altogether as if they were not; but the superstitious esteeme that to bee terrible, which is gracious & amiable; cruel and tyrannike, which is kind and fatherlike; hurtfull and damageable unto us, which is most carefull of our good and profit; rough, rigorous, savage and fell of nature, which is void of choler and without passion. And hereupon it is that they beleeve brasse founders, cutters in stone, imagers, gravers and workers in waxe, who shape, & represent unto them gods with bodies to the likeness of mortall men, for such they imagine them to be, such they adorne, adore and worship, whiles in the meane time they despise philosophers and grave personages of State and government, who do teach and shew that the majestie of God is accompanied with bountie, magnanimitie, love and carefull regard of our good: So that as in the one sort we may perceive a certaine senselesse stupiditie and want of beleife in those causes from whence proceed all goodnesse; so in the other we may observe a distrustfull doubt and feare of those which cannot otherwise be than profitable and gracious. In sum, impietie and Atheisme is nothing else but a meere want of feeling and sense of a divie power, for default of understanding and knowing the soveraigne good; and superstition is a heape of divers passions, suspecting and supposing that which is good by nature to bee bad; for superstitious persons feare the gods, and yet they have recourse unto them; they flatter them, and yet blasphem and reproch them; they pray unto them, and yet complaine of them. So a common thing this is unto all men, not to be alwaies fortunate, whereas the gods are void of sicknesse, not subject to old age, neither taste they of labour or paine at any time: and as *Pindarus* saith,

*Escape they do the passage of the firth  
Of roaring Acheron, and live away in mirth.*

But the passions and affaires of men be intermeddled with divers accidents and adventures which run as well one way as another. Now consider with me first and formost the Atheist in those things which happen against his minde, and learne his disposition and affection in such occurrences:

rences: if in other respects he be a temperate and modest man, beare he will his fortune patiently without saying a word; seeke for aide he will and comfort by what means he can; but if he be of nature violent, and take his misfortune impatiently, then he directeth and opposeth all his plaints and lamentations against fortune and casualtie; then he crieth out that there is nothing in the world governed either by justice or with providence, but that all the affaires of man run confusedly headlong to destruction: but the fashion of the superstitious is otherwise, for let there never so small an accident or mishap befall unto him, he sits him downe sorrowing, and thereto he multiplieth and addeth other great and greivous afflictions, such as hardly be remooved; he imagineth sundry frights, feares, suspitions, and troublefome terrors, giving himselfe to all kinde of wailing, groaning, and dolefull lamentation; for he accuseth not any man, fortune, occasion, or his owne selfe; but he blameth God as the cause of all, giving out in plaine termes, that from thence it is that there falleth and runneth over him such a celestiall influence of all calamitie and misery, contesting in this wise, that an unhappie or unluckie man he is not, but one hated of the gods, woorthily punished and afflicted, yea and suffering all deservedly by that divine power and providence: now if the godlesse Atheist be sicke, he discourseth with himselfe and calleth to minde his repletions and full feedings, his surfeiting upon drinking wine, his disorders in diet, his immoderate travell & paines taken, yea and his unusuall and absurd change of aire, from that which was familiar, unto that which is strange and unnatural: moreover, if it chance that he have offended in any matter of government touching the State, incurred disgrace and an evil opinion of the people and country wherein he liveth, or beene falsely accused and slandered before the prince or soveraigne ruler, he goeth no farther than to himselfe and thole about him, imputing the cause of all thereto and to nothing els, and thus he reasoneth:

*Where have I beene? what good have I done? and what have I not done?*

*Where have I sinned? what dutie begun is left by me undone?*

whereas the superstitious person will thinke and say, that everie disease and infirmite of his bodie, all his losses, the death of his children, his evil successe and infortunie in managing civil affaires of State, and his repulses and disgraces, are so many plagues inflicted upon him by the ire of the gods, and the verie assaults of the divine justice; in so much as he dare not go about to seeke for helpe and succour, nor avert his owne calamitie; he will not presume to seeke for remedie, nor oppose himselfe against the invasion of adverse fortune, for feare (forsooth) lest he might seeme to fight against the gods, or to resist their power and will when they punish him: thus when he lieth sicke in bed, he driveth his physician out of the chamber, when he is come to visit him; when he is in sorrow, he shutteth and locketh his doore upon the Philosopher, that cometh to comfort him and give him good counsell: Let me alone (will he say) and give me leave to suffer punishment as I have deserved, wicked and profane creature that I am, accursed, hated of all the gods, demi-gods, and saints in heaven. Whereas if a (man who doth not beleve nor is perswaded that there is a God) be otherwise in exceeding griefe and sorrow, it is an ordinarie thing with him to wipe away the teares as they gush out of his eyes, and trickle downe the cheekes, to cause his haire to be cut, and to take away his mourning weed. As for a superstitious person; how should one speake unto him, or which way succour and helpe him? without the doores he sits clad in sackcloth, or else girded about his loines with patched clothes and tattered rags; oftentimes he will welter and wallow in the mire, confessing and declaring (I wot not) what finnes and offenses that he hath committed; to wit, that he hath eaten or drunketh this or that, which his god would not permit; that he hath walked or gone some whither against the will and leave of the divine power. Now, say he be of the best sort of these superstitious people, and that he labour but of the milder superstition; yet will he at leastwise sit within houle, having about him a number of all kinds of sacrifices and sacred aspersions; yee shall have old witches come and bring all the charmes, spels, and forceries they can come by, and hang them about his necke or other parts of his bodie (as it were) upon a stake, as *Bion* was wont to lay.

It is reported that *Tyriabastus* when he should have beene apprehended by the Persians, drew his cimeter, and (as hee was a valiant man of his hands) defended himselfe valiantly; but so soone as they that came to lay hands on him, cried out and protested that they were to attach him in the kings name & by commission from his Majestie, he laid downe his weapon aforesaid immediately, and offered both his hands to be bound and pinnioned. And is not this whereof we treat the semblable case? whereas others withstand their adversitie, repell and put backe their afflictions, and worke all the means they can for to avoide, escape, and turne away that which they

they would not have to come upon them. A superstitious person will heare no man, but speake in this wise to himselfe: Wretched man that thou art, all this thou suffrest at the hands of God, and this is befallen unto thee by his commandement, and the divine providence; all hope hee rejecteth, he doth abandon and betray himselfe, and looke whosoever come to succour and helpe him, those he shunneth and repelleth from him. Many crosses these be and calamities in the world, otherwise moderate and tolerable, which superstition maketh mischievous and incurable.

That ancient King *Nidas* in old time being troubled and disquieted much in his minde (as it should seeme) with certaine dreames and visions, in the end fell into such a melancholy and despair, that willingly he made himselfe away by drinking bulls blood. And *Aristodemus* king of *Messenians* in that warre which he waged against the *Lacedaemonians*, when it hapned that the dogs yelled and howled like wolves, and that there grew about the altar of his houle the herbe called *Dent de chien*, or Dogs grasse, whereupon the wifards and soothsayers were afraid (as of some tokens presaging evil) conceived such an inward griefe, & tooke so deepe a thought, that he fell into desperation and killed himselfe. As for *Nicias* the Generall of the Athenian armie, haply it had beene farre better that by the examples of *Nidas* and *Aristodemus* he had beene delivered and rid from his superstition, than for feare of the shadow occasioned by the eclipse of the moone to have sitten still as he did and do nothing, untill the enemies environed and enclosed him round about; and after that fortie thousand of Athenians were either put to the sword or taken prisoners, to come alive into the hands of his enemies, and lose his life with shame and dishonor: for in the darkenesse occasioned by the opposition of the earth just in the mids, betweene the sunne and the moone, whereby her body was shadowed and deprived of light, there was nothing for him to feare, and namely at such a time, when there was cause for him to have stood upon his feet and served valiantly in the field; but the darkenesse of blinde superstition was dangerous, to trouble and confound the judgement of a man who was possessed therewith, at the very instant, when his occasions required most the use of his wit and understanding:

*The sea already troubled is  
With billowes blew within the sound,  
Up to the capes and cliffs arise  
Thicke mistie clouds which gather round  
About their tops, where they do feare,  
Fore shewing shortly tempests great.*

A good and skilful pilot seeing this, doth well to pray unto the gods for to escape the imminent danger, and to invoke and call upon those saints for helpe, which they after call Saviours: but all the while that he is thus at his devout prayers, he holdeth the helme hard, he letteth downe the crosse saile-yard,

*Thus having struck the maine saile downe the mast,  
He seapes the sea, with darknesse overcast.*

*He should* giveth the husbandman a precept, before he begin to drive the plough or sow his seede:

*To Ceres chaste his wives to make,  
To Jove likewise god of his land,  
Forgetting not the while to take  
The end of his plough-taile in hand.*

And *Homer* bringeth in *Ajax* being at the point to enter into combat with *Hector*, willing the Greeks to pray for him unto the gods; but whiles they praied, he forgot not to arme himselfe at all pieces. Semblable, *Agamemnon* after he had given commandement to his souldiours who were to fight,

*Ech one his lance and spear to whear,  
His shield likewise fitly to set.*

then, and not before, praith unto *Jupiter* in this wise:

*O Iupiter vouchsafe me of thy grace,  
The stately hall of Priamus to raise.*

for God is the hope of vertue and valour, not the pretense of sloth and cowardise. But the Jewes were so superstitious, that on their Sabbath (sitting still even whiles the enemies reared their scaling ladders and gained the walles of their citie) they never stirred foot, nor rose for the matter,

but remained fast tied and inwrapped in their superstition as it were in a net. Thus you see what superstition is in those occurrences of times and affaires which succeed not to our minde, but contrary to our will (that is to say) in adversity: and as for times and occasions of mirth, when all things fall out to a mans desire, it is no better than impietie or atheisme; and nothing is so joyous unto man, as the solemnities of festivall holidays, great feasts and sacrifices before the temples of the gods, the mysticall and sacred rites performed when wee are purified and cleansed from our sinnes, the ceremoniall service of the gods when wee worship and adore them; in which all, a superstitious man is no better than the Atheist: for make an Atheist in all these, he will laugh at them untill he be ready to go beside himselfe; these toies will fet him (I say) into a fit of Sardonian laughing, when he shall see their vanities; and other-whiles he will not sticke to say softly in the eare of some familiar friend about him: VVhat mad folke be these? how are they out of their right wits, and enraged, who suppose that such things as these doe please the gods? Setting this aside, there is no harme at all in him. As for the superstitious person, willing he is, but not able, to joy and take pleasure: for his heart is much like unto that city which *Sophocles* describeth in these verses:

*Which at one time is full of incense sweet,  
Resounding mirth with loud triumphant song,  
And yet the same doth shew in every street  
All signes of griefe, with plaints and groanes among.*

he looketh with a pale face, under his chaplet of flowers upon his head; he sacrificeth, & yet quaketh for feare; he maketh his prayers with a trembling voice; he putteth incense into the fire, and his hand shaketh withall; to be short, he maketh the speech or sentence of *Pythagoras* to be vaine and foolish, who was wont to say: That we are then in best case, when we approach unto the gods and worship them. For verily even then it is, when superstitious people are most wretched & miserable, to wit, when they enter into the temples & sanctuaries of the gods, as if they went into the denes of beares, holes of serpents and dragons, or caves of whales & such monsters of the sea. I marvel much therefore at them, who call the miscreance & sinne of atheists, impietie, & give not that name rather to superstition. And yet *Anaxagoras* was accused of impietie; for that he held and said that the Sun was a stone: whereas never man yet called the Cimmerians impious or godlesse, because they suppose & beleve there is no Sun at all. VVhat say you then? shall he who thinketh that there be no gods at all, be taken for a profane person and excommunicate? and shall not he who beleeveth them to be such as superstitious folke imagine them, be thought infected with more impious and wicked opinions? For mine owne part, I would be better pleased and content, if men should say of me thus: There neither is nor ever was in the world a man named *Plutarch*, than to give out of me and say: *Plutarch* is an unconstant man, variable, cholericke, full of revenge for the least occasion that is, or displeased and given to grieve for a small matter; who if when you invite others to supper, he be left out and not bidden, or if upon some businesse you be let and hindered, so that you come not to his doore for to visit him, or otherwise do not salute and speake unto him friendly, will be ready to eat your heart with salt, to set upon you with his fangs, and bite you, will not sticke to catch up one of your little babes and worry him, or will keepe some mischievous wild beast of purpose, to put into your corne-fields, your vineyard or orchards, for to devour and spoile all your fruits. VVhen *Timosheus* the musician one day in an open Theater at *Athens* chanted the praises of *Diana*, giving unto her in his song the attributes of *Thyas*, *Phaebus*, *Mænus*, and *Lyssas*, that is to say, Furious, Possessed, Enraged, and Starke mad; as Poets are wont to doe, *Cineas* another minstrell or musician, rose up from out of the whole audience, and said thus aloud unto him: VVould God thou haddest a daughter of those qualities. And yet these superstitious folke thinke the same of *Diana*, yea, and worse to: neither have they a better opinion of *Apollo*, *Iuno*, and *Venus*; for all of them they feare and tremble at. And yet what blasphemie uttered *Niobe* against *Lato*, like unto that which superstition hath perswaded foolish people to beleve of that goddesse? to wit, that she being displeased with the reprochfull words that *Niobe* gave her, killed with her arrowes all the children of that filly woman,

*Even daughters fixe, and sonnes as many fast,  
Of ripe yeeres all, no helpe, but die they must.*

so insatiable was she of the calamities of another, so implacable was her anger. For grant it were so, that this goddesse was full of gall and choler; say, that she tooke an hatred to lewd and wicked persons, or grieved & could not endure to heare herselfe reproched, or to laugh at humane follie

follic and ignorance, certes she should have bene offended and angry, yea, and discharged her arrowes upon these, who untruly impute and ascribe unto her that bitterness and exceeding crueltie, and sticke not both to deliver in words and also to set downe in writing, such things of her. Wee charge *Hecuba* with beastly and barbarous immanitie, for saying thus in the last booke of *Homers Iliads*:

*O that I could hit her eye  
Amid his corpes, so bite and ear.*

As for the Syrian goddesse, superstitious folke are perswaded, that if any one do eate *Enchirides* or such little fish as *Asphyx*, she will likewise gnaw their legs, fill their bodies with ulcers, and yo purifie or rot their liver. To conclude therefore, is it impiously done to blasphemie the gods and speake badly of them; and is it not as impious to thinke and imagine the same, considering that it is the opinion and conceit of the blasphemous and foule-mouthed profane person which maketh his speech to be reputed naught and wicked? For even we our selves detest and abhorre foule language, for nothing so much as because it is a signe of a malicious minde, and those we take for to be our enemies who give out bad words of us, in this respect that we suppose the to be faithlesse and not to be trusted, but rather ill affected unto us, and thinking badly of us: Thus you see what judgement superstitious folke have of the gods, when they imagine them to be dull and blockish, treacherous and disloyall, variable and fickle minded, full of revenge, cruell, melancholike and apt to fret at every little matter: whereupon it must needs follow, that the superstitious man doth both hate and also dread the gods; for how can it otherwise be, considering that he is perswaded that all the greatest calamities which either he hath endured in times past, or is like to suffer hereafter proceed from them; now whosoever hateth and feareth the gods, he is no doubt their enemy; neither is it to be woondered at for all this, that although he stand in dread of them, yet he adoreth and worshippeth them, he praieth and sacrificeth unto them, frequenteth duly and devoutly their temples, and is not willingly out of them; for do we not see it ordinarily, that reverence is done unto tyrants, that men make court unto them, and erie: God save your grace; yea and erect golden statues to the honour of them: howbeit as great devotion and divine honour as they doe unto them in outward appareance, they hate and abhorre them secretly to the heart. *Hermolaus* courted *Alexander*, and was serviceable about 30 him: *Pausanias* was one of the squires of the bodie to king *Philip*, and so was *Chereas* to *Caligula* the Emperour; but there was not of these but even when he served them, said thus in his heart,

*Certes in case it did now lie in mee,  
Of thee (thou tyrant) revenged would I be.*

Thus you see the Atheist thinketh there be no gods; but the superstitious person wisheth that there were none; yet he beleeveth even against his will that there be, nay he dare not otherwise doe for feare of death. Now if he could (like as *Tantalus* desired to goe from under the stone that hung over his head) be discharged of this feare which no lesse doth presse him downe, surely he would embrace, yea and thinke the disposition and condition of an Atheist to be happie, as the state of freedome and libertie: but now the Atheist hath no sparke at all of superstition; 40 whereas the superstitious person is in will and affection a miere Atheist, howbeit weaker than to beleve and shew in opinion that of the gods, which he would and is in his minde. Moreover, the Atheist in no wise giveth any cause, or ministreth occasion that superstition should arise; but superstition not onely was the first beginning of impietie and Atheisme, but also when it is sprung up and growne, doth patronise and excuse it, although not truly and honestly, yet not without some colourable pretence: for the Sages and wise men in times past grew not into this opinion, that the world was wholly voide of a divine power and deitie, because they beheld and considered any thing to be found fault withall in the heaven, some negligence and disorder to be marked, some confusion to be observed in the starres in the times and seasons of the yeere, in the revolutions thereof, in the course and motions of the sunne round 50 about the earth, which is the cause of night and day, or in the nouriture and food of beasts or in the yeerely generation and increase of the fruits upon the earth; but the ridiculous works and deeds of superstition, their passions woorthy to be mocked and laughed at, their words, their motions and gestures, their charmes, forceries, enchantments and magicall illusions, their runnings up and downe, their beating of drums & tabours, their impure purifications, their filthy castimonies and beastly sanctifications, their barbarous and unlawfull corrections and chastisements, their inhumane and shamefull indignities practized even in temples; these things (I say) gave occasion first unto some for to say, that better it were there had bene no gods

at all, than to admit such for gods who received and approved these abuses, yea and tooke pleasure therein, or that they should be so outrageous, proud, and injurious, so base and pinching, so easie to fall into choler upon a small cause, and so heard to be pleased againe. Had it not bene farre better for those Gaules, Scythians, or Tartarians in old time to have had no thought, no imagination, no mention at all delivered unto them in histories, of gods; than to thinke there were gods delighting in the bloodshed of men, and to beleewe that the most holie and accomplished sacrifice and service of the gods was to cut mens throates and to spill their blood: and had it not bene more expedient for the Carthaginians by having at the first for their law-givers either *Critias* or *Diagoras* to have bene perswaded that there was neither God in heaven nor divell in hell, than to sacrifice so as they did to *Saturne*, who not (as *Empedocles* said) reprooving, and taxing those that killed living creatures in sacrifice;

*The fire lifts up his deere beloved son,*

*Who first some other forme and shape did take:*

*He doth him slay, and sacrifice anon,*

*And sheweth vows and foolish prayers doth make.*

but witting and knowing killed their owne children indeed for sacrifice; and looke who had no issue of their owne, would buie poore mens children, as if they were lambs, young calves, or kiddes, for the saide purpose. At which sacrifice the mother that bare them in her wombe would stand by without any thew at all of being mooved, without weeping or fighting for pittie and compassion; for otherwife if the either fetched a sigh or shed a teare, shee mult looke the price of her childe, and yet notwithstanding suffer it to be slaine and sacrificed. Moreover, before and all about the image or idoll to which the sacrifice was made, the place resounded and rung againe with the noise of flutes and hautboies, with the sound also of drums and timbrels, to the end that the pittifull crie of the poore infants should not be heard. Now if any *Tryphons* or other such like giants, having chased and driven out the gods, should usurpe the empire of the world and rule over us: what other sacrifices would they delight in, or what offerings else and service besides could they require at mens hands? *Andrius* the wife of the great Monarch *Xerxes*, buried quicke in the ground twelve persons, and offered them for the prolonging of her owne life unto *Pluto*; which god (as *Plato* saith) was named *Pluto*, *Dia*, and *Hades*, for that being full of humanitie unto mankind, wife and rich besides, he was able to entertaine the foules of men with perswasive speeches and reasonable remonstrances.

*Xenophanes* the Naturalist, seeing the Egyptians at their solemne feasts knocking their breasts, and lamenting pittifully, admonished them verie fully in this wise: My good friends, if these (quoth he) be gods whom you honor thus, lament not for them; and if they be men, sacrifice not unto them. But there is nothing in the world so full of errors, no maladie of the minde so passionate and mingled with more contrarie and repugnant opinions, as this of superstition; in regard whereof, we ought to shunne and avoide the same, but not as many who, whiles they seeke to elchue the assaults of theeves by the high way side, or the invasion of wilde beasts out of the forest, or the danger of fire, are so transported and caried away with feare that they looke not about them, nor see what they doe or whither they goe, and by that meanes light

upon by-waies, or rather places having no way at all, but in stead thereof bottomlesse pits and gulfs, or else steepe downe-falls most perilous; even

so, there be divers that seeking to avoide superstition, fall headlong upon the cragged rocke of perverse and stiff-necked Impietie and Atheisme, leaping over true religion which is seated just in the mids betweene both.



OF



## OF EXILE OR BANISHMENT.

### The Summarie.



*Here is not a man, how well so ever framed to the world and settled therein, who can promise unto himselfe any peaceable and assured state, throughout the course of his whole life; but according as it seemeth good to the eternall and wise providence of the Almighty (which governeth all things) to chastise our faults, or to try our constancy in faith by the ought in time of a calone, to prepare himselfe for a tempest, and not to attend the mids of a danger, before he provide for his safetie; but betimes and long before to fortifie and furnish himselfe with that, whereof he may have need another day in all occurrences and accidents what-soever. Our Author therefore in this Treatise writing to comfort and encourage one of his friends, cast downe with anguish occasioned by his banishment, sheweth throughout all his discourse, that vertue it is which maketh us happy in everie place, and that there is nothing but vice that can hurt and endamage us. Now as touching his particularizing of this point, in the first place he treateth what kinde of friends we have need of in our affliction, and how we ought then to serve our turnes with them: and in regard of exile more particularly, he adjoyneth this advertisement, above all other things to see unto those goods which we may enjoy during the same, and to oppose them against the present griefe and sorrow: Afterwards he proveth by severall and divers reasons, that banishment is not in it selfe simply naughty; he discovereth and layeth open the folly and miserie of those, who are too much addicted unto one country, shewing by notable examples that a wife man may live at ease and contentment in all places; that the habitation in a strange region, and the same limited and confined straightly within certaine precincts, doth much more good or divinity than harme; that a large country lying out faire everie way, maketh a man never a whit the more happy: whereas contrariwise to be enclosed and pent up, bringeth many commodities with it, declaring that this is the onely life, and that it is no life at all to be evermore sitting to and fro from place to place. Now when he hath beautified this theme above said with many faire similitudes and proper inductions, he comforteth those who are debarred and excluded from any citie or province; refusing with very good and sound arguments certaine persons who held banishment for a note of infamie; shewing withall, that it is nothing else but sinne and vice which bringeth a man into a lamentable state and condition: concluding*

*by the examples of Anaxagoras and Socrates, that neither imprisonment nor death can enthrall or make miserable the man who loveth vertue.*

*And contrariwise, he giveth us to understand by the ex-*

*amples of Phaeon and Icarus, that vicious*

*and sinfull persons fall daily and con-*

*tinually one way or other, into*

*most grievous calam-*

*ities through their*

*owne audaci-*

*tyes and*

*folly.*

Z 3

OF



## OF EXILE OR BANISHMENT.



Emblable is the case of wise sentences and of good friends; the best and most assured be those reputed, which are present with us in our calamities, not in vaine and for a shew, but to aide and succour us: for many there be who will not stick to present themselves, yea, and be ready to conferre and talke with their friends in time of aduersitie; howbeit, to no good purpose at all, but rather with some danger to themselves, like as unskillfull diuors, when they goe about to helpe those that are at point to be drowned, being clasped about the body, sink together with them for company. Now the speeches and discourses which come from friends and such as would seeme to

be helpers, ought to tend unto the consolation of the partie afflicted; and not to the defence and justification of the thing that afflicteth: for little need have we of such persons as should weepe and lament with us in our tribulations & distresses, as the manner is of the *Chori* or quires in Tragedies, but those rather, who will speake their minds frankly unto us, and make remonstrance plainly: That for a man to be sad and sorrowfull, to afflict and cast downe himselfe, is not onely every way bootlesse and unprofitable, but also most vaine and foolish: but where the aduerser currents themselves being well handled and managed by reason, when they are discovered what they be, give a man occasion to say thus unto himselfe:

*Thou hast no cause thus to complaine;  
Unlesse thou be disposed to faime.*

A meere ridiculous follie it were, to aske either of bodie and flesh, what it ailoth, or of soule, what it suffereth; and whether by the occurrence of this accident it fare worse than before; but to have recourse unto strangers without, to reach us what our griefe is, by wailing, sorrowing and grieving together with us: and therefore when wee are apart and alone by our selves, wee ought each one to examine our owne heart and soule, about all and every mishap and infortunie, yea, and to peise and weigh them, as if they were so many burdens; for the bodie is pressed downe onely by the weight of the fardell that loadeth it; but the soule often-times of it selfe giueth a surcharge over and above the things that molest it. Althome of the owne nature is hard, and yce of it selfe colde; neither is there any thing without, that giueth casually to the one the hardnesse to resist, or to the other the coldnesse to congeale; but banishments, disgraces, repulse and losse of dignitie, as also contrariwise, crownes, honours, soveraigne magistracies, preeminences, and highest places, being powerfull either to afflict or reioyce hearts, in some measure more or lesse, not by their owne nature; but according to judgement and opinion, every man maketh to himselfe light or heauie, easie to be borne or contrariwise intolerable: whereupon we may heare *Polynices* answering thus to the demand made unto him by his mother:

*How then? is it a great calamitie,  
To quit the place of our misfortunes?*

*POLYNICES.*

*The greatest crosse of all it is doubtlesse,  
And more indeed: than my tongue can expresse.*

but contrariwise, you shall heare *Alcman* in another song, according to a little Epigram written of him by a certaine Poet:

*At Sardes, where mine ancefours sometime abode did make,  
If I were bred and nourished, my surname I should take  
Of some Celinus or Baelus, in robes of golde array'd,  
And jewels fine, while I upon the tabour play'd.  
But now Alcman I cleped am, and of that Sparta great  
A citizen, and poet: for in Greekeish muse my vaine  
Exalts me more than Dalcyles or Gyges, tyrants twaine.*

for it is the opinion, and nothing els, that causeth one and the same thing to be unto some, good and commodious, as currant and approved money, but to others, unprofitable and hurtfull.

But for ease, that exile be a grievous calamitie, as many men doe both say and sing; even so, among those meats which we eat, there be many things bitter, sharpe, hote and biting in taste, howbeit,

howbeit, by mingling therewith somewhat which is sweet and pleasant, we take away that which disagreeeth with nature; like as there be colours also offensive to the sight, in such sort, as that the eyes be much dazed and troubled therewith, by reason of their unpleasant hew, or excessive and intolerable brightnesse. If then, for to remedie that inconvenience by such offensive and repellent colours, we have devised meanes, either to intermingle shadows withall, or turne away our eyes from them unto some Greene and delectable objects; the semblable may we doe in those sinister and crosse accidents of fortune; namely, by mixing among them those good and desirable blessings which a man presently doth enjoy, to wit, wealth and abundance of goods, a number of friends, and the want of nothing necessarie to this life: for I do not thinke, that among the Sardinians there be many, who would not be very wel content with those goods and that estate which you have even in exile, and chuse rather with your condition of life otherwise, to live from home and in a strange countrey, than (like snails, evermore sticking fast to their shels) be without all good things els, & enjoy only that which they have at home in peace, without trouble and molestation. Like as therefore in a certaine Comedie, there was one who exhorted his friend being fallen into some aduersitie, to take a good heart, and fight against fortune; who when he demanded of him againe, how he should combat with her, made answer: Marie after a Philosophicall maner; even so let us also mainteine battel, and be revenged of aduersitie, by following the rule of Philosophie, & being armed with patience as becommeth wise men. For after what sort doe we defend our selves against raine? or how be we revenged of the North winde? Marie we seeke for fire, we go into a stouph, we make provision of clothes, and we get an house over our heads; neither doe we sit us downe in the raine, untill we be thorowly wet to the skime, and then weepe our fill; and even so, have you also in those things which are presently about you, good meanes, yea, and better than any other, to revive, refresh, and warme this part of your life which seemeth to be frozen and benumbed with colde, as having no need at all of any other helps and succours, so long as you will use the foresaid meanes, according as reason doth prescribe & direct. For true it is, that the ventoses or cupping-glasses that Physicians use, drawing out of mans body the worst & most corrupt blood, do disburden & preserve all the rest. But they that are given to heavinesse & sorrow, who love also evermore to whine and complaine, by gathering together & multiplying continually in their cogitations the worst matters incident unto them, and estoones confirming themselves with the dolorous accidents of their fortune, cause those meanes to be unprofitable unto them, which otherwise are wholesome and expedient, and even at such a time, especially when they should do most good. As for those two runnes my good friend which *Homer* saith to bee set in heaven full of mens destinies, the one replenished with good and the other with bad, it is not *Jupiter* who sitteth to disperse and distribute them abroad, sending unto some milde and pleasant fortunes intermingled alwaies with goodnesse, but unto others continual streames (as a man would say) of meere misfortunes without any temperature of any goodnesse at all: but even among our owne selves as many as be wise and are of any sound understanding, draw out of their happy fortunes whatsoever crosse and aduerser matter is mingled therewith, and by this meanes make their life the pleasanter; and as a man would say more portable; whereas contrariwise, many men doe let their fortunes runne (as it were) through a colander or streiner, wherein the worst stick and remaine in the way behind, whiles the better do passe and runne out; and therefore it behooveth that although we be fallen into any thing that is in truth naught and grievous unto us, we set a cheereful countenance on the matter, and make the best supplie and recompence that we can by those good things that otherwise we have and doe remaine with us besides, lenifying and polishing the strange and aduerser accident which hapneth without by that which is milde and familiar within.

But as touching those occurrents that simply of their owne nature be not ill, and wherein whatsoever doth trouble and offend us, ariseth altogether and wholly upon a vaine conceit and foolish imagination of our owne; we ought to doe as our maner is with little children that bee afraid of masks and disguised visours; for like as we hold the same close and neere unto them, handle and turne them in our hands before them every way, and so by that meanes acquaint them therewith, untill they make no reckoning at all of them; even so by approaching neere, by touching and perusing the said calamities with our understanding and discourse of reason, wee are to consider and discover the false apparence, the vantage and feigned tragadie that they pretend; like to which, is that present accident which now is befallen unto you, to wit, the banishment out of that place, which according to the vulgar error of men you suppose to be your

your native country. For to say a truth, there is no such distinct native soile that nature hath ordeined, no more than either house, land, smiths forge or chirurgians shop is by nature, as *Ariston* was wont to say; but every one of these and such like according as any man doth occupie or use them, are his, or to speake more properly, are named and called his: for man, according to the saying of *Plato* is not an earthly plant, having the roote fixed fast within the ground and unmoveable, but celestiall and turning upward to heaven, whose body from the head as from a roote that doth strengthen the same abideth streight and upright. And hereupon it is that *Hercules* in a certaine tragædie said thus:

*What tell you me of Argive or Thebain,*

*I do not want of any place certain,*

*No burrough towne, nor city comes amia*

*Through out all Greece, but it my country is.*

And yet *Socrates* said better than so; who gave it out; That he was neither Athenian nor Grecian, but a citizen of the world; as if a man should say for example sake, that he were either a Rhodian or a Corinthian; for he would not exclude himselfe within the precincts and limits of the promontories *Samion* or *Tenarum*, nor yet the Ceraunian mountains,

*But seest thou this starrie firmament,*

*So high above and infinitely vast,*

*Inosome moist of water element,*

*The earth beneath how it enloseth fast.*

These are the bounds of a native country within the pourprife and compasse whereof whoe ever is, ought not to thinke himselfe either banished, pilgrime, stranger or forrener; namely, whereas he shall meete with the same fire, the same water, the same aire, the same magistrats, the same governors and presidents; to wit, the sunne, the moone, and the morning starre; the same lawes throughout, under one and the selfe same order and conduct; the solstice and tropicke of summer in the north; the solstice and tropicke of winter in the south; the æquinoxes both of spring and fall, the starres *Pleiades* and *Arcturus*; the seasons of seedtime, the times of planting; one King, and the same prince of all, even God, who hath in his hand the beginning, the mids, and the end of the whole and universall world; who by his influence goeth according to nature, directly through and round about all things, attended upon with righteousnesse and justice, to take vengeance and punishment of those who transgresse any point of divine law: which all we likewise that are men doe exercise and use by the guidance and direction of nature against all others, as our citizens and subjects. Now say that thou dost not dwell and live in *Sardis*, what matter is that? surely it is just nothing: No more doe all the Athenians inhabite the burroughs or tribe *Colyttus*; nor the Corinthians in the street *Cranium*; ne yet the Lacedæmonians in the village *Pythæ*: are those Athenians then to be counted strangers, and not inhabitants of the citie, who have remooved out of *Melie* into *Diomea*: considering that even there they doe solemnize yet the moneth of their transmigration named thereupon *Metageitnion*; yea and do celebrate a festivall holiday and sacrifice, which in memoriall of that remooving they call *Metageitnia*, for that this passage of theirs into another neighbourhood, they received and interteined right willingly with joy and much contentment? I suppose you will never say so. Now tell me what part of this earth habitable or rather of the whole globe and compasse thereof, can be said farre distant or remote one from the other, seeing that the Mathematicians are able to prove and make demonstration by reason, that the whole in comparison and respect of heaven or the firmament is no more than a very pricke which hath no dimension at all: But we like unto pismires driven out of our hole, or in manner of bees dispossest of our hive, are cast downe and discomforted by and by, and take our selves to be foreiners and strangers, for that we know not how to esteeme and make all things our owne, familiar and proper unto us, as they be. And yet we laugh at the folly of him who said: That the moone at *Athens* was better than at *Corinth*; being in the meane while after a sort in the same error of judgement, as if when we are gone a journey from the place of our habitation, we should mistake the earth, the sea, the aire and the skie, as if they were others and farre different from those which we are accustomed unto: for Nature hath permitted us to goe and walke through the world loose and at libertie: but we for our parts imprison our selves, and we may thanke our selves that we are pent up in straight roomes, that we be housed and kept within wals; thus of our owne accord we leape into close and narrow places; and notwithstanding that we do thus by our selves, yet we mocke the Persian Kings, for that (if it be true which is reported of them) the drinke all of the water only

of the river *Chaspeus*, by which means they make all the continent besides waterlesse, for any good they have by it: whereas, even we also when we travell and remooove into other countries, have a longing desire after the river *Cephissus* or *Emoras*; yea and a minde unto the mountaine *Taigetus* or the hill *Parnassus*; whereby upon a most vaine and foolish opinion, all the world besides is not onely void of water, but also like a desert, without citie, and altogether inhabitable unto us. Contrariwise, certaine Egyptians by occasion of some wrath and excessive oppressing of their King, minding to remooove into *Ethiopia*, when as their kinsfolke and friends requested them to turne backe againe, and not to forsake their wives and children, after a shamelesse manner shewing unto them their genitall members, answered them: That they would neither want wives nor children, so long as they carried those about them. But surely a man may avouch more honestie, and with greater modestie and gravitie; that hee who in what place soever feeleth no want or misse of those things which be necessarie for this life, cannot complaine and say: That he is there out of his owne country, without citie, without his owne house and habitation, or a stranger at all; so as he onely have as he ought, his eie and understanding bent hereunto, for to stay and governe him in manner of a sure anchor, that he may be able to make benefit and use of any haven or harborough whatsoever he arriveth unto. For when a man hath lost his goods, it is not so easie a matter to recover them soone againe; but surely everie citie is straight waies as good a native country unto him, who knoweth and hath learned how to use it; to him (I say) who hath such rootes as will live, be nourished and grow in every place and by any means, such as *Themistocles* was furnished with; and such as *Demetrius* the Phalerian was not without; who being banished from *Athens*, became a principall person in the court of King *Ptolemæus* in *Alexandria*, where he not onely himselfe lived in great abundance of all things, but also sent unto the Athenians from thence rich gifts and presents. As for *Themistocles* living in the estate of a Prince, through the bountifull allowance and liberalitie of the King of *Persia*, he was wont (by report) to say unto his wife and children: We had beene utterly undone for ever, if we had not beene undone. And therefore *Diogenes* surnamed the Dog, when one brought him word and said, the Sinopians have condemned thee to be exiled out of the kingdome of *Pontus*: And I (quoth he) have confined them within the country of *Pontus* with this charge,

*That they shall never passe the utmost bounds*

*Of Euxine sea that hems them with her strands.*

*Stratonius* being in the Ile *Seriphos*, which was a verie little one, demanded of his host, for what crimes the punishment of exile was ordained in that country; and when he heard and understood by him, that they used to banish such as were convicted of falsehood and much: Why then (quoth he againe) hast not thou committed some false and leawd act, to the end that thou mightest depart out of this straight place and be enlarged? whereas one Comical Poet said: A man might gather and make a vintage (as it were) of figs with slings, and soison of all commodities might be had, which an Iland wanted. For if one would weigh and consider the truth indeed, setting aside all vaine opinion and foolish conceits, he that is affected unto one citie alone, is a verie pilgrim and stranger in all others; for it seemeth neither meete, honest, nor reasonable, that a man should abandon his owne for to inhabite those of others. *Sparta* is taken to thy lot (saith the proverbe) adorne and honor it, for so thou art bound to doe; be it that it is of small or no account; say that it is seated in an unwholesome aire, and subject to many diseases, or be plagued with civill dissensions, or otherwise troubled with turbulent affaires. But who soever he be whom fortune hath deprived of his owne native country; certes she hath granted and allowed him to make choice of that which may please and content him. And verily the precept of the Pythagoreans serveth to right good steed in this case to be practised: Choose (say they) the best life; use and custome will make it pleasant enough unto thee. To this purpose also it may bee wisely and with great profit said: Make choice of the best and most pleasant citie, so time will cause it to be thy native country, and such a native country as shall not distrust and trouble thee with any businesse, nor impole upon thee these and such like exactions: Make payment and contribute to this levie of money: Goe in embassage to *Rome*: Receive such a capitaine or ruler into thine house, or take such a charge upon thee at thine owne expensies. Now he that calleth these things to remembrance, if he have any wit in his head, and be not overblind every way in his owne opinion and selfe-conceit, will wish and choose, if he be banished out of his owne country, to inhabite the verie Ile *Gyaros*, or the rough and barraine Iland *Cinamus*, where trees or plants do hardly grow, without complaining with griefe of heart, without la-

lamenting and breaking out into these plaints and womanly moanes, reported by the Poet *Symonides* in these words:

*The roaring noise of purple sea,  
resounding all about,  
Doth fright me much, and so in close,  
that I can not get out.*

but rather he will beare in minde and discourse with himselfe the speech that *Philip* king of *Macedonie*, sometime delivered: for when his hap was in the wrestling place to fall backward and lie along on the ground; after he was up againe upon his feet, and saw the whole proportion and print of his bodie in the dust of the floore: *O Hercules* (quoth he) what a small deale of the earth is our portion by the appointment of nature, and yet see how we will not rest, but covet to conquer the whole world that is habitable. You have seene (I suppose) the isle *Naxos*; if not, yet at leastwise the island *Thurina* neere by; of which twaine, this was in olde time the habitation of *Orion*; but in the other there dwelt *Ephialtes* and *Otus*: as for *Alcmaon*, he made his abode and residence upon the muddy banke, which the river *Achelous* had newly gathered and cast up, after it was a little dried and compact together, to avoid the pursute (as the Poets) say of the *Furies*; but in my conceit rather, because he would decline the offices of State, civill magistracies, seditions broiles, and biting calumniationes fit to furies in hel, he chose such a streight and narrow place to inhabit, where he might leade a life in quietnesse and repose, secured from all such busie affaires. And *Tiberius Caesar* in his latter daies, lived seveh yeaes (even untill his death) in the little island *Caprea*, in such wise, as the very temple and imperial throne of the whole world retired and drawn in (as it were) into the heart, for all that time never went out from thence; and yet for his part, the ordinarie cares incident unto the empire, which were brought from all parts and came upon him to amuse his head continually, on every side, would not permit him to enjoy cleerely without turbulent anguish of minde, that intended rest and quietnesse of his, in the said island. But even that man, who may by his departure into some little island be freed and delivered from no small troubles and calamities, is notwithstanding miserable, if he do not efflowres say unto himselfe when he is apart, yea, and chaunt oftentimes these verses of *Pindarus*:

*Love well the place where Cypres trees do grow,  
But thin and small. The Forrest great let go  
Of Candie isle, about the Ida hill:  
As for my selfe, small lands I hold and will,  
By fortune given, and those without an oke;  
My heart likewise no griefs nor cares do yoke.*

exempt I am from civill tumults and seditions; I am not subject to the command of princes and governours; my hand is not in the charge and administration of State affaires, nor in any publike ministries or services, which hardly admit excuse or refusall. For considering that *Culimachus* seemeth not unwisely in one place to say thus: Measure not wisdom by the Persian Schoene: why then should we (meting felicitie with *Schenes* & *Parasanges*) complaine, lament and torment our selves, as if we were unhappie, if our fortune be to dwell in a little isle which is not in circuit above two hundred furlongs, and nothing nere foure daies sailing about, as *Sticilia* is? for what good can a spacious and large region do, for to procure felicitie, or make a man to leade a quiet and peaceable life? Heare you not how *Tantalus* in the Tragedie crieth out, and saith thus?

*The spacious land and countrey large,  
call'd Berecymbian plaine,  
Daies journeyes twelve right out, I sow  
cheerely with corne and graine.*

and a little after, he proceedeth to this speech;

*But now my soule, sometime an heavenly power,  
Descended thence into this earthly bower,  
Speaks thus to me: Learn, and betimes take heed,  
Love not this world too much, I do thee need.*

And *Naustibolus* leaving the wide and large countrey *Hyperia*, for that the *Cyclopes* were so neere neighbours unto it, and departing into an island farre remote from other men, where he lived alone by himselfe without conversing with any people:

*From other mortall men apart,  
Offurging sea within the hart.*

provided for his citizens and subjects a most pleasant life. As for the islands called *Cyclades*, they were at first (by report) inhabited by the children of *Mimas*, and afterwards the offspring of *Co-drus* and *Nelcus* held the same, into which, foolish persons now adies thinke themselves fore punished and undone for ever, if they be confined. And yet, what island is there destined and appointed for exiled and banished people, but it is larger than the territorie *Scyllantia*, wherein *Xenophon* after that renowned expedition and voiage of his into *Perfia*, passed his olde age in elegancie and much happinesse? semblably, the *Academic*; a little pingle or plot of ground, the purchase whereof cost not above three thousand drachmes, was the habitation of *Plato*, *Xenocrates*, and *Polemon*, wherein they kept their schooles, and lived at repose all their life time: and yet I must needs except one day every yeere, upon which, *Xenocrates* was wont to go downe to the city, for to see the plaies and pastimes exhibited with new Tragedies at the feast called *Bacchanales*, onely to honour (as folke said) and countenance that solemnitie with his personall presence. Altho *Theoricus* of *Chios* challenged and reproched *Aristotle* many times, for that to live in the court of *Philip* and *Alexander*,

*upon the mouth of Borborus to dwell  
He chose, and Academic bad farewell.*

Now was this *Borborus* a river, so called by the Macedonians, which ran along the citie of *Pella* in *Macedonie*. As for islands, *Homer* the Poet doth of purpose and expressly recommend unto us, and celebrate them with heavenly and divine praises, in this wise:

*At Lemnos he arrived then,  
whereas the citie stood,  
In which sometime that prince divine,  
king Thoas made abode:  
And what so ever Lesbos isle,  
the pallace and the seat  
Of gods above come in: enclos'd  
within her powrie great.*

Also,  
*When wooen he had the stately isle,  
which Scytos sometime light,  
The native place and towne of Mars,  
the god of armes and fight.  
Likewise,  
And those came from Dulichium,  
and eke the sacred isles,  
Against Elis, Eclimades,  
within sea many miles.*

Moreover it is said, that of famous and renowned men, devout *Aeolus*, and best beloved of the gods, dwelt in one isle; the most prudent and wise *Ulysses* in another; *Ajax* likewise, that right valiant and hardie warriour; and *Aleimus* the most courteous prince for hospitalitie and entertainment of strangers, were islanders. *Zeno* the Philosopher when newes was brought unto him: That the ship of his which remained alone of all the rest, was drowned in the sea with all the freight and merchandise therein: Thou hast done well o fortune (quoth he) to drive us to our studying gowne and Philosophers life againe; even so, in mine opinion, there is no reason that a man (unlesse he be very much besotted and transported with the vaine wind of popularity) when he is confined and inclosed within an island, should complaine of fortune therefore, but rather praise her, for that she hath rid him of much anguish of spirit and trouble of his head, delivered him from tedious travell and wandering pilgrimages up and downe in the world from place to place; freed him from the perils of sea, removed him from the tumultuous stirs of the multitude in judicall courts and publicke assemblies of the citie; and reduced him to a seled and staid life, full of rest and tranquillitie, not distracted with any superfluous and needlesse occupations, wherein he may live indeed properly to himselfe, being ranged within the center and circumference of those things which are required onely for necessitie. For what island is there which hath not housen, walking places, stoupes and baines, or that is without fishes or hares, if a man be disposed to passe the time in fishing or hunting; and that which

is the greatest matter of all, you may oftentimes there enjoy fully your rest and repose, which other do so much thirst and hunger after; for whereas when we are haply playing at dice, or otherwise keeping close at home, there will be some of these sycophants or busie priers and curious searchers into all our actions, ready to draw us out of our houses of pleasure in the suburbs, or out of our delightful gardens, to make our appearance judicially in the common place, or to performe our service and give attendance in the court: there will be none such about to faile into the Island where thou art confined for to trouble thee; none will come to thee to demand or crave any thing, to borrow monie, to request thy suretyship, or thy assistance for to second him in the sute of any office and magistracie; unless peradventure some of thy best friends onely and neereft kinsfolke, of mere love and affectionate desire to see thee, faile over to for thy sake; for the rest of thy life besides is permitted to be as free and safe as a sanctuary, not subject to any spoile, trouble, or molestation, if thou be willing & can skill to use thy liberty and repose. As for him who thinketh those to be happy who trudge up and downe in the world abroad, spending most part of their time out of their owne houses, either in common innes and hostleries, or els in ferrying from place to place, he is much like unto him that supposeth the wandering planets to be in a better state than the other starres which be fixed in the firmament and remove not; and yet there is not one of the said planets but is carried round in a peculiar and proper sphere of the owne, as it were in a certaine Isle, keeping alwaies a just order in their revolution: for according as *Heracitus* saith; The very sunne himselfe will never passe beyond his bounds; and if he do, the furies which are the ministers of justice will finde him out and be ready to encounter him. But these and all such like reasons my good friend we are to alledge unto them and sing in their eares, who being sent away and confined to some one Isle, can not possibly change for another country, nor have commerce and dealing in any place els whatsoever, those I say,

*Whom surging waves of sea both night and day  
Enclose perforce, and cause them thereto stay.*

As for you unto whom no certaine place is limited and assigned for to inhabit, but who are debarred and excluded onely out of one, are thus to thinke, that the exclusion out of one citie alone, is an overture and ready way made unto all others.

Now if any man will object and say; In this case of exile and banishment we are disabled for bearing rule and office of State, we sit not at counsell table in the Senate house; we are not presidents in the publicke plaies and solemnities &c. You may answere and reply againe in this manner; neither are we troubled with factions and civil dissensions; we are not called upon, nor charged with payments in publicke levies and exactions; neither be we bound to make court unto great governors, and to give attendance at their gates; nor to take care and regard whether he who is chosen to succeede us in the government of our province, be either halzie and cholericke, or otherwise given to oppression and hard dealing; but as *Archilochus* making no account at all of the fruitfull corne-fields and plenteous vineyards in *Thasos*, despised and contemned the whole Isle because of some other rough, hard, and uneven places in it, giving out thereof in these termes,

*This Island like an asses baske doth sticke,  
All over spread with woods so wild and thicke.*

even so we casting our eies and fixing them upon that part onely of exile which is the worst and vilest of the rest, doe contemne and make no reckoning of the repose from businesse, the libertie also and leisure which it doth afford. And yet the kings of *Persia* be reputed happy, in that they passe their winter time in *Babylon*, the summer in *Media*, and the most sweet and pleasant part of the spring at *Susa*. May not hee likewise who is departed out of his owne native country during the solemnities of the mysteries of *Ceres*, make his abode within the city *Eleusine*; all the time of the Bacchanales, celebrate that feast in *Argos*; and when the Pythian games & plaies are exhibited, go to *Delphos*; as also when the Isthmain pastimes be represented, make a journey likewise to *Corinth*; in case he be a man who taketh pleasure in the diversitie of shewes and publicke spectacles, if not, then either sit still and rest, or else walke up and downe, reade somewhat, or take a nap of sweet sleepe without molestation or interruption of any man; and according as *Diogenes* was wont to say, *Aristotle* dineth when it pleaseth king *Philip*; but *Diogenes* taketh his dinner when *Diogenes* thinketh it good himselfe, without any businesse & affaires to distract him, and no magistrate, ruler, or captain there was to interrupt his ordinary time and manner of diet. This is the reason why very few of the wisest and most prudent men that ever

were,

were, have beene buried in the countries where they were borne; but the most part of them without any constraint or necessitie to enforce them, have willingly weighed anker, and of their owne accord failed to another roade or haven to harbour in, and there to lead their life; for some of them have departed to *Athens*, others have forsaken *Athens* & gone to other places: for what man ever gave out such a commendation of his owne native country as did *Empirides* in these verses, in the person of a woman:

*Our people all at first no strangers were,  
From foraine parts who thither did arrive;  
Time out of minde those that inhabite here,  
Were borne in place, and so remain'd alive.  
All cities else and nations at one word  
With aliens peopled be, who like to men  
At table play or else upon cheffe-board  
Removed have, and leapt some now some then.  
If women we may be allow'd a grace  
Our native soile, and with proude words exalt,  
Presume we dare to say that in this place,  
A temperate aire we have without default,  
Where neither heat nor cold excessive is;  
If ought there be that noble Greece doth yeeld,  
Or Asia rich of best commodities,  
And daintiest fruits, by river or by field,  
We have it here in soile plentifull  
To hunt, to catch, to reape, to crop and pull.*

And yet even he who hath set such goodly praises upon his native country, left the same, went into *Macedonia*, and there lived in the court of King *Archelaus*. You have heard likewise (I suppose) this little Epigram in verse:

*Enterred and entomb'd lieth here,  
Euphorion, sonne the Poet Aeschylus  
(In Athens towne though borne sometime he were)  
To Gelas neere, in corne so plenteous.*

For he also abandoned his owne country, and went to dwell in *Sicilie*, like as *Simonides* did before him. And whereas this title or inscription is commonly read (*This is the Historie written by Herodotus the Halicarnassian*) many there be who correct it and write in this manner; *Herodotus the Thurian*, for that he removed out of the country wherein he was borne, became an inhabitant among the Thuriens, and enioied the freedome of that colonie. As for that heavenly and divine spirit in the knowledge of Muses and Poetrie,

*Homerus, who with wooddrom pen,  
Set forth the battels Phrygien.*

what was it that caused so many cities to debate about the place of his nativitie, chalingeing everie one unto themselves, but onely this; that hee seemed not to praise and extoll any one citie above the rest. Moreover, to *Jupiter* surnamed *Hospital*, know we not that there be many, & those right great, honors done. Now if any one shall say unto me, that these personages were all of them ambitious, aspiring to great honor and glorie, doe no more, but have recourse unto the Sages, and those wise schooles and learned colledges of *Athens*; call to minde and consider the renowned clerkes and famous Philosophers, either in *Lycæum* or the Academie: go to the galerie *Stoa*, the learned schoole *Palladium*, or the Musicke-schoole *Odæum*. If you affect, love and admire above all other the sect of the Peripateticks, *Aristotle* the prince thereof was borne in *Stagira*, a citie of *Macedonia*; *Theophrastus* in *Ereus*; *Strato* came from *Lampascus*; *Glycon* from *Troas*; *Ariston* from *Chios*; and *Critolaus* from *Phaselus*. If your minde stand more to praise the Stoicks, *Cleanthes* was of *Assos*; *Zeno* was a *Citizen*; *Chrysippus* came from *Soli*; *Diogenes* from *Babylon*; and *Antipater* from *Tharum*; and *Archidamus* being an Athenian borne, went to dwell among the Parthians, and left behind him at *Babylon* in succession, the Stoicke discipline and Philosophie. Who was it that chased and drave these men out of their native countries? certes none, but even of their owne accord and voluntary motion they sought all abroad for their contentment and repose; which hardly or not at all can they enjoy at home in their owne houses, who are in any authoritie and reputation; so that, as they have taught us verie well out of their

As

bookes,

bookes, other good sciences which they professed; for this one point of living in quietnes and rest they have shewed unto us by practise and example. And even in these daies also, the most renowned and approved clerkes, yea and greatest men of make and name, live in strange countreies, farre remote from their owne habitations; not transported by others, but of themselves remooving thither; not banished, sent away, and confined; but willing to flie and avoide the troublesome affaires, negotiations and businesse, which their native countreies amuse them with. That this is true, it may appeere by the most approved, excellent, and commendable workes and compositions, which ancient writers have left unto posteritie; for the absolute finishing whereof it seemeth that the Muses used the helpe and meanes of their exile. Thus *Thucydides* the Athenian penned the warre betweene the Peloponnesians and the Athenians whiles he was in *Thracia*, and namely neere unto a place called the *Forest of the Poese*. *Xenophon* compiled his storie at *Scillus* in *Elea*; *Philip* wrote in *Epirus*; *Timaeus* who was borne at *Taurumini* in *Sicilie*, became a writer in *Athens*; *Andronion* the Athenian at *Megara*, and *Bacchides* the Poet in *Peloponnesus*; who all and many others besides, being banished out of their countreies, were never discouraged nor cast downe, but shewed the vivacitie and vigor of their good spirits, and tooke their exile at fortunes hands as a good maintenance and provision of their journey; by meanes whereof they live in fame and renowne now after their death: whereas on the other side, there remaineth no memoriall at all of those, by whose factions and sidings they were driven out and exiled. And therefore he deserveth to be well mocked, who thinketh that banishment carrieth with it some note of infamie and reproch, as necessarily adherent thereto. For what say you to this? Is *Diogenes* to be counted infamous, whom when King *Alexander* saw sitting in the sunne, he approached neere and standing by him, demanded whether he stood in need of any thing or no? he had no other answer from him but this, that he had need of nothing else; but that he should stand a little out of the sunne-shine, and not shadow him as he did; whereupon *Alexander* wondering at his magnanimitie and haughtie courage, said presently unto those friends that were about him; If I were not *Alexander* I would be *Diogenes*. And was *Camillus* disgraced any way for being banished out of *Rome*, considering that even at this daie he is reputed and taken for the second founder thereof? Neither lost *Themistocles* the glorie which he had woen among the Greekes by his exile, but rather acquired thereto great honor & estimation with the Barbarians. And no man is there so base minded and carelesse of honor and credit, but he would choose rather to be *Themistocles* banished as he was, than *Leobates* his accuser, and the cause of his banishment; yea, and to be *Cicero* who was exiled, than *Clodius* who chased him out of *Rome*; or *Timotheus*, who was constrained to abandon and forsake his native countrey, than *Aristophan* who enticed him and caused him to leave the same. But for that the authoritie of *Euripides* who seemeth mightily to defame and condemne banishment, mooveth many men; let us consider what be his severall questions and answeres to this point:

IOCASTA.

How then is it a great calamitie  
To loose the place of our nativitie?

POLYNICES.

The greatest crosse I hold it is doubtlesse,  
And more indeede than my tongue can expresse.

IOCASTA.

The manner would I gladly understand,  
And what doth grieve man but from native land?

POLYNICES.

This one thing first, the forest grieve must be,  
That of their speech they have not libertie.

IOCASTA.

A spite it is no doubt, and that of severile kind,  
For men to be debarred to speake their mind.

POLYNICES.

Besides, they must endure the foolishnesse,  
And ignorance of rulers more or lesse.

But herein I cannot allow of his sentence and opinion as well and truly delivered. For first and foremost, not to speake what a man thinketh, is not the point of a slavish and base person, but rather he is to be counted a wise and prudent man, who can hold his tongue at those times and in such

such occasions as require taciturnitie and silence; which the same Poet hath taught us in another place more wisely, when he saith,

*Silence is good when that it doth avails,  
Likewise to speake in time and not to faile.*

And as for the folly and ignorance of great and mightie persons, we must abide no lesse when we tarrie at home, than in exile; nay it falleth out many times, that men at home feare much more the calumniation and violence of those who unjustly are in high places of authoritie within cities, than if they were abroad and out of their owne countreies. Again, this also is most false and absurd, that the said Poet depriveth banished persons of their libertie and franke speech. Certes, this were a wonderfull matter, that *Theodorus* wanted his freedome of tongue, considering that when King *Lyfimachus* said unto him: And hath thy countrey chafed and cast thee out, being so great a person among them; Yea (quoth he againe) for that it was no more able to beare me, than *Semele* to beare *Bacchus*: neither was he daunted and afraid, notwithstanding that the King shewed unto him *Telephorus* enclosed within an iron cage, whose eies he had caused before to be pulled out of his head, his nose and eares to be cropt, and his tongue to be cut, adding withal these words: See how I handle those that displease and abuse my person. And what shall we say of *Diogenes*? VVanted he (thinke you) his libertie of speech? who being come into the campe of King *Philip*, at what time time as he made an expedition against the Grecians, invaded their countrey and was ready to give them battell, was apprehended and brought before the king as a spie, and charged therewith: I am indeed (quoth he) come hither to spie your invincible avarice, ambition, and folly, who are about now to hazard in one houre (as it were) with the cast of a die, not onely your crowne and dignitie, but also your life and person; feebly, what thinke you of *Annibal* the Carthaginian? was he tongue-tied before *Antiochus*, banished though himselfe were, and the other a mightie monarch? For when he advised *Antiochus* to take the opportunite presented unto him, and to give battell unto the Romans his enemies, and the king having sacrificed unto the gods answered againe, that the entrails of the beast killed for sacrifice, would not permit but forbid him so to do: Why then (quoth he by way of reproofe and rebuke) you will doe that belike, which a peece of dead flesh biddeth you, and not that which a man of wisdom and understanding counsellith you unto. But neither Geometricians, nor those that use linearie demonstrations, if haply they be banished, are deprived of their libertie, but that they may discoure & speake frankly of their art, and science of such things as they have learned and known: how then should good, honest and honorable persons be debarred of that freedome, in case they be exiled? But in truth, it is cowardise and basenes of minde, which alwaies stoppeth the voice, tieth the tongue, fliteth the wind-pipe, and causeth men to be speechlesse. But proceed we to that which followeth afterwards in *Euripides*:

IOCASTA.

But thus we say, those that are banished  
With hopes alive of better daies be fed.

POLYNICES.

Good eies they have, as farre off they doe see,  
Staying for things that most uncertaine be.

Certainly these words implice rather a blame and reprehension of folly, than of exile. For they be not those who have learned and doe know how to apply themselves unto things present, and to use their estate such as it is, but such as continually depend upon the expectance of future fortunes, and cover evermore that which is absent and wanting, who are tossed to and fro with hopes in a little punt or bote floating upon the water; yea although they were never in their life time without the wals of the citie wherein they were borne: moreover whereas we read in the same *Euripides*,

IOCASTA.

Thy fathers friends and allies have not thy  
Beene kind and helpfull to thee, as they may?

POLYNICES.

Looke to thy selfe, from troubles Gods bee blest,  
Friends helpe is naught, if one be in distress.

IOCASTA.

Thy noble blood, from whence thou art descended:

Aa 2

Hath



*Hath is not thee aduon'd and much amended?*

POLYNICES.

*I hold it ill to be in want and need,*

*For parentage and birth doth not men feed.*

These speeches of *Polynices* are not onely untrue, but also bewray his unthankfulnesse, when he seemeth thus to blame his want of honor and due regard for his nobility, and to complaine that hee was destitute of friends by occasion of his exile, considering that in respect of his noble birth, banished though he were, yet so highly honoured he was that he was thought woorthie to be matched in marriage with a kings daughter, and as for friends, allies, and confederates, hee was able to gather a puissant armie of them, by whose aide and power he returned into his owne country by force of armes, as himselfe testifieth a little after in these words:

*Many a lord and captaine brave here stands  
With me in field, both from Mycenæ bright,  
And cities more of Greece, whose helping hands  
(Though loth) I must needs use in claime of right.*

Much like also be the speeches of his mother lamenting in this wise;

*No nuptiall torch at all I lighted have  
To thee, as doth a wedding feast beseme,  
No marriage song was sung, nor thee to lave  
Was water brought from faire Ilmenus streame.*

whom it had become and behooved rather to rejoice and be glad in heart, when she heard that her sonne was so highly aduanced and married into so roiall an house; but in taking griefe and sorrow her selfe that there was no wedding torch lighted, & that the river *Ilmenus* afforded no water to bathe in at his wedding; as if new married bridegroomes could not be furnished either with fire or water in the city *Argos*; she attributeth unto exile, the inconveniences which more truly proceed from vanitie and tollie.

But some man will say unto me; That to be banished is a note of ignominie and reproch: true it is indeed, but among fooles onely, who thinke likewise that it is a shame to be poore, to be bald, to be small of stature, yea and to be a stranger forsooth, a tenant, in-mate or alien inhabitant: For certes such as will not suffer themselves to be caried away with these vaine persuasions, nor do subscribe thereto, esteeme & have in admiration good and honest persons, never respecting whether they be poore, strangers, and banished or no: Do we not see that all the world doth honor and reverence the temple of *Theseus* as well as *Parthenon* and *Eleusinium*, temples dedicated to *Minerva*, *Ceres*, and *Proserpina*? and yet was *Theseus* banished from *Athen*; even that *Theseus* by whose meanes the same citie was first peopled, and is at this day inhabited; and that citie lost he which he held not from another, but founded first himselfe. As for *Eleusis* what beautie at all would remaine in it if we dishonor *Eumolpus* and be ashamed of him who remooving out of *Thracia*, instituted at first among the Greeks the religion of sacred mysteries, which continueth in force and is observed at this day: what shall we say of *Codrus* who became king of *Athen*? whose sonne I pray you was he? was not *Melanthius* his father a banished man from *Megara*. Can you chuse but commend the answer of *Antisthenes* to one who said unto him; Thy mother is a Phrygian: So was (quoth he) the mother of the gods: why answer you not likewise when you are reproched with your banishment? even so was the father of that victorious conqueror *Hercules*: the grand-fire likewise of *Bacchus*, who being sent out for to seeke lady *Europa*, never returned backe into his native countrie:

*For being a Phanician borne,  
At Thebes he after did arrive,  
Far from his native soile before,  
And there begot a sonne belive,  
Who Bacchus did engender he,  
That mooves to furie women, hight  
Mad Bacchus, runneth to and fro,  
In service, such is his delight.*

As for that which the Poet *Aeschylus* would seeme covertly by these darke words to insinuate, or rather to shew a farre off, when he saith thus:

*And chaste Apollo sacred though be were,*

TO

*Yet banished a time, heaven did forbear.*

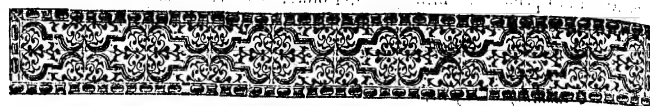
I am content to passe over in silence, and will forbear to utter according as *Herodotus* saith: and whereas *Empedocles* in the very beginning of his philosophie maketh this praeface:

*An ancient law there stands in force,  
Decreed by gods above,  
Grounded upon necessity,  
and never to remoue:  
That after men hath steint a his hands  
in bloodshed horrible,  
And in remorse of sinne is vexed  
with horror terrible.  
The long live'd angels which attend  
in heaven, shall chase him quite,  
For many thousand yeeres from view  
of every blessed wight:  
By vertue of this law, am I  
from gods, exiled now,  
And wander heere and there through time  
the world I know not how.*

This he meaneth not of himselfe alone, but of all us after him, whom he declareth and sheweth by these words to be meere strangers, passengers, forreiners, and banished persons in this world. For it is not bloud (quoth he) o men, nor vitall spirit contemperate together, that hath given unto us the substance of our soule and beginning of our life; but hereof is the bodie only composed and framed, which is earthly and mortall; but the generation of the soule which cometh another way, and descendeth hither into these parts beneath, he doth mitigate and seeme to disguise by the most gentle and milde name that hee could devise, calling it a kinde of pilgrimage from the naturall place; but to use the right tearme indeed, and to speake according to the very truth, she doth vague and wander as banished, chased and driven by the divine lawes, and statutes to and fro, untill such time as it sedeth to a bodie, as an oyster or shell fish to one rocke or other in an island beaten and dashed upon with many windes and waves of the sea round about (as *Plato* saith) for that it doth not remember nor call to mind from what height of honor, & from how blessed an estate it is translated, not changing as a man would say *Sardinia* for *Athen*, nor *Corinth* for *Lemnos* or *Scyros*, but her resistance in the very heaven and about the moone, with the abode upon earth, and with a terrestriall life; whereas it thinketh it strange and as much discontented heere for that it hath made exchange of one place for another not farre distant; much like unto a poore plant that by remooving doth degenerate and begin to wither away: and yet we see, that for certaine plants some soile is more commodious and sortable than another, wherein they will like, thrive, and prosper better: whereas contrariwise there is no place that taketh from a man his felicitie, no more than it doth his vertue, fortitude or

wisdom: for *Anaxagoras* during the time that he was in prison wrote his *Quadrature* of the circle: and *Socrates* even when he drunke poison, discouraged as a philosopher, exhorting his friends and familiars to the studie of philosophie, and was by them reputed happie; but contrariwise *Phaeton* and *Icarus* who (as the poets do report) would needs mount up into heaven, through their owne folly and inconsiderate rashnes, fell into most greivous and wofull calamities.





# THAT WE OUGHT NOT TO TAKE UP MONEY UPON VSVRIE.

## The Summarie.



**H**He covetous desire of earthly goods, is a passion incurable; but especially after that it hath gotten the masterie of the soule, in such sort, as the advertisement which are made in regard of covetous men, be not proposed for any thing els but for the profit and benefit of those persons who are to keepe themselves from the nets and snares of these enemies of humane societie. Now among all those who have need of good counsels in this behalfe, we must ranger them that take up money upon interest, who serving as a pray and bootie to these greedy and hungry buyers, ought so much the rather to looke unto their owne preservation, if they would not be cruelly devoured. And as this infortunie hath bene in the world ever since the entrie of sinne, that alwaies some or other, yea, and great numbers have endeavoured to make their commoditie and gaine by the losse and dammage of their neighbours; so we may see here, that in Plutarchs time things were grown to a wonderfull confusion, the which is nothing diminished since; but contrariwise it seemeth that in these our daies it is come to the very height. And for to apply some remedie hereto, our author leaveth usurers altogether as persons gracelesse, reprobate and incapable of all remonstrance, addresse himselfe unto borrowers, to the end that he might discover and lay open unto them the snares and nets into which they plunge themselves; and thus he doth without specifying or particularising over meere of usurie, because there is no meane or measure limited nor any end of this furious desire of gathering and heaping up things corruptible. Considering then that covetous folke have neither nerve nor veine that reacheth or tendeth to the pittie of their neighbours, meet it is and good reason that borrowers should have some mercie and compassion of themselves, to weigh and ponder well the grave discourses of this author, and to apply the same unto the right use. He saith therefore, that the principall meane to keepe and save themselves from the teeth of usurie, is to make the best of their owne, and shift with those things that they have about them, before they approach unto the denne of this hungry and greedy beast, and that men ought to make an hand & quick dispatch of that which is not very necessary, before they come thither; where he saith that those who had never lay to gage and pawnne their goods, and remaine under the burden of usurie than to sell up all and discharge themselves at once. After this, he presenteth the true remedie of this mischief, namely, to spare and spend in measure; and to cause us to be more warie and better advised, he propoeth the lively image of this horrible monster, whom we call an Usurer, describing him in his colour, with all his practices and passions. Which done, he vieweth the source of borrowing money upon interest, and the way to stop the same; he directeth his pen particularly first unto the poore, giving them a goodly lesson, and then unto the richer sort, teaching the one as well as the other, how they are to demean and carie themselves, that they be not exposed in the clutches of usurers. And for a conclusion, he exhorteth them to behold the example of certaine Philosophers by name, who chose rather to abandon & forsake all their goods, than to misdeale themselves in the possession & holding thereof.

THAT

# THAT WE OUGHT NOT TO take up money upon usurie.



**P**late in his books of Lawes, permitteth not one neighbour to make bolde with anothers waite, before he have digged and funke a pitte deepe in his owne ground, that he is come to a veine of clay or potters earth; untill (I say) he have founded thorowly, and found that the plot of ground is not apt to ingender water, or yeeld a spring; [for the said potters clay being by nature fattie, solide and strong, retaineth that moisture which it hath once received, and will not let it soke or passe thorow:] but allowed they are, and ought to furnish themselves with water from others, when they have no meanes to find any of their own; forasmuch as the law interdicteth to provide for mens necessitie, and not to favour their idleness; even so there ought to be an ordinance and act as touching money; That it might not be lawfull for those to borrow upon usurie, nor to goe into other mens purses (as it were) to draw water at their welles or pits, before they have cast about all meanes at home, searched every way, and gathered (as it were) from every gutter and spring, trying and assaying how to draw and come by that which may serve their owne turnes, and supplie their present necessities. But now it falleth out contrariwise, that manie there be, who to furnish their foolish and riotous expences, or els to accomplish their superfluous and chargeable delights, never serve their owne turnes, nor make use of those things which they have, but are readie to seeke unto others, even to their great cost, though they stand in no need at all: for an undoubted & certaine proofe hereof, marke how usurers do not ordinarily put forth their money unto those who are in necessity & distresse, but to such as be desirous to purchase and get that which is superfluous, and whereof they stand not in need; inasmuch as that which is credited out and delivered unto him that borroweth, is a good proofe and sufficient testimonie, that he hath somewhat to take to of his owne; whereas indeed he ought (since he hath wherewith) to looke unto it, that he take not upon interest, and contrariwise, not to be credited not to be in the usurers booke, is an argument that such an one is needie.

Why doest thou repaire and make court (as it were) obsequiously to a banker or merchant? goe thy waies and borrow of thine owne banke, make a friend of thine owne stocke; flaggons thou halt and pots, chargers, balons and dishes all of silver plate; imploy the same about thy necessities, for to supply thy wants, and when thou hast disurnished thy table and cup-board, the gentle towne *Amis* or els the idle *Tenedos*, will make up all again with faire vessel of earth and pottery, which is much more neat & pure than those of silver; for these cary not the strong sinell nor unpleasant sent of usury, which like rust or canker, every day more & more, fullieth, fretteth & eateth into thy costly magnificence; these will not put thee in minde daily of the calend and new moones, which being in it selfe the most sacred & holy day of the moneth, is by meanes of the usurers, become odious and accursed. For as touching those, who choose rather to lay their goods to gage, & to pawn them for to borrow money thereupon & pay for use, than to sel them right out, I am verily perswaded that god *Jupiter* himselfe furnished *Ctesim*, that is, Possessor, can not save them from beggery. Abalthe they are to receive the price and value of their goods to the woorth; but they be not ashamed to pay interest for the lone of money. And yet that wife and politike *Pericles* caused the costly robe and attire of the statue of *Minerva* weighing forty talents in fine gold, to be made in such sort, that he might take it off and put it on as he would at his pleasure; To the ende (quoth he) that when we stand in need of money for maintenance of warre, we may serve our turnes therewith for the time, and afterwards put in the place againe another of no lesse weight and woorth; even so welikewise in our accusations and affaires, like as in the besieging of a citie, ought never to admit the garrison of an usurer or enemy, nor to endure to see before our eyes our owne goods delivered out for to continue in perpetuall servitude, but rather to cut-off from our labour all that is neither profitable nor necessarie; likewise from our beds, from our couches, and our ordinare expences in diet whatsoever is heedlesse, thereby to maintaine and keepe our selves free, in hope and with full intent to supply and make amends againe for it, if fortune afterwards smile upon us. Certes, the Romane dames in times past were willing to part with their jewels and ornaments of gold, yea and give them away as an offering

offering of first fruits to *Apollo Pythius*, whereof was made a golden cup, and the same sent to the citie of *Delphi*. And the Matrons of *Carthage* shone the haire of their heads, to make thereof twisted cords for to winde up and bend their engines and instruments of artillerie in the defence of their country, when the citie was besieged. But we, as if we were ashamed of our owne sufficiency, and to stand upon our owne bottomes, seeke to enthrall our selves by gages and obligations; whereas it behooved us much more by restraining our selves and reducing all to such things onely as be profitable and good for us, of those needlesse, unprofitable and superfluous vessels which we have, after they be either melted, broken in pieces, or sold, to build a privileged chappell of libertie, for our selves, our wives and children. For the goddess *Diana* in *Ephesus*, yielded sanctuarie, franchise and savegard unto all debtors against their creditours, who fled for succour into her temple. But the sanctuarie indeed of parsimonie, frugalitie and moderate expense, into which no usurers can make entrie, for to hale and pull out of it any debtor prisoner, standeth alwaies open for those that are wise, and affordeth unto them a large space, of joyous and honorable repose. For like as that Prophetesse which gave oracles in the temple of *Pythius Apollo*, about the time of the Medians warre, made answer unto the Athenian Embassadors: That God gave unto them for their safetie a wall of wood; whereupon they leaving their lands and possessions, abandoning their citie, and forsaking their houses and all the goods therein, had recourse unto their ships for to save their libertie; even so, God giveth unto us wooden tables, earthen vessels, and garments of course cloth, if we would live in freedome:

*Set not thy minde upon steeds of great price,  
And chariots brave in silver harness digbt,  
With claspes, with bookes, and studs by fine device  
T'wrought, in race to shew a godly sight,*

for how swift soever they be, these usurers will soone overtake them and run beyond. But rather get upon the next asse thou meetest with, or the first pack-horse that cometh in thy way, to flee from the usurer, a cruell enemy and meere tyrant, who demandeth not at thy hands fire and water, as sometimes did that barbarous King of *Media*; but that which woortheth thy libertie, woundeth thine honor and credit by proscriptions, writs, and open proclamations. If thou pay him not to his content, he is ready to trouble thee; if thou have wherewith to satisfie him, he will not receive thy payment, unless he list; if thou prize and sell thy goods, he will have them under their worth; art thou not disposed to make a sale of them? hee will force thee to it; dost thou sue him for his extreame dealing, he will seeme to offer parley of agreement; if thou sweare unto him that thou wilt make payment, he will impose upon thee hard conditions, and have thee at command; if thou goe to his house for to speake and confesse with him, hee will locke the gates against thee; and if thou stay at home and keepe house, thou shalt have him rapping at thy doore; he will not away but take up his lodging there with thee. For in what stead served the law of *Solon* in *Athens*, wherein it was ordained, that among the Athenians, mens bodies should not be obliged for any civill debt? considering that they be in bondage and slavery to all banquers and usurers, who force men to keepe in their heads; and that which more is, not to them alone (for that were not such a great matter) but even to their verie slaves, being proud, insolent, barbarous and outrageous, such as *Plato* describeth the devils and fiery executioners in hel to be, who torment the soules of wicked and godlesse persons. For surely these cursed usurers make thy hall and judiciall place of justice, no better than a very hell and place of torment to their poore debtors, where after the manner of greedie geirs and hungrie griffons, they flay, mangle and eate them to the verie bones,

*And of their beaks and talons keene,  
The markes within their flesh be seene.*

And some of them they stand continually over, not suffering them to touch and taste their owne proper goods; when they have done their vintage and gathered in their corne & other fruits of the earth, making them fast & pine away like unto *Tantalus*. And like as king *Darius* sent against the citie of *Athens* his lieutenants generall *Darius* and *Artaphernes*, with chaines, cordes and halters in their hands, therewith to binde the prisoners which they should take; semblable these usurers bring into *Greece* with them their boxes and caskets full of schedules, bills, hand-writings, and contracts obligatorie, which be as good as so many irons and fetters to hang up on their poore debtors; and thus they go up and downe leaping from citie to citie, where they sow not as they passe along good and profitable seede, as *Triptolemus* did in old time; but plant their rootes of debts, which bring forth infinite troubles and intolerable usuries, whereof there is

is no end, which eating as they goe and spreading their spaunes round about, in the end cause whole cities to stoupe and stinke, yea and be ready to suffocate and strangle them. It is reported of hares that at one time they suckle young leverets and be ready to kinnule others that be in their bellies, and withall to conceive a fresh; but the debts of these barbarous, wicked and cruell usurers, do bring forth before they conceive. For in putting out their money, they redemand it presently; in laying it downe, they take it up, they deliver that againe for interest, which they received and tooke in consideration of lone and use. It is said of the Messenians citie,

*Gate after gate a man shall here find,  
And yet one gate ther's alwaies behind.*

10 But it may better be said of usurers:

*Usurie here, upon usurie doth grow,  
And end thereof you never shall know.*

and here withall in some sort they laugh at natural philosophers, who holde this Axiome, That of nothing can be engendered nothing; for with them usurie is bred of that which neither is, nor ever was; of that I say which never had subsistence nor being. Howbeit these men thinke it a shame & reproch to be a publicane, and take to farme for a rent the publicke revenewes, notwithstanding the lawes do permit and allow that calling, whereas themselves against all the lawes of the world, exact a rent and custome for that which they put forth to usurie; or rather to speake a truth in lending their money they defraude their debtors as bankrupts do their creditors. For the poore debtor who receiveth lesse than he hath set downe in his obligation, is most falsely coulened, deceived, and cut short of that which he ought to have. And verily the Persians reputing lying to be a sinne, but in a second degree: for in the first place they reckon to owe money and be indebted; in as much, as leasing followeth commonly those that be in debt. But yet usurers ly more than they, neither are there any that practise more falsehood and deceit in their day debt bookes wherein they write, that to such a one they have delivered so much, whereas indeed it is faire lesse; and so the motive of their lying is faire avarice, & neither indigence nor poverty, but even a miserable covetousnes and desire ever to have more and more; the end whereof turneth neither to pleasure nor profit unto themselves, but to the losse and ruine of those whom they wrong and wrong: for neither till they those grounds which they take away from their debtors; nor dwell in the houses out of which they turne them; nor eate their meat upon those tables which they have from them; ne yet clad themselves with their apparell, of which they spoile them; but first, one is destroyed, than a second followeth after, and is assured as a prey by the other. And this is much like to a wilde fire, which still consumeth, and yet encreaseth alwaies by the utter decay and destruction of all that falleth into it, and devoureth one thing after another. And the usurer which maintaineth this fire, blowing and kindling it with the ruine of so many people, gaineth thereby no more fruit than this, that after a certaine time, he taketh his booke of accounts in hand, and there readeth what a number of debtors he hath bought out of house and home, how many he had dispossessed of their land and living, from whence he hath come and whither he hath gone in turning, winding, and heaping up his silver. Now I would not that you should thus thinke of me, that I speake at this upon any deadly war and enmitie that I have sworne against usurers,

*For God be praised they neither horses mine  
Have driven away, nor oxen, ne yet kine.*

But onely to shew unto them who are so ready to take up money upon usurie, what a villanous, shamefull, and base thing there is in it, and how this proceedeth from nothing else but extreame folly and timiditie of heart. If thou have wherewith to weld the world, never come into the usurers booke, considering thou hast no need to borrow. Hast thou not wherewith, yet take not money up and pay not interest, because thou shalt have no means to make payment. But let us consider the one and the other apart by it selfe. Old *Cato* said unto a certaine aged man, who behaved himselfe verie badly: My friend (quoth he) considering that old age of it selfe hath so manie evils; how cometh it to passe, that you adde thereto moreover the reproch and shame of leawdnesse and misdemeanor? even so may we say, seeing that povertie of it selfe hath so many and so great miseries, do not you over and above go and heape thereupon the troubles and anguishes that come of borrowing and being in debt; neither take thou from penurie that onely good thing, wherein it excelleth riches, to wit, the want of carking and pensive cares; for otherwise thou shalt be subject unto the mockerie implied by this common proverbe:

*A goat alone when beare unmet it may,  
An ox upon my shoulder you do lay.*

Semblably, you being not able to sustaine povertie alone, do surcharge your selfe with an usurer, a burden hardly supportable even for a rich and wealthie man. How then would you have me to live? haply some man will say: And doest thou indeed aske this question, having hands and feet of thine owne? having the gift of speech, voice, and being a man, unto whom it is given both to love and also to be loved; as well to doe a pleasure, as to receive a courtesie with thanksgiving. Thou maist teach Grammar, bring up yong children, be a potter or doore-keeper; thou maist be a sailer or mariner, thou maist row in a barge or galley: for none of all these trades is more reprochfull, odious, or troublefome, than to heare one say unto thee: Pay me mine owne, or discharge the debt that thou owest me. *Rutilius* that rich Romane comming upon a time at *Rome* to *Musonius* the Philosopher, said unto him thus in his care: *Musonius*, *Jupiter* (surnamed *Saviour*, whom you and such other Philosophers as you are, make profession to imitate and follow, taketh up no money at interest: but *Musonius* smiling againe, returned him this present answer: No more doth he put fourth any money for use.

Now this *Rutilius* who was an usurer, reproched the other for taking money at interest, which was a foolish arrogant humour of a Stoicke: for what need hadst thou *Rutilius*, to meddle with *Jupiter Saviour*, and alledge his name, considering that a man may report the selfe same by those very things which are familiar and apparent? The swallowes are not in the usurers booke, the pismiers pay not for use of money, and yet to them hath not nature given either hands or reason, or any art and myserie; whereas the hath indued man with such abundance of understanding, and aptnesse to learne and practise, that he can skill not onely to nourish himselfe, but also to keepe horses, hounds, partridges, hares and jaies: why doest thou then disable and condemne thy selfe, as if thou wert lesse docible and sensible than a jay, more mute than a partridge, more idle than a dogge, in that thou canst make no meanes to have good of a man, neither by double diligence, by making court, by observance and service, nor by mainteining his quarrell and entering into combat in his defence? feelt thou not how the earth doth bring forth many things, and how the sea affordeth as many for the use of man? And verily as *Crates* saith:

*I saw my selfe how Mycilius wood did card,  
And how with him his wife the rols did spin:  
Thus during warre when times were extreame hard,  
Both jointly wrought, to keepe them from famine.*

King *Antigonus* when he had not of a long time scene *Cleantes* the Philosopher, meeting him one day in *Athens*, spake unto him, and said: How now *Cleantes*, doest thou grinde at the mill, and turne the querne-stone still? Yea sir (quoth *Cleantes* againe) I grinde yea, and I doe it for to earne my living; howbeit, for all that, I give not over my profession of Philosophie. O the admirable courage and high spirit of this man, who comming from the mill, with that verie hand which turned about the stone, ground the meale and kneaded the dough, wrote of the nature of the gods, of the moone, of the starres and the sunne! But we do thinke all these to be base and servile works; and yet verily, because we would be free (God wot) we care not to thrust our selves into debt, we pay for the use of money, we flatter vile and base persons, we give them presents, we invite and feast them, we yeeld (as it were) tribute under-hand unto them; and thus we do not in regard of povertie, (for no man useth to put forth his money into a poore mans hand) but even upon a superfluity and riotous expence of our owne: for if we could content our selves with those things that are necessarie for the life of man, there would not be an usurer in the world, no more than there are Centaures and monstrous Gorgones. But excesse it is and deintinesse, which hath ingendered usurers; like as the same hath bred gold-smithes, silver-smithes, confectioners, perfumers, and diers of gallant colours. We come not in debt to bakers and vintners for our bread and wine; but wee owe rather for the price and purchase of faire houses and lands, for a great number and retinue of slaves, of fine mules, of trimme halles and dining chambers, of rich tables and the costly furniture belonging thereto, besides other foolish and excessive expences, which we often-times are at, when we exhibit plaies and solemne pastimes into whole cities for to gratifie and do pleasure unto the people; and that upon a faire ambition and desire of popular favour; and many times wee receive no other fruit of all our cost and labour, but ingratitude. Now he that is once enwrapped in debt, remaineth a debtour still all the daies of his life; and he fareth like to an horse, who after he hath once received the bit into his

mouth,

mouth, changeth his rider oftsoones, and is neuer unriden, but one or other is alwaies on his backe. No way and meanes there is to avoid from thence, and to recover those faire pastures and pleasant meadows, out of which those indebted persons are turned; but they wander astray to and fro, like to those cursed fiends and maligne spirits, whom *Empedocles* writeth to have bene driven by the gods out of heaven:

*For such the heavenly power first chas'd downe to the sea beneath;  
The sea againe, up to the earth did cast them by and by;  
Then after wards, the earth them did unto the beames bequeath  
Of restlesse sunne, and they at last sent them to starrie sky.*

Thus fall they into the hands of usurers or bankers, one after another; now of a Corinthian, then of a Patrian, and after of an Athenian; so long, untill when all of them have had a fling at him, he become in the end, wasted, eaten out, & consumed with usurie upon usurie, for like as he that is stepped into a quavewire, must either at first get forth of it, or els continue still there, and not remove at all out of one place; for he that striveth, turneth and windeth every way, not only doth wet and drench his bodie, but mireth it all over, and beraith himselfe more than he was at first, with filthy dirt; even so they that do nothing but change one banke for another, making a transcript of their name out of one usurers booke into anothers, loading their shoulders oftsoones with new and fresh usuries, become alwaies overcharged more and more; and they resemble for all the world, those persons who are diseased with the cholerick passion or flux, who will nor admit of any perfect cure to purge it at once, but continually taking away a certaine portion of the humor, make roome for more & more still, to gather and ingender in the place; for even so these are not willing to be ridde and cleansed at once, but with dolour, griefe and anguish pay usurie every season and quarter of the yeere; and no sooner have they discharged one, but another distilleth and runneth downe after it, which gathereth to an head; and so by that meanes they are grieved with the heart-ache and paine of the head; whereas it behooved that they should make quickle dispatch, and give order to be cleere and free once for all; for now I direct my speech unto those of the better sort, who have wherewith above their fellows, and yet be nicer than they should be; and those commonly come in with such like words and excuses, as these: How then; would you have mee unfurnished of slaves and servants? to live without five; without an house and abiding place? which is all one as if hee that were in a dropie and swollen as bigge as a tunne, should say unto a physician; What will you doe? would you have me to be lean, lank, spare bodied and empiric; and why not? or what shouldst not thou be contented to be, so thou maiest recover thy health and be whole againe? and even so may it be said unto thee? Better it were for to be without slaves than to be a slave thy selfe; and to remaine without heritage and possessions, that thou maiest not be possessed by another. Hearken a little to the talke that was betweene two geires or vultures as the tale goes; when one of them disgorged so strongly, that he said withall; I thinke verily that I shall cast up my very bowels: the other being by, answered in this wise: What harme wil come of thy vomiting so long as thou shalt not cast up thine owne entrails, but those onely of some dead prey which we tare and devoured together but the other day; semblably every one that is indebted selleth not his own land, nor his owne house; but indeed the usurers house & land of whom he hath taken money for interest, considering that by the law the debtor hath made him lord of him and all. Yea marie will he say anon; but my father hath left me this peece of land for mine inheritance: I wot well and beleeeve it; so hath thy father left unto thee freedome, good name and reputation, whereof thou oughtest to make much more account than of land and living. He that begat thee made thy hand and thy foot; and yet if it chance that one of them be mortified, he will give a good fee or a reward to a chirurgian for to cut it off. *Ladie Calypso* clad *Ulysses* with a vesture and robe senting sweet like baulme, yeelding an odor of a body immortal and which she presented unto him as a gift and memoriall of the love that she bare unto him; and this he so did weare for her sake; but after that he suffered a shipwracke and was readie to sink, being hardly able to flote above water, by reason that the said robe was all drenched and so heave that it held him downe, he did it off and threw it away; and then girding his naked brest underneath with a certaine broad fillet or swadling band, he saved himselfe by swimming, and recovered the bank: now when he was past this danger, and seemed to be landed, he seemed to want neither raiment nor nutriment: and what say you to this? may not this be counted a verie tempest, when as the usurer after a certaine time shall cometo assaile the poore debtors and say unto them: Paie,

Which

Which word once said, sheweth the clouds above,  
He gathereth thicke, and sea with waves doth moove:  
For why, the winds anon at once from east,  
From south from west do blow and give no rest.

And what be these windes and waves? even usuries upon usuries, puffing, blowing and rolling one after another; and he that is overwhelmed therewith & kept under with their heavy weight, is not able to swim forth and escape, but in the end is driven downe and sinketh to the verie bottome, where he is drowned and perished together with his friends, who entred into bonds, and became sureties and pledges for him.

Crates the philosopher of Thebes therefore did very well, who being in daunger and debto to no man, onely wearied with the cares and troubles of house-keeping, and the pensive thoughts how to hold his owne, left all, and gave over his estate and patrimonie which amounted to the value of eight talents; tooke himselfe to his bagge and wallet, to his simple robe and cloke of course cloth, and fled into the sanctuarie and liberties of Philosophie and povertie. As for *anaxagoras* he forooke his faire lands and plectuous pastures: but what need I to alledge these examples? considering that *Philoxenus* the musician being sent with other to people & possesse a new colonie in *Sicilie*, and having befallen to his lot a goodly houle and living to it, enjoying (I say) for his part a good portion wherewith he might have lived in fulnesse and plentie; when he sawe once that delights, pleasures, and idleness without any exercise at all of good letters reigned in those parts; *Par die* (quoth he) these goods heere shall never spoile and undo me, but I will rather (I trow) make a hand and havocke of them; leaving therefore unto others his portion that fell unto him by lot, he tooke sea againe & sailed away to *Athens*. Contrariwise those that be in debt are evermore sued in the law, become tributaries & very slaves, bearing and enduring all indignities, like unto those vassals that digge in silver mines, nourishing and maintaining as *Phinens* did the ravenous winged harpies: for surely these usurers alwaies flie upon them, and be ready to snatch and carie away their very foode and sustenance; neither have they patience to stay and attend times and seasons; for they buie up their debtors corne before it be ripe for the harvest; they make their markets of oile before the olives fall from the tree, and likewise of wine: For I will have it at this price (quoth the usurer) & withal the debtor giveth him presently a bill of his hand for such a bargain; meane while the grapes hang still upon the vine, waiting for the moneth of September, when the star *Arcturus* riseth and sheweth the time of vintage.



## THAT A PHILOSOPHER OUGHT TO CONVERSE ESPECIALLY WITH PRINCES AND GREAT RVLERS, AND WITH THEM TO DISCOVERE.

### The Summarie.

**I**F there be any in the world who have need of good companie, they are Princes and great Lords; for that their affaires being of such consequence as everie man knoweth, the feeblenes of bodie and insufficiency of spirit, not able to furnish them thoroughly; great reason they have to see by the eyes, and to worke with the hands of others. Now in this case, three sorts of men there be who fault verie much: In the first place, Princes and Rulers themselves, who in stead of drawing and training neere unto their persons such as can aide and assist them, give assever unto flatterers and other like pestilent members, who are ready to corrupt and ruinate their estates: Secondly, those (whose number at all times hath bene verie small)

whom we call Philosophers (that is to say) men of authority, wise, sage, learned friends to vertue, lovers of the good of Princes and their subjects; who being of great power and able to doe much, yet notwithstanding recule and draw backe, or being advanced to high place, have not alwaies that respect and consideration, nor such courage as appertaineth; suffering themselves otherwhiles to be carried away to the entertainment and maintenance of the greater shapinton, and mingling a little too much of worldly wisdom with the apprehension of their true duty, whereof their conscience being lightened inundry sorts advertiseth them sufficiently. The last (and as those as pernicious & execrable as the thought of man is not able to devise and comprehend) be the enemies of vertue (to wit) ignorant teachers, and profane schoolmasters & professors; mockers; scorners; jesters; flatterers; in sum, all the ministers of vanities and filthie pleasures, who do insinuate and intrude themselves, by most leavard and wicked means into the service of Princes; and in recompence of the honor and rich gifts which they receive at their hands, doe deceive and undo their simple lords and masters, according as an infinite number of examples in Histories doe verifie and give evidence unto us. Plutarch therefore in consideration of these inconveniences, is desirous in this treatise to encourage those who wish that all things were well and in good order; and exhorteth them to approach neere unto Princes. But forasmuch as ignorance and leavdness causeth men to become shamelesse, whereas wisdom and honestie maketh us modest and considerate in all our actions; he sheweth in the first place, that it is no point of ambition for a wise and learned man to joine himselfe unto Grand Legnaries & to sort with them; but that it is their duty so to do considering that such receive honor, pleasure, and profit by him. And this he prooveth by reason, 30 similitudes, examples, singular and notable. Afterwards he condemneth those who enter into Princes courts, onely because they would be great and powerfull, shewing that wise men indeed do aime cleare at another marke. And for the last point of all, he treateth of the contentment which they receive, who by their service to one alone, helpe by that meane an infinite number of others, who remaine bound and obliged unto them for so great a benefite.

## THAT A PHILOSOPHER OUGHT to converse especially with Princes and great Rulers, and with them to discourse.



**T**O embrace a common love, to finde out, accept, intertaine and maintaine that amitie which may be profitable and commodious to many in particular, and yet to more in generall, is the part of honest men, politike, wise and affectionate to the publike good; and not as some thinke, of those that be ambitious and vaine-glorious. But contrariwise, he is to be reputed vaine-glorious, or rather timorous and wanting courage, who doth shunne and is afraid to heare himselfe called, a follower, waiter and servitor to those that are in highest place. For what faith one of these personages who having need to be cured, is desirous to learne and to bee acquainted with some Philosopher? O that I were *Simon* the Souter, or *Dionysius* the Pedante, in stead of *Pericles* or *Cato*, that a Philosopher might discourse and dispute with me, that he might sit by my side, as *Socrates* did sometime by those. And verily *Ariston* of *Chios* being reprooved and blamed by the Sophisters in his time, for that he used to devise and discourse with all those that were disposed to heare him: I could with (quoth he) in my heart, that the verie beasts themselves were able to give care and understand those discourses that do excite and moove unto vertue. Doe we then avoide the meanes and occasions to converse and conferte familiarly with great personages and mightie men, as if 50 they were wilde and savage persons? The doctrine of Philosophy is not like unto an imager who casteth dumbe and deafe idole statues, without any sense, onely for to stand upon a bafe as *Pindarus* was wont to say, but is willing to make whatsoever it toucheth, active, operative and lively; it imprinteth therein affections and motions, judgements also inciting and leading to things unprofitable; intentions desirous of all honestie, haughtie courage also and magnanimie, joined with meeknesse, resolution and assurance; by meanes of which good parts, men of State & policie, are more readie and forward to converse and devise with persons of great puissance and authoritie, and not without good causes; for an honest and gentle physician will take alwaies



alwaies more pleasure to heale an eie that seeth for many, and which doth guard and looke to many; and even so a Philosopher will be more affectionate to take care for that soule and spirit, which he seeth to be vigilant for many, and which ought to be wise, prudent, and just for many: for such an one if he were skilfull and cunning in the heart, of finding, gathering, and conducting of waters (as we read in Histories that *Hercules* and many other in old time were) would not take delight to goe into some desert corner, farre remote from the frequencie of men, and to dig or sinke pits there, nere to the Ravens rocke (as the Poet saith) and to open that Swine-heards marish *Arcadia*, but would studie rather to discover the lively sources and overrunning springs of a river, to serve some great citie or campe, or to water the orchards, gardens, and groves of kings. According as we heare that *Homer* called *Atinos*, *Jupiters Oaristes*, which is as much to say 10 (as *Plato* himselfe doth interpret the word) his Familiar & Disciple; for he never meant that the disciples of the gods were private persons, home-keepers, and such as meddle in nothing but house matters, keeping in and living idly without any action; but Princes and Kings who being wise, just, debonaire and magnanimous, as many as be under their government and command, shall live in blisse and happiness.

An herbe there is called *Eryngium* or Sea-holly, which hath this propertie, that no sooner one goat taketh it in his mouth, but she herselfe first, and afterwards all the rest of the flocke, will stand still, untill such time as the goat-headed come and take away out of the flocke which he will, in like maner, the fluxions which proceed from persons of great power and authoritie, have the same swiftnesse and celeritie, which doth dilate and spread it selfe in one moment, and in manner of fire seith upon whatsoever is nere thereto on every side. And verily the speech and remonstrance of a Philosopher, if it be addressed and directed unto a private man, and that loveth to live in repose, and who doth limit and circumscribe himselfe, as within a center and circumference geometrical, with the necessities of his owne bodie, the same speech is not distributed and divided unto others, but after it hath in that one man alone, composed and wrought a great tranquillitie and calme of all perturbations, itfadeth, vanisheth away, and so doth end incontinently; but on the contrarie side, if the said remonstrance meet with a man of State and government, a magistrate, a politician, and one that dealeth in great affaires, and by the effectuall vertue thereof, replenish him with goodnesse and honestie, by the means of that one person, the benefit will be imparted unto many. In this wise *Anaxagoras* kept companie with *Pericles*; 30 *Plato* conversed with *Dion*, and *Pythagoras* did associate himselfe to the princes and lords of *Italie*; and as for *Cato*, he departed alone from the campe, and failed to *Athenodorus*; *Scipio* likewise laid for *Panatus*, and fought after him, at what time as the Senate sent him forth with commission, for to goe in visitation (as it were) and survey, to see what right and wrong, what justice and injustice reigned in the world, according as *Posidonius* maketh report. What then ought *Panatus* for to say? If you were either *Castor* or *Pollux*, or some other private person, desirous to flie and avoid the frequencie of great cities, and retire your selfe into some corner of a schoole apart, there at your leisure and full repose to folde and unfold, to resolve and compound the tylogismes of Philosophers, I would willingly accept your offer, and be desirous to converse and stay with you; but seeing you are the sonne of *Paulus Aemilius*, who had bene twice Con- 40 sul, and the nephew of *Scipio Africanus*, who defeated *Annibal* the captaine of the Carthaginians, I will not reason and dispute with you. Moreover, to say that speech is two folde; the one interior or inward, the gift of *Mercurie* surnamed *Hegemon*, that is, Guide; the other pronounced and uttered forth, which is instrumentall, and a very interpreter to give notice of our conceptions, is a meere vaine and stale position, and may wel be comprised under this old proverbe: Thus much I knew before *Theognis* was borne. But let not this distinction trouble or impeach us in that which wee are about to say; for aswell of that which is contained within the secret minde, as of the other which is pronounced and uttered, the end is all one; to wit, Love or amitie of this, in respect of a mans owne selfe, and of that, in regard of others: for that speech which by the precepts of Philosophie, bendeth unto vertue, and there doth end, maketh a man in tune 50 and accordant with himselfe, never repining and complaining of ought, full of peace, full of love and contentment:

*In all his limmes is no sedition,*

*No strife, no warre, no strange dissention,*

no passion rebellious and disobedient to reason, no combat of will or appetite against will and appetite, no repugnancie and contrariety of reason against reason; there is no impleasent bitterness or turbulent disorder mixed with joies and pleasures, as it falleth out in the confines of desire,

desire, repentance and sorrow; but all things there be uniforme, delightfome and amiable, which causeth each one to content himselfe, and joy as in abundance of all goods. As for the other kind of speech that is pronounced, *Pindarus* saith: That the Mule thereof was never in old time covetous, greedie of gaine or meere mercenarie; neither beleve I that it is so at this day; but rather, through the ignorance and negligence of men who be carelesse of their owne good and honour, *Mercurie*, who before was free and common, is now become an occupier and merchant, willing to doe nothing without a fee and reward. For it is not likely or probable, that *Vechant*, willing to doe nothing without a fee and reward. For it is not likely or probable, that *Vechant* in times past was so deadly offended and angry with the daughters of *Prospolus*, because they devised first to sow hatred and enmity among yong folke, and that *Urania*, *Clio* and *Calliope* take 10 pleasure in them who debate the dignitie of speech and literature, by taking silver; but in mine opinion, the workes and gifts of the Muses ought to be more amiable than those of *Venus*: for fame and honour, which some propose for the end of their speech and learning, hath bene held deare and highly beloved, for that it is the very beginning and seminarie of friendship; and that which more is, the common sort of people measure honour by good-will and benevolence, esteeming that we ought to praise those onely whom we affect and love: but certainly these men fare like unto *Ixion*, who in love following after the goddesse *Juno*, fell upon a cloud; for even to they, in stead of amitie embrace a vaine image of popularitie, deceitfull, pompous, wandering and uncertaine: howbeit, a man of good conceit and judgement, if he manage State affaires, or intermeddle in government of the common-weale, will seeke for honour and reputation so far 20 forth onely, as to mainteine his authoritie and credit in all his actions, for the better management of publike affaires: for it is no pleasure, neither is it easie, to doe them good who are not willing to profit and receive good; and the disposition of the will proceedeth from beliefe and confidence. Like as the light doth more good unto them that see, than to those who are seene; even so is honour more profitable unto them who perceive and feele the same, than to such as are neglected and contemned. But hee who dealeth not in affaires of State, who liveth to himselfe, and setteth downe his felicitie in such a life, apart from others, in rest and repose, salueth a fare off vaine-glorie and popularitie, which others joy in, who be conversant in the view and sight of people, and in frequent assemblies and theaters, much like unto *Hippolytus*, who li- 30 ving chaste, saluted the goddesse *Venus* a great way off, but as for the other glory which proceeding chaste, saluted the goddesse *Venus* a great way off, but as for the other glory which proceeding from men of worth and honour, he neither refuseth nor disdaineth it. Now when as the question is of amitie, we are not to seeke for it and to contract friendship onely with such as be wealthy, have the glorie, credit and authoritie of great lords, no more than we ought to avoid these qualities, if the same be joined with a gentle nature, which is offaire and honest conditions. The Philosopher seeketh not after beautifull and well-favoured yong men, but such as be docible, tractable, well disposed, and desirous of knowledge; but if withall they be endued with beautifull visage, with a good grace, and are in the flower of youth, this ought not to fright him from thence, neither must the lovely casts of their countenance and amiable aspects drive him from comming nere unto those, nor chafe him away if he see them worthy paines taking and 40 to be regarded. Thus when power, riches, and princely authoritie shall be found in men of good nature, who be moderate and civill; the philosopher will not forbear to love and cherish such, neither be afraid to be called a courtier or follower of great personages:

*They that strive most dame Venus to eschue,*

*Do fault as much, as they who her pursue.*

Even so it is with the amitie of princes and great potentates: and therefore the contemplative philosopher who will not deale at all in affaires of weale-publike, must not avoid and shun such; but the civill philosopher who is busied in managing of the common weale, ought to seeke for them and finde them out, not forcing them after a troublesome maner to heare him, nor charging their eares with reports and discourses that be unseasonable and sophistical; but framing himselfe willingly to joy in their companie; to discourse, to passe the time with them when they 50 are willing and so disposed:

*Twelve journeyes long are Berecynthian plains*

*And those I sowe yeerely with sundry graines.*

He that said this, if he had loved men as well as he affected husbandry and tillage, would more willingly have plowed and sowed that ground which is able to maintaine and feed so many men, then that little clove or pindle of *Antisthenes*, which hardly was sufficient to find himselfe alone. Certes *Epicurus* who placed the soveraigne good and felicitie of man in most sound rest and deepe repose, as in a sure harbour or haven, defended and covered from all winde and surging 60 waves

waves of the world; faith: That to doe good unto another, is not onely more honest and honorable, than to receive a benefite at anothers hand, but also more pleasant and delectable; for there is nothing that begetteth so much joy as doth beneficence, which the Greekes terme by the name of *χάρις*, that is to say, Grace. Well advised he was therefore and of wise judgement who imposed these names upon the three Graces, *Aglaia, Euphrosyne, and Thalia*; for without all question, the joy and contentment is faire greater and more pure in him who doeth a good turne and deserveth a thanke, than in the partie who receiveth the same: and therefore it is that many times men doe blush for shame when a good turne is done unto them, whereas alwaies they reioice when they confer a benefite or favour upon another. Now do they a benefite unto a whole multitude and nation, who are the meanes to make those good, whom the people and multitude can not misse but have need of: whereas contrariwise, they that corrupt and spoile princes, kings, and great rulers (as doe these flatterers, false sycophants and slanderous promoters) are abominable unto all, are chased out and punished by all; like unto those that cast deadly poison, not into one cup of wine, but into a fountaine or spring that runneth for to serve in publike, and whereof they see all persons use to drinke. Like as therefore (according to *Eupoli*) it is said onely by way of mockerie concerning those flatterers and comical parasites who haunted the table of rich *Callias*, that there was neither fire, brasse, nor Steele, that could keepe them out, but they would come to sup with him: but as for the minions and favorites of tyrant *Apollodorus, Phalaris, or Dionysius*, after the decease of their lords and masters, the people fell upon them, did beat them with cudgels, torture upon the rack, burne at a stake, & range them with the accursed and damned crew; for that they before named did wrong to one alone, but these did injurie unto many by the meanes of corrupting one who was their ruler; even so those philosophers that converse and keepe companie with private persons, do cause them to be well contented, pleasant, gracious and harmelesse to their owne selves and no more; but whosoever reformeth some evil conditions in a great ruler or soveraigne magistrate, framing and directing his will and intention to that which he ought; this man I say after a sort is a philosopher to the publike State, in that he doth correct the mould and amend the pattern to which all the subjects be composited, and according to it governed. The cities and states which be well ruled, decree and yeeld honour and reverence to their priests; for that they doe pray unto the gods for good things, not in regard of themselves, nor of their kinsfolke and friends alone, but universally in the behalfe of all the citizens; and yet these priests doe not make the gods good, nor the givers of good things, but being such alreadie of themselves, to them they powre their praiers & make invocations. But philosophers who live and converse with princes and great lords, cause them to be more just and righteous, more moderate and better affected to well doing; by meanes whereof it is like that they receive more joie and contentment. And if I should speake my conceit, it seemeth unto me that the harpe-maker wrought and made his harpe more cherefully and with greater pleasure, when he knew that the master & owner of the said harpe should build the wals about the citie *Thebes*, as *Amphion* did, or to laie and appease the great civil sedition of the Lacedæmonians, by singing to the faide harpe and by sweet exhortations, as sometimes *Thales* did; sensibly the carpenter or ship-wright who maketh the helme to a ship or gally, will joy more when he shall know that the said helme shall serve to guide & rule the admirals ship, within which *Themistocles* shall fight against the Persians in the defence of the libertie and freedom of *Greece*: or that of *Pompeius*, with which in a navall battell at sea he defeated and vanquished the armie of the pirats. What suppose you then will a philosopher thinke of his owne speech and doctrine, when he shall come to discourse with himselfe; that he who shall receive the same being a man of authoritie, a prince or great lord, shall thereby doe good unto the common-weale, in ministring right and justice indifferently to everie man; shall punish the wicked, and advance those that bee good and vertuous. I am verily perswaded (for my part) that a good and gentle ship-wright, will more willingly make an helme, when hee shall know that it must serve to rule the great shippe *Argo*, renowned throughout the world: likewise a carpenter or wheele-wright, will not with so good a will lay his hand to make a plough or a chariot, as he would to frame those tables or boords, in which he wist that *Solon* was to engrave his lawes. And (I assure you) the discourses and reasons delivered by Philosophers, if once they be well and surely imprinted in the hearts of great personages, who have in their hands the government of States, if they once get sure footing and take good root in them, they become as forceible and effectual as positive lawes. Hereupon it was that *Plato* failed into *Sicilie*, in hope that the grave sentences and principles of his Philosophy, would be as good

as lawes, and worke hole some and profitable effects in the affaires of *Dionysius*. But hee found that *Dionysius* was like writing tables all rased, and full of blurs and blots, and that he could not leave off the tincture and deepe die of tyrannie, being so surely set on, and having by continuance of time entred and pearced deepe, so that it could not be washed out; whereas it behooved that those who are to make their profit by good advtisements and sage lessons, should still be in motion and so continue.



## AS TOVCHING A PRINCE OR RULER UNLEARNED.

### The Summarie.

**A**S in the former discourse he solicited Sages and Philosophers to joine themselves in acquaintance with Princes; so in this he desireth one point, whereof hee dwelt not assure himselfe to compasse the same, by reason of some difficulties therein observed. For requiring in Princes thus much that they should be wel instructed, for to be capable of good counsell; he sheweth withall that it is a verie hard thing to bring them thereto, and to range them in this order for certaine materiall and pertinent reasons which he setteth downe. Neverthelesse he passeth on still and proceedeth farther: proving that the law and lively reason ought to command Kings and Princes; and for to cause them to condescend thereto, he declareth unto them; has the thing which they wish for and desire so ardentely to procure; namely, to maintaine themselves in happie estate, and to make their name immortall, lieth in vertue: then he pointeth out with his finger, foure impeachments and hinderances that divert and turne away Princes from so just and necessarie a consideration. Which done, for to enrich this speech and treatise of his, and the better yet to draw great personages to give eare unto reason, he letteth them see and understand the difference betwene a good Prince and a tyrant: also how dangerous a wicked Prince is, concluding by the benefite which cometh by equitie, and the hurt by injustices; that right and justice ought to serve as a counterpoise against the greedines and puissance of Princes.

## AS TOVCHING A PRINCE or Ruler. unlearned.



**T**HE inhabitants of the citie *Cyrene*, requested *Plato* on a time to leave unto them by writing certaine good lawes; and withall to set them downe an order in the government of their State, which he refused to do, saying: That it was a verie hard matter to give lawes unto the *Cyrenians* being so rich and wealthie as they were: for there is nothing so proude and insolent, so rough and intractable, so savage and hard to be tamed, as a man perswaded well of his fortunate estate. This is the cause that it is no easie enterprise to give counsell unto princes and rulers, and to advise them as touching their government. For they be afraid to receive and admit reason as a master to command them; for feare it should take away and abridge them of that, which they esteeme to be the onely good of their grandance and puissance, in case they were subjected once to their duty. Which is the cause also that they cannot skill to heare the discourses of *Theopompus* King of

*Sparta*, who was the first that brought into that citie the *Ephori*, and mingled their authoritie with the government of the Kings. For when his wife reproched him for leaving unto his children the royall power & dignitie, lesse than he received it of his predecessors: Nay many (quoth he) but rather farre greater, in that it shall be more firme and assured: for in remitting and letting downe a little that which in absolute royaltie was over stiffe, strait and rigorous, he avoided by that verie meanes all envie and perill. And verily *Theopompus* deriving unto others from his owne authoritie, as from a great river, a little rill or riveret; looke how much he gave unto the *Ephors*, so much he cut off from himselfe: but the reason and remonstrance of Philosophie, being lodged (as it were) with the Prince himselfe, for to assist him and preserve his person, taking from his puissance, as in a full plight and plethoricke constitution of the bodie, that which is excessive and overmuch, leaveth that behind which is sound and healthfull. But the most part of Kings, Princes, and Sovereigne rulers, who are not wise and of good understanding, resemble unskilfull cutters in stone and imagers, who are of opinion that the enormous and huge statues, called *Colosses*, which they cut, will seeme more vast and mightie, if they frame them straddling with their legs, with their armes spread abroad and stretched forth, as also with their mouthes gaping wide open; for even so, these princes and rulers by their big commanding voice, their grim and sterne visage, fierce lookes and regard of their eie, their odious behaviour, and living apart without society of any other person, weene and suppose to counterfeite a kinde of gravitie, greatnes and majestie that is required in a mightie potentate; but they differ nothing from the foresaid *Colosses*, which without do represent the forme of some god or demigod; but all within are stuffed full of earth, stone, rubbish and lead: this onely is the difference that the weight and heaviness of those monstrous statues, counterpoiseth and keepeth them standing in some sort upright, stedfast, and not inclining one way or other; but ignorant and unlearned princes, rulers, and generall capitaines, by reason of their ignorance which is within them, oftentimes do wag and totter to and fro, yea and be overturned and laid along; for coming to build their puissance and licentious power aloft upon a base that is not laid directlie to the plumbe, they reele and tumble downe withall. But like as a rule or squire, being of it selfe even, streight and levell, not turning or twining any way, doeth direct and set streight all other things, and make them like it selfe, by being laied thereto; even so ought a prince, when he hath first established in himselfe, his principallity and power, that is to say, composed his owne life and maners, to accommodate and frame his subjects accordingly, and to make them semblable: for neither lieth it in him who is ready to stumble and fall himselfe, to susteine and keepe up another; nor he who is ignorant and knoweth nothing, is fit to be a teacher, no more than he who is disorderly, meet to redresse and reforme, or who is irregular, able to range and set in order, or who knoweth not how to obey, like for to command. But the most part of men are herein deceived and thinke not aright, who suppose that the first and principall good in commanding and ruling, is not to be ruled and commanded. And thus the king of the Persians imagined all his subjects to be his slaves, unlesse it were his wife alone, of whom especially above all other, he should have the masteire and lordship.

Who is it then, that shall command a king or prince? even the law, which is the ladie and queue of all, as well mortall men, as immortal gods, according as *Pindarus* saith: I meane not the written law in books or upon tables of wood, but the lively reason imprinted in his owne heart, remaining alwaies with him, his continuall resident-keeper, and never leaving his soule abandoned and forlorne without conduct and government. And verily the Persian king had evermore about him one of his chamberlaines ordeined for this office; namely, to say unto him every morning as he entred into his chamber: *Arise my lord, and have regard to those affaires for which Meloromades* (that is to say, The great God) *would have you to provide.* But if a prince be wise and well instructed, he hath alwaies within him this monitor and remembrancer, to re-found the same into his cares, and put him in minde of his dutie. *Polemon* was wont to say: That love was a ministerie of the gods in young persons, such as they had care of, and were minded so to preserve: but more truly a man might say: That princes be the ministers of the gods, to provide for the affaires and safetie of men; to the end that of those good things which God hath bestowed upon them, they should distribute some, and preserve others;

*But see'st thou this flurie firmament,*

*So high above and infinitely vast,*

*In bosome moist of water element,*

*The earth beneath how it incloseth fast?*

for

for this is it, that by influence sendeth downe the principles of those seeds which be fit and convenient, which afterwards the earth produceth and yeeldeth forth, whereof some grow by showers of raine, others by winds; some also gather warmth and heat by the starres & the moone, but it is the sunne who ruleth and governeth all, he inspirith and infuseth into them from himselfe, the gracious instinct of love. Now, all the goods and gifts (so many and so great) which the gods endow men withall, there is no meanes to enjoy & use aright, without law, without justice, without a prince or ruler: Justice is the end of law; law is the worke of a prince; and the prince is the image of God governour of all things: and this prince or sovereigne majestie hath no need either of *Phidias*, or of *Polyclitus* and *Myron*, to cur, cast or forme him; but himselfe it is, who doeth frame his owne person to the pattenre and similitude of God, and by meanes of vertue, worketh and setteth up the most pleasant, excellent and divine statue that may be seene: and like as God hath placed in heaven (as a most beautifull image of himselfe and his divinitie) the sunne and the moone; even such a representation and light is in a citie and realme. A prince or magistrate, so long as he hath in his heart imprinted the feare of God and the observation of justice; that is to say, all while he hath divine reason, which is understanding; not a scepter in his hand, nor a thunder-bolt and lightning, or a three-forked mace, as some foolish princes cause themselves to be portraied and painted, making their follie odious, in affecting that which they never can attaine unto: for God indeed hateth and punisheth those who will seeme to imitate thunder, lightning, sun-beames and such like; but contrariwise, those that be zealous followers of his vertue, and who endeavour to conforme themselves to his bounty, goodnesse and clemencie, he loveth and advanceth, to them he willingly doth impart his owne equity, loyalty, justice, verity and clemency. These qualities are such, as there is nothing in the world more divine and heavenly, nor fire nor light, nor the course of the sunne, neither the risings or apparitions, nor the settings and occultations of the starres, no nor eternitie it selfe and immortality: for God is not counted happy and blessed in regard of long life, but for that he is the prince of all vertue: and as this is divinity indeed, so it is true beauty to be ruled thereby. *Anaxarchus* for to give comfort and consolation unto *Alexander*, who was cast downe and in despaire, for the bloody murder which he had committed upon the person of *Cytus*, said unto him: That the goddes *Dice* and *Themis* (that is to say) Justice and Equity, far as assistants to \* *Jupiter*, to shew (quoth he) that whatsoever is done by a prince, is to be thought just and righteous; but hee offended herein grossly, and faulted much, to the hurt of *Alexander*, in that he went about to remedy the sorow and grieve which this prince conceived in remorse of conscience and repentance for his heinous sinne, by giving him heart and assurance to commit the like againe. And if it be meet and lawfull in this case, to project our conjectures; *Jupiter* hath not equity and justice for his assaults, but himselfe is justice and equity; he (I say) is the most ancient and perfectest law that is: thus speake, write and teach all ancient authours; That even *Jupiter* himselfe can not well command and rule without justice, which is the virgine (as *Hesiodus* saith) not touched & defiled, but pure and immaculate, lodged alwaies with shamefastnesse, modestie, pudicitie and utilitie. Hereupon it is, that men ordinarily give this addition unto kings and princes, calling them

*Much like as dogs that be of gentle kinde,*

*Who watchfully about the fold attend,*

*In case they once by subtil hearing finde*

*A savage beast approach, and in his den*

feare not for themselves, but in regard of the cattell which they keepe. In like manner, *Epaminondas*, when the Thebans fell dissolutely to drinke and make good cheere at a certaine festivall time, himselfe went all alone to survey the armour and wals of the citie, saying: That he would fast and watch, that all the rest might quaffe the while and sleepe with more securitie. *Cato* likewise at *Utica* proclaimed by sound of trumpet, to send away by sea all those who escaped alive upon the overthrow which there hapned; and when he had embarked them all, and made his prayers unto the gods to vouchsafe them abon voiage, he returned into his owne lodging and killed himselfe; shewing by this example what a prince or commander ought to feare, and what

he

\* Or as some  
reade, To Cy-  
tus.

he should contemne and despise. Contrariwise, *Clearchus* the tyrant of *Pontus*, shutting himselfe within a chest, slept there as a serpent within her hole: and *Aristodemus* the tyrant of *Argos* went up into a hanging chamber aloft which had a trap dore, whereupon he caused a little bed or pallet to be fet, and there he slept and lay with his concubine and harlot which hee kept, and when he was gotten up thither, the mother of the said concubine came ordinarily to take downe the ladder, and brought it thither againe every morning. How thinke you, did this tyrant tremble for feare, when he was in a frequent theater in the palace, in the counsell house and therefore as they augment their puissance, so doe they encrease their owne feare; for the more persons that they commaund and rule over, the greater number they stand in dread of: for it is neither probable nor seemely as some philosophers affirme: That God is invisibly subsistent and mixed within the first and principall matter, which suffreth all things, receiveth a thousand constraints and adventures, yea and is subiect to innumerable changes and alterations: but hee sitteth in regard of us above, and there is resiant continually in a nature alwaies one, and ever in the same estate, seated upon holy foundations (as *Plato* saith) where he insuleth his power, and goeth through all, working and finishing that which is right according to nature: and like as the sunne in heaven, the most goodly and beautifull image of him, is to be seene by the reflexion of a mirror, by those who otherwise can not endure to behold himselfe as he is; even so God ordeineth in cities and societies of men, another image of his, and that is the light of justice and reason accompanying the same; which wise and blessed men describe and depaint out of sentences philosophicall, conforming and framing themselves to that which is the fairest and most beautifull thing in the world; and nothing is there that doth imprint in the soules and spirits of men such a disposition, as reason drawne and learned out of philosophie, to the end that the same should not befall unto us which king *Alexander* the great did; who having seene in *Corinth*, *Diogenes* how generous he was, esteemed highly and admired the haughtie courage & magnanimitie of the man, in somuch as he brake forth into these words; Were I not *Alexander* surely I would be *Diogenes*: which was al one in maner as if he should have said; That he was troubled & encombred with his wealth, riches, glory and puissance, as impeachments and hinderances of vertue, and bare an envious and jealous eie to the homely courte cloke of the philosopher, to his bagge and wallet, as if by them alone *Diogenes* was invincible and impregnable, and not (as himselfe) by the means of armes, hamish, horses, speares, and pikes: for surely he might with governing himselfe by true philosophicall reason have bene of the disposition and affection of *Diogenes*, and yet continue neverthelesse in the state and fortune of *Alexander*; and so much the rather be *Diogenes* because he was *Alexander*; as having need against great fortunes, (like a tempest raised with boisterous winds, and full of surging waves) of a stronger cable and anchor, of a greater helme also, and a better pilot: for in meane persons who are of low estate, and whose puissance is small, such as private men be, follie is harmeflesse; and foolish though such be, yet they doe no great hurt, because their might is not answerable thereto; like as it falleth out in foolish and vaine dreames: there is a certaine griefe (I wot not what) which troubleth and disordereth the mind, being not able to compasse & bring about the execution of her desires & lusts: but where might & malice are met together their power addeth folly unto passions & affections; & most true is that speech of *Dionys* the tyrant, who was wont to say; That the greatest pleasure & contentment which he enioyed by his tyranny was this, that whatsoever he would was quickly done, & presently executed; according to that verse in *Homer*:

*No sooner out of mouth the word was gone,  
But presently withall the thing was done.*

A dangerous matter it is for a man to will and desire that which he ought not, being not able to performe that which hee willett and desireth: whereas malicious mischief making a swift course through the race of puissance and might, driveth and thrusteth forward every violent passion to the extremitie, making choler and anger to turne to murder, love to prove adultery, and avarice to growe into confiscation of goods; for no sooner is the word spoken, but the partie once in suspicion is undone for ever, and presently upon the least surmise and imputation ensueth death. But as the naturall philosophers do hold, that the lightning is shot out of the cloud after the clap of thunder (like as blood issueth after the wound is given and incision made) and yet the said lightning is seene before, for that the eare receiveth the

sound

found or cracke by degrees, whereas the eie meeteth at once with the flash; even so in these great rulers and commanders, punishments oftentimes go before accusations, and sentences of condemnation before evident proofes:

*For wrath in such may not long time endure,  
No more than flouke of anchor can assure  
A ship in storme, which taketh slender hold  
On land by shore, whereof none may be bold.*

unlesse the weight of reason doe repress and keepe downe licentious power, whiles a Prince or great Lord doth after the manner of the sunne, who at what time as he is most high mounted in the septentrionall or northern parts, seemeth least to move, and by his slow motion maketh his race the more stedfast and assured. For impossible it is that vices in great persons should remaine covert and hidden; but like as those who are subiect to the falling sicknesse, so soone as ever they be surprisid with outward cold, or turne round never so little, presently fall into a dimnes of sight, grow to be dizzie in the head and ready to stagger, which passions do bewray and detect their maladie; even so ignorant persons and such as want instruction and good bringing up, no sooner are lifted up by fortunes favour to wealth and riches, to dignities, promotions, and places of high authoritie, but presently thee sheweth them their owne fall and ruine; or rather to make the thing more plaine and familiar; like as a man can hardly know whether vessels be sound or faultie, so long as they be emptie, but in case you powre into them any liquor, it appeareth whether they leake and runne or no; even so, the soules of men that be purrified and corrupt, can not containe and hold firme their might and authoritie, but run out by means of their lusts and desires, their cholerick fits, their vanities and absurd demeanors. But what neede we draw forth the discourse hereof more at large; considering that great men and noble personages are exposed to calumniation and reproches for the least delinquencie and fault that they commit. *Cimon* was blamed for his good wine, *Scipio* for his sleepe, and because hee loved his bed well; and *Lucullus* grew into an ill name in regard of his bountifull table and liberal fare that he kept.



## THAT VICE ALONE IS SUFFICIENT TO MAKE A MAN WRETCHED.

### The Summarie.



Though this Treatise be so defective both in the beginning and the end, that to this present wee know not how to gesse and conjecture, which way to redresse and supply the same; yet the very title and fragments remaining thereof, sufficiently discover the intention of the Author. And like as by the ruines of some ancient royal palace, there is in some sort represented to our thought and conceit the beauty thereof whiles it stood entire and upright; even so, this remnant which is left unto us, sheweth sufficiently what wee have lost. But albeit the malice and injurie of the time hath deprived us of so great a benefit, and of many others semblably; yet notwithstanding, that which remaineth may profit us, maimed and imperfect as it is, and suffice to range and contrive us in our dutie. In the beginning, our Author discouerseth of the miserie of a covetous person, and one that followeth the court. Then he addeth according to his principall designe and purpose: That vice is the absolute work-mistresse of wretchednesse and infelicity, having need of no other ministers or instruments to cause a man to be miserable; whereupon he doth collect and gather; that there is no danger nor calamitie, but we ought to chooseth rather than to be sinfull and vicious. Afterward as he answereth those objections which are made to the contrary, and concludeth, that adversitie can not prejudice or hurt us any thing so long as it is not accompanied with vice.

THAT



# THAT VICE ALONE IS SUFFICIENT TO MAKE A MAN WRETCHED.



He abideth much who hath his bodie sold for a dowrie (as *Euripides* faith) to wit, small avails he hath thereby, and those verie uncertaine. But unto him who passeth not through much ashes, but a royall fire (as one would say) wherewith he is scorched and burnt round about, who continually draweth his winde thicke and short, and is full of feare and sweat by trudging over sea for gaine, the giveth in the end a certaine Tantalian riches (that is to say) such as he is not able to enjoy by reason of the continuall occupations wherewith he is encombred. For verie wisely did that *Sicyonian* who bred and kept a race of horses, when he gave unto *Agamemnon* the king

of the *Achæans* as a present, a notable swift mare for a courser, because he might be dispensed with, for going in warfare to *Troy*:

*That unto Troy that stately towne,  
he might not with him go  
To serve in armes; but stay at home,  
and rest there far from woes  
Where he might live in solace much,  
enjoying all his owne,  
For Jupiter in measure great,  
had wealth on him bestowed.*

to the end, that he staying behinde at home, might roule and welter at ease in a depth of riches, and give himselfe much time and leisure for assured repose void of all paine and trouble. Howbeit our courtiers at this day, who would be esteemed men of action and great affaires, never expect untill they be called, but of themselves intrude and thrust their heads into princes courts and stately palaces, where they must watch, waite and give attendance in all dutifull service, with much paine and travell, to gaine thereby at last, a great horse, a faire chaine, or some such blessed favour.

*Meane while the wife is left alone behind  
In Phylace, and thinks he is unkind  
To leave her so: her face he rents and tears;  
The house remains halfe built, when he it rears.*

and the husband is carried here and there wandring in the world, drawn on with certaine hopes which oftentimes in the end deceive him and worke his shame. But if peradventure he obtaine some thing that his heart desired, after a certaine time that he hath bene turned round about with the wheele of fortune, so long untill his head be dizzie, and mounted on high in the aire, he wisheth and seeketh nothing more than evasion and meanes to escape, deeming and calling those happy, who leade a private life, without exposing themselves to such perils: and they againe repute him blessed and fortunate, seeing him so highly advanced above themselves. Thus in one word you see, how vice doeth dispose men unto all sorts of infelicities, being of it selfe a perfect artisan of infortunity, and needs none instruments and ministers besides. As for other tyrants, who study nothing more, than to make those most wretched and miserable whom they pinch, doe mainteine executioners and tormentours, devise red-hot searing yrons to burne, and invent racks and other instruments for to put the reasonlesse soule to extreame torture; but vice without any such preparation of engines, so soone as it seizeth upon the soule, presently overturneth and bringeth it to ruine and destruction, filleth a man with dolour and griefe, with lamentations, sorowes and repentance. For a certaine proove hereof, you shall see many endure to have their flesh mangled and cut, without saying one word; abide to be whipped and scourged patiently; who being put to the racke and other tortures by their cruell masters or tyrants, will not give one steeke or crye, so long as the soule represseth the voice by reason, as with the hand keepeth it downe, and containeth it from breaking out: whereas contrariwise, a man shall hardly or never command either anger to stay and be quiet, or dolour to be silent, no nor persuade him that is surprized with sudden feare to rest still, or one who is stung with remorse and repentance

*Homerus de  
Troyana.*

repentance to forbear crying out, to hold his hands from tearing his haire & flouting his thighs; of such force and violence is vice & sinne, above either the heat of fire or the edge of the sword. Moreover, cities & states, when they publish their purpose to put forth to making any ships or huge statues called *Colossi*, give care willingly to the workmen disputing one against the other, as touching the workmanship, heare their reasons, & see their models & platforms which they bring, and afterwards make choise of him to goe in hand with that piece of worke, who with lesse cost and charges will do the deed as well or rather better, and more speedily. Now put the case that we publish by proclamation to make a man infortunate, or cause a life to be wretched and miserable, and that there present unto us for to enterprize this, fortune on the one side and vice on the other; the one (to wit, fortune) is full of her tooles and instruments of all sorts, and provided of furniture costly and chargeable, for to make a life unhappie and miserable; as for example, brigandise and robberies, bloody warres, inhumane cruelty of tyrants, and tempests at sea; the draweth after her flashes of lightning out of the aire, the mixeth and dresteth a poisoned cup of deadly hemlocke, she bringeth sharpe edged swords to do the businesse, she stirreth flanders and raiseth false surmises and calumniationes, she kindleth burning agues and hote fevers, she commeth with fetters, manacles and other yrons jingling; finally, she buildeth cages and prisons for this purpose; and yet the most part of all this geere proceedeth rather from vice than fortune: but suppose that all came from fortune; and that vice standing by all naked, and having need of no other thing in the world without it selfe to assaile a man, should demand of fortune, how she could make a man infortunate and heartlesse in these tearmes? What fortune? doest thou menace povertie? *Metrocles* will be ready to laugh thee to scorn, who in Winter time used to sleepe among sheepe, and in Summer season tooke his repose in cloisters and church porches; and so challenged for his felicity the king of *Perisa*, who was wont to Winter in *Babylon* and passe the Summer in *Media*: threatenest thou servitude and bondage? bringest thou chaines and yrons, or the wofull condition to be sold in open market as a slave? *Diogenes* will despise thee for all that, who being exposed and offered to sale by the rovers and thieves that tooke him, cried and proclaimed himselfe aloud: Who will buy a master who? doest thou temper or brew a cup of poison? why didst not thou before offer such a cup to *Socrates* for to drinke? but hee full meekely with all mildnesse and patience, without trembling for feare and changing either countenance or colour for the matter, drunke it off roundly; and after he was dead, those that survived, judged him happy, as one who in the other world made account to live an heavenly and blessed life: presentest thou fire to burne withall? loe, how *Decius* a Roman captain hath prevented thee; who when there was a fire made in the mids betwene two armies for to consume him, voluntarily and with a formall praiser offered himselfe as an holocaust or burnt offering unto *Saturne*, according to his vow made for the safetie of the Roman empire. The honest and chaste dames of the Indians, such as entirely love their husbands, strive and be ready to fight one with another about the funeral fire; and as for her who obtaineth the victorie, and is burned therein together with the dead corps of her husband, all the rest doe deeme right happy, and testifie so much in their hymnes and songs. As for the Sages and wise Philosophers of those parts, there is not one of them all reputed a holy man or blessed, if he do not whiles he is alive, in perfect health and sound sense and understanding, separate his owne soule from the body by the meanes of fire, and after he hath cleafed and consumed all that was mortall, depart out of the flesh all cleane & pure: but (forsooth) from abundance of wealth and riches, from an house sumptuously built and furnished, from a costly and daintie table full of fine & delicate viands, thou wilt bring me to a poore thred-bare cloake, to a bag and wallet, and to begging of my daily bread from doore to doore; well, even these things were the cause of *Diogenes* felicity; these woun unto *Crates* freedom and glory: but thou wilt crucifie mee or cause mee to be hanged upon a gibbet, or sticke my body thorow with a sharpe stake? and what cared *Theodorus* whether his corps rotted above ground or under the earth? these were the happy sepulchures of *Tartarians* and of the *Hircanians*, to be eaten and devoured of dogs; as for the *Bactrians*, by the lawes of the country those were thought to have had the most blessed end, whom the fowles of the aire did eat after they were dead; Who then are they whom these and such accidents do make unhappy? even such as are false-hearted, base-minded, senselesse and void of understanding, untaught, and not exercised in affaires of the world, and in one word, such as retaine still the opinions which were imprinted in them from their infancie. Thus you see how fortune alone is not a sufficient worke-mistresse of unhappinesse and infelicity, in case she have not sinne and vice to aide and helpe her: for like as a thred is able to divide and saw (as



it were) throw a bone which hath lien soaking long before in ashes and vinegar; and as wotke men can bend, bow and bring into what fashion they will, yvorie, after it hath bene infused and mollified in ale or beere, and otherwise not; even so fortune comming upon that which is al ready of it selfe crazie and corrupt, or hath bene fustained by vice, is of power to pierce, wound and hollow the fame.

Moreover, like as the poison *Pharicum*, otherwise called *Napethus* or *Aconitum*, being hurtful to no other person, nor doing harme to those who handle and beare it about them; but if it touch never so little one that is wounded, presently killeth him by meanes of the fore or wound which receiveth the influxion and venom thereof; even so he whose soule is like to be destroyed and overthrowen by fortune, ought to have within himselfe and in his owne flesh some ulcer, to some impostume or maladie for to make those accidents which befall outwardly, wretched, pitifull, and lamentable. What? is vice then of that nature that it had neede of fortunes helping hand to worke wretchednesse & infelicitie? from what coast I pray you doth not fortune raile tempests upon the sea, and trouble the water with surging billowes? environeth not she and beseteth the foot of desert mountaines, with the ambushes and forelayings of thieves and robbers? powreth not she downe with great violence, stormes of haile stones out of the clouds upon the fertile coigne fields? was it not vice and malice that stirred up *Melitus*, *Anytus*, and *Clixenus* to be sycophants and false accusers? is it not she that bereaveth folke of their goods, enpeacheth and disableth men for being commanders and leaders of armies, and all to make them unhappie? nay she it is that maketh them rich and plentifull; she heapeth upon them heritages and possessions; she accompanieth them at sea; she is alwaies close unto them and neer at hand; she causeth them to consume and pine with lusts and desires; she enflameth and setteth them on fire with choler and anger; she troubleth their minds with vaine superstitions, and draweth them away after the lusts of their eies.



## HOW A MAN MAY PRAISE HIMSELFE WITHOUT IN- CURRING ENVIE AND BLAME.

### The Summarie.

**I**n possible it is during the time that we sojorne in this life, that our spirit which knoweth not how to be still and at rest, it could not stirre and move the tongue to speake of the actions either of other men or of our owne; whereby we cannot choise but incurre marvellous dangers of flatterie, slander or els of selfe-praise; in so much as not without good cause that man hath bene called perfect, who knoweth well to moderate this little member, which is at it were the bit and bridle of the whole bodie of man, and the verie helme and sterne of that ship or vessell in which we row and hull to and fro in the sea of this world. Requisite it is therefore, that morall philosophie should speake, to the end that it may teach us for to speake. We have seene before in many discourses the dutie of everie one towards his neighbours, as well in words as in deeds; but in this treatise Plutarch sheweth the carriage of a man towards himselfe, and above all in that way which is most slipperie, to wit, in the question of our owne praises: then after hee hath laide this for a ground and foundation; that it is an unseemly thing for a man to make himselfe seeme great by vaine bubble, and alledged the reasons wherefore, he setteth downe one generall exception; to wit, that a vertuous man may praise himselfe in certaine cases and occurrences, the which (after hee hath taxed the ambition of those who set up a note of their owne praises to be channiced aloud by others) he particularizeth upon these points; to wit, if he be driven to answer unto some false slanderer; if a man

be in any distresse and adversitie, or if he be blamed for the best deeds that he hath done. After this, he enterleth certaine advertisements or corrections; to wit, that a man ought to mingle his owne praises with those of other men; that he ascribe not the whole honor of a worthy deed to his own selfe; that he utter only those things which be chiefe and principall, and stand upon that which is most commendable; and that he give a certaine luster thereto, by the soile of confessing his owne imperfections: which done, he proceedeth to declare what kinde of men they ought to bee who are allowed to praise themselves; to what this praise ought to be referred and have respect; and wherefore they should enter into it; moreover, at what time, and for what occasion he ought to make head unto a third, who would do sufficiently; and for a final conclusion, he proposeth an excellent meanes to avoid the troubles and inconveniences that might arise from importunate praise, willing that the partie who speaketh of his owne good parts should sue all ambition, not please himselfe in rehearsing and recitall of his owne exploits, take heed how in selfe-praising hee feigne praises, and never beleasse in blaming his neighbour to be content for to be praised of another; without putting himselfe betweene and speaking in his owne behalfe. In summe, since there is nothing so odious as to see and heare a man speake exceeding much of himselfe, he concludeth that in no wise a man ought so to do; unlesse there accrue thereby great profit and commoditie to the hearers.

## HOW A MAN MAY PRAISE HIMSELFE WITHOUT INCURRING EN- VIE AND BLAME.



**T**O speake much of ones selfe in praise, either what he is in person, or of what valour and power among others; there is no man (friend *Herculanus*) but by word of mouth will professe it is most odious, and unbecoming a person well borne and of good bringing up; but in very deed few there be who can take heed and beware of falling into the inconvenience and enormitie thereof, no not even those who otherwise do blame and condemne the same: as for *Euripides* when he saith,

If words were costly men among,  
for to be bought and sold,  
No man to praise and magnifie  
himselfe would be so bold:  
But now (since that each one may rake  
out of the aire so large,  
As much as will his minde suffice,  
without his cost and charge)

Well pleased are all men of themselves  
to speake what comes in thought;  
As well without as what is true;  
for speech is hem costeth nought.

doth use a most odious and importune vainerie; especially in this, that he would seeme to interlaie amongst the passionate accidents and affaires of Tragicall matters, the speech of a mans selfe which is not befitting nor pertinent unto the subject argument; semblably *Pindarus*, having said in one place,

To brag and vaunt unreasonably,  
Sound's much of rash and vain folly,

so ceaseth not never the lesse, to magnifie his owne sufficiencie in the gift of poetrie, as being (in truth) worthy of nigh great praise; as no man can denie. But those who are crowned with garlands in those sacred plaies and games, are declared victours and conquerours by the voice of others, who thereby ease them of that odious displeasure that selfe-praise carrieth with it. And in very deed our heart riseth against that vaine glory of *Timotheus*, in that he wrote himselfe (as touching the victorie which he achieved against *Phrynia*) Oh happy man thou *Timotheus*; at what time as the herald proclaimed with a loud voice these words: *Timotheus* the Milesian hath conquered *Ianocampus* that ionne of *Carbo*: for surely this carrieth with it no grace at all; but is

a meere absurditie and against all good fashion, for a man to be the trumpeter of his owne victorie: for true it is according to *Xenophon*; That the most pleasant voice that a man can heare, is his owne praife delivered by another, but the most odious thing unto others, is a man commending himselfe: for first and formost, we esteeme them to be impudent who praise themselves, considering that they ought rather to blush and be ashamed even when others fall to praise them in their presence: secondly, we repute them unjust herein, for that they give and attribute that to themselves which they should receive at the hands of others: thirdly, either if we keepe silence when we heare one to praise himselfe, it seemeth we are discontented or do beare envie unto him, or if we feare that, compelled we are our selves to confirme and approve those praises, and to give testimonie thereof against our owne minde; a thing more befitting vile and base flatterie, than true honour, namely, if we can abide to praise any in presence. Howbeit, although this be most true, and that the case standeth so, such occurrences may so fall out, that an honourable person who manageth the politike affaires of a common-wealth, may hazzard and venture boldly to speake of himselfe and in his owne behalfe for his advantage, not in regard of any glory, grace or pleasure to gaine thereby, but for that the occasion or action that is presented, requireth that he should speake and give testimonie of himselfe, as he would and might doe of any other matter of truth, especially when the deeds by him achieved or the parts that be in him be good and honest, then he is not to forbear or spare to speake hardly, that he hath done so or els much like: for surely such a praise as this, bringeth forth good fruit, and out of it as from a fruitfull graine or seed, there proceed many other praises, & those farre greater. And certes, a civill and politike man doeth not desire and love honour as a salarie, solace or recompense for his vertuous actions; but for that to have the credit and reputation among others of a trustie and faithfull person, in whom men may repose their trust and confidence, doth afford him good meanes and occasions to performe many other greater and more goodlier actions: for a pleasant and easie matter it is, to benefit them who love thee and put their trust in thee; whereas on the contrary side, exceeding hard it is, or rather impossible, to make use of vertue, and to employ it to the good of those who have thee in suspition, or be ready to raise false calumnies against thee, and so to force them who do avoid the meanes of receiving any good and pleasure at thy hands.

Moreover, it would be considered, what other occasions there may be, for which a man of honour and honestie may praise himselfe; to the end that by taking good heed and avoiding of that which in selfe-praife is so vaine and odious, we faile not to serve our turnes with the profit and commodity that may come thereby. Now of all others, most foolish is their praife who commend themselves to this end, that they would be praised of others; and such praise as this we hold most contemptible, for that it seemeth to proceed from ambition and an unreasonable appetite of vaine-glory onely: for like as those who have no other food to feed upon, be constrained to eat the flesh of their owne bodies against nature, which is the very extremity and end of famine; even so those that hunger after honour and praife, if they can not meet with others to praise them, fall to praise themselves; wherein their behaviour is unseemly and shameful, for that upon a love of vaine-glory they are desirous to make a supply and sufficiency from their owne selves; but yet when as they go not simply to worke nor seeke to be praised by themselves, but upon a certaine emulation and jealousie of other mens praises, they come to compare and oppose their owne deeds for to dim and darken the actions of others; then over and besides their vanity, they adde thereto envie and malice; for according to the common proverbe: He is curious and ridiculous, who setteth his foot in another mans daunce; but upon envie and jealousie to thrust a mans selfe betwene the praises of others, and to interrupt the same with his owne selfe-praife, is a thing that wee ought to beware of; and not onely so, but also to take heed that wee suffer not others at such a time to praise us, but gently to yeeld honour unto those who are worthy to be praised and honoured; and if peradventure, they be unworthy and deserve not the same, yet ought not wee to deprive them of the praises which are given unto them, by interposing our owne, but rather stand up against them; convince them openly, and prove by evident and pregnant reasons that there is no cause why they should be reputed so great, and be so highly honoured. As touching this point therefore, plaine and evident it is, that we ought not so to doe; howbeit, a man may praise himselfe without blame: first and formost, if he do it by way of his owne defence in answering to a slander raised, or an imputation charged upon him; like as *Pericles* did in *Thucydides*, where he uttereth these words: And yet you my masters of *Athenes* are angry with me, who may vaunt of my selfe to be such an one as need

need not to give place unto any whatsoever, either in foresight and knowledge of that which is behovefull to the common-wealth, or in eloquence and delivery thereof, or in love to the State, or in sincere integrity, free from all corruption, bribery and avarice, against which I stand invincible: for in speaking thus magnificently of himselfe in such a case, he did not onely avoid the blame and reproch of vanity, of arrogancy and presumptuous ambition, but also that which more is, he shewed withall his wisdom and greatnesse, yea, and the magnanimity of vertue, which was so farre from being humbled and dejected, that it rather conquered and held under hand, envie; in so much as others hearing such men speake in this wise, proceed not any farther nor be willing to judge and censure them, but are caried away and ravished with a certaine joy, yea and inspired (as it were) from heaven to heare such brave vanteries; namely, if the persons be constant and the reports which they make true, according as the effects which follow do testifie. The Thebanes verily (at what time as their capitaines were accused, for that when the terme of their government and magistracie, called *Basotarchia*, was expired, they returned not incontinently home, but made an invasion and entred in armes into *Laconia*, and dealt in the administration of affaires about the cite of *Messene*) hardly and with much ado obtained and quit *Pelopidas*, when he humbled himselfe and became a suppliant unto them for pardon: but contrariwise, when *Epaminondas* came and recounted in magnificent words those brave exploits which he had achieved in that voyage and at the same time, protesting in the ende that he was prest and readie to take his death, so that they would confesse and acknowledge, that murther 20 their minds and against their wills he had pilld and spoiled *Laconia*, repopled *Messene*, and reduced into a league and amitie with them all the cities of *Arcadia*, they had not the heart so much as to give their voices and suffrages in any sentence of condemnation against him, but departed out of the assembly, admiring the haughtie courage of the man, and rejoicing with mirth and laughter to heare him plead his cause with resolution. And therefore the speech of *Sthenelus* in *Homer* is not simply and altogether to be reprooved, when he saith:

*Pronounce I dare and it avow,*

*we better warriors be*

*In these daies than our fathers were*  
*by many a degree.*

30 If we call to minde and remember the precedent words a little before:

*Thou some of noble Tydeus*

*a wise and hardy knight,*

*How is it that thy heart doth pant,*

*for fewe when thou shouldst fight?*

*Why dost thou cast thine eie about,*

*and looke on everie side?*

*How thou mayst out of battell scape,*

*and dar'st not field abide.*

for it was not *Sthenelus* himselfe unto whom this sharpe and bitter speech was addressed, but he 40 replied thus in the behalfe of his friend whom he had thus reproched, and therefore so just a cause and so fit an occasion gave him libertie to speake thus bravely and boldly of himselfe. As for the citizens of *Rome*, they were offended & displeased much with *Cicero* praising himselfe so much as he did, and namely relating so often the woorthie deeds by him done against *Catiline*; but contrariwise, when *Scipio* said before them all in a publike assembly: That it was not meet and seemely for them to sit as judges upon *Scipio*, considering that by his meanes they were grown to that grandance as to judge all the world; they put chaplets of flowers upon their heads, and in this wise adorned, mounted up together with him into the temple of the Capitoll, for to sacrifice and render thanks unto *Jupiter*: and good reason both of the one and the other; for *Cicero* rehearsed his owne praife-worthy deeds for many times without any need enforcing him there- 50 to, onely to glorifie himselfe; but the present perill wherein the other stood, freed him from all hatred and envie, notwithstanding he spake in his owne praife. Moreover, this vanterie and glorious boasting of a mans selfe, is not befitting those onely who are accused or in trouble and danger of the law, but to as many also as be in adversitie rather than in prosperitie; for that it seemeth that these reach and catch (as it were) at glorie and take pleasure and joy therein, onely to graue and content therein their owne ambitious humor; whereas the other by reason of the qualitie of the time, being farre from all suspition of vaine glorie and ambition, doe plucke up and erect themselves upright against fortune, sustaining and upholding what they can the gene- 60

riofitie of their minds, avoiding as much as lieth in them that base conceit, to be thought for to beg commiseration and crave pittie, as if they would be moaned for their misadventures, and thereby bewray their abject hearts. For like as we take them for fooles and vaine-glorious fellows, who as they walke ordinarily, lift up themselves, and beare their heads and neckes aloft; but contrariwise, we praise and commend those who erect their bodies, and do all they can to put forth themselves, either in fight at sharpe, or in buffeting with fists; even so, a man who being overthrowen by adverse fortune, raiseth himselfe up againe upon his feet, and addresseth his whole might to make head,

*Like as the champion doth arise,  
Upon his hands to winne a prise.*

and in stead of shewing himselfe humble, suppliant and pittifull, by glorious words maketh a shew of braverie and haughtie courage, seemeth not thereby proude and presumptuous, but contrariwise, great, magnanimous and invincible. Thus in one place the poet *Homer* depainteth *Patroclus* modest and nothing at all subject to envie, when he had done any exploit fortunately and with valour; but at his death when he was ready to yeeld the ghost, he described him to speake bravely in this wise:

*If twentie such with all their might,  
Had met with me in open fight, &c.*

And *Phocion* who otherwise was alwaies meeke and modest, after that he saw himselfe condemned, gave all the world to understand his magnanimitie, as in many other things, so especially in this point, that he said unto one of those that were to suffer death with him, who made a pitious moane and great lamentation: How now man, what is that thou saiest? doth it not thee good at the heart to thinke that thou shalt die with *Phocion*? And verily, no lesse, but rather much more it is permitted to a man of State, who is injuriously dealt withall for to speake somewhat frankly of himselfe, namely unto those who seeme to be oblivious and unthankfull. Thus *Achilles* at other times rendred the glorie of fortunate successe in his affaires to the heavenly power of God, and spake modestly in this manner:

*That Jupiter would give us power and strength,  
Troy citie strongly wall'd to winne at length.*

But otherwise when indignities were offered unto him, and he unjustly wronged and abused, he sang another note, and displaid his tongue at large in anger, breaking out into these haughtie and brave words:

*With ships of mine well man'd with souldiours brave,  
By force of armes twelve citiees wonne I have.*

Allo:

*For why? approach they dare not neere to me,  
The brightnes of my morion for to see.*

For libertie of franke speech, being a part of justification and defence in law, is allowed to use great words for plea. And verily *Themistocles* according to this rule, who all the while that he performed the exploits of noble service in his owne countrey, never did or said ought that favoured of odious pride; yet when he once saw that the Athenians were full of him, and that they made account of him no more, forbore not to say unto them thus: What meane you my masters of *Athens* thus to disdain & be wearie of those at whose hands you receive so oftentimes benefites? In time of storme and tempest you flie to them for refuge, and shroud your selves in their protection as under the harbor and covert of a spreading tree; no sooner is the storme overblowne and the weather faire againe, but you are ready to give a twitch at them, and every one to pull and breake a branch thereof as you passe by. Thus you see how these men perceiving themselves otherwise injured, in their discontentment sticke not to rehearse their service and good deeds past and cast them in their teeth who are forgetfull thereof. But he that is blamed and suffreth a reproch for things well done, is altogether for to be excused and blameable, in case he set in hand to praise his owne deeds, forasmuch as he seemeth not reproch and upbraid any, but to answer onely in his own defence, & to justifie himselfe. Certes, this it was that gave unto *Demoisthenes* an honest and laudable libertie to speake for his owne behoofe; and he avoyded thereby all tedious satietie of his owne praises, which he used throughout that whole oration, entituled *Of the crowne*, wherein he gloried and vaunted of that which was imputed unto him as reprochable, to wit, the embassages in which he went, and the decrees which he had enacted as touching the warre. Moreover, not farre from these points above re-

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heard,

heard, the reverting of an objection by way of *Antithesis* may be placed, and caried with it a good grace; to wit, when the defendant doth proove and shew that the contrary to that where-with he is charged and accused, is wicked and dishonest: After which maner the orator *Lycurgus*, at *Athens* in his plea and answer to those who laid to his charge that he had given a piece of money to a sycophant for to stop his mouth & appease him: VVhat kinde of citizen (quoth he) do you take me for to be? who all this long time that I have dealt in the government and managing of State affaires among you, am challenged before you rather to have given than taken fil-ging of State affaires among you, am challenged before you rather to have given than taken fil-ver unjustly. Likewile *Cicero*, when *Metellus* laid unto him that he had undone and brought to confusion more men by his testimonie, than saved by his patronage and eloquence; And what 10 man is there (quoth he) who will not say by this, that there is more fidelitie in me, than force of utterance. Allo these places in *Demoisthenes*; And who would not justly have condemned me to die, if I had but once gone about in bare word to contaminate the honors & glorious titles that this citie hath? againe, And what (thinke ye) would these wicked persons have said, if whiles I discouerted particularly of these points, the citiees had fallen away and revolted: In sum, that whole oration throughout concerning the Crowne, most finely and wittily intersteth his owne praises among those oppositions & solutions which he alledged. Over and besides, it is woorth the noting and learning, as a most profitable point, how cunningly in the said oration, and how artificially he intermeddled with the speeches that he gave out of himselfe, the commendations also of the hearers, and thereby freed himselfe from the taint of envie, hatred, and selfe-love; namely in avowing how good and gracious the Athenians were to those of *Thebes*, how woorthily they demeaned themselves toward the Thebanes; what good turnes they had done to the Bryzantines, as also how beneficiall they had bene to the inhabitants of *Chersonesus*, lying withall, that himselfe was but their minister. For I assure you by this meane the hearer himselfe being secretly woon and gained ere he is aware by his owne praises, enterteineth more willingly and with greater pleasure the speech of the orator; well contented he is and pleased to heare the good deeds related by another which he hath done; and upon this joy of his there influeth incontinently an admiration and love of those, by whose meane hee hath achieved those acts. Heereupon *Epaminondus* one day in open place, when *Meneclides*, one of his envious and malicious adversaries mocked him for that he magnified and thought better of 30 himselfe than ever did king *Agamemnon*; Grand mercy, you my masters of *Thebes* (quoth he) with whom alone I overthrew in one day and subverted the whole dominion of the Lacedaemonians. Now forasmuch as the most part of men ordinarily milike in their hearts, and are mightily offended with one that praiseth himselfe, but fare not so against him that commendeth another; nay many times they are well pleased therewith, and ready to confirme such praises by their owne testimonies: some are wont to have this devise, namely, in taking their time and opportunity, to commend those who love, chuse, and do the selfe same things, and briefly who are of the like conditions, and given to the same humor with themselves, do winde and insinuate into the grace and favour of the hearer, and by such an occasion draw his heart unto them; for straightwaies he doth acknowledge in the speaker although he speaketh of another, the resemblance and similitude of the like vertue which deserveth the same praises: for like as he who reprocheth another man for those vices whereof himselfe is guiltie, doth hurt his owne person more than the party whom he seemeth to touch; even so good and honest men in yielding honor to those persons who are good, doe as much as make mention of themselves to such as are privie to their vertues, and know them well enough; inasmuch as presently they are ready to follow and second them with these and such like acclamations; And are not you also the same in every respect? After this sort *Alexander* in honouring *Hercules*; and *Androocpus* likewise in honouring *Alexander*, procured to themselves each one due honour from the semblable. Contrariwise *Dionysius* by mocking *Gelon*, and saying by allusion to his name; that he was *Gelos* indeed (that is to say) the Laughter and mockerie of *Sicilie*, perceived not how before hee 50 was aware, by the envie that he drew upon him himselfe, he overthrew the greatnes and dignitie of his owne puillance and signorie. A man of State therefore and a politician, ought to learne, observe and practise these rules even in other cases also. And as for those who otherwhiles are enforced to praise themselves, they shall cause this selfe-praise of theirs to be more tolerable and lesse subject to envie and hard conceit, in case they take not all to themselves, and attribute the whole to their owne worthinesse; but as if glorie were some heaive and weightie burthen, discharge one part thereof upon fortune, and another upon God; and therefore wisely said *Achilles* in *Homer*:

*Since that th' almightie Gods have given me grace,  
Mine enemy to overthrow in place.*

Well likewise did *Timoleon* at *Saracoe*, who upon his valiant and noble exploits dedicated an altar to *Bon-adventure*, and likewise consecrated an house to his good Angell. But best of all and most wisely did that *Pythen* the *Aenean*, who being arrived at *Athens* after he had murdered King *Cotys*, when the oratours strived avie one with another, who should extoll and set forth his praises most unto the people, and perceiving some to carrie an envious eye unto him, and be highly displeased with him; as he passed by, brake forth into these words: It was some God (quoth he) 6 yee Athenians that did this deed, as for my selfe, I did but lend my helping hand. Semblably, *Sylla* exempted his owne acts from envie, in giving alwaies the praise to his good fortune; in so much as in the end, he surmamed himselfe *Empephorus*, that is, lovely, fortunate, or *Venus* darling. For all men in manner would seeme to be vanquished rather by fortune, than conquered by vertue; for that they thinke the one to be a good, not pertinent to the conqueror, and the other a proper defect and imperfection of their owne, and which proceedeth from themselves: which is the reason by report, that the lawes of *Zalemus* wonderfully pleased the *Locrians*, for that he put into their heads and bare them in hand, that the goddesse *Minerva* appeared and came many times unto him; that she endited and taught him those lawes which he penned and gave unto them; finally, that there was nor one of them proceeding from his head, counsell and invention. Peradventure therefore necessarie it is to devise these and such like remedies, and lenitive medicines to meet with those persons, who are by nature fierce and envious; but to such as as be of the better sort, and of a modest and temperate disposition, it would not be impertinent and absurd to use certaine corrections of praises in this case: as for example; If one haply in our prefence fall to praise us for being eloquent, learned, rich, or in great reputation, to pray him not to give such reports of us, but rather for to commend us if we be good and bountifull, hurtful to none, and profitable to many; for in so doing, we seem not to confer praises upon our selves, but to transfer them; not to take pleasure in them that praise us, but rather to be grieved and displeased, that we are not praised for such things as we ought, nor as we should; as also to hide the worse qualities under the better, not so much willing and desirous to be praised, as to teach how it is meet to praise: for this manner of speech (neither with stone nor bricke have I fortified and walled this citie, but if you will needs know how I have 30 sensed it, you shall finde that I have furnished it with armor, horses, confederates and allies) seemeth to come neere and tend unto such a rule: yea and the saying of *Pericles* toucheth it neerer, for when the hower of his death now approached, and that he was to goe out of this world, his kinsfolke and familiar friends, weeping, wailing, and grieving thereat (as good reason was) called to minde and rehearsed the armies that hee had conducted, the expeditions which hee had made, his puissance that he had borne, as also how many victories he had achieved, what Trophies he had erected, what townes & cities he had conquered, and laid to the seignorie of the Athenians; all which he now should leave behind him: but he lifting up himselfe a little, reprieved and blamed them greatly, for relating and alledging those praises, which were common to manie, and whereof some were more due to fortune than to vertue; whiles they omitted and let 40 passe the greatest and most beautilfull commendation of all others, and that which truly and indeed properly belonged unto him: namely, that for his sake, there was never any Athenian that put on blacke or wore a mourning gowne: this example of his, giveth both unto an oratour if he be praised for his singular eloquence, meanes and occasion to transerre the praise unto his life and maners; and also to a warrior & generall capitaine, who is had in admiration for his martiall prowesse, experience, or fortunate successe in wars, to stand rather upon his clemencie and justice and thereof freely to discourse. And contrariwise againe, when a man hath excessive praises heaped upon him (as the manner commonly of many is, by way of flatterie to give those commendations which moove envie) meet it is to use such a speech as this:

*With gods in heaven above I have no share,  
To them therefore why dost thou me compare?*

But if thou knowest me aright, and takest me truly for such an one as I am, praise these good parts in me; that I am uncorrupt and not overtaken with gifts and bribery; that I am sober and temperate; that I am sensible, reasonable, full of equitie and humanitie. For the nature of envie, is willingly to yeeld unto him that refuseth the greater praises those that be lesse and more modest; neither depriveth she of true commendation those who will not admit and receive false and vaine praises: and therefore men thinke not much to honor those Kings and Princes who

who are unwilling to be stiled gods or the children of gods, but rather to be intituled either *Philadelphus*, that is, Kinde to brothers and sisters; or *Philometores*, that is, Loving to their mothers; or *Evergetes*, that is, Benefactors; or else *Theophilus*, that is, Deerely beloved of the gods; which are goodly and beautilfull denominations, meet for men and good princes: like as againe, those who hardly will endure them, that either in writing or speaking, attribute unto them the name of *Sophi*, that is, Sages or wise men, can well abide to heare those who name them *Philosophi*, that is, Lovers of wisdom; or such as say of them, that they profit in the study of wisdom, or give them such like attribute as is modest and not subject to envie; whereas these ambitious Rhetoricians and vaine-glorious Sophisters, who in their orations (to shew their learning) expect these and such like acclamations from their auditors: O divine and angel-like speech! O heavenly and magnificently spoken; lose withall this commendation, as to be said for to have delivered their minde modestly, courteously, and as becometh civil men. Certes, like as they who be loth and take heed to offend and hurt them that be beleevied or otherwise given to the paine and inflammation of them, do mingle among the gallant and lively colours, some dusky shadows; even so, some there be, who in rehearsing their owne praises not altogether resplendent & cleere without any mixture at all, but intermeddled with some imperfections, defects and light faults among, by that meanes discharge themselves of the heave load of envie and hatred. Thus *Epicurus* in *Homer*, giving out glorious words of his wrestling and buffet-fight, vaunting bravely of his valour,

20 *As if he would his teene and anger wreake  
Upon him, and with fists his bones all breake.*

said withall:

*Is't not enough that herein I do want?*

*For other skill in combat I do want.*

But haply this man is woorthy to be mocked and laughed at, who for to excuse his arrogant braverie of a wrestler and champion, bewraied and confessed that otherwise he was but a fearful coward; whereas contrariwise that man is of judgement, civil also and gracious besides, who alledgeth against himselfe some oblivion or ignorance, some ambitious spirit, or els a desire to heare and learne the Sciences and other knowledge, like as *Ulysses* when he said:

30 *But lo my minde desirous was  
To hearken and give care,  
I will dmy mates me to unlose,  
That I might go more neare.*

And againe in another place;

*Although much better it had beene,  
Yet would I not beleve:  
But see his person, and then trie  
If gifts he would me give.*

To be short, all sorts of faults, so they be not altogether dishonest and over-bafe, if they be set 40 unto praises, rid them of all envie and hatred; and many other there be, who interposing a confession of poverie, want of experience, yea, and (beleeve me) their base parentage, among their praises, cause them thereby to be lesse odious and envied. Thus *Agathocles*, as he sat drinking unto young men out of golde and silver plate right curiously wrought, commanded other vessels of stone, earthen and potters worke to be set upon the table, saying unto them: Lo (quoth he) what it is to perleve in travell, to take paines, and adventure valiantly: for wee in times past made those pots, (pointing to the earthen vessell) but see, now we make these, (shewing the plate of golde and silver: and verily it seemed that *Agathocles* (by reason of his base birth and poverie) was brought up in some potters forge, who afterward became the absolute monarch (almost) of all *Sicilie*. Thus it appeareth what remedies may be applied outwardly, to avoide 50 envie, if a man be forced to speake of himselfe: other meanes there are besides, inherent (after a sort) even in them who be in this wise praised; and such *Cato* made use of, when he said, that he was envied, because he neglected his owne affairs, and sat up watching whole nights for the good and safetie of his country. Like to which is this speech:

*What wisdom thinke you was in me,  
Who cleane exempt from care,  
From charge and travell, like some one,  
Who in the armie were.*

*A plaine and common souldiour  
might enjoy within the host  
My fortune with the wise of  
them all that meddle most?*

as also this other:

*I doubt and feare, that of my labours past,  
The thanks is gone, and caried with a blast;  
And yet those paines that now presented be  
As flesh, reject unmeth I will from me.*

For men ordinarily beare envie unto those who seeme to acquire glory *gratia*, without any cost, to and to come by vertue easily, like as if they purchased house or land for a little or nothing; whereas seldome or never they envie such as have bought the same very deare, with many travells and great dangers. And forasmuch as we ought in praising of our selves to effect not only this; that we offend not the hearers thereby nor procure their envie, but endeavour also to profit them and doe them good, as if we seemed not to aime at our selfe-praise, but to shoo at some other thing: in so doing consider first and formost when a man is in a vein of praising himselfe, whether he may do it by way of exhortation, to kindle a zeale, and exercise a kinde of emulation and strive for glory in the hearers; after the example of *Nestor*, who in recounting his owne prowesse and valiant service, encouraged *Patroclus* and the other nine gallants and brave knights, to enter combat and single fight with *Hector*: for an exhortation which hath word and deed to meet together, carrying with it example, with a familiar zeale and imitation, is wonderfull quicke and lively, it pricketh, provoketh and stirreth exceedingly, and together with a resolute courage and ardent affection, it carie with it the hope of compassing things very accessible and in no wise impossible: and therefore of the three renowned daunces and quires in *Lut-demon*, one which consisted of olde men, chaunted thus:

*The one was, when we gallants were,  
Toughfull and hardie, void of feare.*

another, of children, sung in this wise:

*And we one day shall be both tall and strong,  
And farre surpass, if that we live so long.*

the third, namely of yong men, had this dittie:

*But we are come to proesse, and now at best,  
Trie who that will, to fight we are now prest.*

wherein the law-giver, who instituted these daunces, did wisely and politickely, to propose unto yong men such familiar examples and at hand, even by those things that were done and executed. Yet nevertheless, it were not amisse, otherwhiles to vaunt and to speake highly and magnifically of ones selfe, for to daunt, beat downe, repress, and keepe (as it were) under hand, a bragging and audacious fellow, like as *Nestor* himselfe did againe in another place:

*Conversed have I in my daies,  
With men of better deed  
Than you in wis, and yet disclaime  
they never would my reed.*

Sensibly said *Aristotle* unto king *Alexander*: That lawfull it was and becomming not onely for those to have an haughtie minde, who had many subjects under them at their commands; but such also as held true opinions as touching the gods. And verily these points are commendous for us otherwhiles, even in regard of our enemies, foes, and evill willers, according to that verse in *Homer*:

*Children they are of wretched fires,  
and boyne to misadventure,  
Whose lucke it is my force of armes  
in battell to encounter.*

*Agesilaus* also, having speech upon a time as touching the King of *Persia*, who usually was called the Great Monarch: And wherein (quoth he) is that king greater than my selfe, if he be not more iust and righteous. *Epaminondas* likewise replied upon the Lacedæmonians, who had framed a long accusation against the Thebans: Well it is (quoth he) and a good turne that we yet have made you give over your accustomed short speech. Thus much of those rules which concerne either our private and particular evill willers, or our publike enemies.

As for our friends and fellow-citizens, we may likewise by using fitly in time and place, and as the case requirerth haughty language, not onely take downe and cause those to vaile bonet who are over-proude and audacious; but also on the other side raise up and encourage such, as be dismayed, astonied and beyond measure timorous. For *Cyrus* also in the mids of battell and dangers of warre was wont to speake bravely, but else where not. And *Antigonus* the younger or second of that name, who otherwise was in words sober, modest, and nothing proude; yet in a battell at sea which he fought neere the isle *Cos*; when one of his friends about him said a little before the medley began: See you not sir how many more ships our enemies have than wee? Why (quoth he) for how many ships doest thou reckon me? And it should seeme that *Homer* was of the same minde and meant so much, when he feigneth that *Ulysses* seeing his people affrighted with the hideous noise and fearfull tempest that issued out of the gulfes *Charybdis*, called to their remembrance his subtil engine and singular valour, in saying thus unto them:

*My friends and mates, this accident  
is not so dangerous,  
As when that monstrous Cyclops he,  
a giant furious,  
Us turn'd and coust with mightie force  
about his hollow eare,  
Tet thence we chas'd him by my wis  
advice, and provesse brave.*

For this manner of praising proceedeth not from a glozing vaine-glorious orator, nor a vaning Sophister, nor from one that seeketh applaus, and clapping of hands; but becommeth a personage who pawneth unto his friends, as a gage of assurance and confidence his owne vertue and sufficiency. For a matter this is of great importance & consequence tending to safety in dangerous times, to wit, the opinion, reputation and affiance, that we may have of a man in authoritie, and the experienced prowesse of a capitaine. Now albeit I have sufficiently shewed before, that it is neither convenient nor seemely for a man of State and honour to oppose himselfe against the glorie and praise of another; yet nevertheless when the case so standeth, that a false and perverse commendation doth bring hurt and damage, and by example inferreth a dangerous imitation of evill things, together with a wicked purpose and leawd intention in matters of great moment, it were not amisse to repulse the same backe, or rather to divert and turne away the hearer unto better things, and open unto him the difference: for in mine advice a man may well take content and delight, to see that men abstaine willingly from vice, when they perceive it to be blamed and reprooved; but in lieu of condemning it, if they heare it commended, and if over and besides the pleasure and profit that commonly it seemeth to bring with it, it be held also in honor and reputation, there is not a nature so happie and blessed, nor so strong and stout withall, but free is able to conquer it: and therefore a man of policie and government ought to make warre and fight, not so much against the praises of persons, as of things, in case they be corrupt and naught: for these they be that spill and marre our manners, by reason that with such praises there entereth commonly a will to imitate and follow such dishonest and foule actions, as if they were good and seemely: but then most of all are they detected what they be, and do appeere in their colours, when they are compared in opposition with true praises indeed. Thus it is reported, that *Theodorus* the Tragædian actor, said upon a time unto *Satyrus* a Comical player: That it was no great marvell to make the spectators to laugh, but rather a matter of wonder to cause them for to weepe and crie: but (I suppose) a sage and wise philosopher may well say thus unto the same *Theodorus*: Nay (good sir) it is not so great a matter to see men weeping and wailing, but rather to still and stay their sorrow and lamentation, were an admirable thing: for if a man praise himselfe in this sort, he profiteth the hearer and changeth his judgement. Thus did *Zeno* speake of the great number of *Theophrastus* his scholars, who resorted unto his schoole: His quire (quoth he) is greater than mine, but yet mine accordeth better and maketh the sweeter harmonie. *Phocion* likewise, when as *Leophanes* still flourished and bare a great name, being demanded by the Rhetoricians who used to make solemne orations, what good himselfe had ever done to the weale-publike, answered them in this manner: None other (quoth he) but this, that all the whiles I was Lord General, and had the conduct of an army, none of all you made ever any funerall oration, but interred all your citizens who departed this life in the sepulchers and monuments of your ancestors. As for *Crates* when he read these verses containing the Epitaph of *Sardanapalus*:

*What*



*What hath gone downe my throat I have,  
my wanton sport remains,  
Which Ladie Venus did vouchsafe,  
or else I count but vaine.*

wrote thus againe verie wittily and in a pleasant conceit:

*What during life I studied haue  
and learned, is my gaine,  
The skill which muses then me gaue,  
and nought else I reaine.*

for such manner of praise as this, is excellent, honest, and profitable, teaching men to love, esteeme and admire such things as be commodious and expedient, and not those that are vaine and superfluous; and therefore this advertisement ought to be ranged with the rest before specified as touching the subject argument now in question.

It remaineth now by order and course according as the present theame in hand requireth, and our discourse admonisheth us, to declare how every man may avoid this importunate and unseasonable selfe-praise: for surely to speake of a mans selfe, having selfe-love as a commodious fort from whence it issueth, seemeth many times to lay wait and give the assault even unto them who are of all others most modest and farthest from vain-glorie. And like as one precept of health there is, to flie and shunne altogether unholisome tracts and contagious, or at leastwise to take heed of them most carefully if a man be in them; even so there be certaine dangerous times and slipperie places which one shall slide and fall into upon the least occasion in the world, by rashly speaking of himselfe. For first and foremost those who are by nature ambitious, when they heare another man praised, commonly (as it hath bene said before) advance forward to talke of themselves, and then anon this humour of selfe-praise being once provoked and tickled (as it were) with an itch, a certaine desire and furious appetite of glorie which hardly can be held in, taketh hold of them, especially if the partie who is praised before them be but equall or inferior to them in merit: for like as they who are hungrie have the greater appetite, and are provoked more to eate when they see others fall to their meate before them; even so the praise of another inflameth the jealousy of those who be given to the greedy desire of honor & glorie. Secondly, the recital and discourse of those things which have bene happily executed, and to a mans minde, drive many men into a brave vaunting, for the joy that they conceive in relating the fame: for after they be once fallen into a narration of their victories achieved in warre, or the enterprises which they have fortunately managed in their soveraigne government of State, or their actions and affaires performed under other chiefe rulers and commanders, or of the speeches which they have made to great purpose and good successe and commendation, they cannot containe and hold themselves: to which kind of vaunting & speaking of ones selfe, we see those are most subiect who are warriors and serve especially at sea; likewise this happeneth usually unto such who are come from the courts of mighty princes, or from those places where there hath bene exploited some great service: for in making mention of princes and grand Seigneours, they can not chuse but interlace ordinarily among, some speeches which those potentates have delivered to their commendation; and therein they do not thinke that they praise themselves, but recite onely the commendable testimonies that others have given out of them: and verily such as these, be of opinion that the hearers perceive them not, when they recount the embracements, greetings, salutations, and favours which kings, emperours, and such great potentates have bestowed upon them; as if forsooth they rehearsed not their owne selfe-praises, but the courtesies and demonstrations of the bountie and humanitie of others; whereof every one of us ought most fully and warily to looke unto our selves when we praise any one, that the said praises be pure and sincere, void of suspicion, that we do not respect & aime at an oblique selfe-love, & speech of our owne selves, for feare lest we make the commendation of *Petrarchus*, as it is in *Homer*, a covert, colour and pretence of our owne praise, and by commending others cunningly, praise our owne selves. Moreover, all the sort of blames and reprehensions of others, are otherwhiles very dangerous, causing those to goe out of the way and stumble, who are never so little sicke of vain-glorie; into which maladie old folke many times incur, and namely when they breake out into the reprofe of their youngsters, finding fault with their lewd manners and fashions, for then in blaming others, they fall to magnifying themselves, as if in times past they had done wonders, in comparison of those things which now they condemne: and verily such as they be we ought to give place unto, in case they be not onely for age, but

also in regard of their vertue and reputation venerable: for this maner of rebuke is not unprofitable, but breedeth in those who are chastised by them, a great desire and emulation withall to attaine unto the like place of honour and dignitie. But as for our selves we ought to take heed and beware how we trip or tread awry in this case; for the maner of blaming our neighbours, being as it is otherwise very odious and almost intolerable, and which hath need of great caution and warinesse; he that medleth his proper praise with the blame of another, and leeketh glorie by his infamy, cannot chuse but be exceeding hatefull and unsupportable, as if he hunted after renoume and honour by the reprochfull and dishonorable parts of his neighbours. Furthermore, as they who naturally are enclined and disposed to laughter, are to avoid and decline the ticklings and soft handling in those parts of the body that are most smooth, sleeke and tender, which soone yeelding and relenting to those light touches, stirre up and provoke immediately that passion of laughing; even so this caveat and advertisement would be given unto such as passionately be given to this desire of glory, that they abstaine from praising themselves, at what time as they be collauded by other: for a man that heareth himselfe praised, ought indeed to blush for shame, and not with a bold and shamelesse face to hearken thereto, nay he should doe well to reprove those that report some great matter of him, rather then to finde fault for saying too little, and not praising him sufficiently; a thing it is that many men doe, who are ready of themselves to prompt and suggest, yea and to inferre other magnanimous facts and prowesses, so far forth that they marre all, atwell the praise that they give themselves, as the laudable testimoniall of others. And I assure you many there be who flattering themselves, tickle and puffe up their owne conceits with nothing els but winde; others againe upon a malicious intent, laying some petie praise as it were a bait for them to bite at, draw them on thereby to fall into their owne commendation: some also you shall have who to that purpose will keepe a questioning with them, & propose certaine demands for the nonce to traine them within their toile, and all to have the more matter that they might soone after laugh at. Thus in *Menander* the glorious foldier made good sport, being demanded of one

DEMAND. *Good sir how came you by this wound and scar?*

SOLDIER. *By dint of iavelin lanced from a far.*

DEMAND. *But how? for gods sake how? let us all know:*

30 SOLDIER. *As I a wall did scale I caught this blow,  
But well I see whiles that I do my best  
This to relate, these make of me a jest.*

And therefore in all these cases, a man ought to bee as warie as possible hee can, that he neither himselfe breake out in his owne praises, nor yet bewray his weaknesse and folly by such interrogatoies; and that hee may in the best and most absolute manner take heed thereto, and save himselfe from such inconveniences, the readiest way is to observe others neerely that love to bee praisers of themselves; namely to call to minde and represent unto their owne remembrance how displeasing and odious a thing it is to all the world, and that there is or can be no other speech so unfavory, tedious and irksome to heare: for suppose that we are not able to say that we suffer any other harme at their hands who praise themselves, yet we do all that we can to avoid such speech; we make shift to be delivered from it, and hasten all that we may to breath our selves, as if it were an heavy burden which of it selfe and the owne nature overchargeth us, in so much as it is troublesome and intolerable even to flatterers, parasites, and needy snell-fasts in that necessitie and indigence of theirs, to heare a rich man, a prince, a governor, or a king to praise himselfe: nay they give out that they pay the greatest portion of the shot, when they must have patience to give care to such vanities; like unto that jest in *Menander*, who breaketh out into these words,

*He killeth me when at his boord I sit*

*And with his cheere I fatter am no whit,*

50 *But rather pine away, you may be sure,*

*When such bald jests to heare I must endure.*

*And yet as wise and warlike as they seeme,*

*A bragging foole and lewd for I know deeme.*

For considering that we are wont to say thus, not onely against foldiers and glorious upstarts newly enriched, whose maner is to make much of their painted sheaths, powring out brave and proud discourses; but also against sophisters, rhetoricians, and philosophers, yea and great captains, puffed up with arrogancy and presumption, and speaking bigge words of themselves: If

we would call to remembrance that a mans owne proper praises be accompanied alwaies with the dispraises of others, and that the end commonly of such vaine-glory is shame and infamie; also, that tediousnesse unto the hearers, is (as *Demosthenes* saith) the reward, and not any opinion to be reputed such as they say, we would be more sparing and forbear to speake so much of our selves, unless some greater profit and advantage might afterwards grow either to us or to the hearers in place.



## WHAT PASSIONS AND MALADIES BE WORSE, THOSE OF THE SOULE, OR THOSE OF THE BODIE?

### The Summarie.



*His present question upon which Plutarch hath framed this declamation, wherof there remaineth extant in our hands but one little parcell, hath bene of long time discussed and debated among men; the greater is our damage and detriment, that we have heere no better direction, nor a more ample resolution of it by so excellent a philosopher as he was: but seeing that this losse can not be recovered, let us seeke for the clearing of all this matter in other authors; but principally in those, who search deeply to the verie bottom, for to discover the source of all the maladies of the soule, instead of such writers who have treated of morall philosophie, according to the doctrine and light of nature, onely accompanied with precepts out of her schoole, and have not touched the point but superficially, as being ignorant what is originall and hereditarie corruption; what is sinne; how it entred first into the world; what are the greatest impressions, assaults, effects, and what is the end and reward thereof. But to come unto this fragment, our author after he had shewed that man of all living creatures is most miserable, declareth wherein these humane miseries ought to be considered; and prooveth withall, that the diseases of the soule are more dangerous than those of the body, for that they be more in number, and the same exceeding different, harder to be known and incurable, as evidently it is to be seen in effect; that those who are afflicted with such maladies, have their judgement depraved and overturned, refusing remedie with the losse of rest and repose, and a singular pleasure which they take to discover their unquietness, anxietie and miserie.*

## WHAT PASSIONS AND MALADIES BE WORSE, THOSE OF THE SOULE OR THOSE OF THE BODIE?



*Omer having viewed and considered very well the sundry sorts of living creatures mortall, compared also one kind with another, as well in the continuance as the conversation and maner of their life, so concluded in the end with this exclamation,*

*Lo how of creatures, all on earth  
which walke and draw their mind,  
More miserable none there are  
nor wretched than mankind.*

*attributing unto man this unhappie soveraigntie, that he hath the superiority in all miseries whatsoever: but we setting this downe*

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for a supposition granted already, that man canie the victorie, and surpasseth all others for his infortunitie, and is already declared and pronounced the most unhappie wretch of all living creatures, will set in hand to compare him with his owne selfe, in a certaine conference of his proper calamities that follow him; and that by dividing him, not in vaine and unfruitfully, but very pertinently and to good purpose, into the soule and the bodie, to the end that wee may learne and know thereby whether we live more miserable in regard of our soules, or our selves, that is to say, our bodies: for a disease in our bodie is engendred by nature; but vice and sinne in the soule is first an action, but afterwards becommeth a passion thereof: so that it is no small consolation, but maketh much for the contentment of our minde, to know that the worke is curable, and the lighter is that which can not be avoided.

The fox in *Aesope* pleading upon a time against the leopard, as touching the varietie of colours in their skins, after that the leopard had shewed her bodie, which to the eie and in outward apparence was well marked & belet with faire spots, whereas the foxes skin was tawny, soule and ill-favoured to see to: But you (quoth he) sir Judge, if you looke within, shall finde me more spotted and divers coloured than that leopard there; meaning the craft and subtiltie which he had, to turne and change himselfe in divers sorts, as need required; after the same maner let us say within our selves: O man, thy body breedeth and bringeth forth many maladies and passions naturally of it selfe, many also it receiveth and enterreineth coming from without, but if thou wilt anatomize and open thy selfe, thou shalt finde within, a save, an ambrie, nay a storehouse and treasure (as *Democritus* saith) of many evils and maladies, and those of divers and sundry sorts, not entering and running in from abroad, but having their originall sources springing out of the ground, and home-bred, the which, vice abundant, rich and plenteous in passions putteth forth. Now, whereas the diseases that possesse the body and the flesh, are discovered and knownen by their inflammations and red colour, by pulses also or beating of the arteries, and namely, when the visage is more red or pale than customably it is, or when some extraordinary heat or lassitude, without apparent cause, bewraith them: contrariwise, the infirmities and maladies of the soule are hidden many times unto those that have them, who never thinke that they be sicke and ill at ease; and in this regard worse they be, for that they deprive the patients of the sense and feeling of their sicknesse: for the discourse of reason, whiles it is sound and whole, feelleth the maladies of the bodie; but as for the diseases of the soule, whiles reason herselfe is sicke, she hath no judgement at all of that which she suffereth, for the selfe same that should judge is diseased; and we are to deeme and esteeme, that the principall and greatest malady of the soule is follie, by reason whereof vice, being remediless and incurable in many, is cohabitant in them, liveth and dieth with them: for the first degree and very beginning of a cure, is the knowledge of a disease, which leadeth and directeth the patient to seeke for helpe; but he who will not beleeve that he is amisse or sicke, not knowing what he hath need of, although a present remedie were offered unto him, will refuse and reject the same. And verily, among those diseases which afflict the bodie, those are counted worst which take a man with a privation of sense; as lethargies, intolerable head-ach, or phrenesies, epilepsies or falling-evils, apoplexies and fevers-ardent; for these burning agues many times augment their heat so much, that they bring a man to the losse of his right wits, and so trouble the senses, as it were in a musickall instrument, that

*They stirre the strings at secret root of hart,  
Which touched should not be, but lie apart.*

which is the reason that practitioners in physicke desire and wish in the first place, that a man were not sicke at all, but if hee be sicke, that hee be not ignorant and senselesse altogether of his disease; a thing that ordinarily befalleth to all those who be sicke in minde: for neither witlesse fooles, nor dissolute and loose persons, ne yet those who be unjust and deale wrongfully, thinke that they do amisse and sinne; nay, some of them are persuaded that they do right well. Never so was there man yet, who esteemed an ague to be health, nor the phthisicke or consumption to be a good plight and habit of the bodie, nor that the gout in the feet was good food to a man's hip, ne yet that to be ruddy and pale or yellow, was all one; yet you shall have many who are diseased in minde, to call hastines and choler, valiance; wanton love, amitie; envie, emulation; and cowardise, warie prudence. Moreover, they that be bodily sicke, send for the physicians (because they know whereof they stand in need) for to heale their diseases; whereas the other avoid and shun the sage philosophers; for they thinke verily that they do well when they fault most. upon this reason we holde, that the ophthalmie, that is to say, the inflammation of bloud-shotten eies, is a

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lesse maladie than *Mania*, that is to say, rage and furious madnesse; and that the gout in the feet is nothing so bad as the phrensie, which is an inflammation or impostume bred in the braines; for the one of these patients finding himself diseased, crieth out for paine, & calleth for the physician, and no sooner is he come, but he sheweth him his diseased eie for to dresse and anoint, he holdeth forth his veine for to be opened, & yeeldeth unto him his head for to be cured; whereas you shall heare ladie *Agave* in the Tragædies, so farre transported out of all sense and understanding (by reason of her raging fit) that shee knew not those persons which were most deare and entire unto her; for thus the laith:

*This little one here newly kil'd,  
And cut in pieces in the field,  
From hills we bring to dwelling place,  
How happy, ô, hath become our chace!*

As for him who is sicke in bodie, presently he yeeldeth thereto, he laies him downe upon his pallet, or taketh his naked bed, he catcheth himselfe all that he can, and is content and quiet all the while that the physician hath him in cure; but if peradventure he tumble and tosse in his bedde, fling and cast off his clothes, by reason that his bodie is tormented with some grievous hot fit, no looner stirreth he never so little, but one or other that standeth or sitteth by to tend him, is ready to say gently unto him:

*Poore soule, be quiet, feare none ill,  
Deare heart, in bed see thou lie still.*

he staith and keepeth him downe, that he shall not start and leape out of his bed: but contrariwise, those that be surpris'd with the passions of the soule, at such a time be most busie, then they be least in repose and quiet; for their violent motions be the causes moving their actions, and their passions are the vehement fits of such motions: this is the cause that they will not let the soule to be at rest, but even then when as a man hath most need of patience, silence and quiet retreat, they draw him most of all abroad into the open aire; then are discovered soonest his cholericke passions, his opinionative and contentious humors, his wanton love and his grievous sorrowes, enforcing him to commit many enormities against the lawes, and to speake many words unseasonably, and not befitting the time.

Like as therefore much more perillous is the tempest at sea, which impeacheth and putteth backe a ship, that it can not come into the harbour to ride at anchor, than that which will not suffer it to get out of the haven and make faile in open sea; even so those tempestuous passions of the soule are more dangerous which will not permit to be at rest, nor to settle his discourse of reason once troubled, but overturneth it upside downe, as being disurnished of pilots and cables, not well ballasted in the storme, wandering to and fro without a guide and steersmen, carried mager into rash and dangerous courses, so long, untill in the end it falleth into some shipwracke, and where it overthroweth the whole life, in such sort that in regard of these reasons and others semblable, I conclude, that woofe it is to be soule-sicke than diseased in bodie; for the bodies being sicke, suffer onely, but the soules if they be sicke, both suffer and doe also amisse. To prove this, what neede we further to particularize and alledge for examples many other passions, considering that the occasion of this present time is sufficient to admonish us thereof, and to refresh our memorie? See you not this great multitude and preasse of people thrusting and thronging here about the Tribunall and common place of the citie; they are not all assembled hither to sacrifice unto the Tutelar gods, Protectors of their native countrey, nor to participate in common the same religion and sacred ceremonies of divine services; they are not all met heere together for to offer an oblation unto *Jupiter Astræus*, out of the first fruits of *Lydia*, and to celebrate and solemnize in the honor of *Bacchus*, during these holy nights, his festivall revils with daunces, masks, and mummeries accustomed: but like as by yearly access and anniversary revolutions, the forcible vigor of the pestilence returneth for to irritate and provoke all *Asia*; so they resort hither to entertaine their suits and processes in law to follow their pleas; and a world here is of affaires, like to many brookes and riverets which run all at once into one channell and maine streame; so they are met in the same place, which is pestered and filled with an infinite multitude of people, to hurt themselves and others. From what fevers or colde, ague-fits, proceed these effects? from what tensions or remissions, augmentations or diminutions? from what distemperature of heat, or overspreading of cold humours comes all this? If you aske of everie severall cause here in suite, as if they were men and able to answer you from whence it arose, how it grew, and whereupon it came and first began? you shall

shall finde that one matter was engendred, by some wilfull and proud anger; another proceeded from a troublesome and litigious spirit; and a third was caused by some unjust desire and unlawful lust.



## THE PRECEPTS OF WEDLOCKE.

The Summarie.

**W**E have heere a mixture, and medley of rules for married folke, who in the persons of *Pollianus* and *Eurydice*, are taught their mutuall duty: upon which argument needlesse is it to discourse at large, considering that the whole matter is set out particularly, and tendeth to this point: That both at the beginning, in the sequell also and continuation of marriage, man and wife ought to assist, support, and love one another with a single heart and affection, farre removed from disdainfull pride, violence, vanitie, and sinfulness; the which is specificd and comprised in 45. articles; howbeit in such sort, that there be some of those precepts, which favour of the corruption of those times, bewraying the insufficiency of humane wisdom, unlesse it be lightened with Gods truth. We see also in this Treatise more particular advices and admonitions appropriate to both parties, touching their devoir as well at home as abroad; and all enriched with notable similitudes and excellent examples. In summe, if these precepts following be well weighed and practised, they are able to make mans life much more easie and commodious than it is. But *Plutarch* sheweth sufficiently by the thirtieth rule, how hard a matter it is to retaine each one in their severall duties; and that in manner all doe regard and looke upon things with another eie, than they ought. How ever it be, those persons whom vertue hath linked and joined together in matrimonie, may finde here whereby to profit; and so much the more for that they have one lesson, which naturall equitie and conscience putteth in minde of everie day, if they will enter never so little into themselves, which being joined with the commandments of the heavenly wisdom, it can not be but husband and wife shall live in contentment and blessed estate.

## THE PRECEPTS OF WEDLOCKE.

*PLUTARCH* to *POLLIANUS* and *EURYDICE*, sendeth greeting.



**A**FTER the accustomed ceremoniall linke of marriage in this countrey, which the Priestresse of *Ceres* hath put upon you, in coupling you both together in one bed-chamber, I suppose that this discourse of mine, comming as it doth to favorize and second this bond and conjunction of yours, in furnishing you with good lessons and wife nuptiall advertisements, will not be unprofitable, but found, verie fitting and conformable to the customarie wedding song observed in these parts. The musicians among other tunes that they had with the haue-boies, used one kind of note which they called *Hippotharos*, which is as much to say as Leape-mare; having this opinion that it stirred and provoked stallions to cover mares. But of many beautifull and good discourses which philosophic affordeth unto us, one there is which deserveceth no lesse

to be esteemed than any other, by which these seeming to enchant and charme those who are come together to live all the daies of their life in mutuall societie, maketh them to be more bosome, kinde, tractable, and pliable one to the other. Therefore I have made a certaine collection of such rules and precepts which your selves have heard already oftentimes, being both of you trained up and nourished in the studie of philosophie; and reduced them all in few words to certaine principall heads and articles, to the end that they might be more easily remembered: the which I send as a common present to you both, beseeching withall, the Muses that they would vouchsafe in your behalfe, and for your owne sake to assist and accompanie the goddesse *Venus*; forasmuch as their office is to make a good consonance and accord in marriage and house-keeping, by the meanes of reason and harmonie philosophicall, no lesse than to set in tune a lute or harpe, or any muscalle instrument.

1 And to begin withall: This is the reason that our auncients ordeined, that the image of *Venus* should be placed jointly with that of *Mercurie*, as giving us thereby to understand, that the delight and pleasure of marriage, had need especially to be maintained with good language and wife speeches: they used to set also with these two images, the Graces, and Goddesse of Eloquence *Ladie Pithe*, that is, Perswasion, intending thereby that those folke whom the bond of matrimonic had linked together, might obtaine what they desired one at the others hand gently and by faire meanes, not by debate, chiding and brawles.

2 *Solon* gave order and commanded that the new-wedded bride should eate of a quince before that she came in bed with her bridegrome; signifying covertly in mine opinion by this darkest ceremony, that first and above all, the grace proceeding from the mouth, to wit, the breath and the voice, ought to be sweete, pleasant, and agreeable in everie respect.

3 In the countrey of *Beotia*, the custome was upon the wedding day when the nuptiall vaile was put over the bride, for to set also upon her head a chaplet made of wilde preckie *Spirack* branches, for that this plant out of a most sharpe and pricking thorne, putteth forth a most pleasant and delectable fruit; even so, the wedded wife in case her husband do not reject and flie her companie, for the first difficulties and troublesome inconveniences incident to marriage, shall bring unto him afterwards a sweete and amiable societie; but they that can not endure at first the jarres and quarrels of their young wives, whom they married virgins, may for all the world be resembled to those who give away ripe grapes from themselves to others, because they so be fowre before they are ripe; semblably, many new wedded-wives, who take a disdaine to their husbands by reason of some debates and encounters at the first, doe much like unto those who having abidden the sting of the Bee, cast away the honie-combe out of their hands. It behooveth therefore new-married folke, to take heed especially in the beginning, that they avoid all occasions of dissention and offence giving; considering this with themselves, and seeing daily that the pieces of wooden vessels which are newly joined and glued together, at the first are soone disjoined, and go asunder againe upon the least occasion in the world, but after that in continuance of time the joint is strongly settled and soundly confirmed, a man shall hardly part and separate one piece from another with fire or yron edged tooles.

4 And like as fire kindleth soone & catcheth a flame if it meet with light stubble, chaffe, or the haire of an hare, but it quickly goeth out againe, if there be not put thereto some matter or fewell anon, which may both hold in and also maintaine and feede the flame; even so, we are to thinke that the love of young-wedded persons, which is enflamed and set on fire by youth, and the beawtie of the bodie onely, is not firme and durable, unlesse it be surely founded upon the conformitie of good and honest maners, and take hold of wisedome, whereby it may engender a lively affection and reciprocally disposition one toward the other.

5 Fishes are soone caught and taken up by baits made of empoysoned paste, or such like medicines, but their meat is naught and dangerous to be eaten; semblably, those women who compound certaine love drinckes, or devise other charmes and sorceries for to give their husbands, and thinke by such allurements of pleasure to have the hand and command over them, it is all to nothing, that afterwards in their life together they shall find them to be blockish, foolish, & senseless companions. Those men whom *Cree* the famous sorceresse enchanted with hir witchcraft, did her no pleasure, neither served they her in any stead, being transformed (as they were) into swine and asses; whereas the loved and affected entirely and exceedingly *Ulysses*, an ingenious man and who conversed wisely with her; but such wives as had rather bee mistresses and over-rule their doltish husbands, than obey them that be wife & men of understanding, may very properly be compared unto them, who chooseth rather to leade and conduct the blind, than to be

guided

guided by those that see, and to follow them that have knowledge. These women will never believe that *Pasiphaë* being a Kings wife loved a bull, notwithstanding they see some wives that can not endure their husbands, if they be any thing austere, grave, sober, and honest, but they abandon and give themselves over more willingly to accompanie with such as be composed altogether of luxurious loosenesse, of filthy lust and voluptuousnesse, like as if they were dogs or goats.

6 Some men there be so tender, feeble, and effeminate, that being not able to mount up their horse-backes as they stand, teach them to stoupe and rest upon their knees, that they may get upon them; and even so, you shall finde divers husbands, who having espoused rich wives and defended of noble houses, never studie to make them better, but keepe downe their wives and hold them under, being perswaded that they shall rule them the better when they are thus humbled and brought low; whereas indeed they should as well maintaine the dignitie of their wives, as regard and keepe the just stature and height of their horses, as well in the one as the other, make use of the bridle.

7 We see that the moone, the farther that she is from the sunne, the brighter she shineth and is more cleere, and when she approacheth neere unto his raies and beames, the lesst her light and is darkened; but a chaffe, honest and wife woman must do cleane contrarie; for she ought to be most seene with her husband, and if he be away, to keepe close and hold her selfe within house.

8 It was not well said of *Herodotus*: That a woman casteth off her pudicitie, when she putteth off her smocke or inner garment; for cleane contrarie it is in a chaste and sober matron, for in stead thereof she putteth on shamefastnes and honestie; and the greatest signe of all other that married folke do love reciprocally is this, when they have most reverence and shamefast regard one to the other.

9 Like as if one take two sounds that accord together, the base is alwaies more heard, and the song is ascribed to it; even so, in an house well ordered and governed, all goes well which is done by the consent of both parties; but evident it is and apparent, that the conduct, counsell and direction of the husband, is that which effecteth it.

10 The sunne upon a time (as the fable goeth) had the victorie over the northern winde; so for when the said winde blew forcibly upon a man, and with the violence of his blasts, did what it could to drive his cloake or upper garment from off his shoulders, the man strived so much the more to hold it on and keepe it close about him; but when the sun came to be hot after the said wind was laid, and set the man in exceeding heat by his beames, he was glad to throw off his said cloake; yea and feeling himselfe to burne with heat, put off his coat, shirt and all; and even semblably do the most part of women, for when they perceive that their husbands by their authority, and perforce will take from them their superfluous delights and vaine pleasures, they strive againe and make resistance, and are offended and discontented therewith; but when as contrariwise they come unto them with gentle remonstrances and milde perswasions, then of themselves they will be content peaceably to lay them aside, and endure all with patience.

11 *Cato* deprived a senatour of *Rome* of his honorable place, for that in the presence of his owne daughter, he kissed his wife. I cannot simply commend this act of his, for it favoured per-adventure too much of severitie and rigor: but if it be (as no doubt it is) an unseemly sight for man and wife to kisse, clip, embrace, and use dalliance together in the presence of others; how can it chuse but be more shamefull and unseemly to chide, brawle, and taunt one another before strangers? and when a man hath plaied, sported, and used love-delights in secret with his wife, afterwards in open place to checke, rebuke, nip and gird at her with spitefull speeches in the face of the world?

12 Like as a mirrour or looking glasse garnished with golde and precious stones, serveth to no purpose, if it doe not represent to the life the face of him or her that looketh into it; no more is a woman worth ought (be she otherwise never so rich) unlesse she conforme and frame her selfe, her life, her maners and conditions futable in all respects to her husband. A false mirrour it is, and good for nothing, that sheweth a sad and heave countenance to him who is merrie and jocund, and contrariwise, which resembleth a glad and smiling visage to one who is melancholike, angrie and discontent; even so, a bad woman is she, and a very untoward piece, who when her husband is desirous to solace himselfe and be merrie in disporting with her, frowneth and looketh doggedly under the brows, and on the other side, when she seeth him amused in serious matters, and in a deepe study about his affaires, is set on a merrie pin, and given to mirth

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and

and laughter; for as the one is a signe of a fowre plumme and an unpleasant yoke-fellow, so the other bewraith a woman that setteth light by the affections of her husband; whereas indeed besitteth it were, that as (by the saying of Geometricians) the lines and superficies move not at all of themselves, but according to the motions of the bodies; even so a wife should have no proper passion or peculiar affection of her owne, but be a partaker of the sports, serious affaires, sad countenance, deepe thoughts, and smiling looks of her husband.

13 They that take no pleasure, nor can not away that their wives doe eat and drinke freelee with them at the table in their sight, doe as much as teach them how to cram themselves and fill their gorge apart when they be alone; even so they that will not vouchsafe to live merrily and be pleafant with their wives, nor can abide to disport and laugh privately with them, teach them the ready way to seeke their pleasures and delights by themselves.

14 The kings of *Persia* at their ordinarie meales have their queenes or espoused wives to sit by them at the boord, but when they list to be merrie indeed and carrouse lustily untill they be drunke, they send them away to their chambers, and call for their concubines, singing wenches, and muscicall trulles in their place; \* I can commend them yet for so doing, in that they would not have their owne lawfull wives to be partakers of their drunkenness and licentious loosenesse. If therefore it chance that some private person abandoned to his owne pleasures, untaught, and given to leawd conditions, chance to do a fault in abusing himselfe either with his paramour or his wives chamber-maid, his wife must not be angrie for the matter and frowne at him for it, but rather thus to thinke with her selfe, and make this construction, that her husband being loth and afraid to offend her with his drunkenness, unbridled lust and intemperance, turned another way for that purpose.

\* Plutarch herein smelleth of the corruption in his time: for a Christian dame & honest matron will not abide to put up such an injurie, nor wink at her husbands follies in that case.

15 Kings if they love musick, cause many good musicians to be in their kingdom; if they set their minds upon their booke, they make many learned clerks; if they be given to feats of activitie and exercise of the body, many of their subjects (by that example) will prove champions and tall men of their hands; even so a husband that loveth to trim and pamper his bodie, causeth his wife (by that meanes) to study nothing els but the tricking and pruning of her selfe; he that followeth his pleasures and wanton delights, maketh her also to be lascivious and to play the harlot; but who that embraceth honestie, and ensueth vertue and good things, by his example shall have an honest, vertuous and wise wife of her.

16 A young woman of *Sparta* being asked the question by one, whether she had medled or lien yet with her husband: Not I (quoth she) but he hath with me. And in very truth, in this maner (by mine advice) it would become an honest matron and huswife to behave herselfe toward her husband, that she neither reject and disdain dalliance and love-sports with him, if he begin with her, nor yet herselfe offer such temptations first unto him; for as this is a trick of a wanton and unflame-faced strumpet, so the other bewraith a proud woman, and one who is nothing lovely nor amiable.

17 A woman ought to have no peculiar friends by herselfe, but to use her husbands friends and take them as her owne. Considering then, that the gods challenge the first and principall place in friendship, \* the wife is to acknowledge and worship the same gods (and none els but those) whom her husband honoureth, serveth, and reputeth gods; moreover, she ought to shut and locke the gate against all curious and new inventions of religions, and not to enterteine any strange and forren superstitions; for I assure you, to none of the gods can those divine services and sacrifices be acceptable, which a woman will seeme to celebrate by stealth, and without the knowledge and privitie of her husband.

\* Herein also Plutarch sheweth of what religion he is.

18 *Plato* writeth, that the citie is blessed and happie, wherein a man shall never heare these words: *This is mine*, and, *This is not mine*: for that the inhabitants thereof have all things there (especially, if they be of any worth and importance) as neere as possibly they can, common among them: but these words ought rather to be banished out of the state of matrimonic, unless it be (as the Physicians holde) that the blowes or woundes which are given on the left side of the body, are felt on the right; even so a wife ought to have a fellow-feeling (by way of sympathie and compassion) of her husbands calamities, and the husband of his wives, much more; to the end, that like as those knots are much more fast and strong, when the ends of the cords are knit and interlaced one within another, even so the bond of marriage is more firme and sure, when both parties (the one as well as the other) bring with them a mutuall affection and reciprocall benevolence, whereby the fellowship and communion betweene them is maintained jointly by them both; for nature herselfe hath made a mixture of us, of two bodies, to

the end that by taking part of one and part of another, and mixing all together, she might make that which commeth thereof, common to both, in such sort, as neither of the twaine can discern and distinguish what is proper to the one or peculiar to the other. This communion of goods especially, ought principally to be among those who are linked in wedlocke, for that they should put in common, and have all their favorie incorporate into one substance, in such way, as they repute not this part proper to one, and that part peculiar to another, but the whole proper to themselves, and nothing to another: and like as in one cuppe where there is more water than wine, yet we say nevertheless that the whole is wine; even so the goods and the house ought to beare the name of the husband, although peradventure the wife brought with her the bigger portion.

19 *Helene* was covetous, and *Paris* lascivious; contrariwise, *Ulysses* was reputed wise, and *Penelope* chaste; and therefore the mariage of these last named, was blessed, happie and beloved; but the conjunction of those two before, infortunate, bringing upon the Greeks and Barbarians both, a whole *Iliad*, that is to say, an infinite masse of miseries and calamities.

20 A gentleman of *Rome*, who espoused an honest, rich, faire and young ladie, put her away, and was divorced from her; whereupon being reprooved and sharply rebuked by all his friends, he put forth his foot unto them and shewed them his shoe: What finde you (quoth he) in this shoe of mine amisse? new it is and faire to see to; howbeit, there is not one of you all knoweth where it wringeth me, but I wot well where the fault is, and feelee the inconvenience thereof. A wife therefore is not to stand so much upon her goods and the dowie shee brings, nor in the nobilitie of her race and parentage, ne yet in her beaultie, as in those points which touch her husband most, and come neere to his heart; namely, her conversation and fellowship, her maners, her carriage & demeanor, in all respects so disposed, that they be all not harsh, nor troublesome from day to day unto her husband, but pleafant, lovely, obsequious, and agreeable to his humor: for like as Physicians feare those feavers which are engendered of secret and hidden causes within the bodie, gathering in long continuance of time by little and little, more than such as proceed from evident and apparent causes without; even so there fall out otherwhyles petite jarres, daily and continuall quarrels betweene man and wife, which they see and know full little that be abroad; and these they be which breed separation, and cause them to part sooner than any thing els, these marre the pleasure of their cohabitation more than any other cause whatsoever.

21 King *Philip* was enamoured upon a certaine Thessalian woman, who was supposed and charged, by her forceries and charmes to have enchanted him to love her; whereupon queene *Olympias* his wife wrought so, that she got the woman into her hands; now when she had well viewed her person, and considered her beautifull visage, her amiable favour, her comely grace, and how her speech shewed well that she was a woman of some noble house, and had good bringing up: Out upon these slanderous firmises (quoth she) and false imputations; for I see well that the charmes and forceries which thou usest, are in thy selfe. In like maner we must thinke, that an espoused and legitimate wife is as one would say, a fort inexpugnable, namely, such an one, as (in her selfe reposing and placing all these things, to wit, her dowie, nobilitie, charmes and love-drinks, yea, and the very tissue or girdle of *Venus*, by her study and endeavour, by her gentle behavior, her good grace and vertue) is able to win the affectionate love of her husband for ever.

22 Another time, the same queene *Olympias* hearing that a certaine young gentleman of the Court had married a ladie, who though she were faire and well-favoured, yet had not altogether the best name: This man (quoth shee) hath no wit at all in his head, for otherwise hee would never have married according to the counsell and appetite of his eyes only. And in truth we ought not to goe about for to contract marriage by the eie or the fingers, as some doe who count with their fingers how much money, or what goods a wife bringeth with her, never caring and making computation of her demeanor and conditions, whether she be so well qualified, as that they may have a good life with her.

23 *Socrates* was wont to counsell young men who used to see their faces and looke upon themselves in mirrors, if they were foule or ill-favoured, to correct that deformitie by vertue; if they were faire, not to soile and staine their beaultie with vice; semblably, it were very well that the mistresse of an house having in her hand a looking glasse, should say thus unto her selfe if she be foule and deformed: What a one should I be if I were nought or leawd withall? if faire and well-favoured: How highly shall I be esteemed, if I be honest and wife besides? for if an

hard



hard-favoured woman be loved for her faire and gentle conditions, she hath more honor thereby, than if she wan love by beautie onely.

24 The tyrant of Sicily (*Dionysius*) sent upon a time unto the daughters of *Lysander* certaine rich robes, costly wreathes and precious jewels as presents; but *Lysander* would not receive these gifts, saying: These presents would bring more shame than honour to my daughters. And the Poet *Sophocles*, before *Lysander's* time, wrote to the like effect in these verses:

*This will (wretch) to thee none honour bring,  
But may be thought a foule and shamefull thing;  
It doth bewray a fop and foole in kinde,  
And one who beares amost lascivious minde.*

for (according as the Philosopher *Crates* said) That is an ornament which doth adorne; and that adorneth a wife, which maketh her more comely and decent: this are not jewels of golde able to do, nor emerauds and other precious stones, nor purple and scarlet robes, but that only which causeth her to be reputed grave, sober, lowly and modest.

25 Those that sacrificed to *Juno* (surnamed *Gemetia*, that is, Nuptiall) offered not the gall with the rest of the beast that was killed, but plucked it out of the body, cast it aside, and laid it by, about the altar; by which ceremonie, he whoesoever he was that first instituted it, would give us to understand; that in matrimonie there ought to be no gall, that is to say, no bitter choler and anger at all; hee meant not thereby that a woman should not be grave, for a wife and matron that is mistress of an house, must carie an austere countenance in some sort, but this austerity or tartnesse ought to be like that verdure which is in wine, that is to say, holtsome and pleasant, not bitter or eager in any wife, as is *Aloe Succotrine*, nor resembling any such purgative drugs.

26 *Plato* perceiving *Xenocrates* the Philosopher (a man otherwise vertuous and well disposed) to be given a little to over-much severitie, admonished him to sacrifice unto the Graces; even so I suppose, that a vertuous dame hath need also of the Graces helpe, as much as of any thing els, when she converseth with her husband, to the end that she may live in joy with him (as *Metastorides* saith) and not move him to anger and displeasure, for all she be an honest and chaste matron, and so repent another day of her pudicitie: for neither must a frugall hufwife and saving dame neglect to be cleane and neat, nor she that loveth her husband entirely, cease to offer kindeesse unto him, and deale with him after an amiable and loving sort; for surely the sower conversation of a woman maketh all her honesty to be but odious, like as flattery also causeth all her frugalitie and thrift to be hatefull and displeasing; in so much as she who is afraid to looke pleasantly, and smile upon her husband, or to shew some such like love-tricks, because forsooth she would not be thought bold and wanton, is much like unto her, who because she would not seeme to have her head besmeared with precious perfumes, forbearth also to be anointed with oile, and for that folke should not thinke that shee painteth her face, will not so much as wash the same. Poets wee see and orators, as many of them as would avoide a bafe, illiberal, and ill affected kinde of stile, without good grace which breedeth tediousnes in the reader and hearer, studie and endeavour with all the wit they have to entertaine and moove both the one and the other by their fine invention, good dispose, and naturall representation of the manners of each person; and even so, an honest dame and hufwife shall do well, to avoide and reject all superfluitie, all curiositie, and in one word whatsoever favoureth of a whoore, or such an one as loveth to shew her selfe abroad in pompous manner, and rather employ all her wit, her art and industrie in the pleasant and amiable carriage of her selfe, in her affabilitie and lovely conversation with her husband, daily and howely acquainting and accustoming him to honestie and decencie with pleasure and delight. Howbeit, if it fall out so, that some one woman be so austere of nature, that by no means which the husband useth, he can make her pleasant and sociable, in this case he must be content and beare his owne crosse; and like as *Phocion* answered to *Antipater*, who required him to do a dishonest act and little befitting his estate: Sir (quoth he) you can not have me to be your friend and a flatterer to; even so must he say to himselfe of such a wife, who is sower and unpleasant, but yet honest: It is not meet that I should looke to converse with her as a true espoused wife and a light harlot also.

27 The Egyptian wives by the ancient custome of their countrey, weare no shooes at all upon their feete, to the end that this fashion of going might put them in mind to keepe home; but far otherwise it is with our dames for the most part, from whom if you take their gilded pantofles, their carkanets, their bracelets, their fine garters, their purple garments and pearles, they will never go once out of their houses.

28 *Tham*

28 *Tham*, as she one day dressed her selfe and put on her raiment, chanced to shew her arme a good way bare, and when one that stood by perceived it, and said withall: Oh there is a faire elbow: True (quoth she) but it is not for every man; and even so, not the arme onely of a chaste and honest dame ought not to be common, but also not so much as her verie speech; for she is as well in manner to take heed and beware how she open her mouth and speake much, as to discover and lay her bodie naked before strangers, for that her manners, actions, and conditions which she hath, she openeth unto others when she speaketh.

29 *Phidias*, when he made the image of *Venus* for the Eleians, devised that she should tread with her feete upon a tortoise shell, signifying thereby that a woman ought to keepe home and not goe forth of doores, but stay within house with silence; for surely a wife is to speake either unto her husband onely, or else by the meanes of her husband; neither must she thinke much and be offended, if like the minstrell that foundeth the hautboies, she utter a lower and bigger voice than her owne, by the tongue of another.

30 Great men and rich, princes also and kings, in honouring Philosophers, do grace both them and their owne selves; but Philosophers in making court and doing service unto those rich and mighty personages, adde thereby no reputation unto them, but make themselves more honored and better accepted; semblably it fareth with wives, for when they be subject to their husbands, they winne praise and commendation, but when they will needs bee masters, they get greater shame by it, and do more undecently, than those whom they have the maistrie of. For by good right, the husband ought to rule over the wife; not as the lord over his slave, or that which he possesseth; but after the same manner as the foule governeth the bodie, by a certaine mutuall love and reciprocall affection, wherewith he is linked unto her: for as the foule may well have a care of the bodie, without subjecting it selfe to the pleasures and disordinate lusts thereof; even so, may an husband have the sovereignty over his wife, and withall exercise the same neverthelesse in all kindnes, and be ready to gratifie and please her.

31 Philosophers doe hold opinion that of bodies some consist of parts disjoined and distinct, and separate one from another, as a fleet of ships or an armie of men; others of pieces joined together and touching close one another, as an house or a ship; and some againe be composed of parts united and incorporate into one nature living and growing together, as the bodies of living creatures. Much like to these compositions is wedlocke: for the conjunction of those in matrimonie, who love entirely one another, and for pure love be linked in marriage, resembleth a bodie, the parts whereof are naturally united together: that copulation of those who marrie for rich dowries, wealth, or procreation of children, may be compared to that bodie which standeth of pieces, that touch onely and meet together in a joint: but such a marriage as respecteth nothing but carnall companie in bed together, is like unto those bodies, the parts whereof stand asunder, and neither be united in one, nor touch one the other. But like as the naturall Philosophers affirme, that liquid bodies or humours be those which are apt to be mingled wholly one with another in every part; even so, it becometh that of those who are joined together in matrimony the bodies, goods, friends, & familiars, be totally intermingled together: which is the reason that the law-giver in setting downe the Roman lawes, forbade expressly such as were entred into the bond of wedlocke, to give and receive any gifts interchangeably, or to make mutuall donation; not intending thereby that they should participate in nothing, but that they should repute all things in common betwene them.

32 A custome their was in *Leptis*, a citie situate in *Libya*, that the new-wedded bride the morrow after her marriage, should send unto the bridegroomes mother, for to borrow a brasie pot or kettle to hang over the fire; but his mother-in-law must denie it and say, shee hath none for her; to the end that this young wife being at the first acquainted with the fashions of her mother-in-law, favouring somewhat of a crooked stepdame, might not thinke it strange or be much grieved if it chance afterward that she deale more hardly with her. A wife knowing thus much, ought betimes to meet with all occasions of such ordinarie offences which proceed from nothing els, but a jealousy that the stepmother hath over her, for the love that she beareth unto her sonne: The only remedie of which passion is this, that the new-wedded wife endeavor so to win the affection of her husband, that she doe not withall diminish nor withdraw that affection of his which a sonne ought to beare unto his naturall mother.

33 It seemeth that mothers ordinarily love their sonnes better than the daughters, as at whose hands they hope for more succour another day; and fathers contrariwise affect their daughters more, as who have more need of their helping hand; and peradventure may be



let her chaffitie, honestie, and pure love to her husband appeare most, that it may be well seene that she keepeth herselfe for him alone.

42 *Plato* exhorted elder folke to behave themselves more modestly before yong persons, than any other, that so they might learne also to reverence their elders and be respectuous of them; for where olde people be shamelesse, it is not possible to imprint any shame or grace in the yonger. Now ought an husband evermore to cary in remembrance this precept: To have none in the world in better respect and more reverence, than his owne wife, forasmuch as the bed-chamber is unto her a schoole-house either of chastity and pudicity, or els of loosenesse and incontinence; for the husband that followeth those pleasures himselfe which he debarreth his wife of, doth as much as bid his wife to fight with those enemies unto whom he hath already to yeelded himselfe prisoner.

43 Moreover, as touching the love and desire to go trim, and to decke and adorne the body, I would with you (*o Eurydice*) to endeavor for to call to your remembrance those rules which you have read in the treatise that *Timoxenus* wrote unto *Arifilla* concerning that argument. And as for you (*o Pollianus*) never thinke that your wife will abstaine from such curiosity, and lay away those delights and superfluities, so long as she perceiveth that you despise not, nor reject the like vanity in other things, but that you take pleasure both to see and have your cuppes and goblets gilt, your cabinets curiously and costely painted, your mules and horses set out with rich caparisons, sumptuous trappings, and costely furniture: for an hard matter it is to chafe away and banish such delicate superfluities out of the nursery and womens chamber, so long as they see the same to reigne in the mens parlour and where they have to do.

44 Furthermore, you *Pollianus* being now of ripe yeres to studie those sciences which are grounded upon reason, and proceed by undoubted demonstration, adorne from hence forward your manners by frequenting the company of such persons, and conversing with them, who may serve you in good stead and farther you that way: and as for your wife, see you doe the part of a studious and industrious Bee, in gathering for her and to her hand from all parts good things which you thinke may benefit & profit her, likewise bring the same home with you, impart them unto her, devise and commune with her about them apart, and by that means make familiar and pleasant unto her the best bookes and the best discourses that you can meet with all:

*For why? to her you are in stead,  
of fire and brother kind;  
A mother deere from henceforth now  
to her she must you find.*

like as in *Homer*, *Andromache* laid of her husband *Hektor*. And verily in mine opinion it were no lesse honorable for a man to hear his wife say thus unto him: My husband, you are my teacher, my regent, my master, and instructor in Philosophie, and in the knowledge of the most divine and excellent literature; for these sciences and liberal arts do above all other things divert and withdraw the minds of women from other unwoorthie and unseemely exercises. A matron or dame who hath studied Geometrie, will be ashamed to make profession of dauncing the measures; and she that is already enchanted and charmed (as it were) with the singular discourses of *Plato* and *Xenophon*, will never like of the charmes and enchantments of witches and forcerers; and if any enchantresse should come unto her, and make promise to draw downe the moone from heaven, she would mocke those women and laugh at their grosse ignorance, who suffer themselves to be perfwaded for to beleve the same, as having learned somewhat in *Astrologie*, and heard that *Aganice* the daughter of *Hegetor*, a great Lord in *Theſſia*, knowing the reason of the eclipses of the moone when she is at the full, and observing the verie time when the bodie of the moone will meet right with the shadow of the earth, abused other women of that countrey, and made them beleve that it was herselfe who fetched downe the moon out of the skie.

45 It was never heard yet that a woman by course of nature should conceive, and bring forth a childe of her selfe alone without the companie of man: marie some there be who have bene known to gather in their wombe a rude masse or lump, without the true forme of a reasonable creature, resembling rather a piece of flesh engendred and growing to a consistance by means of some corruption, which some call a Mole. Great heed therefore would be taken that the like befall not to the soule and mind of women; for if they receive not from others the feeds of good matters and instructions, that is to say, if their husbands helpe them not to conceive good doctrine and sound knowledge, they will of themselves fall a breeding and be delivered of many

many strange conceits, absurd opinions, and extravagant passions. But mine advice unto you *Eurydice*, is to be studious alwaies in the notable sayings and sentences morall of sage, wise, and approved men: have alwaies in your mouth the good words, which heretofore when you were a yong maiden you heard and learned of us; to the end that you may be a joy to your husband, and be praised and commended by other women, when they shall see you so honorably adorned and beautified without any cost bestowed upon brooches, tablets and jewels: for you can not possibly come by the precious pearles of this or that rich and wealthie woman, nor have the silken gownes and velvet robes of such a Ladie of a strange countrey, for to array or trim your selfe withall, but you must buy them at an exceeding high and deere price: but the ornaments and attire of *Theano*, of *Cleobuline*, of *Gorgo* the wife of king *Leonidas*, of *Tmoctea*, the sister of *Theagenes*, of *Clodia* the ancient Romane Ladie, of dame *Cornelia*, the sister of *Scipio*, and of other Ladies and gentlewomen so much renowned and bruited heretofore for their rare virtues, you may have gratis, freely and without a penie cost; wherewith if you decke and adorne your selfe, you shall live both happily, and also with honor and glorie. For if *Sappho* for her sufficiency in Poetrie, and the skill that she had in verifying, stucke not to write thus to a certaine rich and wealthie dame in her time:

*All dead thou shalt one day entombed be,  
There shall remaine of thee no memorie,  
For that no part of roses came to thee  
That flower upon the mountaine Pierie.*

Why shouldst not thou thinke better of thy selfe, and take more joy and contentment in thine heart, considering thou hast thy part not onely of the roses and flowers, but also of the fruits which the Muses bring forth and yeeld to those who love good letters, and highly esteeme of Philosophie?



## THE BANQUET OF THE SEVEN SAGES.

### The Summarie.

40 **W**Hether it were that the persons named in this discourse following were at a banquet in deed, and there discoursed of such matters as are here by *Plutarch* handled; or that himselfe had collected and gathered the *Apophthegmes* and histories of his time; or how soever it was; we may see by this present Treatise what was the custome of Sages and wise men in ancient time at their feasts, namely, to invite one another courteously, to solace themselves and make merrie hartily, without many ceremonies and complements to shew sincere amitie, and without excessive cost and expence to keepe good cheere after a plaine, open, and simple manner. The principall part of which meetings and frequentings of the table, being employed in devising sadly, and with settled minde both during their repast, and a prettie while after, of matters honest, pleasant, and tending to good instruction and edification; as this booke and the *Symposiakes* or Table-discourses, wherof we shall see more hereafter do plainly shew. This manner and custome serveth to be opposed partly against the solitarie life, and beggerly niggardise of base misers, covetous penni-fathers, and such like enemies of humane societie, and in part against the excessive pompe, unmeasurable sumptuousness, dissolute riots and foolish vanitie and gourmandise of those that love nothing but their panceh, and know no other god to worship but their bellie; as also against the fond laughsters, bragging vanities, impudent facings, scurrile mockeries, and dogged backbitings, that senselesse jots and peevish persons are given unto; and finally against the enormities, violences, and outrages, of such as are wholly abandoned and given over to sinne and wickednes. Moreover, so come more particularly to this booke following, *Plutarch* bringeth in one named *Diocles*, who recounteth unto *Nicarachus*

all that was said and done at Corinth in a certaine banquet, at which were these persons, namely, Perianther the sovereign lord of that citie, and the host who had all the guests, to wit, Solon, Bias, Thales, Cleobulus, Pittacus and Chilon, named in those daies, The seven sages or wise men of Greece, Item, Anacharsis, Aelophe, Niloxenus, Cleodemus and certaine others. But before that he entereth into any speech of that which passed during the banquet and afterwards, he rehearseth the communication held betwene Thales and those of his company upon the way of Corinth, where they take of matters handled more at large afterwards: then consequently he treateth of that which a guest ought to do who is invited to a banquet, and describeth what hapned among some of the guests: proceeding a little forward, he declareth what was the manner of the entrance, the sines and end of the banquet, to wit, modest, and seasoned with pleasant speeches (and those most honest and civil) of the host and his familie: which done, he entereth into the recitall of the talke that was held after the supper or banquet: of which the beginning grew from the musike of flutes, and by a certaine comparison devolved with a good grace, he causeth audience to be given unto Niloxenus a stranger; by occasion whereof, Bias doth expound the riddle or darke question sent by a king of Aethiopia unto the king of Aegypt, which in the same traine inferreth an excellent occasion to speake of the dueitie and office of kings; of which argument, all the foresaid Sages follow their minds summarily, together with the proper riddles and enigmaticall questions from the king of Aegypt to the king of Aethiopia. Now after the deciphering and solving of the said riddles, the former Sages fall into a discourse as touching the government popular and democraticall, upon which point they doe opine and speake their mindes in order, coming afterwards to conference together of certaine particularities of house-keeping, to wit, of drinking and of other pleasures; of the quantitie of goods that may suffice a man; of the frugalitie, thrift and sobrietie of men in olde times; of the necessity and delights of drinking and eating; and finally of the discomforts, inconveniences and miseries incident to mans life in this behalfe. And for a conclusion, bringeth in one Gorgias, who being arrived unluckily for, and coming suddenly in place, relateth the strange accident of Ation saved by the meanes of a dolphin; which report draweth on the company to other like narrations and tales: at the end whereof, after grace said and thanksgiving according to the accustomed manner of that people, the guests retire themselves and depart.

## THE BANQUET OF THE seven Sages.

### DIOCLES.



Ertes, the long proceesse and continuance of time (my good friend *Nicarchus*) can not chuse but breed and bring much darknesse, obscuritie and incertitude of mens actions and affaires; when as now in matters so fresh, so new, and so lately passed, you have met with certaine false reports, which notwithstanding are beleevied and received for true: for there were not onely those seven guests at the table in this feast as you have heard and are borne in hand, but more than twise so many, of whom my selfe made one, being familiar and inward with *Periander*, by reason of mine art and profession, and the host besides to *Thales*; (for by the commandement of *Periander*, he lodged in mine house) neither hath he (whoever he was that related the thing unto you) borne well in minde, and remembered what the speeches and discourses were, which they held; which maketh me verily to thinke that he was not himselfe one of them who were at the banquet. But seeing we are now at good leasure (and for that olde age is no suretie sufficient to give good warrantie for to defer and put off this report unto a farther time, and because you are so desirous to know the truth) I will rehearse unto you all in order even from the very beginning.

First and formost, the feast was prepared by *Periander*, not within the citie, but about the port or haven *Lechaon*, in a faire great hall or dining chamber neere to the Temple of *Venus*, unto whom there was also a sacrifice offered; for since the infortunate love of his mother, who voluntarily made herselfe away, having not sacrificed unto *Venus*, this was the first time that he was moved thereto, as being incited by certaine dreames of *Melissa* to worship and adore the said goddess. Now to every one of the guests invited to this banquet, there was a coach brought,

richly appointed and set out accordingly, for to convey and conduct them to the place appointed, for that it was the Summer season, and all the port-way from the citie, as farre as to the seaside, was full of dust, and resounded with great noise by reason of a number of chariots and a world of people going to and fro betwene. As for *Thales*, seeing at my gates a coach standing and ready to carie him, he fel a smiling and laughing, and so sent it backe againe: he and I then put our selves in our way, and went faire and softly together on foot over the fields; and a third there was, who bare us companie, to wit, *Niloxenus* of *Naucraria*, a man of good worth, and one who had beene familiarly acquainted with *Solon* and *Thales* before-time in *Aegypt*, and as then was he sent the second time unto *Bias*, but wherefore, himselfe knew not, unless (as hee then was he sent the second time unto him a second question inclosed and sealed within a packet; for suspected) it were to bring unto him a second question inclosed and sealed within a packet; for this charge and commandement he had: That if *Bias* refused and would not take upon him to answer this charge and expound the same, he should shew it to the wisest Sages of the Greeks. Then began *Niloxenus*: An happy feast (quoth he) is this to me (my masters) and unexpected, wherein I shall finde you all together, for I carie with me thither a packet as you see, and with that he shewed it unto us: Then (quoth *Thales* smiling) if you have therein any hard and untoward question to be dissolved, carie it againe to *Pyrene*, for *Bias* will declare the meaning thereof, like as hee affoiled the former: What former question was that (quoth I): *Mary* (quoth he againe) hee sent unto him a sheepe for sacrifice, commanding that hee should take out of it the best and worst piece thereof, and so to send the said flesh unto him: hee therefore well and wisely plucked forth the tongue, and sent it unto him; for which hee was (by good right) well praised, highly esteemed, and held in great admiration. It was not therefore onely (quoth *Niloxenus*) that hee came to so great a name, but also for that hee refused not the amitie of princes and kings as you doe: for *Amasis* admired many more things in you, and namely among others, when you tooke the measure of the height of the Pyramis in *Egypt*, hee wondered exceedingly, and made high account of your conceit, for that without any great hand-labour, and the same requiring no instrument at all, by setting up a staffe onely plumbe upright, at the very point and end of the shadow which the said Pyramis cast, and by two Triangles which the beames of the sunne caused, you made demonstration, that what proportion there was betwene the length of both shadowes, to wit, of the Pyramis and the staffe, the same was betwene the height of the one and the other. But as I said before, you were accused unto the same king *Amasis* for bearing no good will unto kings and their estate, which was the cause of your disgrace and disfavour with him; besides, there were brought unto him and presented many slanderous speeches and contumelious answers of yours as touching tyrants: as for example; when *Molpurgus* a great lord of *Ionia* demanded upon a time of you what strange thing you had in your time seene? you answered: A tyrant living to be an old man: Again, at a certaine banquet there being some speech mooved as touching beasts which was the worst and did most harme? you made answer, that: Of wilde beasts a tyrant, and of tame beasts a flatterer was most dangerous; for I may tell you: Kings howsoever they say that they differ from tyrants, yet take they no pleasure at such Apophthegmes as those. That answer (quoth *Thales* againe) was none of mine, but *Pittacus* it was, who made it one day in scoffing merlie to *Myrtilus*: for mine one part, I doe not so much mervail at an aged tyrant, as I doe woonder to see an olde pilot: howbeit as touching this transposition and taking one for another, I am of the same minde, and am willing to say, as that yong man did who flung a stone at a dogge, and missing the dog hit his owne stepmother and felled her withall; whereat: It makes no matter (quoth he) for even so, the stone hath not light amisse. For, and in truth I my selfe alwaies esteemed *Solona* a right wife man, for that he refused to be the tyrant of his owne country: and even so *Pittacus* if he had never come to take upon him a monarchie, would not have delivered this speech; How hard a thing is it to be a good man! And it should seeme that *Periander* being seized upon (as a man would say) by the same tyranny, as an hereditarie disease from his father, so did not amisse to endeavour what he could to free himselfe and get out of it, by converting with the best men and frequenting their companie, as hee hath done to this day, and training unto him the societie of Sages and philosophers, and being ruled and advised by them, not approving nor admitting the perilous and unhappie counsell of my country-man *Thrasibulus*, perswading him to cut the chief men shorter by the heads: For a tyrant who chooseth to command and rule slaves and vasailes rather than free men indeed, nothing differeth from the husband-man, who had leiser gather locusts and catch foules, than reape and bring in good graine of wheat and barley; for these soveraigne dominions and principalities bring with them this

only good thing in stead and recompence of many evils; to wit, a kind of honor and glorie: if men be so happie in as ruling over good men, they be better themselves, and in commanding great persons become greater themselves; as for such as in their government and place of command, aime at nothing but their securitie, without respect of honour and honestie, deserve to be set over a number of sleepe, horses, or beasts, and not of men: but this good gentleman stranger heere, hath (I wot not how) cast us upon such discourses which are nothing convenient for our present purpose, omitting both to speake and also to demaund those matters that besit better those who goe to a feast: for thinke you not that the guest who is bidden, ought not to goe prepared as well as the very master himselfe is to make preparation? For the Sybarites (as it should seeme) solemnly invite their dames to their feasts, & seeme to bid them a whole yeere before, of purpose that they might have time enough to trim themselves at their good leasure with rich array and jewels of gold against they goe to a feast; and for mine owne part, I assure you of this mind I am, that the right preparative of one who is to go unto a great dinner as he should, would require a longer time than so, by how much harder it is to find fit and decent ornament for the manners of the miñde, than to provide for the superfluous, needlesse, and unprofitable setting out of the bodie: for a wise man who hath wit and understanding, goeth not to a feast carying with him his body as a vessell to be filled, but he goes thither with an intention to passe the time either in serious discourses, or pleasant and merry talke; to speake I say and heare according as the time shal give occasion to the companie, if they meane with joy and mirth to converse together one with another. A man that is come to a feast may if he like not a dish of meat, or if it be naught refuse it; or if the wine be not good, have recourse unto the nymphes; but a troublesome guest, a talkative busi-bodie, and an unmannerly or untaught neighbour sitting at the boord, marreth all the grace of the viands, be they otherwise never so deinty, he corrupteth the wine, yea and all the sweetnesse of the musicke, how melodious so ever it be. Neither may a man when he list vomit and cast up readily againe this trouble and vexation once received: but in some, a mutuall discontentment and offence taken at the table one with another, sticketh by them and continueth as long as they have a day to live, inasmuch as they cannot endure the enterview one of another againe; but like an old fursuit, arisen of wrong done, or of anger conceived by drinking wine, the spight remaineth festerling & corrupting in the stomacke and never will be digested. In mine opinion therefore did *Chilon* very well and wisely, who being invited as it were yesterday to a feast, would never promise to come before he knew what other guests he should meet with there, even everie one of them; for this was his saying: That a man must endure will he nill he if he be once at sea, a rude companion and uncivil fellow-passenger in the same ship where he is embarked; as also in warfare a troublesome mate in the same pavilion, for that he is forced of necessitie to saile with the one and encampe with the other; but for a man to fort himselfe indifferently and without discretion with all kinds of men at a banker, bewraith one that is void of all wit and judgement. As for the fashion and maners of the Egyptians, namely to bring in place ordinarily at their feasts a Scelet, that is to say, a drie and withered anatomic of a dead man, and there to shew it before all the guests at the boord, to put them in minde of death, and that within a while they all should become such; although I must needs say that such a one were an unwelcome guest, and came very unseasonably among them; yet it cannot be denied but there is some good use thereof; for although he cheere not up the guests there to drinke freely and to make merry, yet he inviteth and sturth them up to carie mutuall love and affection one to the other, in admonishing them to remember that their life being of it selfe short, they should not seeke to make it long and tedious by troublesome businesse and affaires.

Thus spent we the time by the way, until at length we were come to the banquetting house. And as for *Thales* he refused to wash or go into a baine: For that (quoth he) I am appointed already; but in the meane time that the rest were bathing, he went walking up and downe to see the pleasant races, the wrestling places, and the faire grove which along the sea was very well planted and kept accordingly; not because he wondered at the sight of any of all these delights, but for that he would not seeme to despise *Periander*, or disdain his magnificence in any thing. As for the others, according as any of them were washed or anointed, the servitors were ready to conduct them into the hall or dining place, appointed for men, and that through a porch or gallerie, within which sate *Anacharsis*, and before him stood a damosell plaiting and combing the haire of his head with her hands (whom as the ran toward *Thales*) most willingly and courteously he kissed, and after a smiling manner: Well done (quoth he) make that stranger, who of himselfe

himselfe is the mildest and gentlest man in the world, to have a pleasant and faire countenance, that he looke not upon us fearfull and hideous to see to. I enquired then what pretie maiden this was: Why (quoth *Thales*) know you not that wife damosell so famous and to much renowned, *Eumetis*? for that is the name that her father gave her, howsoever the people call her after her fathers name *Cleobuline*. You praise this virgin (quoth *Thales*, doe you not) for her quick spirit in propounding, and her subtil wit and wisdom in affording riddles and darke questions, such as be called *Enigmies*? For by report there be some of her enigmaticall questions, which are gone as far as *Egypt*: No marie (quoth *Thales* againe) I say not so; for the usef them but as dice or coc-kall bones, when she list to disport her selfe and passe away the time with those that encounter her, and are disposed to enter into contention with her: but of a woonderfull courage and haughtie mind she is; a politike head she hath of her owne worthly to governe a State; of a courteous nature she is beside, and of sweet behaviour; in regard of which her carriage, she maketh her father to seeme a more milde and popular ruler among his citizens and subjects. It may well be so (quoth *Thales*) for surely the seemeth no lesse, if a man behold her homely apparell, and how simply she goes: but how cometh this inward affection and kindnesse to *Anacharsis* that so lovingly she dresseth and trimmeth him? Because (quoth *Thales*) he is a temperate and sober man, and besides a great schollar and a learned clarke, and for that he hath willingly and at large recounted unto her the manner of the Tartarians life, and namely how they use to charme the maladies of those that are sicke; and I verily beleve that even now whiles she maketh so much of the man, stroking his head, plaiting and broiding his haire, she learneth somewhat of him, or discoureth with him about some point of learning. Now when we drew neere to the hall or dining chamber abovesaid, who should meet us but *Alexidamus* the Milesian, a bastard sonne of *Thrasibulus* the Tyrant? who was newly come forth from thence in a great heat, distempered and troubled, and saying (I wot not what) to himselfe in a pelting chafe: for understad we could not plainly what his words were, he spake them so huddle: he had no sooner his eie upon *Thales*, but he seemed to reclaime himselfe, and so staid a little, breaking out into these audible tearmes: *Periander* (quoth he) hath offered me abuse & done me great wrong, in that he would not give me leave to depart, when I was willing and readie to embarke, but by his entreatie hath importuned me to stay supper; and now forsooth that I am come, he hath set me at the table in a place most dishonorable for my person, and hath preferred the Acolians, the Islanders, and other base companions, and indeed whom not, and before *Thrasibulus*; for apparant it is, that he despiseth my father who sent me, and meaneth that the disgrace offered unto me should redound upon him. How now (quoth *Thales*) is it so indeed? and are you afraid that like as the Egyptians hold opinion & say? That the stars in making their ordinarie revolutions, are one while elevated on high, & another while afterwards falling as low, and according to their heights, or baseness of the place, become either better or worse than they were? so you in regard of the place that is given you, should be advanced or debased more or lesse; for by this meanes you are worse & more base minded than the Laconian, who being by the master of the ceremonies set in the lowest place of the quire or daunce, was no more moved thereat, but said: Well done of you, I see you can skill of the meanes how to make this place more honorable: for when wee be set at a table, wee ought not to looke and regard, either beneath whom we sit, or after whom we are placed, but rather how we may accommodate and frame our selves to sort and agree with those next to whom wee sit; shewing presently at the verie first that wee have in our selves the beginning and handle (as a man would say) of amitie, in that we can finde in our hearts not to be offended with the place that is given us, but to praise our fortune in that wee are matched with so good companie: for he that is angrie about a place or seat, is more offended with him to whom he sitteth next, than with the master of the feast that bad him, and hee maketh himselfe odious as well to the one as the other. Tush (quoth *Alexidamus*) these are but words; for in verie deed I have observed, that even you who would be counted Sages and wise men, lay for meanes enough to make your selves honored; and with that he passed by us and went his way. Now as we mused and wondered much at this strange fashion and behaviour of the man: *Thales* turning unto us; This man (quoth he) is a brain-sicke foole, and of a monstrous nature, as you may well know by one trick that he plaied when he was a verie youth: for when there was brought unto *Thrasibulus* his father, a most excellent, sweet and precious ointment, he powred it out all into a great boll or standing cup, and wine likewise upon it, and when he had so done, drunke it up himselfe every drop, working by this meanes enmitie in stead of friendship to *Thrasibulus*. Immediately after this there comes to me a servitor with these



words: *Periander* requesteth you to take *Thales* & this other stranger with you, and to come and see a thing that is newly presented and brought unto him, for to know your opinion, whether he is to take it as an accident happened by mere chance, or rather a prodigie that doth presage and prognosticate some strange event, for he himselfe is much troubled in minde thereat, and mightily feareth that it be some pollution or stain to this his feastivall sacrifice; hee had no sooner said this, but he brought us into one of the houses that stood upon the garden, where we found a young lad, seeming unto us to be some heard-man, he had not yet an haire on his face, and otherwife (believe me) he was faire enough and well-favoured, who opening a leather poke or bag that he had, shewed unto us a young monstrous babe, which (as he said) was borne of a mare; in the upper parts about the necke and armes shaped like a man, but all the rest resembling an horse; howbeit, crying and wrawling, as like as possibly might be to an infant new come into the world: at which sight *Niloxenus* turning his face at one side, cried out: God blesse us, & turne away his displeasure from us. But *Thales* after he had looked wistly a good while upon the young lad afore said, smiled at the matter (as his maner was to play and make good game with me about mine art: ) Are you not minded (quoth he) *o Diocles* to go about some expiatorie sacrifice for this prodigious sight, and to set on worke those gods whose care and charge it is to divert such imminent perils and misfortunes, this being as it is so fearfull a prodigie and unluckie accident? How else? (quoth I againe) for I assure you this is a token presaging discord and sedition; and I much feare lest this matter proceed as farre as to marriages, and the act of generation, even to the prejudice of posteritie, considering that the goddess before the expiation and satisfaction of her former anger, threateth thus the second time, as you see. *Thales* answered never a word to this, but departed laughing. And when *Periander* met us at the vetie hall doore, and enquired what we thought of this strange occurrent which we went to see: *Thales* left me, and taking him by the hand: As touching that (quoth he) which *Diocles* wil perswade you unto, do you as he willesh you at your best leisure: for mine owne part, mine advice and counsell unto you is, that you entertaine no more such youthes as this to keepe your mares, or at least wife, that you give them wives to wed. At the hearing of which words, it seemed unto me that *Periander* was exceeding well pleased; for he laughed a good, and after he had embraced *Thales*, kissed him. Then *Thales* turning unto me: I suppose verily (quoth he) *o Diocles* that this prodigious token hath wrought the effect, and is come to an end already; for see you not what an evill accident is befallen unto us, in that *Alexidemus* will not dine with us? Well, when we were come within the hall, *Thales* beginning to speake with a loude voice: And where is the place (quoth he) wherein this honest man thought some, & tooke such snuffe to be set: which when it was shewed unto him, he turned about, and went to sit there himselfe, and so tooke us with him; saying withall, I would (for mine owne part) have given any money (rather than failed) to sit at the same boord with *Ardalus*. Now was this *Ardalus* a Troezenian, by profession a Piper, and a Priest serving the Ardalun Muses, whose images ancient *Ardalus* the Troezenian had erected and dedicated. Then *Aescop*, who not long before had bene sent by king *Crasus*, as well to *Periander* as to the oracle of *Apollo* in the citie of *Delphos*, being set upon a low settle neere to *Solon*, who sat above him, came in with his fable, and thus said: A mule (quoth he) of *Lydia* having beheld the forme and shape of his owne body within a river, and wondrous much at the beaute and goodly stature thereof, began to runne with full carriere, to fling and shake his head and his maine, like a lustie brave horse; but within a while, remembering that hee was an asses sonne, and foaled by an asse, hee staid his swift course all on a sudden, and laid away his pride and insolent braverie. At these words, *Chilo* briefly in his Laconian language: Thou hast told (quoth he) a tale by thine owne selfe, who being a slow-backe like and asse, will needs runne as the said mule. After this entered in dame *Melissa*, and tooke her place close unto *Periander*: *Eumetis* also saie downe to supper with them: Then *Thales* address'd his speech unto me who fate next above *Bias*, and said: My friend *Diocles*, how hapneth it that you tell not *Bias*, that your friend and guest *Niloxenus* of *Naurat* is come from beyond sea the second time, sent from his lord the King unto him with new questions and riddles for to assoile, to the end that he may take knowledge of them while he is sober, and in case for to studie and thinke upon their solutions? Then *Bias* taking the word out of his mouth: It hath bene (quoth he) his old fashions of long time, for to seeme to fright & astonish me with such admonitions & advertisements as thes; as for me I know full wel that as *Bacchus* otherwife is a wife and powerfull god, so in regard of his wisdom he is surnamed *Lysus*, which is as much to say, as unfolding and undoing the knots of all difficulties; which is the cause that I have no feare at all, that if I be full of him, I shal

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bee lesse heartie and able to mainteine the combat when I come to it and am put to dispute. These and such like pleasant speeches passed to and fro in merriment as they sat at meat. Now when I saw the setting out, and provision of this supper more frugall and sparie than ordinarie, I thought in my minde that to make a feast and give entertainment to wife and good men, putteth a man to no greater cost and expences, but rather easeth him off some charges: for that it abridgeth all curiositie of daintie viands, exquisite cates, costly perfumes, precious ointments, confitures and march-pains brought from forreine and farre countries, yea and fine and delicate wines, wherewith *Periander* being served daily at his ordinary, according to the magnificence of his princely estate, riches, affaires and occasions, yet at such a time he tooke a glorie among these Sages and wife men, in sobriety, frugallitie, and slender provision; for not in other things onely he cut-off and concealed all superfluitie and needlesse furniture which was usuall in his house-keeping, but also in his wives attire and ornaments, whom hee shewed to his friends and guests nothing costly arraid, nor keeping state, but meanelly set out and adorned. Now when the tables were taken away, and that *Melissa* had given and dealt chaplets of flowers unto us round about, we rendered thanks and said grace unto the gods, in powring out unto them devoutly a little wine; and the minstrell woman having sung a while after our grace, and according to our vowes, departed out of the roome.

Then *Ardalus* calling unto *Anacharsis* by name, demanded of him whether among the Scythians there were any such singing women & minstrell wenches that could play upon wind instruments? unto which demand he answered *ex tempore* and without studying for the matter; No (quoth he) nor so much as vines; and as *Ardalus* replied againe: But yet there are some gods among them, are there not? Yes iwis (quoth he) that there be, and those who understand the speech and language of men; but yet the Scythians are not of the same mind that the Greeks, who although they thinke themselves to speake more freely and elegantly than the Scythians, yet they hold opinion that the gods take more pleasure to heare the found of bones and wood, whereof their flutes and hautboies are made than the voice of man. But my good friend (quoth *Aescop* then) what would you say, if you knew what this pipe-makers do nowe a daies, who cast away the bones of young hind-calves and fawnes, and choose before them asses bones, saying forsooth that they make a better found? whereupon *Cleobuline* made one of her

<i>Of braying asse</i>	<i>Did force the eare</i>	<i>Of mightie stag</i>
<i>when hee dead was,</i>	<i>with sound so cleare</i>	<i>with hornes to brag</i>
<i>The long shanke-bone.</i>	<i>Upright anone,</i>	<i>As hard as stone.</i>

in such sort, that it is a wonder how an asse which is otherwise a most blockish and absurd beast, of any other most remote from all sweet harmonie of musick, should yeeld a bone so slicke, so smooth, and proper, to make thereof a most musically instrument. Certes, (quoth *Niloxenus* then) this is the reason that the inhabitants of the city *Bufris*, reproch all us of *Naurat*, for that we likewise have already taken two asse-bones for the making of our pipes; and as for them, it is not lawfull to heare so much as the sound of a trumpeter, because it somewhat doth resemble the braying of an asse; and you all know that the asse is infamous and odious with the Egyptians, because of *Typhon*. Upon this every man held his peace for a while; and when *Periander* perceived that *Niloxenus* had a good minde to speake, but yet durst not begin or broach any speech; My masters (quoth he) I doe like very well of the custome of cities and head-magistrates, in that they give audience and dispatch unto all strangers, before their owne citizens; and therefore me thinks it were well that for a time both you & we forbore our speeches which are so familiar and as it were native and home-borne among us in our owne countrey, to give acceffe and audience, as it were in a solemne counsell and assembly of estate, unto those questions and demands which our good friend heere hath brought out of *Aegypt*; and namely such as are moved from the king to *Bias*, and *Bias* I doubt not will confer with you about the same.

Then *Bias* seconding this motion of his: And in what place (quoth he) or with what companie would a man with rather for to hazard and trie his skill than in this, for to make answers accordingly and give solutions, if he be put unto it and need require? especially, seeing that the king himselfe hath given expresse commandement, that in proposing this question he should first begin within, & afterwards go round about the rest & present the same unto you all? Heerupon *Niloxenus* delivered unto him the kings letter, desiring him to breake it open, and to reade the same with an audible and loud voice before all the companie. Now the substance or tenor of the said letter ran in this forme. *Amasis* the king of the Egyptians, unto *Bias* the wisest

Sage

"Sage of all the Greekes sendeth greeting. So it is, that the king of the Aethiopians is entred into contestation and contention with me, as touching wisdom: and being in all other propositions put downe by me and found my inferior, in the end after all, he hath imposed upon me a commandement very strange, wonderfull, and hard to be performed, willing me forthwith to drinke up the whole sea. Now if I may compasse the solution of this riddle and darke question, I shall gaine thereby many townes, villages & cities of his: but in case I cannot affoile the same, I must yeeld unto him all my cities within the country *Elephantine*. These are therefore to request you, that after you have well considered of the premisses, you sende backe unto me *Niloxenus* incontinently with the interpretation thereof. And if either your selfe or any of your citizens and country-men have occasion to use me in your affaires and occasions, be sure you shall not faile of me wherein I may stead you. Farewell.

This letter being read, *Bias* made no long stay, but after some little pause and meditation with himselfe, he rounded *Cleobulus* in the eare, who sat close unto him: And then, what is that you say (my friend of *Nauratia*) will your master and lord king *Amasis* (who commandeth so great a multitude of men, and possesseth so large, so faire and plentifull a countrey) drinke all the sea, for to get thereby, I wot not what poore townes and villages of no importance? Then *Niloxenus* laughing at the matter: I pray you (quoth he) consider upon the point what is possible to be done, even as you will your selfe: Mary then (quoth he) let him send word vnto the Aethiopian king, and enioine him to stay the course of all rivers that discharge themselves into the sea, untill he have drunke up in the meane time all the water in the sea that is now at this present; for of that onely, his demand and commandement is to be understood, and not of the sea that shall be hereafter. These words were no sooner spoken, but *Niloxenus* tooke so great a contentment therein, that he could not holde, but needs he must embrace and kisse him immediately for it; yea, and all the rest commended and approved likewise his speech: but *Chilo* laughing heartily: O my friend (quoth he) of *Nauratia*, I beseech you before all the sea be drie and cleane spent, faile home with all speed, and do the king your master to understand, that he shal not need to travell and busie his braines in searching how he may consume so great a quantitie of salt water, but rather how he may make his regiment and roiall rule (now brackish and unpleasent) to be sweet and potable unto his subjects; for in these feats *Bias* is a most cunning workman and a singular master, which when king *Amasis* hath well and thoroughly learned of him, he shall not have any use of that golden bafen to wash his feet in, and for to containe the Aegyptians in awe and obedience, but they shall serve him all willingly and love him affectionately, when they shall see him become a good prince, although hee were a thousand times more odious unto them than he seemeth now to be. Certes (quoth *Periander*) then it were worthily done of us all to contribute unto *K. Amasis* such like first fruits & presents *andragas*, as *Homer* speaketh, that is to say, every one of us by the poll, and one after another in order; for by this meanes the accersarie haply and addition will arise to a greater matter, and be more woorth unto him than the principall or stocke for the negotiation wherefore this voiage was undertaken, and besides, there will accrew unto ech of us also some great profit. Meet it were then (quoth *Chilo*) that *Solon* should begin the speech; not only for that he is of all our ancient, and hath the highest place of the table, but also because he beareth the greatest and most absolute office, being the man who ordeined and established the lawes of *Athens*. *Niloxenus* then turning toward me, and speaking softly in mine eare: I beleeve verily (quoth he) *o Diocles*, that many things goe for currant and are beleeved, although they be untrue, and many men there be who are delighted with the false rumors and sinister reports that goe of great and wise men, both which themselves do devise, and also which they receive readily from others; as namely those be which are brought unto us as farre as into *Aegypt*, of *Chilon*, namely, that he should renounce all amitie and hospitalitie with *Solon* for maintaining this: That all lawes were mutable. A foolish and ridiculous report is this (quoth I:) for if it were so, *Chilon* should have fallen out with *Lycargus*, and condemned him, who together with his lawes, altered and changed the whole State of the Lacedemonians. Then *Solon*, after a little pause made, began to speake in this wise: For mine owne part, I am of this minde, that a king or soveraigne prince can finde no meanes to make himselfe more glorious, than by turning his monarchie or absolute government into a democratic or popular state, in communicating his authority soveraigne indifferently to his subjects. In the second place spake *Bias*, and said: That a prince could not do better for his owne honour, than to be the first man that submitted himselfe to the positive lawes of his countrey. After him opined *Thales*: I repute (quoth he) that prince and soveraigne ruler happie, who liveth to olde

age, and dieth by a naturall death. *Amasis* inferred thus much more in the fourth place: If he be onely wife. With that said *Cleobulus* in his turne: If he repose no confidence in any one about his person. Sixty came *Pittachus* with his opinion, saying: If a prince could so nurture and schoole his subjects, that they should not feare him, but for his sake. And after him, in the last place, delivered *Chilo* this speech: That a prince ought to amule his minde about no mortall and transitorie things, but meditate onely upon that which was eternall and immortall. Now when every one of these Sages had given out his mor, we requested of *Periander*, that he also would say somewhat for his part; but he with a countenance nothing mery and cheerefull, but composed to sadnesse and severitie: I will tell you (quoth he) what I thinke of all these sentences thus delivered by these my lords; that they all in a maner be enough to fright a man who is of judgement and understanding, from all soveraigne rule and government. Then *Aesop* as one who ever loved to be crosse and finding faults: It were meet therefore (quoth he) that everie one of us should deale in this point apart and severally, left in pretending to be counsellors unto princes, and make profession of friendship unto them, we become their accusers. Then *Solon* laying his hand upon his head, and smiling withall: Thinke you not (quoth he) *o Aesop*, that he maketh a ruler more reasonable and a tyrant more gracious and inclined to clemencie, who perswadeth him that it is simply better, not to rule, than to rule? And who is he (quoth *Aesop* againe) that will beleeve you in this, rather than the very god himselfe who delivered unto you this sentence, by way of oracle:

*I holde that citie happie alone,*

*Where voice is heard of \* Sergeant one.*

Why (quoth *Solon*) Is there any man heareth at *Athens* now any more voices than of one Sergeant, and one sole magistrate, which is the Law? notwithstanding, the citie hold of a popular State, but you *Aesop* are so deeply scene in hearing and understanding the voices of crows and gaies, that you heare not wel and perfectly in the meane time your owne speech and language; for you that thinke according to the oracle of *Apollo*, that citie most happie which heareth the voice but of one, suppose notwithstanding that it is the grace of a feast, when all the guests therein meet, may reason and discourse, yea and of every matter. True it is (quoth *Aesop*) for you have not yet set downe a law, that household servants should not be allowed wherewith to be drunke; like as you have made one at *Athens*, forbidding servants to make love or to be anointed drie, that is, without the baine. *Solon* began to laugh at this reply of his: and *Cleodemus* the Physician inferred thereupon: In mine opinion (quoth he) it is all one to anoint (as you say) drie, and to talke freely when a man is well whited and drenched with wine, for most delectable and pleasant is both the one and the other. *Chilo* taking hold of this speech; Why then (quoth he) so much the rather it behooveth to abstaine from it. *Aesop* rejoined againe; and verily *Thales* seemed to say, that it is a meanes whereby a man shall verie quickly age and looke old. Hereat *Periander* began to take up a laughter and said: Now truly *Aesop*, we are well enough served, and are worthily punished according to our desert, in that we have suffered our selves to be carried away into other discourses and disputations, before wee have heard out all the rest of the contents in King *Amasis* letters, according as wee purposed in the beginning; and therefore good sir *Niloxenus* go on with that which followeth in your letters nussive, and make use of these personages heere assembled, whiles they bee all in place together. Now truly (quoth *Niloxenus*) in my conceit that demand of the Aethiopian, a man may well and properly say to bee nothing else (but if I may use the wordes of *Archilochus*) a tewed or bruised whip: but King *Amasis* your host, in proposing of such questions is more gentle and civil; for hee propounded unto him these demands to bee answered: What thing in the whole world is eldest or most ancient? What is the fairest? What the greatest? What most wife? What most common? Over and besides, What most profitable? What is most hurtfull? What most puissant? and What most easie? What (quoth *Periander*) did the Aethiopian prince answer to these demands, & affoile them all? Will you see (quoth *Niloxenus* then) what answers he made? and after you have heard his answers, be you judge whether he satisfied them or no? for the king my master hath proceeded therein so sincerely, that he would not for any thing in the world, be justly thought to cavill and carpe like a sycophant at the answers of another, and yet his care and endeavour is, not to faile in reprooving that wherein one hath erred and is deceived: but I will from point to point recite unto you his answers. What is most ancient? Time (quoth he.) What most wife? Truth. What most beautifull? The light. What most common? Death. What most profitable? God. What most hurtfull? The Divell. What most mightie? Fortune.

tune. What most easie? The thing that pleaseth. When these answers were read (O *Nicharchus*) they all remained silent for a time: and then *Thales* asked of *Niloxenus*, whether King *Amasis* approved these solutions or no: *Niloxenus* answered, that some of them he allowed; but with others of them he rested not well contented: And yet (quoth *Thales* againe) there is not one of them all but deserveth great reprehension, for they doe everie one bewray much error and grosse ignorance; and to begin withall; How can it be held and maintained, that Time should be the eldest thing that is, considering that one part thereof is passed already; another present, and a third yet to come? for the future time which is to follow us, can not chooseth but by all reason be esteemed younger than all men, or all things which are present. Againe, to thinke that veritie were wisdom, in my judgement is as much as if a man should say, that the eie and the light is all one. Furthermore, if he reputed the light to be a false thing (as no doubt it is) how happeneth it that he forgot the sunne? Moreover, as touching his answers of God and the devils, they are verie audacious and dangerous. But concerning Fortune, there is no probability or likelihood of truth therein; for if she were so powerfull and puissant (as he saith) how cometh it about that she turneth and changeth so easily as she doth? Neither is death the commonest thing in the world; for common it is not to the living. But because it shall not be thought, that we can skill of naught, but reprooving and correcting others; let us conferre a little our particular opinions and sentences in this behalfe with his: and if *Niloxenus* thinke so good, I am content to offer my selfe first, to answer unto these demands before said, one after another. Now will I therefore declare unto you (*Nicharchus*) in order the interrogatories and answers, according as they were propounded and delivered. What is most ancient? God (quoth *Thales*) for he never had beginning nor nativité. What is greatest? Place; for as the world containeth all things else, so place containeth it. What is fairest? The world. And why? because whatsoever is disposed in lively order, is a part thereof. What is wisest? Time; for it hath found all things already devised, and will finde out all inventions hereafter. What is most common? Hope; for it remaineth still with them who have nothing else. What most profitable? Vertue; in that it maketh all things commodious, according as they be used. What is most hurtfull? Vice; for it marreth all good things besides, wheresoever it is. What is most mightie? Necessitie; for that onely is invincible. What is most easie? That which agreeth to nature; for even pleasures many times we do abandon and forsake. Now when all the companie had approved, and commended highly the answers of *Thales*: These be questions in deed (quoth *Cleodemus* unto *Niloxenus*) meet for kings and princes, both to propose and also to asloile: as for that barbarous king of *Aethiopia*, who enjoined king *Amasis* to drinke up the sea, deserveth as short an answer as that was which *Pittacus* made to king *Alxatres*, who when he demanded somewhat of the Lesbians by his arrogant and proud letters, had no other answer returned him from *Pittacus* but this: That he should eate oinions and hot bread, upon which words *Periander* inferred and said: I assure you *Cleodemus*, it hath bene the manner in old time among the ancient Greeks, to propose one unto another such questions as these. For we have heard by report, that in times past, the most skilfull and excellent Poets which were in those daies, met at the funerals and obsequies of *Amphidamas* within the citie of *Choleis*: Now had this *Amphidamas* bene a man of great honour in government of the common-weale in his country; who having put the Eretrians to much trouble in those wars which they waged against those of *Choleis*, in the quarrell of *Lilantes*, hapned to leese his life at the last in a battell. And for that the curious verses which the said poets provided and brought to be scanned of, were intricate and hard to be judged of by those who were chosen as judges of the doubtfull victorie; and besides the glorie of two renowned concurrents, *Homer* and *Hesiodus* held the judges in great perplexitie, and shame to give their sentences as touching two so famous personages, they grew to suchas these questions in the end: and propounded one unto another as *Lesches* saith after this maner.

*Now helpe me Muse for to endire*

*what things have never benee,*

*Nor henceforth whiles the world endures*

*for ever shall be seene?*

unto which demand, *Hesiodus* answered readily and extempore in this wise.

*When needs to win the prize, with found*

*of feet shall runne amaine,*

*And at the tombe of Jupiter,*

*their chariots breake in twaine.*

For which cause especially it is reported he was so highly admired, that thereby he wonne the tre-feet of gold. And what difference (quoth *Cleodemus*) is there betwene these questions and the riddles put forth by *Eumetis*? which haply are no more unseemly for her to devise in sport and mirth, and when she hath (as it were) twisted them, to propose unto daibes like herselfe, than for other women to delight for their pastime, to busie their heads in, and working girdles of tisse, or knitting net-work coifes and cawles; but certainly that men of wisdom and understanding should make any account thereof, were very ridiculous: and a meere mockerie. At which speech of his it seemed that *Eumetis* was willing enough to have replied, and said somewhat unto him againe, but that maidenly modestie staied her; for her bloud was up, and she blushed as red as skarlet all her face over: But *Aslope* taking her part as it were to revenge her quarrell: Nay were it not (quoth he) more ridiculous farre, not to bee able to solve such questions? and namely such a riddle as this, which she put forth unto us a little before supper:

*A man I saw, with helpe of fire,*  
*who set a peece of brasfe,*  
*Fust to a man, so as it seem'd*  
*to him it sove it was.*

Now tell me, can you with all your cunning say what this should be? No iwis (quoth *Cleodemus*, neither meane I to beate my braines about the knowledge of it: And yet there is no man (quoth he) knoweth this thing better, nor useth it more than you; and if you denie it, I will call to witness your ventoses and cupping boxes. Hereat *Cleodemus* could not chufe but laugh: for there was not a physician in those daies that used cupping and boxing so much as he, and in regard that he practised it so much, this remedie or devise in physicke was in no small request and reputation. But *Anesiphilus* the Athenian a familiar friend and zealous follower of *Solon*, began to speake in this wise unto *Periander*: Sir, if I might be so bold, I thinke it good, & my desire is, that the speeches and discourses of this good company, may not bee dealt among the rich and noble persons onely who are heere in place, but parted equally and indifferently among them all, and go round like a cup of wine, as the manner is in democratic or state of a citie, governed by the people: this I speake for that we who live in a popular common-wealth, participate in nothing of all that which you have right now delivered as touching soveraigne rule of prince & king: we thinke it reason therefore that you would enter every one of you into a discourse of popular government, & deliver your several opinions upon the point, beginning first againe at *Solon*. To this motion they all agreed; whereupon *Solon* thus began to speake: As for you (O *Anesiphilus*) like as all the other inhabitants of *Athens*, you have heard heretofore what mine opinion is concerning the government of a weale publike: and yet if it please to heare me now also, I say againe that in my judgement that citie is right well governed, and maintaineth best the popular estate and libertie, wherein those very persons who have not bene wronged and oppressed, do prosecute the law upon an oppressor and wrong doer, yea and seeke to punish him, no lesse than the partie himselfe who hath susteined the injurie & outrage. After him *Bias* opined thus: That the popular government was best, in which all the inhabitants feared the law as much as a rigorous tyrant. Then *Thales* followed in this maner: That he reputed such a common-wealth best ordered which had in it neither too wealthie, nor yet over poore citizens. Next to him tooke *Anacharsis* his turne and delivered his minde in these words: That in his conceit that citie was right well governed wherein all other things being equally determined among the inhabitants, the better condition was measured by vertue, & the worse by vice. In the fifth place *Cleobulus* affirmed; That the policie of that popular city was simple best, the citizens whereof did more dread dishonor than the law. Then *Pittacus* in his course gave his opinion thus: That he accounted a State passing well governed in which wicked persons might not beare any authoritie but good men onely. Then *Chilo* when his turne came pronounced: That policie to exceed all others when as the people gave greatest care unto the lawes, and least hearkened unto oratours. After them all *Periander* in the last place gave his judgement, saying: That he reckoned that popular estate seemed to be best, which came neereit unto an aristocratic or regiment of a wife and noble Senate.

Now when this disputation was ended, I requested them to proceed farther, and to instruct us as touching oeconomie or an householde, how it ought to be ordered; for that few men were called unto the government of cities and realmes, but every one of us had an house and familie of his owne to be governed: Not so (quoth *Aslope*, & therewith he laughed) if you reckon

*Anacharsis*

*Anacharsis* in the number of us; for no house hath he of his owne, and (forsooth) he glorieth therein, that none he hath, saying: That he maketh his abode in a chariot, as (men say) the sun doth, who is caried round about the world in his chaire, and one while goeth to this quarter, and another while to that quarter of the heaven: And even in this respect (quoth *Anacharsis*) the sunne onely is free, or at least wife more at libertie, and at his owne dispose, than any other of all the gods, commanding all, and not commanded of any; and therefore he reigneth in deed, and having the reines in his owne hand, conducteth his owne chariot himselfe: but me thinks you never conceived and comprised the grandence and beautie of the sunne, how excellent and admirable his chariot is; for otherwise you would never in bound and by way of merry jest have compared it to ours: furthermore, it seemeth that you take an house to be these cloisters covered with tile, and walled with clay or earth; which is as much to say, that a tortoise is the shell, and not the living creature which is therein: and therefore I nothing wonder that you mocked *Solon* upon a time, for that he having viewed the palace of king *Cresus*, richly furnished and sumptuously adorned, deemed not by and by the owner and lord thereof to be stately and happily lodged; but desired first to see and behold the good parts that were within him, rather than the goods which were about him; and herein it seemeth unto mee, that you have forgotten your owne tale of the fox, who being come to contest and debate with the leopard, whether of the twaine were beset with more colours and divers spots, required of the judge betwene them, that he would not regard and consider so much the outward painting of the skin, as the varietie of the spirit and soule within, for that he should finde the same bedight with a world of divers spots; but you looke onely to the workmanship of cutters in stone, and of masons, esteeming that onely to be the house, and not that which is domesticall and within, to wit, children, wife, friends and servitors, unto whom (being wife, sober and of good conditions) the father of the familie, and householder, communicating and imparting that which he hath (say he were within a birds-neest or in an emmets hole) may avouch that he dwelleth in a good and blessed house. Lo what mine answer is to *Aesope*, as also for my part, what collation and dole I contribute unto *Dioetes*; now for the rest of you, let every man conferre (as reason is) to it, what he thinketh good; and utter his mind. Then *Solon*: That house (in mine opinion) is best, the goods where-in, were neither gotten by unjust and indirect means, nor bred any feare, suspicion and doubt for the keeping, ne yet drew repentance for the spending of them. After him *Bias* opined: That he held the familie best, the master whereof was of himselfe the same man within, as (for feare of the law) abroad. Then *Thales*: Wherein the master may live at most ease and greatest leisure. And *Cleobulus*: Wherein there be more persons that love, than feare the master. Next delivered *Pittacus* his minde, and said: That he tooke that to be the best house, wherein there was no desire of superfluities, nor misse of necessaries. After him came *Chilo* with his sentence: That an house ought as much as is possible, to resemble a citie or state governed by the absolute commandement of a king; adding moreover, that which *Lycurgus* answered sometimes unto one who advised him to establish in the citie *Sparta* the popular government: Beginne (quoth he) first thy selfe to ordeine in thine owne house a popular estate, where every one may be as great a lord and master as another. After this speech also finished, *Eumetis* and *Melissa* went forth. Then *Periander* taking a great cup in his hand, dranke to *Chilon*, and *Chilon* likewise in order to *Bias*. Then *Ardalus* stood up, & addressing his speech unto *Aesope*: Wil not you neither (quoth he) let the cup come unto us, seeing that they there fend it round about from hand to hand among them, as if it were the can of *Bathycles*, and will not impart and let it passe to others? Then (quoth *Solon*) neither is this cup (so farre as I see) any whit popular, standing as it hath done a long time before *Solon* onely. Whereat *Pittacus* calling unto *Mnesiphilus* by name: What is the reason (quoth he) that *Solon* drinketh not, but goeth against his owne Poems, wherein himselfe hath written these verses:

The sports of Venus ladie bright,  
And Bacchus, now are my delight:

In musicke eke I pleasure take,

For why? these three, mens joys do make.

Then *Anacharsis* helped him out, and spake in his behalfe, saying: He doth it (*Pittacus*) for feare of you and that severe and rigorous law of yours, by which you have ordeined, that whosoever by occasion of drunkennesse chanceth to commit a fault, what-ever it be, shall incurre a double penalty, and be fined twice as much as if he had done it whiles he was sober. Then *Pittacus*: Yet nevertheless (quoth he) you carie your selfe so proudly and disdainfully in mockage of this my stature,

stature, that both the last yere nor long since, being at my brother *Lybius* his house, when you were drunke, you demanded to have the prize thereof & called for the garland & crown. And why not (quoth *Anacharsis*) considering there was propoed a reward for the victory to him that drunke most and if I were overcharged with wine & drunk with the first, should not I challenge by right the prize & reward of victory? or els tell me what other end is there of drinking lustily, than to be drunke? *Pittacus* hereat began to laugh; & then *Aesope* told such a tale as this: The wolfe (quoth he) perceiving upon a time the shepheards to eate a mutton within their cottage, approched unto them and said: Oh what a stirre and outcrie would you have made at us if I had done that which you doe? Heereat *Chilon*: *Aesope* (quoth he) hath well revenged himselfe now (whose mouth ere while we stopped that he had not a word to say) seeing at this present as he doth, that others had taken the answer out of *Mnesiphilus* his mouth, and not given him libertie to speake, being demanded the question why *Solon* dranke not? and like it was that he should have answered in his behalfe. Then *Mnesiphilus* rendered this reason and said: That he wist well *Solon* was of this opinion, that the proper worke of every art and facultie, as well divine as humane, was rather the effect and thing by it wrought, than that whereby it was effected; and the end thereof rather than the meanes tending thereto: for so I suppose that a weaver will say, that his worke is to make a web for a mantle, a coat or such a robe, and not to spoole, winde quil, lay his warpe, shoot oufe, or raise and let fall the weights and stones hanging to the loome: Also that the worke of a smith is to foder iron, or to give the temper of Steele for the edge of an axe head rather than any other thing needfull to such an effect, to wit, the kindling of coles and setting them on fire, or the preparing of any stone-grit serving for the former purpose. Semblably, a carpenter or mason employed in architecture, would much more complaine and finde fault with us, if we should say, that neither a ship nor an house were their worke, but the boaring of holes in timber with an auger or the temping of mortar. In like manner would the mules take exceeding great indignation, and not without good cause, if wee should thinke that their workes were either harpes, lutes, pipes, and such instruments of musicke: and not the reforming and institution of folks maners, the dulcing and appeasing of their passions who delight in song, harmonie, and muscalle accord. And even to we must confesse that the worke of *Venus* is not carnall companie and medling of two bodies; nor of *Bacchus*, wine-bibbing and drunkenness, but rather mirth and solace, affectionate love, mutuall amitie, conversation, and familiarity one with another, which are procured unto us thereby: for these be the works indeed which *Plato* calleth divine and heavenly: and these he saith that he desired and pursued when he grew aged and was well stept in yeeres. For I assure you *Venus* is the work-mistresse of mutuall concord, solace and benevolence betwene men and women, mingling and melting (as it were) together with the bodies their soules also, by the meanes of pleasure: *Bacchus* likewise in many who before had no great familiaritie together, nor any knowledge and acquaintance to speake of, by softning and moistning the hardnes of their maners, and that by the meanes of wine (like as fire worketh iron to be gentle and pliable) hath engendred a beginning of commixtion and incorporation one with another. True it is I must needs say, that when such personages are met and assembled together, as *Periander* hath hither invited, there is no need either of cup or flagon for to bring them acquainted: for the mules setting in mids before them a cup of sobriety, to wit, their conference and speech, wherein there is not onely store of pleasure and delight, but also of erudition, learning, and serious matter, doe excite, drench, enlarge and spread abroad by the meanes of discourse and talke, the amiable joy of such guests, suffering for the most part the wine pot or flagon to stand still above the cup or goblet: a thing that *Hesiodus* forbade expressly among such as could skill better to carrouse than to discourse. And whereas we read thus in *Homer*,

For howsoever other Greeks  
that wear their haire so long,  
Doe drinke about their measure just  
allowed them among:  
Your cup I see stands ever full,  
no gage to you is set,  
But hartie draughts you may carrouse,  
no man there is to let.

Me thinks I heare and understand heereby that our auncients called this manner of drinking one to another by way of challenge & provocation *Δαμνις*, according to the tearme that *Homer*

giveth it, and so every man dranke a certaine measure in order: yea and afterwards (like as *Ajax* did) each one divided portions of flesh to his next fellow sitting at the boord: Now when *Ambrosius* had thus said: *Cherfus* the poet, whom lately *Periander* had quit of certaine imputations charged upon him, and who was newly returned into his favour at the earnest request of *Chilon*: I would gladly know (quoth he) whether *Jupiter* gage the rest of the gods with a certaine measure and hint of drinking, (for that they use to drinke one to another when they dine and sup with him) like as *Agamemnon* dealt by the princes of the Greeks when they were at his table? Then *Cleodemus*: It it be true (quoth he) friend *Cherfus* as you and other poets doe say, that certaine doves flying hardly and with great difficultie over the rocks called *Planite*, bring unto *Jupiter* that celestiall meat named *Ambrosia*; thinke you not likewise that he had much ado to get the heavenly drinke *Nectar*, and that he had but small store thereof, whereby he could not chuse but make spare and give of it to every one according to measure? Yes verily (quoth *Cherfus*) and peradventure they had it distributed equally among them: but since we are fallen againe into a fresh discourse of house-keeping, which of you will goe on and finish the rest which remaineth to be said thereof? Then *Cleobulus* inferred this speech and said: As for wise men indeed, the law (quoth he) hath given them a prescript measure; but as touching fooles, I will tell you a tale which I heard my mother once relate unto a brother of mine: The time was (quoth he) that the moone praised her mother to make her a petticoate fit & proportionable for her body: Why, how is it possible (quoth her mother) that I should knit or weave one to fit well about thee considering that I see thee one while full, another while croissant or in the waime, & 10 pointed with tips of horns, & sometime againe halfe round? Even so (friend *Cherfus*) a man is not able to set downe a definit & just proportion of substance & goods to maintaine an house unto a foolish or a naughty person; for such a one hath need one while of this thing, and another while of that, according to his divers desires & variable events & occasions, much like to *Asop* dog, who as he saith, in the winter season shrinking together, & lying round for cold wherewith he is ready to be frozen and sterved, is of mind to build himselfe an house: but in summer when he lies sleeping stretched out at length, he thinkes himselfe to be very great, and supposeth it a needlesse thing to builde an house, and besides no small peece of worke to set up a frame bigge and large enough to receive his bodie. See you not likewise o *Cherfus*, that these kinde of folke will bee thought nowe but small and little, and restraîne themselves into a 20 narrow compasse, proposing forsooth a streight and laconicall manner of life; but anon all at once they will bee aloft, and if they may not have all that they see, and possesse not onely the estate of private persons, but also of kings and princes, they are undone for ever, and complaine as if they were pined and readie to die for hunger: at which words *Cherfus* held his peace. But *Cleodemus* then began and said: Howbeit, we all see (quoth he) that you my masters your selves who are sage and wise, have your goods and possessions unequally dealt among you, if a man would go about to measure and count them. True indeed my good friend (answered *Cleobulus* againe) and this is because the law (like unto a good weaver or knitter) hath given unto everie one of us that which is fit, suitable, and convenient for us; and even so your you selfe fit, in your direction for diet, nourishment, and purging of your patients by reason, after the pre- 40 scription (as it were) of law, do not set them downe receipts and orders all alike, but such as are agreeable and meete for everie one. upon this speech *Ardalus* replied, saying: How then? Is there a law that commaundeth *Epimenides* here our familiar friend and *Solon*'s hoste, to forbear all other viands, and by taking onely in his mouth a little of the composition called *Almon*, which hath vertue to put-by hunger (which pleasant electuarie or confection he maketh himselfe) to continue a whole day without meate and drinke, without dinner and supper. This speech mooved attention and silence in the whole companie there in place: onely *Thales* after a jocund and merrie manner answered: That *Epimenides* did well and wisely not to busie and trouble himselfe about grinding corne, baking meale, or dressing his owne meates (as *Pittacus* did): for my selfe (quoth he) whiles I was in the Isle *Lesbos*, heard a wench of a forein country, 50 as she turned the querne about, sing thus, Grind mil, Grind; for even *Pittacus* the king of Great *Mitylene*, is a miller and grindeth. But *Solon* said; I woonder much *Ardalus*, that you never read in *Hesiodus* his Poeme, the receipt of the regiment of that mans diet: for he was the first who gave unto *Epimenides* the seeds of this nourishment, and taught him to learch:

In *Mallowes* and in *Asphodels*,  
which grow on everie ground;  
What use and profit manifold,

for

for man here may be found.

Why? thinke you (quoth *Periander*) that *Hesiodus* had any such meaning in that verse; and not rather (as he is alwaies a great praiser of sparing and frugallitie) that he exhorted us unto the simplest viands, as to those which were most pleasant: for surely the Mallow is good to eate, and the Asphodell stem verie sweete in taste: as for those which the Physicians came *Alima* and *Asphel*, that is to say, putting-by hunger and thirst; I heare say and understand that they be medicines and not meates, and that among other ingredients that go to their making, they receive honic and a certaine barbarous kinde of cheefe, besides many other seeds which are easie enough to come by: for how else should not (as we read in *Hesiodus*)

The plough beame hang aloft in smotherie smoke,

The oxen and mule each both to draw in yoke.

if need there were of so great provision? But I marvell much *Solon*, at your hoste, that having but lately celebrated a solemne feast of Purification among the Delians, he observed not how they themselves brought with great ceremonie into their temple, the enignes and monuments of the ancient and primitive nourishment of mankind: and namely, among other things very common, and which grow of themselves without mans hand, the Mallow and the Asphodell: which two hearbs (it is verie probable and like) that *Hesiodus* also recommended unto us for their simplicitie & profit. Not in those regards onely (quoth *Anacharsis*) but for that they both the one as well as the other, are commended as especiall hearbs for the health of man. True 20 (quoth *Cleodemus*) and great reason you have so to say: for *Hesiodus* was well scene in Physicke, as may appeare by that which he hath written so exactly and skillfully of diet, and the regiment of our feeding, of the manner of tempering wine, of the vertue and goodnesse of water, the use of baines, bathes and women, of the time of keeping companie with them, and of the posture of infants in the wombe, and when they should be borne. But to judge aright, *Asop* had more reason than *Epimenides* to avow himselfe the disciple of *Hesiodus*, for the talke which the haike had with the nightingall, gave unto *Asop* the first beginning of his faire, variable, and many tongued learning of his. But willing I am to heare *Solon*; for verie like it is, that he having lived and conversed so familiarly many yeeres together with *Epimenides* at *Athens*, asked of him oftentimes and knew full well upon what accident or occasion, and for what purpose he chose 30 and followed this strait course of life. And what need was there (quoth *Solon*) to demaund that of him? for all the world knoweth, and most evident it is, that as the greatest and most soveraigne good of man, is to have no need at all of nouriture; so the next unto it is to require the least nourishment that is: Not so (quoth *Cleodemus*) if I may be so bold as to speake my mind: For I do not thinke that the soveraigne good of man is to eate nothing, especially when the table is laide and furnished with meate; for to take away the viands set thereupon, is as much as to subvert the altar and sacrifice unto the gods, and to overthrow the amity and hospitalitie among men. And like as *Thales* saith: That if the earth were taken out of the world, there mult of necessitie ensue a generall confusion of all things; even so we may say, put downe the boord, you doe as much as rinate the whole house; for with it you abolish fire which keepeth the house; the 40 tutel-deitie of *Pesta*; the amiable custome of drinking together out of one boll and cup; the laudable manner of feasting friends; the kind fashion of entertaining strangers, and all reciprocal hospitalitie, and mutuall usage of guests; which be the principall and most courteous conversations that can bee devised among men one with another: and to speake in summe more truly; farewell then, all the sweetnes of humane life and societie, in case there be allowed any retreat at all, solace and passion apart from businesse and affaires, whereof the need of sustenance and the preparation thereto belonging, yeeldeth most matter, and affoordeth the greatest part. Moreover, the mischief hereof would reach as far as to agriculture, and that were great pity, considering that if husbandrie were laid downe with the decay & ruine thereof, there would ensue againe a rude & deformed face of the whole earth, as being neglected, & not clesned from fruit- 50 lesse trees, bushes & weeds, and overflowed with the inundation of waters & rivers running out of their chanelles to and fro without order, for want of good husbandrie and the diligent hand of man: over and besides, perish there shall with it, all arts and handicrafts which the table main- teineth and keepeth in traine, giving unto them their foundation & matter, in such sort as they will come all to nothing, if you take it away: may more than that; What will become of religion and worship done to the gods? for surely, men will exhibit but little or none honour at all unto the Sunne, and much lesse unto the Moone, as having nought els from them but their light & heat onely: and who will ever cause an altar to be reared and furnished as it ought to be, to Ju- piter,

F f 2

piter,



pter, for sending downe seasonable raine, or to *Ceres* the patronesse of agriculture, or to *Neptune* the protectour of trees and plants? who will ever-after offer any sacrifices unto them? how shall *Bacchus* be the authour of joy and mirth, if we have no more any need of that pleasant liquor of wine which he giveth? what shall we sacrifice? what shall we powre upon the altars? what oblations shall we offer unto the gods? and whereof shall we present any first fruits? In one word, this abuse would bring with it a totall subversion and generall confusion of the best and chiefe things. True it is, that to follow all kinde of pleasures, and in every manner were brutishnesse; and even so to flie them all, and in no wise to embrace them, were no lesse follie and foolishnesse. The soule may well enough enjoy other pleasures and delights, which are better and more noble; but the bodie can finde none at all more harmlesse and honest, to content it selfe with, than to eat and drinke, whereby it is fed and nourished; a thing that there is no man but he both knoweth and acknowledgeth; in regard whereof, men use to set and spread their tables in publicke and open places, for to eat and drinke together in the broad day-light; whereas to take the pleasure of *Venus*, they wait for the night, and seeke all the darknesse they can, supposing it to be as beastly and shamelesse to do the one in publicke and common, as not at all to doe the other but forbeare it altogether. When *Cleodemus* herewith brake off, and ended his speech, I followed in the same traine, and seconded his words in this wise: But you overpasse one thing besides, namely, that by this meanes, together with our food and nourishment, we banish and drive away all sleepe: now if there be no sleepe, there will be no dreames, & so by consequence, we may bid farewell to a most ancient kinde of oracle and divination which we have by them. Over and besides, our life will be alwaies after one fashion, and to no purpose, but in vaine shall the soule be clad (as a man would say) within the bodie, seeing that the greatest number and the principall parts of the said bodie were made and framed by nature for to serve as instruments of nourishment; as for example, the tongue, the teeth, the stomacke and the liver, &c. for there is nothing in the whole structure and composition of mans body, that either lieth still & idle, or is ordeined for any other use; in somuch as whosoever hath no need of food, needeth not the body also; which is as much to say, as that hee standeth in no need of himselfe; for every one of us doth consist aswell of bodie as soule. Thus much may serve for my part, to have spoken in the defence of the bellie; now if *Solon* or any other have ought to say and object against it, by way of accusation, ready we are and disposed to give him the hearing. Yes mary (quoth *Solon*) unlesse we would be reputed of lesse judgement and understanding than the *Aegyptians*, who ripping open the belly of a dead bodie, shew it unto the sunne, and cast away the guts and entrails together with the paunch, into a running river; but afterwards, when they have thus rid away the garbage, and cleansed the corps, the rest they imbalme and be carefull of: for to say a trueth, these inward parts, be the very pollution and iniquation of the flesh, and to speake properly, the very hell of our bodie; for so they say, that the place of the damned is full of (I wot not what) horrible rivers and winds confused together with fire and dead carcasses. For no creature living, is nourished with any food that liveth; but we (in killing those creatures which we foules, or in destroying plants, herbs and fruits which participate likewise of life, inasmuch as we see them to be nourished and grow) do evill, and sinne very grievously, forasmuch as whatsoever is transmuted and turned into another, loseth that nature which it had before, and wholly is corrupted, for to become nourishment to another. As for abstinence from eating of flesh, as (by report) *Orpheus* did in olde time, is rather a subtil shift of Sophistrie, than any perfect thinning or forbearing of those finnes which are committed in delicious fare and superfluous gormandize; but the onely way to avoid enormitie in this behalfe, and the meanes to keepe a mans selfe perfectly pure and undefiled, according to the absolute rule of justice, is to be content with that which is within himselfe, and to live without desire of any thing without, whatsoever: but he that is by God framed to that nature and condition, that without the damage and hurt of another, he can not possibly preserve his owne being and safetie; unto him he hath given a nature which will continually move him to injustice, & to commit wrong. Were it not then (my good friend *Dioctes*) very meet and requisite to cut off together with injustice and sinfulness, the belly, stomacke and liver, yea, and all other such parts which give unto us the appetite of nothing in the world that is honest, but resemble partly the instruments of a cooke, and vessels of the kitchen, to wit, chopping-knives, cawdrons, pots and kettles, and in part are like unto the utensils of a mill, of a chimney, oven or furnace, or such tooles as serve either to digge pits, or be used in bake-house and pastrie? for to say a trueth, you may plainly see and perceive that the soule in many men lieth hidden within the bodie, as it were in a certaine mill-house, turning continually

tinually (as one would say) about a querne, in pursue after the necessities thereof, even as we here-while perceived by experience in our owne selves, when we neither saw nor heard, nor regarded one another; but every one of us inclining forward and stooping downe to our victuals served our owne need & looked to our food, but now when the tables be taken up, as you see, having chapters of flowers on our heads, we take delight in devising together, & holding honest discourses, we rejoyce in fellowship & good company, we passe the time away in ease & repose, being once come to that point, that we have no more any desire or need of nourishment: If then we could hold us so still, & continue while we live in this present state, so that we neither feared want & poverty, nor yet knew what was covertnesses & desire of riches, should we not lead (thinke you) a blessed and easie life, as having leisure to converse together and joy in our mutual societie? For know wel this, that looking after the needles superfluities immediately ensteth upon the appetite and desire of things necessarie. But whereas *Cleobulus* is of this opinion, that needs there must be meat & food, to the end that their might be tables and standing cups upon them, that men may drinke one to another, also that they might sacrifice to *Jane Ceres* & her daughter *Proserpina*; another man may as well and truly say: There ought to be waives and battels, to the end that we may have wals and fortifications for our cities, arsenals for our navy, and armories also, that for the killing of an hundred enemies, were might in thanksgiving to the gods offer sacrifices thereupon, called *Hecatombonia*, according as they say, there is a statute importing so much among the *Messians*. Or all one it were as if some other should be angry or offended with health, saying: It were great pitee, if because there are none sicke, any more there should be no use of easie beds, fine linnen sheets, soft pillows and coverings, nor any need to sacrifice unto *Asculapius* or other gods, to divert and tume away our maladies; and so the art of physick, with all the tooles, instruments, drugs and medicines belonging thereto, be cast aside and neglected, without honor and regard. For what ods is there betweene the one and the other, considering that we receive food as a medicine to cure our hunger? Besides, all they that keepe a certaine diet, are said to cure themselves, using this remedie, not as a pleasure delightful and desirable, but as meanes to content and satisfie nature. For surely we may reckon more paines than pleasures, that come unto a man by his feeding; or to speake more truly, the pleasure of eating hath but a little place, and continueth as small a while in mans bodie; but the trouble and difficultie which it hath in providing and preparing, with how many shamefull inconveniences and painefull travells it pestereth us, what should I relate unto you? for I suppose, that in regard of all these vexations, *Homer* took upon him to prove, that the gods died not, by this argument, that they received no food:

For neither care they bread in heaven,  
nor pleasant wine to drinke:  
Thus bloodlesse since they be, we them  
immortal name and thinke.

As if by these verses he would give us to understand, that our eating and drinking is not onely the meanes of our life, but also the cause of our death: for thereupon a number of diseases take hold of our bodies, which are gathered within the same, and proceed no lesse from fulnesse than emptinesse, and many times we have more adoe to concoct, consume, and dissipate our foode, than we had to get and provide it. And much like as if the daughters of *Danaus* were in doubt what to do, and what life to lead, or how to be employed, after they were delivered and freed once from their servile taske imposed upon them, for to fill their tunne boared full of holes; even so doubt we (in case we were come to this passe, as to cease from stuffing and cramming this unsatiable flesh of ours, which will never say Ho, with all sorts of viands that land or sea may afford) what we should do? and al because for want of experience & knowledge what things be good & honest, we love all our life time to seeke for to be provided of necessaries: and like as they who have bene slaves a long time, after they come once to be delivered from servitude, do of themselves and for themselves the verie same services, which they were wont to performe for their masters, when they were bound; even so, the soule taketh now great paines and travel to feed the bodie, but if once she might be dispatched and discharged from this yoke of bondage, no sooner shall she finde her selfe free and at libertie, but she will nourish and regard herselfe, she will have an eie then, to the knowledge of the truth, and nothing shall plucke her away, or divert and withdraw her from it. Thus much of *Nisibarchus* as touching those points which were then delivered concerning nourishment. But before that *Solon* had fully finished his speech, *Gorgias* the brother of *Periander* cutted into the place, being newly returned from *Tanarus*, whither he

had bene sent before by occasion of (I wot not what) oracles, for to carrie thither certaine oblations unto *Neptune*, and to doe sacrifice unto him; we all saluted him and welcomed him home; but *Periander* his brother coming toward and kissed him, causing him afterwards to sit downe by himselfe upon the bed-side, where hee made relation unto him alone of certaine newes. *Periander* gave good care unto his brother, and shewed by his countenance that he was diversly affected, and verie passionate upon that which he heard him to report; and by his visage it seemed one while that he sorrowed and grieved, another while that he was angry and offended; he made semblant for a time, as if he distrusted and would not give credit unto him, and anon againe he seemed as much to wonder and stand in admiration; in the end he laughed and said unto us: Verie gladly would I out of hand recount unto you the tidings which my brother hath told me, but hardly dare I neither will I be over hastie so to doe, for feare of *Thales*, whom I have heard otherwise to say: That well we might make report of newes that be probable and like to be true; but touching things impossible, we ought altogether for to hold our peace. Hereupon *Bias*: But as wise a saying (quoth he) was this of *Thales*: That as we ought not to believe our enemies in things that be credible, so we are not to discredit our friends even in those things that are incredible. For mine owne part, I thinke verily by this speech of his, that hee tooke thole for his enemies who were leawd and foolish, and reputed for friends such as were good and wise. I would advise you therefore (*o Gorgias*) that either you would declare your newes here before all this companie, or rather reduce that narration which you come withall to pronounce aloud unto us, into those new kinde of verses which are called *Dithyrambes*. Then *Gorgias* set tale on end and began to speake in this manner: After we had sacrificed for the space of three daies together, and the last day performed in a generall assembly all the night a festiual solemnitie with plaies and dances along the strand by the sea side, as the moone shone at full upon the sea, without any winde in the world stirring at all, so as there was a gentle generall calme, and every thing still and quiet; behold we might discover a farre off a certaine moition or trouble in the sea, bending toward a promontorie or cape, and as it approached neerer thereto, raised withall a little scumme, and that with a great noise by reason of the agitation of the water and waves that it made in such sort, as that all the companie of us wondered what it might be, and ran toward the place whereunto it seemed to make way and bend the course for to arrive; but before that we could by any conjecture gesse what it was, (the swiftnesse thereof was such) we might evidently descric with our eie a number of dolphins, some swimming round about it thicke together, others directing the whole troupe toward the easiest and gentlest landing place of the banke, and some there were againe that followed behinde as it were in the rereward: now in the mids of all this troupe there appeared above the water I wot not what lumpie or masse of a bodie floating aloft, which we could neither discern nor devise what it was, untill such time as the said dolphins all close together and shooting themselves into the shore, landed upon the banke a man both alive and also moving; which done they returned toward the rocks or promontorie aforesaid, leaping and dauncing wantonly as it should seeme for verie joy more than they did before: which the greatest part of our company (quoth *Gorgias*) seeing, were so greatly afraid, that they fled from the sea amaine all amazed; my selfe with some few others tooke better heart and approached nere, where we found that it was *Arion* the harper, who of himselfe tolde to us his name, and easie he was otherwise to be knowne, for that he had the same apparell which he was wont to weare when he plaied in publike place upon his harpe: So we tooke him up incontinently and brought him into a tent (for harme he had none in the world, save only that by reason of the swiftnesse & violent force of his carriage he was wearie and seemed ready to faint) where we heard from his mouth a strange tale, and to all men incredible, unlesse it were to us who saw the end and issue thereof. For this *Arion* reported unto us, that having bene of long time resolved to returne out of *Italy* and so much the rather because *Periander* had written unto him for to make haste & come away upon the first opportunity presented to him of a Corinthian carrie that made saile fro thence, he presently embarked, but no sooner were they come into the broad and open sea, and that with a gentle gale of winde, but he perceived that the mariners conspired together for to take away his life, whereof the pilot himselfe allo of the same ship gave him advertisement secretly, namely, that they intended to put the thing in execution that night. *Arion* thus finding himselfe destitute of all succour, and not knowing what to doe; it came into his minde as it were by a certaine heavenly and divine inspiration (whiles hee had yet some time to live) for to adorne his bodie with those ornaments which he accustomed to put on when he was to play upon his harpe for a prize in some fre-

quent Theater; to the end that the same habit might serve him for his funerall weed now at his death; and withall to sing a dolefull song and lamentable dittie before his departure out of this life, and not to shew himselfe in this case lesse generous than the swans: being therefore thus armed and decked accordingly, and doing the mariners to wit before hand, that he had a wonderful desire to chaunte a sonet or hymne unto *Apollo Pythius*, for the safetie of himselfe, the ship and all those fellow passengers who were within it, he stood upright on his feet in the poope close to the ship side, and after he had founded a certaine invocation or prayer to the sea-gods, he chanted the canticle before said, and as he was in the mids of his song, the sunne went downe and seemed to settle within the sea, and with that they began to discover *Peloponnesus*. Then the mariners who could no longer stay nor tarry for the darke night, came toward for to kill him; when he saw their naked swords drawn, and beheld the fore said Pilot how he covered his face, because he would not see so vilanous a spectacle, he cast himselfe over ship-board, and leapt as farre into the sea from the ship as he could; but before that his whole bodie was under the water, the dolphins made haste, and from beneath were readie to beare him up for sinking. Full of feare and perturbation of spirit hee was at first, inso much as being astonied therat, hee wist not what it might be; but within a while after, perceiving that he was carried at ease, and seeing a great floc of dolphins environing gently round about him; and that they succeeded and conceded one another by turnes, for to take the charge of carrying him, as if it had bene a service imposed upon them all, and whereunto they were necessarily obliged; and seeing besides that the carrie was a good way behind (by which he gathered that he went apace, and was carried away with great celerity:) He was not (quoth *Gorgias*) so feareful of death, or desirous otherwise to live, as hee had an ambitious desire to arrive once at the haven of safetie, to the end that the world might know that he stood in the grace and favour of the gods, and that hee reposed an assured belief and firme affiance in them, beholding as hee did the skie full of starres, the moone arising pure and cleere with exceeding brightnesse, and the whole sea about him smooth and calmes; but that the course of these dolphins traced out a certaine way and path, so that hee thought thus within himselfe, that the divine justice had not one eie alone, but as many eies as there were starres in the heaven, and that God beheld all about whatsoever was done both by sea and land: Which cogitations and thoughts of mind (quoth he) mightily strengthened and sustained my bodie, which otherwise was readie to faint and yeeld with travell and wearinesse: finally, when the dolphins were come as farre as to the great promontorie of *Tenarus*, so high and steepe, they were verie warie and careful that they ran not upon it, but turned gently at one side, and swam behind it a long the coast, as if they would have conducted a baile safe and found, to a sure bay and landing place, whereby he perceived evidently that carried he was thus by the guidance of the divine providence. After that *Arion* (said *Gorgias*) had made all this discourse unto us, I inquired of him, where he thought that the ship above said intended to arrive. At *Corinth* (quoth he) without all doubt, but it will be very late first, for it being toward evening when I leapt into the sea, I suppose that I was carried upon the dolphins backs no lesse than a course of five hundred furlongs, and no sooner was I from ship-board, but there ensued presently a great calme at sea. Moreover, *Gorgias* said: That he having learned the names aswell of the ship-master as the pilot, and withall known what badge or ensigne the ship carried, made out certaine pinnaces, and those manned with souldiours, for to observe what creeks, commodious bays, and landing places there were upon the said coast; but as for *Arion*, *Gorgias* conveyed him secretly with him, for feare lest if the mariners should have had any advertisement of his deliverie and safetie, they might flie away and escape: But as God would have it, every thing fell out so, as we might see (quoth *Gorgias*) the very immediat hand of the divine power; for at one and the same instant that I arrived here, I had intelligence also that the said ship was fallen into the hands of those souldiours whom I set out; and so the mariners and passengers within it were taken all prisoners. Hereupon *Periander* commanded *Gorgias* presently to arise to apprehend them, and lay them up fast in close prison, where no person might have access unto them, or certifie them that *Arion* was alive and safe. Then *Aesop*: Mocke on now (quoth he) at my gaies and crowes that talke and tell tales, when you see that dolphins also can in this wise play their youthfull parts, and achieve such prowesses. Nay (quoth I then) we are able to report, *Aesop*, another narration like to this, which hath bene set downe in writing, and received for currant and good these thousand yeeres passed and more, even from the daies of *Iso* and *Athamas*. Then *Solon* taking occasion of speech by these words: Yea, but these matters, *o Diocles* (quoth he) concerne the gods more neerely, and surpasse our puissance; but as for that which

befell to *Hejodus*, was a meere humane accident and not impertinent unto us, for I suppose you have heard the historie tolde. No I assure you (quoth I :) But worth it is the hearing (quoth *Solon* againe.) And thus by report it was. A certaine *Milesian* with whom as it should seeme *Hejodus* had familiar acquaintance, in so much as they lodged, eat and drunke together ordinarily in the cite of *Laeres* kept their hosts daughter secretly, and abused her body, so as in the end he was taken with the manner. Now was *Hejodus* suspected to have bene privie to him of this villannie from the verie beginning; yea and to have kept the doore and assisted him in concealing the same, whereas indeed he was in no fault at all, nor culpable any way; howbeit, by means of false suspicions and sinister surmizes of people, hee incurred much anger and was hardly thought of, neither could he avoide the unjust imputations of the world: for the brethren of the yong damosell lay in ambush for him neere unto a wood about *Loeri*, set upon and slew him outright together with his servant or page *Troilus*, who tended upon him. After this murder committed, and their bodies cast into the sea, it chanced that the corps of *Troilus* being carried forth into the river *Daphnus*, rested upon a rocke environed and dashed round about with the water, and the same not far from the sea, which rocke thereupon tooke his name, and is so called at this day. But the dead bodie of *Hejodus*, immediately from the land was received by a float or troupe of Dolphins, and by them carried as farre as to the capes *Rhion* and *Molychia*. It fortuned at the verie same time that the citizens of *Loeri*, held a solemne assembly and celebrated festivall sacrifices, called *Rhia*, which they performe even at this daie also in the verie same place with great magnificence and state: this corps being espied floating toward them, (you may wel thinke) caused all the company there to marvell not a little, who thereupon ranne all to the shore, and taking knowledge that it was the corps of *Hejodus*, because it seemed fresh killed, they laid all other butinesse apart & with all speed, sent about and made inquisition of this murder, by reason of the great renoume and name that went of *Hejodus*: and this they followed with such diligence, that quickly they found out the murderers, whom after they were apprehended, they threw alive headlong presently into the sea, drowned them, and razed their house. Now was the corps of *Hejodus* entered neere unto the said *Nemeum*; howbeit, few strangers there be that know of this his sepulcher, for concealed of purpose it is, by reason of the Orchonenians who made search for it (by report) and were desirous by the appointment of certaine oracles to take up his reliques, and burie them in their countrey. If then the Dolphins be so kind and lovingly affected to the dead, much more probable it is, that they be willing and ready to helpe those who are alive, especially if they be drawn and allured by the sound of the pipes, flutes or other harmonie: for who is there of us all that knoweth not how these creatures are delighted in song, following and swimming along those vessels where they heare musike, as taking great pleasure in the songs and musically instruments of those passengers, who do sing or play in a faire and calme season: also they are not a little pleased to see yong children swimming & they joy and strive to be dousing, badling, & diving together with them: and therefore provided it is by an unwritten law, as touching their securitie, that they should not be hurt; by vertue whereof none doe fish for them, nor doe them any harme, unlesse haply when they chance to be taken in any nets, they hinder the taking of other fishes, or otherwise hurt them, and then beaten they are and corrected gently for it, like as little children who have done amisse and made a fault. And here I call to minde what I have heard recounted for certaintie of the inhabitants of *Lesbos*, that in times past within their countrey, there was a yong maiden saved by a Dolphin, from perill of being drowned in the sea: but for that *Pittacus* should know this much better, it were more reason that he himselfe reported it. True it is indeed (quoth *Pittacus*) the tale is verie notorious and related by many. For there was an answer given by oracle to those founders, who first peopled *Lesbos*; that when in sailing upon the sea they arrived at a rock called *Messogean*, that is to say, *Mediterranean*, they should cast into the sea for *Neptune* a bull, but for dame *Amphirrite* and the Nymphs *Nereides* a virgin alive. Now seven principall conductors & kings there were of that company which were to inhabit there, and *Echelus* made the eight, expressly named by the oracle for the planting of a colony, and he as yet a bachelor & unmarried. Now when the other seven, who had daughters marriageable, & yet unwedded, cast lots among themselves whose daughter should be offered (as is before said) it fell out so, that the lot light upon the daughter of *Smithenus*; her therefore they arrayed with rich robes, & adorned with costly jewels of gold for that purpose, and being come to the place appointed, after they had made their prayers and oraisons accordingly, as in such a case, and were now at the verie point to throw her into the sea; a certaine yong man, one of the passengers in the ship, of a gentle

nature

nature and good disposition (as it appeared) whose name was *Enalus*, being enamoured of the said yong damosell, entred presently into a resolution to succor her in this extremitie, although hee saw well that it was in manner impossible, and embracing her fast about the middle, he cast himselfe and her together into the sea: and even then there ran a rumor, although without any certaine ground or author; howbeit beleived by many of the armie, that both of them were carried to land and saved alive: but afterwards (by report) the said *Enalus* was seen in the isle *Lesbos*, who made relation, that he and shee both were mounted upon dolphins backs, and so carried safe to the firme land without any danger. I could rehearse other strange narrations belonging hereto, more marvellous than these, able as well to ravish with admiration, as to affect with delectation the minds of any that shall heare them; but hard it is to averre them all for true, and to bring prooffe thereof, namely: That when there arose a mightie huge billow of water about the island like a rocke, so as no men durst approach nere unto the sea, *Enalus* only came thither and a number of Polype fishes, or poulpes followed after, and accompanied him to the temple of *Neptune*, where the biggest of them brought unto *Enalus*, a stone which he tooke and dedicated there in memoriall of this miracle; which stone we call *Eti* to this day. But in summe (quoth he) if a man knew well the difference betwene impossible and unusuall, and could distinguish betwene that which is contrarie to the order or course of nature, and the common opinion of men, in not beleiving too rashly, nor discrediting a thing too easily, he might observe wel from time to time your rule *Chilon*, [*Nothing overmuch*] which you ordeine to be kept. After him spake *Anacharsis*, saying: That is not to be wondered at, that the goodliest and greatest matters in the world were done by the will and providence of God, considering that according to the good and wise opinion of *Thales*, there is in all the chiefe and principall parts thereof a certaine soule: for as the organ and instrument of the soule is the body; so the instrument of God is the soule: and like as the body hath many motions of the owne, but the greater part of them, and namely those which are most noble, proceed from the soule; even so the soule likewise doth worke some of her operations by her owne instinct, but in others she yeeldeth herselfe to be ordered, turned, managed and directed by God, as it pleaseth him to use her, being indeed of all instruments the most meet and handfome: for it were a very strange and absurd thing, that wind, water, clouds & raine, should be Gods instruments, by means whereof he nourisheth and maintaineth many creatures, and whereby he destroyeth and overthroweth as many; and that he should use the ministerie of no living creatures in any worke of his: Reason it is yet and probable, that seeing such creatures depend wholly upon the puissance and omnipotencie of God, that they should serve al his motions, yea and obey his wils and second his purposes, more than bowes are accomodate to the Scythians, and harpes or hautboies to the Greeces. After this speech the poet *Cherfias* made mention of many others who had bene miraculously and beyond all hope & expectation saved from death, and among the rest he gave instance of *Cypselus* the father of *Periander*, whom being but a yong babe and infant new borne, certeine bloudie murderers were sent to kill, and upon the sight of him, for verie pittie turned away and forbore to commit so bloody a fact; but afterwards bethinking themselves, and repenting such foolish compassion, they returned backe againe to seeke him out but could not finde him, for that his mother had hidden him within a little corne flasket or twiggen hamper, called in Greeke *Cypselus*: in remembrance whereof *Cypselus* afterwards when he was a man dedicated a chappell within the temple of *Apollo* in *Delphos*, as beleieving how at that time hee had bene miraculously preserved, and by the hand of God kept from crying, which might have bewraied him to the murderers. Then *Pittacus* addressing his speech to *Periander* said thus: *Cherfias* hath done me a great pleasure to mention this chappell or cell; for many a time desirous I was to know of you what should be the meaning of those frogs which are seene graven round about the foot of the palme tree therein; and what they did concerne either the said God *Apollo*, or the man himselfe who built and dedicated the said house. And when *Periander* willed him to aske *Cherfias* that question, who wist well enough what it was, for that he was with *Cypselus* at the dedication thereof; *Cherfias* smiled and said: I will not expound the mysterie thereof, unlesse I may know first of them that be heere, what is meant by these olde said sawes; *Nothing too much. Know thy selfe*: and that other mot, (which hath caused some to continue single and unmarried, others to forbeare surety-ship, and many to be distrustfull, to be mute and silent) to wit, *Give thy word and pay: Be surety, and be sure of a shrewd turne*. And what need is there quoth *Pittacus* that we should interpret and declare these sentences, considering you so greatly praise the fables that *Aesope* hath composed, which shew the substance of every one? *Aesope* answered: So faith

*Cherfias*

*Cherſias* indeed when he is diſpoſed to jeſt and be merry with me: but when he ſpeaketh in good earneſt, he affirmeth that *Homer* was the firſt author of theſe ſentences, ſaying that *Homer* knew himſelfe well enough, who advancing forward to ſet upon other captaines of the Greeks,

*Reſuſed well and wiſely for to fight,  
With Ajax, ſonne of Telamon that knight.*

He ſaith moreover, that *Ulyſſes* approved and commended this ſentence, *No thing too much*; when he admoniſhed *Diomedes* in theſe tearmes:

*Sir Diomedes, praſe me not overmuch  
Ne yet diſpraſe I love no doings ſuch.*

And as for ſurety-ſhip, others are of opinion that he condemneth it as a leawd, naughty, and ſo dangerous thing in theſe words

*Who ſureties are for men diſtreſt  
and in calamity,  
T' aſte oftentimes for their kind heart  
much inſortunity.*

But this Poet *Cherſias* here ſaith: That the fiend *Aze*, which is as much to ſay as Plague or Infortunitie, was by *Jupiter* ſlung downe from heaven to earth, for that ſhe was preſent at the caution or warrantive which he interpoſed as touching the nativitie of *Hercules*, whereby *Jupiter* was circumvented and overtaken. Then *Solon*: Seeing it is ſo (quoth he) I am of this minde, that we ſhould give care and credit to the moſt wiſe Poet *Homer*, whoſe counſell this is:

*Since that the night comes on apace,  
and hath ſurprized us,  
Full meet it is her to obey,  
and end our ſpeeches thus.*

After we have therefore given thanks in powring out wine and offering it to the Muſes, *Neptunus* and *Amphitrite*, let us (if you thinke ſo good) end this our aſſembly and banquet. Thus *Nicarchus* this our merry meeting brake up, and was for that time diſſolved.



## INSTRVCTIONS FOR THEM THAT MANAGE AFFAIRES OF STATE.

The Summarie.



**T**ranſſie in any publique government, be it of prince, ſeignourie or people, as it is dangerous and deſeſtable; ſo we are no leſſe to feare anarchie, and the horrible conſuſion of thoſe States where every one is a lord & maſter. The wiſe man ſaid very well: That a people or citie deſtitute of government, is neere to ruine; and publique affaires proſper well, when there be ſtore of good counſellers. And on the other ſide, experience ſheweth, that humane ſocietie can not ſtand without magiſtrates, the maine ſteers of lawes & good order, which be the nerves or ſinewes, the cords and props of our life and converſation one with another. But if there be any way in the world ſlipperie, it is that of the management of State affaires, by reaſon of the leawdneſſe of ſome, whom I may call Sage ſofoles, who runne by heaps after publique offices, not ſuffering men of honour to enter into them, as fearing to be afterwards ranged and ordered by reaſon. Since then this ambition is a mortall plague in the mind and underſtanding of him who would advance himſelfe by crooked and indirect meanes, it behooveth on the contrary ſide, that thoſe who have a ſincere affection to ſerve in publique place, take heed that they be not diſcouraged, although otherwiles they be kept under and put downe by ſuch perſons as by good right ought to ſerve, and not command. To holde therefore ſome meane in this caſe, betwene mounting up unto vain-glory, and ſitting

into covariſe, *Plutarch* for to content and ſatiate a friend of his, giveth good inſtructions to every man that enreth into the managing of State affaires: and in the firſt place he requirerh at his hands a good will, free from vanitie and lightneſſe, void of avarice, and deliver'd from ambition and envie: after wards, his advice is, that he endeavour to know thoſe well, whom he muſt governe, for to acquit him well in his owne dutie in caſe he be induc't unto any high degree in reforming himſelfe and bring furniſhed with a good confidence, knowledge & eloquence, proper inſtruments for to go thorow all diſculties. This done, he teacheth a States-man to manage well his owne words, alſo what way he ought to take for the entrance into the conduct of his weightie affaires; what friends he is to choſe, and how he is to demean himſelfe aſwell with them as his enemies: afterwards, he diſcuſſeth and handleth this queſtion, to wit, Whether ſuch a perſon as he whom he hath repreſented, ought to intermeddle and deale in all offices, and reſolveth that he ought to manage none but that which is of greateſt importance. From this he proceedeth to ſpeake of that diſcretion which is requiſit for the ranging and bringing into order of ſtandards and enemies; and withall, with what manner of affaires a politician ſhould buſie and employ himſelfe, and whereto his ſpirit and minde is to tend; wiſhing above all, that he ſhould emertime the amitie of other lords and rulers, who are able to further and advance the publique good; and in the meane time to be well adviſed that he doe not goe about to ſave, or ruinate rather, his owne country by ſoverne meanes. Hereupon he diſcoureth of thoſe maladiſes wherunto common-wealths be ſubject, and holdeth this: That if there doe ariſe any miſchiefe, it ought to be repreſſed, kept downe and cured at home. Conſequently, he ſheweth unto a magiſtrate the manner of converſing with his colleagues or companions in office: and after he had commended thoſe who walke ſingly & ſoberly and plainly to worke, hee entretch very prettily into a diſcourſe ariſing from the precedents, namely, a touching policie and good government, declaring whereto it doth conſiſt: and ſo toucheth in a word, the dutie of good ſubjects in a ſtate well ruled. Which done, he returneth to his former purpoſe, and maketh mention of certaine caſes whereto a magiſtrate may accommodate and frame himſelfe to his owne people: alſo what perſons he ought to uſe & employ for aſſiſtance in the execution of important affaires, and from what vices he is to keepe himſelfe pure and cleane; how he ought to eſteeme and regard true honour, ſtanding upon two points: the one, that he do truſt and relye upon himſelfe: the other, that he be well beloved of the people, unto whom he ought to ſhew himſelfe liberall. To this above ſaid, there is joined a certaine diſcretion to be uſed in the largeſſe of magiſtrates to their ſubjects (a thing much practiſed in old time, and in theſe daies turned cleane againſt the haire) propoſing all in one traine, the true and moſt expedite way how to gaine the hearts of men, to which no prince nor governour ſhall ever attaine unleſſe he be ſuch an one as our author doth deſcribe: and repreſenting on the other ſide, the ridiculous and unhappie condition of ambitious perſons, and other ſuch as thiſt after ſhamefull glorie, whoſe name ſerveth for nought els but to play with the leaſt peties in a common-wealth. And for a ſmall concluſion, he treateth of ſeditious and civil warres; namely, how a good magiſtrate ought to carry himſelfe therein; what a care he ſhould have to quench with all ſpeed ſuch fire, and keepe his ſubjects in good unitie and concord, and how he ſhould eaſily come thereto, which is the very cloſing up of the booke, enriched with notable arguments, ſentences, ſimilitudes and examples, for thoſe eſpecially, who have the command of others, and yet are beſides, to appeare before the throne of their ſovereigne, 40 the examination, trial and ſearefull judgement of whom, they can not avoid.

## INSTRVCTIONS FOR THEM that manage affaires of State.



**L**et there be any ſpeech in the world, ſir *Menemachus*, unto which a man may properly apply theſe verſes of the Poet *Homer*:

*Of all the Greekes there is no man,  
Who blame theſe words or gaineſay can;  
But yet for ſooth you ſay not all,  
Nor come are ſo to the ſinall.*

certainly, it is in the caſe of thoſe Philoſophers, who exhort ſufficiently in generall tearmes, to undertake the affaires of State and publique government: but they teach us not how, nor give us precepts and directions thereto; who (me thinks) may wel be reſembled to thoſe, who ſnuffe and draw out the wicke of a lampe, but they powre no oyle into it. Seeing then that you

you have upon verie good reason deliberated and resolved to meddle in the State affaires of your country, and desire according to the nobilitie of your house and native country, from whence you are defended;

*To frame your speech with seemly grace,  
And deeds performe, meetes for your place.*

and considering that you are not yet come to that maturitie of yeeres, as to have scene evidently the life of a wise man and true Philosopher in matters of government, or viewed his carriage and demeanour in State affaires; ne yet to bee a spectator of worthie and goodly examples practised in deed and effect, and not discoursed upon in word onely; in which regards you have requested me earnestly to give unto you certaine rules, precepts, and advertisements for your better knowledge & instruction, how you ought to behave your selfe in this behalfe; me thought I could not with any honestie deny your request: but my desire & wish rather is, that whatsoever I have collected to this purpose, may be answerable both to the ardent zeale of your intention, and also to the willing forwardnes of mine affection; and verily to gratifie your minde, I have accompanied these precepts with many faire and beautifull examples.

First and formost therefore, let this be laid for a sure ground & strong foundation, That whoe soever mindeth to be a States man, and to manage affaires of policie, bring with him a good intent, mooved by reason and judgement, and in no wise arising upon any blind passion, or desire of vaine-glorie, or jealousie and emulation of another, or finally upon default of other occupations: for like as there be some who spend most of their time in the common-hall or market place, although they have nothing there to do, because they have no good thing at home to be employed about; even so, you shall have diverse men that thrust themselves into civill and publicke affaires, for that they have no private busines of their owne, worth tending, and so they use policie as a course of life, or rather a pastime and recreation. Others there be againe, who being by some fortune or chance arrived, or rather cast upon the management of common-weale, and having thereof enough & (as it were) their bellies full, can not with any ease withdraw and retire themselves, when they are once in, resembling those for all the world, who being embarked in some vessel take the sea, only for to be rocked & shaken therein a little for their exercise; but after they be carried by a gale of winde into the deepe, when their heads once begin to turne, and their stomacks sicke and readie to cast, they looke out backe toward the land, but for all that, forced they be to tarric still on ship-board, and to frame themselves to their present fortune.

*Their lovely joys and pleasures are then gon,  
To walke upon the batches gaily dight,  
With rowers seats in foist or gallion,  
Whiles sea is calme and weather faire and light:  
Which yeelds prospect most pleasant to their sight,  
And hearts content, so cut the waves aright.*

And these are they, who as much as any, or rather most of all, discredit the thing, in that they repent and be much discontented with their choise; namely, when in stead of glorie which they promised themselves, they fall into infamie, and whereas they looked to be feared of others by the meanes of their great credit and authoritie, they bee carried into a world of affaires full of troubles and dangers. But he who commeth to the government of weale publicke, and beginneth to enter upon it by sound judgement and true discourse of reason, as a most honest vocation in it selfe, and most agreeable to his estate and qualitie, will no whit be discouraged or dismayed at any of these accidents, nor ever change his resolution. For a man is not to take upon him the managment of State affaires, with intent to negotiate and trafficke there, or to make a gainefull trade and occupation thereof to himselfe, like as in times past at Athens, Stratocles and Demetrias, with those about them, for to go unto their golden harveyst (for so by way of jest and meterie speech they called the Tribunall seat, and publicke pulpit where orations were made unto the people) no nor upon any fit of a sudden passion that commeth upon him, as Cajus Gracchus did so at Rome sometime, who at the verie time when his brothers troubles were hot, and his death fresh and new, retired for a while out of the way, and betooke himselfe to a private course of life, farre remote from the common-wealth affaires; but afterwarde, being suddenly enkindled and inflamed againe with choler, upon certaine outrageous dealings and opprobrious wordes given him by some, would needes in all the haste upon a spleene, rush into the government of State, and quickly had his handes full of businesse, and his ambitious humour was soone fed and satisfied: but then when as he would, with all his heart have withdrawn

when himselfe, changed his life, and taken his repose, he could not by any meanes lay downe his authoritie and puissance (to such greatnes it was growen) but was killed before he could bring that about. As for these who compasse and dresse themselves as plaiers for to act upon the scaffold in some great Theater, and champions to contend with other concurrents, or else aime at fold in vaine-glorie; it can not be, but they must needs repent of that which they have done, especially when they once see that they must serve those whom they thought they were woorthie to rule, or that they can not chuse but displease them, whom they were desirous to gratifie and content. And verily this is my conceit of such, that they runne headlong upon policie and State matters, like unto those who by some misadventure, and sooner than they looked for, be fallen into a pit; for it can not otherwise be, but they be woonderously disquieted, seeing the depth thereof, and with they had never come there, but were out againe, whereas they, who confidently, and upon good deliberation goe downe into the said pit, carrie themselves soberly with quietnes and contentment of spirit, they are vexed, offended and dismayed at nothing, as who at their first entrie, put on a resolute minde, proposing unto themselves vertue and their dutie onely, and intending no other thing for to be the scop: and end of all their actions.

Thus when as men have well grounded their choise in themselves, untill it be so surely settled & confirmed, that unneeth or hardly it can be altered or changed; then they ought to bend all their wits to the consideration and knowledge of the nature, of their citizens and subjects, whose charge they have undertaken, or at leastwise of that disposition, which being compounded (as it were) of them all, appeereth most and carrieth greatest sway among them. For at the verie first and all at once, to goe about a change and to order and to reforme the nature of a whole commonalitie, were an enterprise, neither easie nor safe to be practised: as being a thing that requirith long time and great authoritie and power. But doe they must as wine doth in our bodies; which at the beginning is moistned (as it were) and overcome by the nature of him who drinke it, but afterwards by gentle warning his stomacke, and by little and little entering into his veines, it becommeth of strength to affect the drinker, and make a change and alteration in him; semblably, a wise politician and governor, untill such time as he hath wonne by the confidence reposed in him, and the good reputation that he hath gotten, so much authority among the people, that he is not able to rule and lead them at his pleasure, will accommodate and apply himselfe to their manners and fashions such as he findeth them, and thereby conjecture and consider their humors, untill he know wherein they take pleasure, whereto they are inclined, and what it is, wherewith they will soonest be lead and carried away. As for example, the Athenians as they are given to be hastic and cholericke; so they be as soone turned to pitie and mercy; more willing to entertaine a suspition quickly, than to have patience and at leaseure to be informed, and take certaine knowledge of a thing; and as they be more enclined and readie to succour base persons and of low condition; so they love, embrace and esteeme merrie words and pleasant conceits, delivered in game and laughter, more than sage and serious sentences; they are best pleased when they heare themselves praised, and least offended againe with those that flout and mocke them; terrible they are and dread, to their verie rulers and magistrates, and yet courteous and milde enough, even to the pardoning of their professed enemies. The nature of the Carthaginian people is farre otherwise, bitter, fell, fierce, sterne and full of revenge; obsequious to their betters and superiours; churlish and imperious over their inferiours and underlings; in feare most base and cowardly; in anger most cruell; firme and constant in their resolution, and where they have taken a pitch; hard to be mooved with any sports, pastimes, and jolitie; and in one word, rough & untractable. You should not have scene these fellows, if Cleon had requested them sitting in counsell (forasmuch as he had sacrificed unto the gods, and was minded to feast some strangers that were his friends, and come to visit him) to put off their assembly to another day; to arise laughing and clapping their hands for joy; nor, if whiles Alcibiades was a making unto them a solemne oration, a quaille should have escaped from under his gowne and gotten away, would they have runne after her away to catch her, and given her to him againe? nay they would have fallen all upon him; they would have killed them both in the place, as if they had contemned them and made fooles of them: considering that the banished captaine Hanno, because in the campe and armie when he marched, he used a lion as a sumptier horse to carrie some of his baggage; saying, that this favoured strongly of a man that affected tyrannie. Neither do I thinke that the Thebans could ever have contained themselves, but have opened the letters of their enemies, if they had come into their hands: like as the Athenians did, who having surprized king Philips posts and curriers would never suffer one of their let-



ters mislike to be broke open, which had the superscription to *Queene Olympias* my wife; nor discover the love-secrets and merrie conceits passing from an husband being absent in another countrey, and writing to his wife. Neither doe I thinke, that the Athenians on the other side, would have endured and borne with patience the proude spirit and scornfull contempt of *Epaminondas*, who would not make answer to an imputation charged against him, before the bodie of the people of *Thebes*, but arose out of the Theater where the people was assembled, and throw them all went his way, and departed into the place of publike exercises. The Lacedaemonians likewise would never have put up the insolent behaviour and mockerie of *Stratocles*, who having perswaded the Athenians to sacrifice unto the gods, in token of thanksgiving for a victorie, as if they had beene conquerours, and afterwards upon the certaine newes of a defeat and overthrow received, when he saw the people highly offended and displeased with him, demanded of them what injurie he had done them, if by his meanes they had beene merrie and feasted three daies together?

As for the flatterers that belong to Princes courts, they play by their lords and masters, as those fowlers do, who catch their birds by a pipe counterfeiting their voices; for even so they, to winde and insinuate themselves into the favour of kings and princes, doe resemble them for all the world, and by this devise entrap and deceive them. But for a good governour of a State, it is not meet and convenient that he should imitate the nature and the manners of the people under his government; but to know them and to make use of those meanes to every particular person, by which he knoweth that he may best win and gaine them to him: for the ignorance and want of skill in this behalfe, namely, how to handle men according to their humours, bringeth with it all disorders, and is the cause of irregular enormities, as well in popular governments, as among minnions and favorites of princes. Now after that a ruler hath gotten authority and credit once among the people, then ought he to strive and labour, for to reforme their nature and conditions if they be faultie; then is he by little and little to lead them gently (as it were) by hand unto that which is better: for a most painefull and difficult thing it is to change and alter a multitude all at once: and to bring this about the better, he ought first to begin with himselfe, and to amend the misdemeanours and disorders in his owne life and manners, knowing that he is to live from thence forth (as it were) in open Theater, where he may be scene and viewed on everie side. Now if haply it be an hard matter for a man to free his owne mind from all sorts of vices at once, yet at least wife he is to cut-off, and put away those that bee most apparent and notorious to the eyes of the world. For you have heard (I am sure) how *Themistocles* when hee minded to enter upon the manning of State-matters, weaned himselfe from such company wherein hee did nothing but drinke, daunce, revell and make good chere; and when he fell to sitting up late and watching at his booke, to fasting and studying hard, hee was wont to say to his familiars, that the *Trophee* of *Alibiades* would not suffer him to sleepe and take his rest. *Pericles* in like case altered his fashions in the whole course and maner of his life, in his person, in his sober and grave going, in his affable and courteous speech, shewing alwaies a staied and settled countenance, holding his hand ever more under his robe, and never putting it forth, and not going abroad to any place in the citie, but onely to the tribunall and pulpit for publike orations, or els to the counsell house. For it is not an easie matter to weld and manage a multitude of people, neither are they to be caught of every one, and taken with their safetie in the catching; but a gracious and gainfull piece of worke it were, if a man may bring it thus much about, that like unto suspicious & craftie wilde beasts, they be not affrighted nor let a madding at that which they heare and see, but gently suffer themselves to be handled, and be apt to receive instruction; and therefore this would not in any wise be neglected, neither are such to have a small regard to their owne life and maners, but they ought to studie and labor as much as possibly they can, that the same be without all touch and reproch: for that they who take in hand the government of publike affaires, are not to give account, nor to answer for that onely which they either say or doe in publike, but they are searched narrowly into, and manie a curious eye there is upon them at their boord; much listning after that which passeth in their beds; great sitting and scanning of their marriages and their behaviour in wedlocke, and in one word all that ever they doe privately, whether it be in jest or in good earnest. For what need we write of *Alibiades*, who being a man of action and execution, as famous and renowned a captain as any one in his time, and having borne himselfe alwaies invincible and inferiour to none in the managing of the publike State, yet notwithstanding ended his daies wretchedly, by meanes of his dissolute looseness and outrageous demeanour, in his private life and conversation

at home, inasmuch as he bereft his owne countrey of the benefit they might have had by his other good parts and commendable qualities, even by his intemperance and sumptuous superfluities in expence? Those of *Athens* found fault with *Cimon*, because he had a care to have good wine; and the Romans finding no other thing in *Scipio* to reprove, blamed him for that hee loved his bed too well: the ill-willers of *Pompey* the Great, having observed in him that otherwhiles he scratched his head with one finger, reproched him for it. For like as a little freckle, mole or pendant-wert in the face of man or woman is more offensive, than blacke and blew marks, than scars or maimes in all the rest of the bodie; even so, small and light faults otherwise of themselves, shew great in the lives of Princes, and those who have the government of the weale-publike in their hands, and that in regard of an opinion imprinted in the minds of men touching the estate of governours and magistrates, esteeming it a great thing, and that it ought to be pure and cleere from all faults and imperfections. And therefore deserved *Julius Drusus*, a noble Senatour and great ruler in *Rome* to be highly praised, in that, when one of his workemen promised him (if he would) to devise and contrive his house so, that whereas his neighbours overlooked him, and saw into many parts thereof, they should have no place therein exposed to their view and discoverie, and that this translating and alteration thereof should cost him but five talents: Nay (quoth he) thou shalt have ten talents, and make mine house so, that it may be scene into on everie side, to the end that all the citie may both see and know how I live; for in truth he was a grave, wise, honest, and comely personage. But peradventure it is not so necessarie that a house lie so open as to be looked into on all sides: for the people have eyes to pierce and enter into the verie bottom of governours manners, of their counsels, actions, and lives, which a man would thinke to be most covert & secret, & no lesse quick-sighted are they in their private carriage, as in that which they see them doe, and heare them speake in publike; loving some with a kinde of admiration, and hating others in disdainfull and contemptuous manner. What? will some one say, do not some cities otherwhiles love to be ruled by governours, whom they know to be dissolute and disordinate in their manner of life? Yes, I believe it verie well. And so forsooth, we see some women when they are with childe, long many times to eate grit of stones, and they who are stomacke-sicke, and have a peevish appetite, desire salt-fish, and such other naughtie meates; but within a while after, when the fit is once past, they reject, refuse and lothe the same; even so many States and Comminalties often-times upon an insolencie, wantonnesse and disordinate desire, or for default of better governours, be served with those that come first, and they care not with whom, notwithstanding they have them in contempt and detestation, but afterwards they are very well content when such speeches goe of them, as *Plato* a comical Poet in one of his Comedies inferreth to be spoken by the people themselves:

*Take me by hand, take holde and that right soone,*

*Aegyrtius* 'I'll captaine chuse anon.

And againe in another place, he bringeth in the people calling for a bason and a feather for to provoke vomit, saying thus:

*At my tribunall seat most eminent,*

*Her selfe to me Mantle doth present.*

And a little after,

*A stinking head it keepees and feedeth now,*

*A maladise most foule, I do avow.*

And the people of *Rome*, at what time as *Carbo* vowed a thing, and bound it by a great oath, yea, and the same with a curse and execration, if it were not so; yet for all that all with one voice sware aloud to the contrary, and protested that they would not beleve him. Also at *Lacedaemon*, when one *Demotheneas* a wicked and dissolute person, had delivered his opinion and advice, verie well fitting and behoovefull to the matter in question, the people rejected it; but the *Ephori* having chosen one of their Ancients and honourable counsellors of Estate, willed him to speake to the same point and the like effect; which was as much as if they had taken it out of one foule and filthie vessel, and put the same into another that was faire and cleane, and all to please and content the people and multitude: so effectually is for the government of an Estate, the assured perswasion of the honestie of a personage, and as forcible likewise is the contrarie. I write not thus to this end, that we should neglect the grace of eloquence and the powerfull skill of well-speaking, as if all should lie upon vertue, and nothing els, but that we are to thinke, that Rhetoricall speech and brave utterance is not the thing alone which perswadeth the people, but that it

is a good helpe, and doth cooperate in perswasion, so that we may in some sort correct and amend that sentence of *Alexander*:

*The honest life of him that speaks in place,  
And not his tongue, doth credit win and grace.*

For life and language both ought to concur, unless haply one would say, That it is the pilot onely that governeth the ship, and not the helme; and the rider alone turneth the horse head, and not the reins or bridle; semblably, that the science of policie and government of weale-publicke useth maners and not eloquence, as an helme or bridle, to manage, direct and governe a whole citie, which is (according to *Plato*) a creature (as one would say) most easie to be turned, so that it be conducted and guided, as it were, in the poepe: for seeing that those great kings, the sonnes of *Jupiter* (as *Homer* calleth them) set out and puffed up their magnificent part, with long robes of purple, with scepters in their hands, with a guard of squires and pensioners about their persons, with whom they were environed on everie side, yea, and with the oracles of the gods in their favour, subjecting unto their obeisance (by this outward venerable shew) the common fort, and imprinting an opinion that they are in greater state than men; and yet for all this, were desirous to learne how to speake wisely, and not carelesse and negligent to winne grace by good speech,

*And eloquence, whereby more perfect they  
In warlike feares might be another day.*

not recommending themselves to *Jupiter* onely the Counsellor, nor to bloodie *Mars* and war-like *Minerva*, but invoking likewise the Muse *Calliope*,

*Who doth upon great kings attend,  
And makes them as more reverend.*

with her perswasive grace and vertue dulcing and appeasing the violent mood and fiercenesse of the people. Seeing (I say) that mightie princes be furnished with so many helps and means; is it possible that a private person, with a simple robe and popular habit, taking upon him to weld and rule a whole citie or State, should ever be able to effect his purpose, namely, to tame and range into order an unruly multitude, unless he have eloquence to aide him in this businesse, for to perswade and bring them to the bent of his bow? for mine owne part, I thinke No. As for the matters and captaines of gallies and other ships, they have other officers under them, as their boar-swaines, to give knowledge what they would have to be done; but a good governour of State ought to have within himselfe the skill and knowledge of the steeres-man to sit at sterne and guide the helme, and besides that, good speech also to make known his will and pleasure, to the end that he need not at all the voice of another, nor be forced to say as *Epicharmus* did when he was overcome and braved out by the eloquent words of *Aristophan*: My adversaries plaier acteth better than mine, but surely my play is much better than theirs: and that he have not need often-times to have in his mouth these verses of *Euripides*:

*Would God the seed and race of mortall men  
Were speechlesse cleane, or could not speake words ten.*

As also of these:

*Oh God, that mens affaires and causes all  
Required no words, and for no speech did call,  
Thas oratours, whose tongues do plead so hard,  
Were not employed, nor in so good regard.*

For these sentences perhaps might give leave to some *Alcarnenes*, *Nesiotis*, and *Idines*, or such maner of people, who live by their handy-work, get their living by the sweat of their browes, and are past all hope to attaine unto any perfection of eloquence, to flie there-ffo: as it is reported of two Architects or great Masons at *Athens* sometimes, who came in question for their skill, whether of the twaine was more sufficient to make a great fabrick and publike piece of worke; the one, who could speake very well and expresse his minde with varietie and elegancie of words, pronounced a premeditate oration as touching the frame and building thereof; which he did so well, that he moved the whole assembly therewith; the other, who was more skilfull in Architecture, & the better workman by far, but one that could not deliver his mind so eloquently, when he came before the people, said no more but thus: My masters of *Athens*, that which this man here hath said, I will do. And verily such good fellowes as these, acknowledge no other goddesse or patronesse than *Minerva* the artizan, surnamed *Ergane*, and who as *Sophocles* saith:

upon

*upon the masive anvil et a me,  
With weightie strokes of hammer strong,  
A livelesse barre of yron, and frame  
Obeisant to their labours long.*

But the minister or prophet to *Minerva Polias*, that is to say, the protectresse of cities, and to *Themis* or Justice the protectresse of counsell:

*Who of mens counsels president,  
Disposes, or holds them resident.*

he (I say) having but one instrument to use and occupie, which is his speech, by forming and fashioning some things to his owne mould, and others which he findeth untoward and not pliable to the dessein of his worke (as if they were knurres and knots in timber, or flaws in the end of a whole citie) by softning, polishing and making plaine and smoothe, embelisheth in the end a whole citie. By this means the Common-wealth of *Pericles*, in name and outward appearance being popular, was in trueth and effect a principality and regall State, governed by one man the principall person of the citie: and what was it that did the deed? surely the force and power of his eloquence: for at the same time there lived *Cimon*, a good man, *Ephialtes* also and *Thucydides*, who being one day demanded by *Archidamus* the king of the Lacedaemonians, whether hee or *Pericles* wrestled better: That were (quoth hee) very hard to say; for when in wrestling I beare him downe to the ground, he is by his words able to perswade the standers-by and beholders, that he is not fallen, and so goeth cleere away with it. And verily, this gift of his brought not onely to him honour & glorie, but also safetie to the whole citie; which being by him ruled and perswaded, preserved and maintained full well the wealth and estate which it had of her owne, and forbore to desire the conquest of any other: whereas poore *Nicias*, although hee had the same good meaning and intention, yet because he wanted that perswasive facultie with his smooth tongue and eloquent speech, like unto a gentle bit, when he went about to bridle & restrain the covetous desire of the people, could not compasse it, but mauger and in spight of his heart was overswaied, caried away, and haled by the very necke unto *Sicilie*; such was the violence of the people. An olde said saw it is, and a true proverbe: That it is not good holding of a wolfe by the eares; but surely of a city or State, a man must principally take hold by the eares; and not as some doe, who are not sufficiently exercised nor well seene in the feat of eloquence, search other absurd and foolish handles to catch hold by, for to win and draw the people unto them: for divers you shall have, who thinke to draw and leade the multitude by the belly, in making great feasts and banqueting them; others by the purse, in giving them largesses of silver; some by the eie, in exhibiting unto them goodly fights of plaies, games, warlike dances and combats of fencers at the utterance; which devices are not to draw and leade the people gently, but to catch them rather cunningly: for the drawing or leading of a multitude is properly to perswade them by force of eloquence; whereas the other allurements and enticements resemble very well the baits that are laied for to take brute and wilde beasts, or the fodder that herd-men use to feed them with. Since then it is so, that the chiefe instrument of a wife and sage governour, is his speech, this principall care would be had, that the same be not too much painted and set out, as if he were some yong gallant that desired to shew his eloquence in a Theater and frequent assembly of a great faire or market, composing his oration as a chaplet of flowers with the most beautifull, sweet and pleasant phrases or tearmes that he can chuse; neither ought the same to be so painfully studied and premeditated as that oration of *Demosthenes* was, which *Pylarchus* said (by way of reproch) that it smelled of lamp-oile; nor full of over-much sophistical curiositie of enthymemes and arguments too witty and subtiltie; nor yet with clauses and periods exactly measured to the rule and compasse. But like as Musicians are desirous that in touching and stroke of their strings there should appeare a sweet and kinde affection, and not a rude beating; even so in the speech of a sage ruler, whether it be in giving counsell or decreeing any thing, there ought not to be seene the artificial cunning of an Oratour, nor any curious affection; neither must it in any wise tend to his owne praise, as if he had spoken learnedly, formally, subtilly, wittily and with precise respect and distinctions: let it be full rather of naturall affection without arte, of true heart and magnanimitie, of franke and fatherly remonstrance, as may become the father of his countrey, full of forecalt and providence, of a good mind and understanding, carefull of the common-weale, having together with honest and comely dignitie a lovely grace that is attractive, consisting of grave tearmes, pertinent reasons, and proper sentences, and the same significant and perswasive. For in trueth the oration and stile of a States-

man and governour admitteth in comparifon of a lawier or advocate pleading at the barre in court, more fententious fpeeches, hiftories, fables and metaphors, which do then move and affect the multitude moft, when the fpeaker knoweth how to ufe them with meafure, in time and place convenient; like as he did, who faid: My mafters, fee that you make not *Greece* one-cied: (fpeaking of the citie of *Athens*, when they were about to deftroy it) and according as *Demades* alfo did, when he faid, that he fat at ftirne to governe, not a fhip, but the fhipwracke of a citie and Commonwealt: Semblably *Archilochus* in faying,

*Let not the ftone of Tantalus*

*This ifle alwaies hung over thū.*

Likewife *Pericles* when he gave advice and commanded to take away th. : eie-fore of the haven 10 *Piræan*, meaning thereby the little ifle *Aegina*. In the fame maner *Phocion* fpeaking of the victorie atchieved by Generall *Leosthenes*, faid thus: The *ftadium* or fhort race of this warre is good, but I feare (quoth he) the *dolichum* thereof; that is to fay, the afterclaps and length thereof. In fumm, a fpeech ftanding fomewhat of haughtineffe, grauitie, and greatneffe, is more befitting a governour of State: and for example heereof, go no further than to the orations of *Demosthenes* penned againft king *Philip*, and among other fpeeches, fet downe by *Thucydides*, that which was delivered by the *Ephorus Shenelaidas*: alfo that of king *Archidamus*, in the citie *Platææ*: likewife the oration of *Pericles* after that great peftilence at *Athens*. As for thofe long fermons, carying a great traine of fentences and continued periods after them, which *Theopompus*, *Ephorus* and *Anaximenes*, bring in to be pronounced by captaines unto their 20 foldiours when they be armed and ftand arranged in battell-ray, a man may fay of fuch as the Poet did:

*What fooles would fpeake thus many words,*

*So neere to edge and dint of fwords.*

Over and befides; true it is that a man of government may otherwhiles give a taunt and nipping fcoffe, he may caft out alfo a merrie jeft to moove laughter, and namely, if it be to rebuke, chaftife, yea and to quippe one and take him vp for his good, after a modeft maner, and not to touch him too neere and wound him in honour and credite to his difgrace, with a kinde of fcurrilitie. But above all it may becomme him thus to doe when he is provoked thereunto, and is driven to replie and give one for another by way of exchange: for to begin firft in that fort, 30 and to come prepared with fuch premeditate ftuffe, is more befitting a pleafant or common jefter, who would make the companie laugh, befides that, it carieth alfo an opinion of a malicious and fpitefull minde: and fuch are the biting frumpes and broad jefts of *Cicero* and *Caio* the elder; likewife of one *Enxirchus* a familiar and difciple of *Aristotle*; for thefe many times began firft to fcoffe and taunt; but when a man never doth it but by way of reply or rejoinder, the fodaine occafion giveth him pardon to be revenged, and withall fuch requitals carie the greater grace with them. Thus dealt *Demosthenes* by one who was deeply fufpected to be a theefe: for when he would feeme to twit *Demosthenes* by his watching and fitting up all night at his booke for to endite and write: I wot well (quoth *Demosthenes*) that I trouble and hinder thee very much with keeping my candle or lampe burning all night long. Alfo when he anfwe- 40 red *Demades*, who cried out aloud: *Demosthenes* would correct me (as much to fay forfooth) as if according to the common proverbe, the fow fhould teach *Minerva*: *Minerva* (quoth he, taking that word out of his mouth) what's that you fay? *Minerva* was furprized not long fince in adulterie. Semblably it was with no ill grace that *Xenetus* answered his country-men and fellow citizens, who caft in his teeth and upbraided him, for that being their leader and captaine he fled out of the field: With you (quoth he) my loving and deere friends, I ran away for companie. But great regard and heed would be taken, that in this kinde he overpaffe not himfelfe, nor go beyond the bonds of mediocritie in fuch ridiculous jefts, for feare that either he offend and difpleafe the hearers unfeafonably, or debase and abject himfelfe too grofly, by giving out fuch ridiculous fpeeches: which was the fault of one *Democrates*, who mounting one day up into the pulpit or publicke place of audience, faid openly to the people there affembled; That himfelfe was like unto their citie, for that he had fmall force, and yet was puffed up with much winde. Another time alfo, and namely when the great field was loft before *Charonea*, he prefented himfelfe to fpeake unto the people in this maner: I would not for any thing that the common wealt were driven to fuch calamitie and fo hard an exigent, that you fhould have patience to heare me, and neede to take counfell at my hands: for as in the one he fhewed himfelfe a bafe and vile perfon, fo in the other he plaied the brain-ficke foole and fencelefleaffe: but for a man of 50 State

State, neither is the one nor the other decent and agreeable. Furthermore, *Phocion* is had in admiration for his brevite of fpeech, in fomuch as *Polyenctus* giving his judgement of him, faid: *Demosthenes* indeed is the greateft Orator, and the moft famous Rhetorician, but *Phocion* beleve me, is the beft fpeaker; for that his pithie fpeech was fo couched, that in few words it contained much fubftance and good matter. And even *Demosthenes* himfelfe, howfoever he made no reckoning of all other orators in his time, yet if *Phocion* rofe up to deliver a fpeech after him, would fay: Lo heere ftandeth up now the hatchet or pruning knife of my words. Well then, endeavour you as much as poffibly you can, when you are to make a fpeech before the multitude to fpeake confiderately and with great circumfpection, directing your words fo, as 10 they may tend to fafetie and fecuritie, and not in any cafe to ufe vaine and frivolous language: knowing well that *Pericles* himfelfe, that great governour, was wont to make his praier unto the gods before hee entred into his oration in publicke audience: That he might let fall no word out of his mouth impertinent to the matter which he was to handle; and yet for all this, you muft be well exercifed nevertheleffe, and praiftised in the knowledge how to be able to anfwer and replie readily; for many occafions paffe in a moment, and bring with them as many fudden cafes and occurrences, efpecially in matters of government. In which regard, *Demosthenes* was (by report) reputed inferior to many others in his time, for that otherwhiles he would withdraw himfelfe and not be feene when occafion was offered, if he had not well premeditated and ftudied aforehand of that which he had to fay. *Theophrastus* alfo writeth 20 of *Alibiades*, that being defirous to fpeake, not onely that which was convenient, but alfo in maner and forme as it was meet; many a time in the mids of his oration would make a ftay, and be at a *nonplus*, whiles he fought and ftudied for fome proper tearmes, and laboured to couch and compofe them fitting for his purpofe: but he who taketh occafion to ftand up for to make a fpeech of fudden occurrences, and refpective to the occafions and times prefented unto him, fuch a one I fay of all others doth moft moove and aftonifh a multitude, he I fay is able to leade them as he lift and difpofe of them at his pleafure. After this maner plaied *Leon* the Bizantine, who was fent upon a time from thofe of *Conftantinople* unto the Athenians, being at civill debate and diffection among themfelves, for to make remonftrances unto them of pacification and agreement: for a very little man was he of ftature, and when the people fawe him 30 mounted up into the place of audience, everie one began to teigh, tittre, and laugh at him; which he perceiving well enough: And what would you do and fay then (quoth he) if you fawe my wife, whose crowne of hir head will hardly reach up fo high as my knee? At which word, they tooke up a greater fit of laughter then before throughout the whole affembly: And yet (quoth he againe) as little as we both be, if we chance to be at variance and debate one with another, the whole citie of *Conftantinople* is not big enough for us, nor able to holde us twaine. *Pytheas* likewife, the Orator, at what time as he fpake againft the honors which were decreed for king *Alexander*, when one faid unto him: How now fir, dare you presume to fpeake of fo great matters, being as you are, fo yoong a man? And why not (quoth he) for *Alexander* whom you make a god among you by your decrees, is yoonger than my felfe.

40 Furthermore, over and befides a ready tongue and well exercifed, he ought to bring with him a ftrong voice, a good breaft and a long breath, to this combat of State government; which I affure you, is not lightly to be accounted of, but wherein the champion is to be provided for all feare of mafferies or fight; for feare left if it chance that his voice faile or be wearie and faint, he be overcome and fupplanted by fome one

*Catchpoll, Crier, and of that ranke,*

*Wide-mouth'd Jugler or mount-banke.*

And yet *Catb* the yoonger, when he fufpected that either the Senate or the people were fore-ftalled by graces, laboring for voices and fuch like prevention, fo as he had no hope to perfwade and compaffe fuch matters as he went about, would rife up and holde them all a day long with an 50 oration; which he did to drive away the time, that at leaft-wife upon fuch a day there fhould be nothing done or paffe againft his mind. But as touching the fpeech of a governour, how powerful and effectuall it is, and how it ought to be prepared, we have this already fufficiently treated, efpecially for fuch an one as is able of himfelfe to devife all the reft, which confequently followeth hereupon.

Moreover, two avenues (as it were) or waies there be to come unto the credit of government; the one fhort and compendious, yeelding an honourable courfe to win glory and reputation; but it is not without fome danger; the other longer and more bafe and obfcure, howbeit

alwaies

alwaies safe and sure. For somethere be, who making faile and setting their course (as a man would say) from some high rocke situate in the maine sea, have ventured at the first upon some great and worthy enterprise, which required valour and hardinesse, and so at the very beginning entred into the middes of State-affaires, supposing that the Poet *Pindarus* said true in these his verses:

*A worthy worke who will begin,  
Must when he enters first therein,  
Set out a gay forefront to view  
Which may sarre off the lustre thereof.*

For certainly the multitude and common sort being satisfied and full already of those governours whom they have bene used to a long time, receive more willingly all beginners and newcomers, much-like as the spectators and beholders of plaies or games have better affection a great deale to see a new champion entring fresh into the lists. And verily all those honours, dignities and powerfull authorities which have a sudden beginning and glorious encrease, doe ordinarily astonish and daunt all envie: for neither doth the fire (as *Ariston* saith) make a smoke which is quickly kindled; and made to burne out of a light flame; nor glorie breed envie when it is gotten at once and speedily; but such as grow up by little and little, at leisure, those be they that are caught therewith, some one way and some another. And this is the cause that before they come to flower (as it were) and grow to any credit of government, fade and become dead and withered about the publike place of audience. But whereas it falleth out according to the 20 Epigram of the courtier or runner *Ladas*,

*No sooner came the sound of whip to eare,  
But he was at the end of his carriere,  
And then withall, in one and selfe-same triec  
He crowned was with laurell for his price.*

that some one hath at first performed an ambassage honourably, rode in triumph gloriously, or conducted an armie valiantly, neither envious persons nor spitefull ill-willers have like power against such as against others. Thus came *Atatus* into credit the very first day, for that he had defeated and overthrown the tyrant *Nicoles*. Thus *Alcibiades* wooon the furies, when he practised and wrought the alliance betweene the Mantimeans and the Athenians against the Lacedaemonians. And when *Pompey* the great would have entred the citie of *Rome* in triumph, before he had shewed himselfe unto the Senate, and was withstood by *Sylla*, who meant to impeach him, he stucke not to say unto him: More men there be sir, who worship the Sun rising, than the Sun setting; which when *Sylla* heard, he gave place and yeelded unto him without one word replying to the contrary. And when as the people of *Rome* chose and declared *Cornelius Scipio* Consull all on a sudden, and that against the ordinary course of law, when as himselfe stood onely to be Aedile, it was not upon some vulgar beginning and ordinary entrance into affaires of State, but for the great admiration they had of his rare and singular prowesse, in that being but a very youth, he had maintained single fight and combat hand to hand with his enemy in *Spain*, and vanquished him; yea, and within a while after, in the necke of it, had achieved many 40 worthy exploits against the Carthaginians, being but a militarie Tribune or Colonel of a thousand foot: for which brave acts and services of his, *Cato* the elder as he returned out of the campe cried out with a loud voice of him:

*Right wise and sage indeed alone is he,  
The rest to him but slitting shadows be.*

But now sir, seeing that the cities & States of *Greece* are brought to such tearmes, that they have no more armies to conduct, nor tyrants to be put downe, nor yet alliances to be treated and made, what noble and brave enterprise would you have a young gentleman performe at his beginning and entrance into government? Mary, there are left for him publike causes to plead, ambassages to negotiate unto the Emperour or some soveraigne potentate; which occasions 50 do ordinarily require a man of action, hardy and ardent at the first enterprise, wise and warie in the final execution. Besides, there be many good and honest customes of ancient time, either for-let or grown out of kinde by negligence, which may be set on foot, renewed and reformed againe: many abuses also by ill custome are crept into cities, where they have taken deepe root, and bene seled, to the great dishonour and damage of the common-wealth: which may be redressed by his means. It falleth out many times, that a great controversie judged and decided aright; the trial likewise and proove of faithfull trust and diligence in a poore mans cause maintained

trained and defended frankly and boldly against the oppression of some great and mightie adversarie; also a plaine and stout speech delivered in the behalfe of right and justice, against some grand Signiour who is unjust and injurious, have afforded honorable entries unto the management of State affaires. And many there be, who have put forth themselves, made their parts known, and come up, by entreteining quarrels and enmities with those personages, whose authority was odious, envied and terrible to the people: for we alwaies see that presently the puissance and power of him that is put downe and overthrown, doth accrue unto him who had the upper hand, with greater reputation: which I speake not as if I did approve and thought it good for one to oppose himselfe by way of envie unto a man of honour and good respect, and who by his vertue holdeth the chiefe place of credit in his countrey, thereby to undermine his estate, like as *Simmias* dealt by *Pericles*, *Alcmaeon* by *Themistocles*, *Clodius* by *Pompeius*, and *Meneclides* the Oratour by *Epaminondas*; for this course is neither good nor honourable, and besides, lesse gainefull and profitable: for say that the people in a sudden fit of furious choler commit some outrage and abuse upon a man of worth; afterwards, when they repent at leisure (being coole) that which they did hastily in their heat of blood, they thinke there is no readier nor juster means to excuse themselves to him, than to deface, yea, and undoe the said partie who first moved and induced them to those proceedings. And verily, to set upon a wicked person, who either by his audacious and inconsiderate rashnesse, or by his fine & cautelous devices hath gotten the head over a whole citie, or brought a state to his devotion, such as were in olde time *Cleon* and *Clitophon* at *Athens*; to set upon those (I say) for to bring them under, yea, and utterly to destroy them out of the way, were a notable preamble (as it were) to the Comedy for him that is mounted upon the stage of a common-wealth, and newly entred into the government thereof. I am not ignorant likewise, that some by clipping the wings, or paring the nailes (as a man would say) of an imperious Senate and lordly Seignoury, taking upon them too much, and tyrannizing by vertue of their absolute soverieignty, which was the practise of one *Ephialtes* at *Athens*; and another in the citie *Ela*, whose name was *Phormio*, have acquired honour and reputation in their countrey: but I holde this to be a dangerous beginning for to be enterprised by them that would come to the managing of State-affaires. And it seemeth that *Solan* made choise of a better entrance than so, for the citie of *Athens* being divided into three parts or regions; the first of those that did inhabit the hill; the second of them who dwelt upon the plaine; and the third of such as kept by the water-side; he would not seeme to side with any one of these three parts, but caried himselfe indifferent unto them all, saying & doing what he could to reconcile and reunite them together: by which meanes chosen he was, by the generall consent of them all, the lord Reformer, to draw new lawes and conditions of pacification among them; and by this practise he established and confirmed the State of *Athens*. Thus you see how a man may enter into the government of the common-wealth by honourable and glorious commencements: and this may suffice for the former avenue of the twaine aforesaid unto the affaires of State.

As for the other way, which as it giveth more sure access, so it is not so expedite and short; there have bene many notable men who in old time made choise thereof, and loved it better: 40 and by name, *Aristides*, *Phocion*, *Pammenes* the Theban, *Lucullus* in *Rome*, *Cato* and *Agefilas* at *Lacedaemon*: for like as the ivie windeth about trees stronger than it selfe, and riseth up aloft together with them; even so each one of these before-named, being yet young novices and unknown, joining and coupling themselves with other ancient personages who were already in credit by rising leisurely under the wing and shadow of others, and growing with them, grounded themselves and took good root against the time that they undertooke the government of State. Thus *Clisphenes* raised *Aristides*; *Chabrias* advanced *Phocion*; by *Sylla*, *Lucullus* rose; *Cato* by *Fab. Maximus*; *Epaminondas* came up by *Pammenes*; and *Agefilas* by *Lysander*; but this man named last, upon a certaine inordinate ambition and importune jealousie did wrong unto his owne reputation, by casting and rejecting behind him a worthy personage, who guided and 50 directed him in all his actions: but all the rest wisely and honestly revered, acknowledged, yea, and aided with all their power, even to the very end, the authors of their rising and advancement; much like unto those bodies which are opposed full against the Sunne, in returning and sending backe the light that shineth upon them, doe augment and illustrate the same so much the more. Thus when evil tongued persons, who envied and malignd the glory of *Scipio*, gave out that he was but the plaier and actour onely of those worthy feats of armes which he executed; for the author thereof was *Laelius* his familiar friend: yet *Laelius* for all these speeches was never moved nor altered in his purpose, but continued still the same man to promote and second

cond the glory and vertue of *Scipio*. As for *Africanus* the friend of *Pompeius*, notwithstanding he was but of base and low degree, yet being upon tearmes to be chosen Consul, when he understood that *Pompeius* favoured others, gave over his sute, and let fall the possibilitie that he had; saying withal: That it would not be so honourable unto him for to be promoted unto that dignitie of Consulate, as grievous and troublefome, to obtaine the same against the good will, and without the favour and assistance of *Pompeius*; and so in deferring and putting off the matter but one yeere longer, he had not the repulse when the time came, and therewith he kept his friend still, and enjoyed his favour. And by this meanes it cometh to passe, that those who are thus led by the hand of others, and trained to the way of preferment and glorie, in gratifying one, do gratifie many withall; and besides, if any inconvenience chance to ensue, the lesse odious they to be and hatefull for it: which was the reason that *Philip* king of *Macedonie* earnestly exhorted and admonished his sonne *Alexander* that he should provide himselfe of many friends and servants whiles he might, and had leasure, even during the reigne of another, namely, by converting and conferring graciously with every one, and by cheerefull behaviour and affabilitie to all, for to winne their love and favour; but when he was once invested in the kingdome, to chuse for his guide and conductour in the managing of State-affaires, not simply him who is of most credit and greatest reputation, but rather the man who is such an one by his desert and vertue, as like as every tree will not admit a vine to wind about the trunk & body thereof; for some there be that do choke & utterly marre the growth of it; even so in the government of cities & States, those who are not truly honest and lovers of vertue, but ambitious and desirous of honour and sovereignty onely, afford not unto yong men the meanes and occasions of worthy enterprises and noble acts, but upon envie and jealousie holde them under and put them backe as farres they can, and thus make them to consume and languish, as if they deteined from them their glorie, and cut them thort of that which is their onely food and nourishment. Thus did *Marius* in *Africke* first, and afterwards in *Galatia* by *Sylla*, by whose meanes hee had performed much good service; and in the end would not use him at all, but cast him off; for that in trueth, hee was vexed at the heart to see him growe up as hee did, and to winne so great reputation under him, howsoever hee would have seemed to colour the matter, and make the signet in the colet of his ring which he sealed withall, the pretense and cloake thereof. For *Sylla* being treasurer in *Africke*, vnder *Marius* the lord General, was sent by him unto king *Bocchus*, and brought with him *Jugurtha* prisoner; and being a yong gentleman as he was, and beginning to taste the sweetnesse of glorie, he could not carrie himselfe modestly in this good fortune of his, but must needs weare upon his finger a faire scale ring, wherein he caused to be engraven the historie of this exploit, and namely how *Bocchus* delivered into his hands *Jugurtha* prisoner: heere at *Sylla* tooke exceptions, laid this to his charge, and made it a colourable occasion of rejecting and putting him out of his place: but he joining himselfe with *Catulus* and *Metellus*, good men both, and the adversaries of *Marius*; soone after chased *Marius* and turned him out of all in a civil war, which was well neere the ruine and overthrow of the Romaine empire. *Sylla* dealt not so with *Pompeius*, for he evermore advanced & graced him from his very youth, he would arise out of his chaire, and vaile bonet vnto him when hee came in place: semblably hee carried himselfe toward other yong gentlemen and gallants of *Rome*, imparting unto some the meanes of doing the exploits of captaines and commanders: yea quickning and putting others forward who were unwilling of themselves; and in so doing he filled all his armies with zeale, emulation, and desire of honor, striving who should doe better, and by this meanes became himselfe superior evermore, and ruled all; at length desirous to be not the onely man, but the first and the greatest among many that were likewise great. These be the men therefore with whom a yong States-man ought to joine; to these he ought to cleave, & in them as it were to be incorporate: not as that cockatrice or Basilisk in *Aesops* fables, who being carried aloft on the shoulders of the eagle, no sooner came neere to the sunne beames, but suddenly tooke his flight, and came to the place before the eagle: and after that maner to rob them of their honour, and secretly to catch their glorie from them; but contrariwise to receive it of them with their consent and good favour, and to give them to understand that they had never knowne how to rule unless they had learned first of them to obey well, as *Plato* saith.

Next after this followeth the election and chioise that they ought to make of their friends: In which point, they are not to take example either by *Themistocles* or *Cleon*: As for *Cleon* when he knew that he was to undertake the government upon him, assembled all his friends together, and declared unto them that he renounced all their amitie, saying; That friendship was

offentimes

offentimes a cause that disabled men, and withdrew them from their right intention in affaires of State; but it had bene farre better done of him to have exiled and chased out of his minde all avarice and contentious humors, to have clenched his heart from envie and malice: for the government of cities hath not need of those who are friendlesse and destitute of familiar companions, but of such as be wife and honest: but when he had banished and put away his friends, he entertained round about him a sort of flatterers, who daily stroked and licked him, as the comickall poets use to say. He became rough and severe to good and civill men, but in stead thereof he debased himselfe to court, flatter, and please the multitude, doing and saying all things to content them, and taking rewards at every mans hand, combining and sorting himselfe with the worst and most leaud people in the whole citie, by their meanes to make head, and set against the best and most honorable persons. *Themistocles* yet tooke another course, who when one said unto him; You shall do the part of a good ruler and magistrate, in case you make your selfe equal unto every one alike; answered thus; I pray God I may never sit in such a throne or seate, wherein my friends may not prevaile more with me, than they that are not my friends. But herein he did not well, no more than the other, thus to promise any part and authoritie of his government unto those with whom he had amitie, and to submit the publicke affaires unto his private and particuler affections: howbeit, for all this, he answered very well unto *Simonides*, requesting somewhat at his hand that was not just: Neither were he a good musician or poet, (quoth he) who should sing against measures: nor the magistrate righteous who in favour of any person doth ought against the lawes. For in trueth a shamefull thing it were and a great indignitie; that in a ship the master or owner thereof should giue order to be provided of a good pilot and stereliman; that the pilot also should chuse good bote-swaines and other mariners,

Who can the helme rule in the sterne below,

And hoise up saile above, when winde do blow.

Also that an architect or master builder, knoweth how to chuse those workemen and laborers under him, who will in no case hurt his worke, but set it forward, and take paines with him for his best behoofe: and a States-man or governour, who as *Pindarus* saith well,

Of justice, is the architect,

And policy ought to direct.

not know at the very first to chuse friends of the same zeale and affection that he is himselfe, to second and assist him in his enterprises, and to be as it were the spirits to inspire him with a desire of well doing; but to suffer himselfe to be bent and made pliable unjustly and violentie; now to gratifie the will of one; and anon, to serve the turne and appetite of another: For such a man resembleth properly a carpenter or mason, who by error, ignorance, and want of experience, useth his squires, his plumbs, levels and rules so, that they make his worke to rise crooked and out of square in the end. For certainly frends be the very lively tooles, and sensible instruments of governors; and in case they doe amisse and worke without the right line, the rulers themselves are not to slip and go awry with them for companie, but to have a carefull eie unto this, that unwitting to them they doe not erre and commit a fault. For this it was that wrought *Solon* dishonor, and caused him to be reproched and accused by his owne citizens, for that having an intention to ease mens greivous debts, and to bring in that which at *Athen* they called *Sisychia*, as if one would say, an alleviation of some heave burden, which was a pleasing and plausible name, importing a generall striking out of all debts, and a cancelling of bonds; he imparted this desseigne and purpose of his to some of his friends, who did him a threwd turne, and most unjustly wrought him much mischief; for upon this iynking given unto them, they made haste to take up and borrow all the money they could, as farre as their credite would extend: not long after when this edict or proclamation aforesaid concerning the annulling of all debts was come forth and brought to light; these frends of his were found to have purchased goodly houses, and faire lands, with the monies which they had levied. Thus *Solon* was charged with the imputation of doing this wrong, together with them, when as himselfe indeede was wronged and abused by them. *Agesilamus* also shewed himselfe in the occasions and furies of his frends most weak and feeble minded, more iwis than in any thing else, resembling the horse *Pegasus* in *Euripides*,

Who swunke full low and yeelded what he could,

His backe to mount, more than the rider would.

and helping his familiar frends in all their distresses more affectionately and willingly than was meet and reason: for whensoever they were called into question in justice for any transgressions,

he





entertained them againe. Some also there are who be wonderfull well pleased with the practise and fashion of *Cretinas* the Magnesian. This *Cretinas* had for his concurrent an adversary in the government of State, a noble man of the same citie named *Hermias*, who although he were not very rich, yet ambitious he was, and caried a brave and hautie minde: *Cretinas* in the time of the warre that *Mithridates* made for the conquest of *Asia*, seeing the citie in danger, went unto the said *Hermias*, and made an offer unto him to take the charge of capitaine generall for the defence of the citie, and in the meane while himselfe would go forth to retire to some other place; or otherwise, if he thought better that himselfe should take upon him the charge of the warre, then he would depart out of the citie into the country for the time, for feare lest if they taried both behinde and hindered one another as they were wont to doe by their ambitious minds, they should vndoo the state of the citie: This motion liked *Hermias* very well, who confessing that *Cretinas* was a more expert warrior than himselfe, departed with his wife and children out of the citie: Now *Cretinas* made meanes to fend him out before with a convoy, putting into his hands his owne money, as being more profitable to them who were without their houses and fled abroad, than to such as lay besieged within the citie, which being at the point to be lost, was by this meanes preserved beyond all hope and expectation: for if this be a noble and generous speech proceeding from a magnanimous hart, to say thus with a loud voice:

*My children well I love, but of my hart,*

*My native soile by farre hath greater part.*

Why should not they have this speech readier in their mouthes, to say unto every one? I hate this or that man, and willing I would be to doe him a displeasure; but my native country I love so much the more? For not to desire to be at variance and debate still with an enimie, in such causes as for which we ought to abandon and cast off our friend, were the part of a most fell, savage, and barbarous nature: yet did *Phocion* and *Cato* better in mine opinion, who entertained not any enimie with their citizens in regard of difference and variance betwene them about bearing rule and government; but became implacable and irreconcilable onely in publicke causes, when question was of abandoning or hurting the weale publike; for otherwise in private matters, they caried themselves kindly enough, without any rancor or malice even toward them, against whom they had contested in open place, as touching the State; for we ought not to esteeme or repute any citizen an enimie, unlesse such an one be bred amongst them as *Aristion*, or *Nabis*, or *Catiline*, who are to be reckoned botches rather, and pestilent maladies of a citie than citizens; for all others if haply they be at a jarre or discord, a good magistrate ought to bring them into tune and good accord againe, by gently setting up and letting downe, as a skillfull Musician would doe by the strings of his instrument; and not in anger to come upon those that are delinquents, roughly and after an outrageous manner, even to their detriment and disgrace; but after a more milde and civill sort, as *Homer* speaketh in one place:

*Certes, faire friend, I would have held,*

*That others for your wit you had exceed.*

As also in another:

*You know, if that you list (wits)*

*To tell a better tale than this.*

Yea, and when they shall either say or do that which is good and convenient, not to shew himselfe to grieve and grudge at their credit and reputation which they win thereby, nor to be sparing in affoording them honourable words to their commendation and advantage: for in so doing, thus much will be gained, that the blame which shall be laied upon them another time when they deserve it, will be better taken, and more credit given to it: and besides, by how much more we shall exalt their vertues, so much the more we may beat downe and depreesse their vices when they do amisse, by making comparison of them both, and shewing how much the one is more worthy and becomen than the other: for mine owne part, I holde it meet and good, that a man of government should give testimony in the behalfe of his adversaries in righteous & just causes; also assist and helpe them out of troubles, in case they be brought into question by some leawd sycophants, yea, and discredit and disable the imputations charged upon them, namely, when he seeth that such matters for which they are molested, be farre from their intention and meaning. Thus *Nero*, a cruell tyrant though he was, a little before he put *Thraseus* to death, whom he hated and feared most of all men in the world, notwithstanding one laied to his charge before him that he had given a wrong dome or unjust sentence: I would (quoth he) that I could be assured that *Thraseus* loved me so well as I am sure he is most upright and just Judge. Neither

ther were it amisse for the astonishing & daunting of others, who be of a naughty nature, when they doe commit any grosse faults, to make mention other-whiles of some adversarie of theirs who is of a more modest behaviour and civill carriage, by saying: Such an one (I warrant you) would never have said or done thus. Moreover, it were not impertinent to put some, who doe offend, in minde of their fathers and ancestours, that have bene good and honest, like as *Homer* did:

*A sonne (wits) for Tydeus left behinde,*  
*unlike himselfe, and much grown out of kinde.*

And *Appius Claudius* being the concurrent to *Scipio Africanus*, when they stood both for one magistracie, laied unto him as he met him in the street: O *Paulus Aemilius*, how deeply wouldst thou sigh for griefe and sorow, in case thou wert advertised that one *Philonicus* a Publicane or Banker and no better, accompanied and guarded thy sonne thorow the city, going downe toward the assembly of *Cornices* for to be chosen Censour? This manner of reprehension, as it admonisheth the offender, so it doth honour unto the admonisher. *Nestor* likewise in a Tragedie of *Sophocles*, answereth as politickly unto *Ajax*; when he reproched him, saying:

*I blame not you sir Ajax, for your speech,*  
*Nought though it be; your words are nothing lice.*

Semblably *Cato* who had contested against *Pompey*, for that being combined and in league with *Julius Caesar*, he assaulted and forced the citie of *Rome*, when as afterwards they were grown to open warre one against the other, opined and gave his advice to conferre the charge and regiment of the common-weale upon *Pompeius*, saying withall: That they who could doe most mischief, were the fittest men to stay the same: for thus a blame or reproofe mingled with a praise and commendation, especially if the same grow to no opprobrious termes, but be contained within the compasse of a franke and free remonstrance, working not a spitefull stonemacke, but a remorse of conscience and repentance, seemeth kinde and dutifull; whereas despituous reproches are never seemely and decent in the mouth of a magistrate and man of honour. Marke the opprobrious termes and taunts that *Demosthenes* let flie against *Aeschines*; those also that *Aeschines* gave him; likewise the bitter frumps which *Hyperides* wrote against *Demades*; and that *Aeschines* ever delivered such, or if there came the like out of the mouth of *Pericles*, of *Lycourge* the Lacedaemonian, or of *Pittacus* the Lesbian; and as for *Demosthenes*, he forbore such sharpe and cutting termes otherwise, and never used them but in pleading against some criminal causes; for his orations against *Philip* are cleere and voide of all nips, flouts, and scoffes whatsoever: and in truth such manner of dealing diffameth the speaker more, than those against whom they bee spoken; they bring confusion in all affaires; they trouble assemblies both in counsell house and also in common hall; In which regard, *Phocion* yeelding upon a time to one that was given to raile, brake off his oration, held his peace for a while and came downe; but after, the other with much ado held his tongue and gave over his foule language, he mounted up into the place of audience againe, and going on in his former speech which was interrupted and discontinued, said thus: Now that I have already my masters spoken sufficiently of horsemen, of armes, and soldiours heavily armed at all peeces, it remaineth to discourse of light footemen, and targuatiars nimble appointed.

But so far as much as this is an hard matter unto many, to beare with such broad language, and to containe, and oftentimes these taunting scoffers meete with their matches, and have their mouthes stopped, and are put to silence by some pretie replies; I would wish that the same were short, pitie, and delivered in very fewe words, not shewing any heate of anger and choler, but a kinde of sweete mildenesse, after the manner of a grave laughter, yet withall somewhat tart and biting; and such ordinarily be those that are returned sily in the same kinde against them that first began: for like as those darts which are recharged upon them that flung them first, seeme to be driven with good will, and sent backe againe with great force and firme strength of him who was shroken with them; even so it seemeth that a sharpe and biting speech retorted against him who first spake it, cometh forceable and with a power of wit and understanding from the partie who received it; such was the replie of *Epinonidas* unto *Callistratus*, who reproched and upbraided the Thebanes and Argives with the parents of *Oedipus* and *Orestes*, for that the one being borne in *Thebes*, slew his owne father, and the other at *Argos* killed his mother: true indeed quoth *Epinonidas*, and therefore we banished them out of our cities, but you receive them into yours. Semblable was the answer of *Antalcidas* a Lacedaemonian unto an Athenian, who laied unto him after a boasting and vaunting manner: We have driven you oftentimes from

the river *Cephassus*; but we (quoth he) never yet drave you fro the river *Eurotas*: In like sort replied *Phocion* pleasantly upon *Demades* when he cried aloud, The Athenians will put thee to death if they enter once into their raging fits: But they (quoth he) will doe the same by thee, if they were in their right wits: and *Crassus* the oratour whē *Domitius* demanded this question of him; When the lamprey which you kept and fed in your poole was dead, did you never weepe for it, and say true? came upon him quickly againe in this wise: And you sir when you had buried three of your wives one after another, did you ever shed teare for the matter, & tell trthe? And verilie these rules are not onely to be practised in matters of State-affaires, but they have their use also in other parts of mans life.

Moreover, some there be who will intrude and thrust themselves into all sorts of publike affaires, as *Cato* did; and these are of opinion, that a good citizen should not refuse any charge or publike administration so farre forth as his power will extend: who highly commend *Epaminondas*; for that when his adversaries and evil willers upon envie had caused him to be chosen a bailife and receiver of the citie revenues; thereby to doe him a spight and shrewd turne; hee did not despise & thinke basely of the said office; but saying, that not onely magistracie sheweth what maner of man one is, but also a man sheweth what the magistracie is, he brought that office into great dignitie and reputation, which before was in no credite and account at all, as having the charge of nothing els but of keeping the streetes cleane, of gung-farming and carrying dung forth out of the narrow lanes and blinde allies, and turning water-courses. And even *Plutarch* my selfe doubt not, but I make good sport and game unto many who passe through our citie, when they see me in the open streetes otherwhiles busie and occupied about the like matters; but to meete with such, I might helpe my selfe with that which I have found written of *Antisthenes*; for when some there were that meruailed much at him for carrying openly in his hands through the market place a peece of salt fish, or stock-fish which he had bought: I is for mine own selfe (quoth he alowd) that I carie it; but corrariwise mine answer is to such, as reprove me when they finde me in proper person present, at the measuring and counting of bricks and tiles, or to see the stones, sand, and lime laid downe, which is brought into the citie; it is not for my selfe that I builde, but for the city and common-wealth, for many other things there be, which if a man exercise or manage in his owne person and for himselfe, hee may bee thought base minded and mechanical; but in case he do it for the common-wealth and the State, and for the country and place where he liveth, it cannot be accounted a vile or ungentleman-like service, but a great credite even to bee serviceable, ready and diligent to execute the meanest functions that be. Others there are, who thinke the fashion that *Pericles* used to be more stately, grave, and decent, and namely *Critelaus* the peripateticke among the rest, who was of this mind, that as the two great galiassees, to wit, *Salaminia* at *Athens*, and *Paralos* were not shor or lanchd into the sea for every small matter, but onely upon urgent and necessarie occasions; even so a man of government should be employed in the chiefe & greatest affaires, like as the soveraigne and king of the worlde, according to the poet *Euripides*,

τοις ἄλλοις ὁ δὲ τιμῶν.

For God himselfe doth manage and dispen-  
things of most weight, by his sole government.  
But matters high and of small consequence,  
he doth referre to fortunes regiment.

For we cannot commend the excessive ambition, the aspiring and contentious spirit of *Theragenes*, who contented not himselfe to have gone through all the ordinary games with victory, and to have wonne the prizes in many other extraordinary maffries and feats of activity, to wit, not onely in that generall exercise *Paneration*, wherein hand and foote both is put to the uttermost at once, but also at buffets, & at running a course in the long race: Finally, being one day at a solemne anniverfari feast or yeeres-maund in the memorial of a certaine demi-god (as the manner was) when he was set, & the meat served up to the boord, he would needs rise from the table for to performe another general *Paneration*: as if forsooth it had belonged to no man in the world to achieve the victorie in such feats but himselfe, if hee were present in place: by which profession he had gotten together as good as twelve hundred coronets, as prizes at such combats, of which the most part were of small or no valew at all; a man would say they had beene chaffe or such refuse and raffe. Like unto him for all the world be those, who are ready (as a man would say) at all howers to cast off all their clothes to their verie single waistcot or shirt, for to undertreke all affaires that shall be presented; by which meanes, the people have enough

enough and too much of them; they become odious and yrkesome unto them; in such sort that if they chance to do well and prosper, they envie them; if they do otherwise than well and miscarry, they reioice and be glad at heart therefore. Again, that which is admired in them at their first entrance into government, turneth in the end to a jeft and meere mockerie, much after this order, *Metiochus* is the Generall captaine; *Metiochus* looketh to the high waies; ter this order, *Metiochus* is the Generall captaine; *Metiochus* looketh to the high waies; *Metiochus* bakes our bread; *Metiochus* grinds our meale; *Metiochus* doth everie thing, and is all in all; finally, *Metiochus* shall pay for this one day, and crie woe is me in the end. Now was this *Metiochus* one of *Pericles* his followers and favorites, who making use of his authoritie out of measure and compasse, by the countenance thereof, would employ himselfe in all publike charges and commissions whatsoever, untill at the last he became contemptible and despised. For in truth a man of government ought to carry himselfe, as that the people should evermore have a longing appetite unto him, he in love with him, and alwaies desirous to see him againe, if he be absent. This policie did *Scipio Africanus* wisely practise; who aboied the most part of the time in the country; by this meanes both easing himselfe of the heave load of envie, and also giving those the while, good leasure to take breath, who seemed to bee kept downe by his glorie. *Timefias* the Clazomenian, was otherwise a good man and a sufficient politician, howbeit little wist he, how he was envied in the citie, because he would seeme to do everie thing by himselfe, untill such time as there befell unto him such an accident as this. There chanced to be playing in the mids of a street as he passed by, a companie of boies, and their game was, who could draw with a cudgell a certaine cockall bone out of an hole. Some boies there were who held, that the bone lay still within; but he who had smitten it, maintained the contrarie (and said withall) I would I had as well dashed out *Timefias* braines out of his head, as I am sure this bone was stricken out of the hole: *Timefias* overheard this word, and knowing thereby what envie and malice all the people bare unto him, returned home presently to his house, and told his wife the whole matter, commanding her to trusse and packe up all both bag and baggage, and to follow after him; who immediately went out of doores, and departed for ever out of the citie *Clazomene*. It should seeme also that *Themistocles* was almost in the same plight, & wanted but a litle of the like shrewd turne from the Athenians, when he was driven thus to say unto them: Ah my good friends and neighbours, why are you wearie and thinke much to receive so great good at my hands? But as touching these persons above said, some words of theirs were well placed, & others not. For a wise Statel-man, in care, affection & foresight, ought not to refuse any publik charge whatsoever, but to take paines in having an eye to all, & to understand and know every particular; and not to reserve himselfe close, as it were, some holy anchor or sacred tackling laid up in some secret cabin of a ship, and not to attend onely upon extremities, and to tarric untill he be employed upon occasions of great necessity and utmost danger. But like as good patrons or masters of a ship, lay their own hands to some businesse, but others they performe sitting themselves a farre off by the meanes of their tooles and instruments, and by the hands of other servitors, turning about, stretching and winding up, or letting downe and slackening the ropes as they see cause, employing the mariners, some to row, others to attend and slacken the ropes as they see cause, employing the mariners, some to row, others to attend and 40 be occupied in the prow and foreship; and others againe to crie unto their fellows to ply their worke; and some of them they call many times into the poope, and putting the helme into their hands, let them to steere and guide the steme; even so ought a wise governor of the common-wealth to yeeld now and then unto others the honor of commaund, and otherwhiles to call them after a gracious and courteous sort to the pulpit or publike place of audience, to make orations to the people, and not to moove all matters belonging to the State by his owne personal speeches nor by his decrees, sentences, and arts (and as it were) with his owne hands execute everie thing; but to have about him faithfull and trustie persons to be his ministers, who might second and assist him; and those he should employ, some in this charge, and others in that, according as he seeth them to be sufficient meet and fit for employment. After this manner did *Pericles* use *Alenippus* for his expeditions and conduct of warre affaires: thus by the 50 meanes of *Ephialtes* he tooke downe and abridged the authoritie of the high court *Areopagus*. *Charinus* he employed in compassing and contriving the law or decree that passed against the Megarians; and *Lampon* he sent with a colonie for to people the citie of *Tharii*. And in this doing, he not onely diminished the envie of the people against himselfe, in that it seemed that his power and authoritie was thus divided and parted among manie; but also hee managed the affaires of the State better and more commodiously by far. For like as the division of the hand into fingers enfeebled not the force of the whole hand, but maketh it more fit for use, to handle

all tooles and instruments, or to worke any thing more artificially; even so, he that in matters of government doth communicate part of the management of the publike affaires with his friends, causeth by this participation all things to be better done, and with more expedition: whereas that man, who upon an insatiable desire to shew himselfe, to have credit, and to winne name and authoritie, laith all the weight of the State upon his owne shoulders, and will be doing of everie thing; undertaking oftentimes that charge, whereunto he is neither framed by nature, nor fitted by exercise; as *Cleon* did in leading an armie; *Philopemenes* in conducting a navie; and *Anniball* in making orations to the people, maketh himselfe inexcusable, if happily ought fall out otherwise than well. To such an one may well be applied a verse out of *Esripides*:

*You worke not in timber, but in other matter  
Being your selfe but onely a Carpenter.*

even so, you not able to deliver an eloquent speech, have undertaken an embassage; being idle and given to take your ease, you will needs have the charge of a steward and governe an house: not skilfull and readie in casting accounts, you will needs be a Treasurer or receiver, being aged and sickly, you are become a commander and generall of an armie. *Pericles* did farre better than so; for he parted the government with *Cimon*; and retaining to himselfe the whole power of ruling within the citie, he left unto *Cimon* full commission and authority to man the *Armado*, and in the meane while to make war upon the Barbarians, because he knew his owne selfe more fit for civill regiment at home, & the other more meet for warlike command abroad. In this respect *Eubulus* the Anaphyllian is highly commended, who, notwithstanding the people had a great affiance and trust in him, yea and gave him as much credit as no man more, yet could hee never be brought to deale in the forraigne affaires of *Greece*, nor to take upon him the conduct of an armie; but resolving with himselfe ever frō the beginning to attend & be employed in manie matters he mightily increased the revenewes of the citie, and enriched the State exceedingly. But *Sphierates* for exercising & practising to make declamations at home in his owne house in the presence of many others made a foole of himselfe, & was laughed to skorne for his labors; for say that he had proved no bad orator, but a most excellent speaker; yet should he have stood contented with the reputation that he had woen of a good warrior, by feats of armes, and have left the schooles of Rhetoricke, for sophisters, orators, and such professors.

But forasmuch as all common people are by nature malignant, especially to those who are in place of authoritie, taking pleasure to quarrell and finde fault with them; and suspecting ordinarily that many profitable acts and ordinances by them set downe, unless they be debated by factions & with some contradiction, are contrived by secret intelligence under hand, & by way of conspiracie; even this is the thing that most of all bringeth the private amities and societies of States-men and governours into an ill name and obloquie: howbeit, for all this, we are not to admit or grant unto them any true enmitie in deed or discord, as did sometimes a popular man and a governour of *Chios*; named *Onomademus*, who after he had in a certaine feditious tumult gotten the upper hand of his adversaries, would not banish out of the citie all those who had taken part against him: For feare lest that (quoth he) we fall out with our friends, when we have no more enemies: for surely this were mere follie. But whensoever the people shall suspect any ordinance or act proposed which is of great consequence and tending to their good, it behooveth not at such a time, that all (as it were) of one complot should deliver one and the same sentence; but that two or three opposing themselves without violence, should contradict their friend, and afterwards being convinced and overweighed by sound reasons, change their minde and range themselves to his opinion; for by this means they draw the people with them, namely, when they seeme themselves to be brought thereto in regard of a publike benefit and comoditie. And verily in trifling matters & of no great importance, it were not amisse to suffer our very friends in good earnest to differ and disagree from us, and to let every one take his way and follow his owne minde, to the end that when some maine points and principall matters of so great a moment shall come in question and be debated, it might not be thought that they have complotted together, and so grown to a point and accord about the best.

Moreover, we are thus to thinke: That a wife man and a politician is by nature alwaies the governour and chiefe magistrate of a citie, like as the king among the Bees: and upon this perswasion he ought to have evermore the reines in his hand, and to sway the affaires of State: howbeit he is not very often nor too hotly for to seeke after and pursue the offices and dignities which the people doe nominate and chuse by their free voices: for this office-managing, and desire

desire to be alwaies in place of authoritie, is neither venerable for his person, nor yet plausible to the people; and yet must not he reject the same, in case the people call him lawfully to it, and conferre the same upon him, but to accept thereof, although peradventure they be offices somewhat inferior to the reputation that he hath already, yea, and to employ himselfe therein willingly and with good affection: for reason it is and equitie, that as we our selves have bene honoured already by places of great dignitie, so reciprocally we should grace and countenance those which be of meaneer qualitie; and whensoever we shall be chosen to supream magistracies, so wit, unto the estate of L. Governour and generall capitaine in the citie of *Athens*, or the Prytanship in *Rhodes*, or Boeotarchie which is here in *Baotia*, it may become us very well in modestie to yeeld and rebate a litle of the soveraigne power in our port, and with moderation to exercise the same; but contrariwise unto meaneer roomes to adde more dignity, and shew greater countenance, to the end that we be not envied in the one or despised in the other.

Now for a man that entreteth newly into any office whatsoever it be, he ought not onely to call to remembrance, and use the speeches that *Pericles* made the first time that he tooke upon him the rule of State, and was to shew himselfe in open place: namely, Looke to thy selfe *Pericles*, thou rulest free men and not bond-slaves; thou governeest Greeks and not Barbarians; nay, thou art the head magistrate of the citizens of *Athens*; but also he is to reason and say thus to himselfe: Thou art a commander and yet a subject withall; thou art the ruler of a citie under Romane Proconsuls, or els the Procuratours, Lieutenants and Deputies of *Cesar*. Here are not the plaines (as he said) of *Lydia*, for to runne with the lance, nor the ancient city *Sardis*, ne yet the puissance of the *Lydians* which was in times past. The robe must not be made so large, it must be worne more strait; your eie must be alwaies from the Emperours pavilion unto the tribunall seat of justice; and you are not to take so great pride, nor trust so much unto a crowne standing upon the head, seeing how horned shoes of the Romane Senators are above the same: but herein you ought to imitate the actors and plaiers in Tragedies, who adde somewhat of their owne to the roll or written part that they do play, to wit, their passionate affection, geiture, accent and countenance which is fit and agreeable to the person that they do represent; and yet withall, they forget not to have an eie and care both to the prompters. This (I say) we must do, for feare lest we passe those bounds and exceed the measures of that libertie which is given us by those who have the power to command us, for I assure you, to goe beyond those precincts and limits, bringeth with it danger; I say not to be hissed from off the stage, and to be laughed out of our coats; but many there have bene

*upon whose necks for punishment,  
The edge of a vengbant axe and gleave  
Hath fallen, to end all their torment,  
And head from bodie soone did rescue.*

as it befell to *Paralus* your country-man, with those about him, for stepping a litle at one side without their limits. And such another also there was, who being confined into a certaine desert isle, became (as *Solon* saith)

*A Sicilian or Pholegandrian,  
Who borne sometime was an Athenian.*

We laugh hartly at little children, to see how otherwhiles they goe about to put their fathers shoes upon their owne feete, or to set crownes upon their heads in sport; and governors of cities relating foolishly oftentimes unto the people, the woorthie acts of their predecessors; their notable courage and brave minds, their notable enterprises achieved, farre different and disproportioned to the present times & proceedings in their daies, and exhorting them to follow the same, set the multitude aloft: but as they doe ridiculously, so afterwards (believe me) they suffer not that which deserveth to be laughed at, unless haply they be so base minded, that for their baseness there is no account made of them. For many other histories there be of ancient *Greece*, which afford examples to be recounted unto men living in this age, for to instruct and reforme their manners; as namely, those at *Athens* which put the people in remembrance, not of the prowess of their ancestors in martiall affaires, but for example to decree of that generall abolition and oblivion of all quarrels and matters past, which sometimes was concluded there, after that the citie was delivered and freed from their captivity under the thirtie Tyrants, as also another act, by vertue whereof they condemned in a grievous fine the Poet *Phrynechus*, for that he represented in a Tragedie the winning and racing of the citie *Miletus*. Likewise, how by a publike ordinance, every man wore chaplets of flowers upon their heads, when they heard

say that *Cassander* reedified *Thebes*: and how, when intelligence came of the cruell execution and bloody massacre committed in *Argos*, wherein the Argives caused to be put to death 1500. of their owne citizens, they caused in a solemne procession and generall assembly of the whole citie, an expiatory sacrifice to be carried about, that it might please the gods to avert and turne away such cruell thoughts from the hearts of the Athenians; semblably, how at what time as there was a generall search made throughout the citie in everie house for those who banded with *Harpalus*, they passed by one house onely of a man newly married, and would not suffer it to be searched. For in these precedents & such like, they might well enough in these daies imitate and resemble their ancient forefathers. But as for the battell of *Marathon*: the field fought neere the river *Eurynodon*, and the noble fight at *Platea*, with other such examples which doe nothing els but blow and puffe up a multitude with vanitie, they should leave such stories for the schooles of Sophisters and masters of Rhetorike.

Well, we ought not in our severall governments to have a due regard onely to mainteine our selves and our cities so wisely, that our soveraignes have no occasion to complaine; but we must take order also to have one great Seignior or other, who hath most authoritie at *Rome*, and in the court of the emperour, to be our fast and speciall friend; who may serve us in steed of a rampier to backe us, and to defend all our actions and proceedings in the government of our countries: for such lords and great men of *Rome* stand ordinarily passing well affected to those affaires, which their dependants and favorites doe follow, and the fruit which may be reaped by the amitie and favour of such grand Seigniors, it were not good and honest to convert into the advancement and enriching of our selves, and our particular private friends; but to imploy the fame as *Polybim* did sometime and *Pantium*, who by the meanes of the good grace of *Scipio* wherein they stood, did benefit and advantage their countrey exceeding much: in which number may be ranged *Arims*, for when *Cesar Augustus* had forced the citie *Alexandria*, he entred into it, holding *Arims* by the hand, and devising with him alone of all his other friends what was to be done more: afterwards when the Alexandrians looked for no other but sackage and all extremities, and yet besought him to pardon them; I pardon you (quoth he) and receive you into my grace and favour, first in regard of the nobilitie and beaurie of your city; secondly for *Alexander* the great his sake, the founder thereof; and thirdly for the love of this my friend *Arims* your citizen. May a man with any reason compare with this gracious favour, the most large and gainfull commissions of ruling and governing provinces, which many make so great suit for at the court, and that with such abject servitude and base subjection, that some of them have even waxen old in giving attendance thereabout, at other mens garés; leaving in the meane while their owne home affaires at sixe and seven? were it not well to correct and amend a little the sentence in *Euripides*, singing and saying it thus? If it bee honest and lawfull to watch and make court at the gates of another, and to be subject to the fure of some great Seignior: surely most commendable and behoovefull it were so to doe, for the love and benefit of a mans country, in all other cases to seeke and embrace amities, under just and equal conditions.

Moreover, a governour in yeelding and reducing his country unto the obedience of mightie soveraignes abroad, ought to take good heed that he bring it not into servile subjection, lest when it is once tied by the legge, he suffer it to be bound also by the necke: for some there be who reporting all things both litle and great unto these potentates, make this their servitude reprochable; or to speake more truly, they deprive their country of all policie and forme of government, making it so fearefull, timorous, and fit for no authoritie and command at all; and like as they who use themselves to live so physically, that they can neither dine nor suppe, nor yet bath without their physitian, have not so much benefit of health as nature it selfe doth afford them; even so those cities and States which for every decree and resolution of their counsell, for all grace and favour, yea and for the smallest administration of publike affaires, must needs adjoigne the consent, judgement, and good liking of those Seigniors and good masters of theirs, they even compell the said great lords to be more powerfull and absolute over them than they would themselves. The causes hereof commonly be these; to wit, the avarice, jealousy, emulation of the chiefe and principall citizens in a State; for that being desirous otherwhiles to oppresse and keepe under those who be their inferiors, they constrain them to abandon their owne cities, or else being at some debate and difference with other citizens their equals, and unwilling to take the foile one at anothers hand in their owne citie; they have recourse unto other superior lords, and so bring in forreiners who are their betters. Heereupon

it cometh to passe, that Senate, people, Judiciall courts, and all that litle authoritie and power which they had is utterly lost. A good governour therefore ought to remedy this mischief, by appeasing such burgeses as be private and meane citizens, by equalitie, and those who are great and mightie, by reciprocall yeelding one to another; and so by this course to keepe all affaires within the compasse of the citie, to compose all quarrels, and determine all controversies at home, curing and healing such inconveniences as secret maladies of a common-wealth, with a civil and politicke medicine; that is to say, to chuse rather for his owne part for to be vanquished and overthrowen among fellow-citizens, than to vanquish & win the victorie by forren power, & not to offer wrong unto his natural country, and be a cause to overthrow the rights and priviledges thereof; as for all others, he is to beseech them, yea and to perswade with them particularly one by another, by good reasons and demonstrations, of how manie calamities peevisht obstinacie is the cause; and now because they would not ech one in his turne & course frame and accomodate themselves at home to their fellow-citizens, who manie times be of one minde and linage to their neighbours and companions in charges and offices, and that with honour and good favour; they are come to this passe, as to detect and lay open the secret dissensions and debates of their owne citie, at the gates of their advocates, and to put their causes into the hands of pragmaticall lawyers (at *Rome*) with no lesse shame and ignominie, than losse and damage.

Physicians are wont when they cannot expell and fully exclude out of the bodie inwardlie some kinde of maladies, to turne and drive the same without forth to the superficiall parts; but contrariwise, a man of government, if he be not able to keepe a citie altogether in peace & concord, but that some troubles will arise, yet at leastwise he must endeavour to contene that within the citie which is the cause thereof, and nureth the sedition, and in keeping it close to labour for to heale and remedie it; to this end, that if it be possible he have no need either of physician or physicke from forren parts; for the intentions of a man of State and government ought to be these, namely, to proceed in his affaires surely, and to flic the violent and furious motions of vaine-glorie, as hath bene said already, howbeit in his resolution,

*A courage bold and full of confidence  
Unwunted heart, and fearlessse be must have  
Which will not quail for any consequence,  
But see the end: much like to soldiers brave  
In field themselves who manly do behave,  
And hazard lims and life for to defend  
Their countrey deere, and enemies to offend.*

and not onely to oppose himselfe against enemies, but also to be armed against perilous troubles and dangerous tumults, that he may be readie to resist and make head: for he ought not in any case himselfe to moove tempests and raise commotions, no nor when he seeth boisterous stormes comming, forsake and leave his countrey in time of need. He must not (I say) drive his citie under his charge upon apparent danger, but so soone as ever it once begin to be tossed, and to float in jeopardie, than is it his part to come to succor, by casting out from himselfe (as it were) a sacred Anchor, that is to say, to use his boldnesse and libertie of speech, considering that now the maine point of all lieth a bleeding, even the safetie of his countrey. Such were the dangers that hapned unto *Pergamum* in *Neroes* time, and of late daies to the Rhodians, during the Empire of *Domitian*, as also before unto the Theffalians, while *Augustus* was Emperour, by occasion that they had burned *Petrus* quick. In these and such like occurrences, a man of State and government, especially if he be woorthie of that name:

*Ne ever shall you see  
Sleepie for to bee.*

nor drawing his foote backe for feare, no nor to blame and lay the fault of others, ne yet to make shift for one, and put himselfe out of the medley of danger, but either going in embassage, or embarked in some ship at sea; or else readie to speake first, and to say not onely thus

*Wewe Apollo, have this murder don  
From these our coasts, avert this plague anon.*

but although himselfe be not culpable at all with the multitude, yet will he put his person into danger for them. For surely this is an act right honest, and besides the honestie in it selfe, it hapneth divers times; that the vertue and noble courage of such a man hath bene so highly admired, that it hath daunted the anger conceived against a whole multitude, and dispatched all the fierceneffe



fiere nesse and furie of a bitter menace : like as it befell unto a King of *Perſia* in regard of *Bulſis* and *Sperhis* two gentlemen of *Sparta* : and as it was ſcene in *Pompey* to his hoſt and friend *Sthenon* : for when he was fully determined to chaſtiſe the *Mamertines* ſharply, and to proceede againſt them in all rigor, for that they had rebelled, the ſaid *Sthenon* ſtept unto him, and thus frankly ſpake : That he ſhould do neither well nor juſtly, in caſe he did to death a number of innocents, for one man who alone was faultie ; for it is my ſelfe (quoth he) who cauſed the whole citie to revolt and take armes, inducing my friends for love, and forcing mine enemies for feare. Theſe words of his went to neere unto the heart of *Pompey*, that he pardoned the citie, and moſt courteouſly entreated *Sthenon* ; ſemblably, the hoſt of *Sylla*, having ſhewed the like valour and vertue, although it were not to the like perſon, died a noble death : for when *Sylla* had woon to the citie *Pyreneſſe* by aſſault, he meant to put all the inhabitants thereof to the ſword, excepting onely one hoſt of his, whom in regard of old hoſpitalite he ſpared and pardoned ; but this hoſt & friend ſaid flatly unto him, that he would never remaine alive to ſee that bloody maſſacre, nor hold his life by the murder of his country ; and ſo caſt himſelfe into the troupe of his fellow-citizens in the heate of execution, and was killed with them. Well, pray unto the gods we ought to preſerve and keepe us that we fall not into ſuch calamities and troubleſome times ; to hope alſo and looke for better daies.

Moreover, we are to eſteeme of everie publike magiſtracie, and of him who exerciſeth it, as of a great and ſacred thing, and in that regard to honour the ſame above all. Now the honour which is due unto authoritie, is the mutuall accord and love of thoſe who are ſet in place to execute the ſame together : and verily this honor is much more worth, than either all thoſe crownes and diademes which they beare upon their heads, or their ſtately mantles and robes of purple, wherewith they be arraigned. Howbeit, they that laid the firſt ground and beginning of amitie ; their ſervice in warres, when they were fellow-fouldiors, or the paſſing of their youthfull yeeres together ; and contrariwiſe, take this a cauſe now of enmitie, that they either are joined captaines in commiſſion for the conduct of an armie, or have the charge of the Common-weale together, it can not be avoided, but that they muſt incur one of theſe three miſchiefs. For either if they eſteem their fellowes and companions in government to be their equals, they begin themſelves firſt to grow into rearmes of diſſention ; or if they take them to be their betters, they fall to be envious ; or elſe in caſe they hold them to be inferior unto them in good parts, they deſpiſe, & contemne them. Whereas they ſhould indeed make court unto the greater, honor and adorne their equals, and advance their inferiours, and in one word to love and embrace all, as having an amitie and love engendred among themſelves, not becauſe they have eaten at one table, drunke of the ſame cup, or met together at one feaſt, but by a certaine common band and public obligation, as having in ſome ſort a certaine fatherly benevolence, contracted and grown upon the common affection unto their country. Certes, one reaſon why *Scipio* was not ſo well thought of at *Rome* was this ; that having invited all his friends to a ſolemne feaſt at the dedication of his temple to *Hercules*, he left out *Mummus* his colleague or fellow in office : for ſay that otherwiſe they tooke not one another for ſo good friends ; yet ſo it is that at ſuch a time and upon ſuch occaſions, they ought to have honored and made much one of the other, by reaſon of their common magiſtracie. If then *Scipio*, a noble perſonage otherwiſe, and a man of wonderfull regard, incurred the imputation and note of inſolence and preſumption, becauſe he forgot or omitted ſo ſmall a demonſtration and token of humanitie : how can it be, that he who goeth about to impair the dignitie and credit of his companions in government, or diſcrediteth and diſgraceth him in thoſe actions, eſpecially which proceed from honour and bountie, or upon an arrogant humour of his owne, will ſeeme to do all, and attribute the whole to himſelfe alone, how can ſuch an one (I ſay) be reputed, either modeſt or reaſonable ? I remember my ſelfe, that when I was but of yoong yeeres, I was ſent with another, in embaiſſage to the Proconſul ; and for that my companion ſtaid about (I wot not what behind) I went alone and did that which we had in commiſſion to do together : after my returne, when I was to give an account unto the State, and to report the effect of my charge & meſſage back againe ; my father aroſe, and taking me apart, willed me in no wiſe to ſpeak in the ſingular number, & ſay, I departed or went, but We departed ; Item, not I ſaid, or (quoth I) but We ſaid ; & in the whole recital of the reſt to joine alwaies my companion, as if he had beene aſſociat & at one hand with me in that which I did alone. And verily this is not onely decent, convenient, and civill, but that which more is, it taketh from glorie that which is offensive, to wit envie, which is the cauſe that great captaines attribute and aſcribe their noble acts to fortune and their good angell, as did *Timoleon*, even he who overthrowed the

the Tyrannies eſtabliſhed in *Sicilie* ; who founded and erected a temple to Good-Fortune. *Pytho* alſo when he was highly praized and commended at *Athens* for having ſlain king *Corys* with his owne hand ; It was God (quoth he) who for to doe the deed uſed my hand. And *Theopompus* king of the *Lacedemonians*, when one ſaid unto him that *Sparta* was ſaved and ſtood upright, for that their kings know how to rule well ; Nay rather (quoth he) becauſe the people know how to obey well : and to ſay a truth, both theſe depend one upon the other ; howbeit, moſt men are of this opinion, and ſo they give out, that the better part of policie or knowledge belonging to civill government lieth in this, to fit men, and frame them meete to be well ruled and commanded ; for in every citie there is alwaies a greater number of ſubjects than rulers, and each one in his turne (eſpecially in a popular ſtate) is governour but a while, and for it, afterwards continueth governed all the reſt of his life, in ſuch ſort, that it is a moſt honeſt and profitable apprenticeship (as it were) to learne ſort to obey thoſe who have authoritie to command, although haply they have meaner parts otherwiſe, and be of leſſe credite and power than our ſelves : for a meer abſurditie it were, that (whereas a principall or excellent actour in a Tragedie, ſuch as *Theodorus* was of *Potus*, for hire waiteth oftentimes upon another mercenary plaier who hath not above three words in his part to ſay, and ſpeaketh unto him in all humilitie and reverence, becauſe peradventure he hath the roiall band of a diademe about his head, and a ſcepter in his hand) in the true and unfained actions of our life, and in caſe of policie and government, a rich and mightie perſon ſhould deſpiſe and ſet light by a magiſtrate for that he is a ſimple man otherwiſe, and peradventure poore and of meane eſtate, yea and proceede to wrong, violate and impair the publike dignitie wherein he is placed, yea and to offer violence thereby unto the authoritie of a State ; whereas he ought rather with his owne credite and puiſſance, helpe out the defect and weakeneſſe of ſuch a man, and by his greatneſſe, countenance, his authoritie : for thus in the citie of *Lacedemon*, the kings were wont to riſe up out of their thrones before the *Ephori*, and whoſoever els was ſummoned & called by them, came not an ordinary foot-pace, or faire and ſoftly, but running in great haſte, in token of obedience, and to ſhew unto other citizens how obedient they were, taking a great joy and glorie in this, that they honour their magiſtrates, nor as ſome vaine-glorious and ungracious ſots, voide of all civilitie and manners, wanting judgement and diſcretion, who to ſhewe forth their exceeding power upon which they ſtand much and pride themſelves, will not let to offer abuſe unto the judges and wardens of the publike games, combats, and paſtimes, or to give reprochfull termes to thoſe that leade the dance, or ſet out the plaies in the *Bacchanale* feaſt, yea and mocke captaines, and laught at the preſidents & wardens of the public exerciſes for youth, who have not the wit to know ; That to give honour is oftentimes more honorable than to be honored : for ſurely to an honourable perſon who beareth a great ſway, & carrieth a mightie port with him in a citie, it is a greater ornament & grace to accompany a magiſtrate, and as it were to guard and ſquire him, than if the ſaid magiſtrate ſhould put him before or ſeeme to waite upon him in his traine ; and to ſay a truth, as this were the way to worke him diſpleaſure and procure him envie from the hearts of as manie as ſee it ; ſo the other would win him true glorie which proceedeth of love and benevolence : And verily when ſuch a man is ſcene otherwhiles in the magiſtrates houſe, when he ſaluteth or greeteth him firſt, and either giveth him the upper-hand, or the middle place as they walke together, he addeth an ornament to the dignitie of the citie, and looſeth thereby none of his own. Moreover, it is a popular thing, and that which gaineth the hearts of the multitude, if ſuch a perſon can beare patiently the hard rearmes of a magiſtrates whiles he is in place, and endure his cholerick fits ; for then he may with *Diomedes* in *Homer* ſay thus to himſelfe :

How ever now I little do ſay,  
It will be mine honor another day.

Or as one ſaid of *Demoſthenes* ; Well, he is not now *Demoſthenes* onely, but he is a law-giver, he is a preſident of the ſacred plaies and ſolemne games, and a crowne he hath upon his head, &c. and therefore it is good to put up all now, and to deſerre vengeance untill another time ; for either we ſhall come upon him when he is out of his office, or at leaſt wiſe we ſhall gaine thus much by delay, that choler will be well cooled and allayed by that time.

Moreover, in any government or magiſtracie whatſoever, a good ſubject ought to ſtrive (as it were) a vie with the rulers, eſpecially if they be perſons of good ſort and gracious behaviour, in diligence, care, and fore-caſt for the benefit of the State ; namely, in going to them, to give notice and intelligence of whatſoever is meete to be done, in putting into their hands ſort to be executed that which he hath with mature deliberation rightly reſolved upon, in giving meanes

unto them for to win themselves honour, and that by the benefit of the common-weale: But if such persons they be, as either for feare & false heart, or upon a froward peeuvhnesse & disposition give no care to such motions, and are not willing to put that in execution which is presented unto them; then it is his part himselfe in person to go and declare the same in publicke place to the body of the people, and in no wise to neglect, disanull, or passe with connivence any thing that concerneth the weale-publicke, and never to pretend any colourable excuse, by saying, it appertained unto none other but the head magistrate, thus to deale curiously and be busie occupied in meddling with the affaires of States; for a general law there is which giveth alwaies the first and principall place of rule in a common-wealth unto him who dealeth justly, practiseth righteousnesse, and knoweth what is expedient and profitable, as we may see by the example of *Xenophon*, who in one place writeth thus of himselfe: There was in the armie (quoth he) one named *Xenophon*, who was neither Lord General, nor Lieutenant; but for skill and knowledge of that which was to be done, and for resolution to enterprize and execute the same, put himselfe forward and gave charge unto others, wherein he so behaved himselfe that he saved the Greeks. And the most glorious feate of armes that ever *Philopomen* atchieved was this, that when hee heard newes how king *Agis* had surprized the citie of *Messene*, and that the generall of the Achaeans would not go with aide and rescue, but drew backe for feare; he with a troupe of the most forward and resolute gallants, without warrant or commission from the State, delivered the said citie from out of the hands of *Agis*; which I write not as if I allowed innovations or such newe enterprizes and extraordinary attempts upon every small and light occasion, but onely either in time of need and extremity, as *Philopomen* did then, or for honest occasions, as *Epinonidus*, who continued in his Beorarchie fower moneths longer than was ordinary by the lawes of the country, during which time he put on armes, and entred into *Laconia*, reedified *Messene*, and peopled it, to the end that if afterwards there should ensue any complaint or imputation, we may answer with credit, and either alledge for excuse, necessity, or set against it the perill to which we exposed our selves, the bravenesse of the exploits, and the service so well performed, to make amends and recompence.

There is reported a sentence of *Jason* who long since was the Tyrant or Monarch of *Sicilie*, which he had often in his mouth, and alwaies repeated so often as he did violence or outrages to any of his subjects; that they cannot choose but commit unjustice in final matters, who would do justice in great causes; as if a man would say, that necessarie it is for him to offer wrong in details who mindeth to do right in the grosse. But as touching this sentence, a man may soone perceive at the first sight, that it is a speech meet for him that intendeth to make himselfe an absolute lord, and to usurpe tyrannye. Yet is this rule more civill and politike, that a governour to gratifie the peole, is to passe by small matters, and to winke at them, that hee may in greater things stand against them, and stay them from breaking out to farre. For he that in everie thing will be peering and looking too narrowly without any yielding or relaxation, but is alwaies severe rigorous and inexorable, doth by his example traine and accustom the people likewise to be quarrellsome and contentious with him, yea and to be readie upon all occasions to take offence and discontentment:

*But softly for to strike the faile  
Or slacke the helme doth much avail  
With violence when billoves great  
Arise and on the ship do beat.*

and even so a governour ought in some things to yeeld, and not to bee so precise and straight laced himselfe, but to sport as it were and take his pastimes graciously with his people, as namely to celebrate festivall sacrifices, beholde solemne plaies, games, and combats, and to sit in the theaters with them, partly in making semblant as though he neither saw nor heard many things, like as we are wont to doe by the faults at home of our little children; to the end that the authoritie of reproving them roundly, and admonishing them frankly, like unto the vertue of a medicine not dull and enervate with much use, but remaining still in full vigor and strength, may be more effectually, carie the greater credite, touch the quicke indeed, and sting in matters of greater consequence. *Alexander* the great, when he heard that his sister had bene too familiarly acquainted with a lustie yong gentleman and a beautifull, was nothing displeased therewith, but said; We must give her also a little leave to enjoy somewhat the pleasure and prerogative of a prince; which was neither well done of him to allow such things in her, nor yet with good respect of his owne honour and dignitie; for we ought not to thinke this the fruition, but

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the ruine and dishonour rather of a princely State. And therefore a wise governour will not permit as much as possibly lieth in him, that the bodie of the people shall doe injurie to any particular inhabitants, as namely in confiscation of other mens goods, or in distribution and parting among themselves the money of the common stocke; but to resist such courtes with all his power, and with remonstrances, perswasions, threats, and menaces withstand the inordinat desires of a multitude: contrarie to the practise of *Athen* and his followers at *Athen*, who feeding and fostering such foolish appetites and corrupt humors of the people, caused many drone bees (as *Plato* saith) to breed in the city, who did no other good butling and pricke one or other. But if the people at any time take occasion by solemnizing some festivall day, according to the custome of the country, or by the honour of some god or goddesse, to let out any goodly shew, play or stately spectacle, or to distribute some small dole, or to exhibit a pleasant gratitie, honest courtesie, or publicke magnificence; lawfull it is and reasonable, that they should in such cases enjoy in some sort the fruit both of their libertie, and also of their wealth and prosperitie. For in the governments of *Pericles* and *Demetrius Phalerens*, there bee many examples extant of the like nature; as for *Cimon* he beautified the market place of *Athen* with rowes of palme trees, planted directly, and raimed by him, with pleasant walkes and faire allies. And *Cato* seeing about the time of *Caesars* conspiracie, that the commons of *Rome* were in a commotion and hurlyburly by the faction of *Julius Caesar*; and grown in manner to these reames, for to bring in a change and alteration of the whole State; perswaded the Senate to ordeine, that there should be some pety dole of money given among the poore commoners; which coming in so good and fit a time, appeased the tumult, and repressed the sedition and insurrection that was like to grow. For like as a learned and expert physicion, after hee hath taken away a great quantitie of corrupt blood from his patient, giveth him anon some little nourishment that is good and wholesome; even so a discrete and well advised ruler of a popular State, when he hath put the people by some great matter which tended to their shame and losse, will againe by some light gratitie and pleasure which heis content to graunt, cheere and recomfort them, yea and allay their moode when they bee readie to whine and complaine. And otherwhiles, good policie it is, of purpose to withdraw them from some foolerie, unto which without all sense and reason their minde and affection standeth, to draw and leade them unto other things that be good and profitable; like as *Demades* his practise was, at what time as he had the receipt of all the revenues of the citie under his hands; for when the people of *Athen* were fully bent to send forth certaine gallies, for to succour those who had taken armes and rebelled against *Alexander* the great, and to that effect commaunded him to disburse money for the charges, hee made this speech unto them; My matters, there is money ready for you, for I have provided so, that I purpose to deale among you at this feast of *Bacchanalles*, that everie one of you may have halfe a Mue of silver now if you list to employ the same money to the setting out of a fleet, you may doe what pleaseth you with your owne, use it, or abuse it at your pleasure, it is all one to mee: by this cunning device, having turned them from the rigging and manning of the armado which they purposed to set out, and all for feare 40 they should lose the benefit of the foresaid dole or largesse which hee promised and pretended, he staied them from offending king *Alexander*, that he had no cause to finde himselfe grieved with them. Many such fits and humors are the people given unto, both hurtfull and damageable unto them; which it were impossible to breake them of, going directly to worke; but a man must go about with them, & by turnings & windings compasse them to his mindlike as *Phoci* on did upon a time when the Athenians would have had him in al haste to make a road & invade the country of *Boonia*; for he caused incontinently proclamation to be made by sound of trumpet; That all citizens from foureene yeeres of age upward unto threecore, should shew themselves in armes and follow him; upon which proclamation, when there arose a great noise and stirre among the elder sort, who began to mutine, for that he would force them at those yeeres 50 to the warres: What a strange matter firs is this (quoth he) I my selfe am fourecore yeeres of age, and you shall have me with you for your captaine. By this meanes a politicke governour may put by and breake the ranke of many unseasonable and needlesse embassages; namely, by joining many of them in commission together, and those whom he seeth to be unfit altogether for such voiaiges; thus may he stay the enterprises of going in hand with many great buildings unnecessary and to no purpose, in commanding them at such times to contribute money thereto out of their owne purses; also hinder the processe of many uncivill and unseasonable, namely, by assigning one and the same time for apparence in court, and for to be employed in sollici- ting

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ring causes abroad in forren parts: & for to bring these things about, he must draw and associate unto him those principall authors who have drawne out in writing any such bills to be proposed, or have incited the people and put those matters in their heads; and to them he shall intimate those crosse courses abovesaid; for either if they start backe and keepe out of the way, they shall seeme themselves to breake that which they proposed; or if they accept thereof and be present, they shall be sure to take part of the trouble and paines that is imposed upon them. Now when there shall be question of any exploit to be done of great consequence, and tending much to the good of the State, which requireth no small travell, industrie, and diligence; then have a speciall regard and endeavour, I advise you, to chuse those friends of yours who are of most sufficiency, and of greatest authoritie, and those among the rest which are of the mildest and best nature; for such you may be sure will crosse you least, and assist you most; so long as they have wit at will, and be withall void of jealousie and contention. And heerein it behooveth a man to know wel his owne nature, and finding that whereunto he is lesse apt than an other, to chuse for his adjuncts those rather who he perceiveth to be better able to go through with the businesse in hand, than such as otherwise be like unto himselfe: for so *Diomedes* being deputed to go in despite all for to view the campe of the enemies, chose for his companion the warriest & best advised person of all the Greeks, & let passe the most valiant souldiours. By this means all actions shall be counterpoised best, & lesse jealousie and emulation will grow betweene them who are desirous to have their good parts & valor seeme indifferent in vertues & qualities. If you have a cause to plead, or be to go in embassages, chuse for your companion & assistant (if you find your selfe not meet to speak) some man that is eloquent, like as *Pelopidas* in the like case chose *Eparinondas*. If you thinke your selfe unmeet to entertaine the common people with courtesie & affability, and of too high and loftie a minde for to debase your selfe and make court unto them, as *Callistratus* the captaine of the Lacedemonians was; take one unto you who is gracious, and can skill to court it and give entertainment. If your bodie be weake or feeble, and not able to endure much paines; have one with you who hath a stronger bodie, and who can away with travell, as *Nicias* did *Lamachus*. For this is the reason that *Geryones* was so wonderfull, because that having many legs, many armes, and many eyes, yet hee with all them was ruled and governed by one soule. But wise governors if they accord and agree well, may conferre and lay together not onely their bodies and goods, but also their fortunes, their credits and their vertues, and make use of them all in one affaire, in such sort that they shall compasse and execute fully whatsoever they enterpryse, much better than any other whatsoever: and not as the Argonauts did, who after they had left *Hercules*, were constrained to have recourse unto the charmes, forceries and enchantments of women for to save themselves, and to steale away the golden fleece.

Certaine temples there be, into which whosoever did enter, must leave without doores all the gold that they had about them; and as for iron they might not presume to goe withall into any one whatsoever. Considering therefore that the tribunall and judicall seat of justice is the temple of *Jupiter*, surnamed the Counsellor and Patron of cities, of *Themis* also and *Dice*, that is to say, equitie and justice; before ever thou set foot to mount up into it, presently rid and cleere thy soule of all avarice and covetousnesse of monie, as if it were iron, and a very maladie full of rust, and throw it farre from thee into the merchants hall, into the shops of tradesmen, occupiers, banquiers and usurers:

*As for thy selfe, flee from such pelfe.*

Thun it I say as far off as you can, & make this reckoning, that whosoever enricheth himselfe by the managing of the common-weale, is a church-rober, committing sacrilege in the highest degree, robbing temples, stealing out of the sepulchers of the dead, picking the coffers of his friends: making himselfe rich by treachery, treason, & false-wittnes: thinke him to be an untruly and faithlesse counsellor, a perjured judge, a corrupt magistrate, and full of bribery; in one word polluted and defiled with all wickednesse, and not cleere of any sinne whatsoever that may be committed; and therefore I shall not neede to speake more of this point.

As for ambition, although it carrie with it a fairer shewe than avarice, yet nevertheless it bringeth after it a traine of mischiefs and plagues, no lesse dangerous and pernicious unto the government of a common-wealth: for accompanied it is ordinarily with audacious rashnesse more than it; inasmuch as it useth not to breed in base mindes, or in natures feeble and idle, but principally in valiant, active, and vigorous spirits; and the voice of the people, who by their praises lift up many times and drive it forward, maketh the violence thereof more hard to be restrained, managed, and ruled. Like as therefore *Plato* writeth, that we ought to accustom young boies

boies even from their verie infancie to have this sentence resounding in their eares: That it is not lawfull for them neither to carrie gold about their bodies as an outward ornament, nor so much as to have it in their purses, for that they have other golde as a proper cosier of their owne, and the same incorporate in their hearts: giving us to understand by these enigmaticall and covert speeches (as I take it) the vertue derived from their aunccestors, by descent and continuation of their race; even so wee may in some sort cure and remedie this desire of glorie, by making remonstrance unto ambitious spirits, that they have in themselves gold, that cannot corrupt, bee wasted or contaminated by envie, no nor by *Atimus* himselfe the reproover of the gods, to wit Honour, the which we alwaies encrease and augment, the more we discourse, consider, meditate, and thinke upon those things which have bene performed & accomplished by us in the government of the common-weale: and therefore they have no need of those other honours, which are either cast in moldes by founders, or cut and graven in brasle by mans hand, considering that all such glorie cometh from without forth, and is rather in others than in them, for whom they were made. For the statue of a trumpeter which *Polydorus* made, as also that other of an halbarder are commended in regard of the maker, and not of those whom they do represent, and for whose sake they were made. Certes, *Cato* at what time as the citie of *Rome* began to be well replenished with images and statues, would not suffer any one to be made for himselfe saying: That he had rather men would aske, why there was no image set up for him, than why it was? For surely such things bring envie, and the common people thinke themselves indebted still & beholden unto those, upon whom they have not bestowed such vanities: and contrariwise, such as receive them at their hands are odious & troublesome unto them, as if they had fought to have the publike affaires of the State in their hands, in hope to receive such a reward and salarie from them againe. Like as therefore he that hath sailed without danger along the gulfe *Syrus*, if afterwards hee chauce to be cast away and drowned in the mouth of the haven, hath done no such doughty deed, nor performed any speciall matter of praise in his voyage and navigation; even so, hee that hath escaped the common Treasure, and done well enough and saved himselfe, from the publike revenewes, customes, and commodities of the State; that is to say, hath not defiled his hands, either with robbing the citie-money, or dealt underhand with the farmers and undertakers of the cities hands, revenewes, &c. and then shall suffer himselfe to be overtaken and surpris'd with a desire to be a president and sit highest, or to be the head man and chiefe in counsell of a citie, is runne in deed upon an high rocke that reacheth up a loft, but drenched hee is over the eares, and as like to sinke as the rest, nevertheless. In best case he is therefore, who neither seeketh nor desireth any of these honours, but rejecteth and refuseth them altogether. Howbeit, if peradventure it be no easie matter to put backe a grace and favour, or some token of love, that the people otherwise desire to shew unto them who are entred into combat, as it were in the field of government, not in a game and maisterie for a silver prize, or for rich presents, but in the game in deed which is holy and sacred, yea and woorthie to be crowned, it may suffice and content a man to have some honourable inscription or title, in a tablet, some publike act or decree, some branch of lawrell or the olive: like as *Epymenides* who received one branch of the sacred olive, growing in the castle of *Athens*, because he had cleansed and purified the citie: and *Anaxagoras* refusing all other honours which the people would have ordained for him, demanded onely, that upon the day of his death the children might have leave to play, and not go to schoole all that day long. The seven gallant Gentlemen of *Perfia*, who killed the Tyrants, called *Magi*, were honoured onely with this priviledge, that both they and their posteritie might wear the *Perlian* pointed Cap or \* Turbant, bending forward on their heads: for this was the signall which they were agreed upon among themselves when they went to execute the said enterprise. Likewise the honor which *Pittacus* received, did shew some modesty & civilitie: for when his citizens had permitted & granted unto him to have and enjoy of those lands which he had conquered from the enemy, as much as he would himselfe; he stood contented with so much, & no more as lay within one sling or shot of the javelin which he launced himselfe. And *Cicilius* the Roman tooke so much ground onely as he in his owne person could care with a plow in one day, being as he was a lame and maimed man. For a civill honour ought not to be in the nature of a salarie for a vertuous act performed, but a token rather and a memoriall that the remembrance thereof might continue long, as theirs did whom erewhiles we named: whereas in those three hundred statues of *Demetrius Phalerem*, there gathered not so much as rust, canker, or any ordure or filth whatsoever, but were all of them ere himselfe died, pulled downe and broken.

And as for the images of *Demades*, melted they were everie one, and of the mettall were made pispots and basins for clofe stooles: yea and many such honours have beene defaced, as being displeafant and odious to the world, not in regard onely of the wickednesse of the receiver, but also of the greatnesse and richnesse of the thing given and received: and therefore the goodliest and surest safeguard of honour, that it may endure and last longest, is, the least costlinesse and price bestowed thereupon: for such as bee excessive massie and immeasurall in greatnesse, may bee well compared unto huge colosses or statues not well ballaied and counterpoised, nor proportionably made, which soone fall downe to the ground of themselves. And here in this place I call Honors, these exterior things which the common people (so far forth as becometh them, according to the saying of *Empedocles*) so call. Howbeit I also affirme as well as others, that a wise governor & man of State ought not to despise true honor which consisteth in the benevolence & good affection of those who have in remembrance the services and benefits that they have received: neither ought he altogether to contemne glorie, as one who forbore to please his neighbours among who he liveth, as *Democritus* would have him: for neither ought horse-keepers or esquierries of the stable, reject the affection of their horses lovingly making toward them; nor hunters the fawning of their hounds & spaniels; but rather seeke to win & keepe the fame, for that it is both a profitable, and also a pleasant thing, to be able for to imprint in those creatures who are familiar, & do live & converse with us such an affectiō to us as *Lyfsmachus* his dog loved toward his master; & which the poet *Homer* reporteth that *Achilles* horses shewed to *Patroclus*. For mine own part I am of this mind, that Bees would be better entreated & escape better, so in case they would make much of those, & suffer them gently to come toward them, who norish them and have the care and charge of them, rather than to sting and provoke them to anger as they do; whereas now, men are driven to punish them and chase them away with smokes: also to breake and tame their frampold and unruly horses with hard bits and bridles, yea and curst dogs which are given to run away, they are faine to lead perforce in collars, or tie up and hamper with clogs. But verily there is nothing in the world that maketh one man willingly obedient and subject to another, more than the affiance that he hath in him for the love which he beareth, and the opinion conceived of his goodnesse, honestie and justice; which is the reason that *Demosthenes* said verie well: That free cities have no better meanes to keepe and preserve themselves from tyrants, than to distrust them; for that part of the soule whereby we believe, is it, which is most easie to be taken captive. Like as therefore the gift of prophesie which *Cassandra* had, stood her country-men and fellow-citizens in no stead, because they would never give credit or beleefe unto her: for thus the speaketh of her selfe,

*God would not have my voice propheticall  
When I foretell of things, for ake effect,  
Nor do my country any good at all:  
Or why? alwaies they do my words reject,  
In their distresse and woes, they would correct  
Their folly past, then am I wise and sage:  
Before it come, they say I do but rage.*

even so, on the other side, the trust and confidence that the citizens reposed in *Crebryas*, the good will and benevolence which they bare unto *Battus*, served them in right good stead: for that they used and followed their counsell, by reason of the good opinion which they conceived of them.

This is then the first and principall good which lieth in the reputation of State-men, and those who are in government, namely, the trust and confidence which is in them; for it maketh an overture, and openeth the doore to the enterprife and execution of all good actions. The second, is the love and affection of the people, which to good governours is to them a buckler and armor of defence against envious and wicked persons:

*Much like unto a mother kind  
who keeps away the flies  
From tender babe whilst sweetly it  
asleepe in cradellies.*

putting backe envie that might arise against them; and in regard of might and credit, making equall a man meanly borne & of base parentage, with those who are nobly defended, the poore with the rich, & the private person with the magistrates: and to be briefe, when vertue & verity are joined together with this popular benevolence, it is as mightie as a strong and stee dy gale of

a forewind at the poore, and driveth men forward to the managing and effecting of all publicke affaires whatsoever. Consider now and see what contrarie effects the disposition of peoples hearts, doth produce and bring forth by these examples following. For even they of *Itale* when they had in their hands the wife and children of *Demys* the Tyrant, after they had villainously abused, and shamefully forced their bodies, did them to death, and when they had burnt them to ashes, threw and scattered the fame out of a ship into the sea. Whereas one *Menander* who reigned graciously over the *Bactrians*, in the end, when he had lost his life in the warres was honorably entreated: for the cities under his obeisance joined altogether, and by a common accord solemnized his funerals and obsequies with great mourning and lamentation; but as touching the place where his reliques should be bestowed, they grew into a great strife and contention one with another, which at the last with much ado was pacified upon this condition and composition, that his ashes should be parted and divided equally among them all, and that every citie should have one sepulcher and monument of him by it selfe. Again, the *Aggrigentines* after they were delivered from the Tyrant *Phalaris*, enacted an ordinance: That from thence forth, it should not be lawfull for any person whatsoever to wear a robe of blew colour, for that the Guard & Pensioners attending about the said Tyrant, had blew callockes for their liveries: But the *Perfians* tooke such a love to their Prince *Cyrus*, that because he was hauck-nosed, they ever after and even to this day, affect those who have such noses, and take them to be best favoured. And verily of all loves, this is the most divine, holy and puissant, which cities and States do beare unto a man for his vertue: as for other honors so falsely called, and bearing no true enignes in deed to testifie love, which the people bestow upon them, who have builded theaters and shew-places, given them largesses, congrais and other doles, or exhibited combats of Sword-fencers at the sharpe: these wrong entituled honors do resemble the glosing flatteries of harlots and strumpets, who smile upon their lovers, so long onely as they give them any thing or gratifie them in any pleasure; and such a glorie as this lasteth not long, but after a day or two passeth away and is gone.

He whosoever he was, that said first: That he who began to give money by way of largesse unto the people, taught the verie high way to overthrow a popular state, knew verie well, that the people lose their authoritie, when they make themselves subject and inferior by taking such gifts: and even they also who are the givers must know thus much: That they overthrow themselves in buying their reputation so costily & at so high a price: & by that means they make the multitude more haughtie and arrogant, because thereby the people do presume, that it is in their power to give or take away so great a thing. I write not this, as though I would have a man of estate in his lawfull expenses and allowable liberalities, to shew himselfe too nere and mechanicall, especially when his State will beare and maintaine the fame: for that, in truth, the people carrie a greater hatred to a rich man, who will not part with any of his goods among them, than a poore man who robbeth the common chest: for they suppose the one to proceed from pride and contempt of them, and the other from meere need and necessitie. I would wish therefore that first and principally these largesses should come by way of gratuitie and for nothing, for that in such a fort, they make the authors thereof better esteemed and admired, and besides they binde and oblige the receivers so much the more. Secondly, I would that they were done upon a good, honest, and laudable occasion, as namely for the honour of some god; a thing that draweth on the people more and more to devotion and religion, because withall, it imprinteth in the hearts of the people a vehement opinion and strong apprehension that the majestie of the gods, must needs be a great and venerable thing, when they see those who honor them, and whom they repute for so woorthie and noble personages, so affectionate unto them, as for their service and worship to be at such cost and spend so liberally. Like as therefore *Plato* forbade young men who went to the Musicke schoole, that they should not learne either the *Lydian* & *Phrygian* harmony; for that the one stirred up in their hearts all lamentable, dolefull, and dumpish affections, the other increased the inclination to pleasure, riot, and voluptuous sensuality; even so, as touching these largesses and publicke expenses, banish and chase out of your citie as much as you can, those which provoke in their hearts beastly, barbarous, and bloody affections, or such as feed loosenesse and scurrilie: or if you be not able to rid them out cleane, yet do your endeavour at least wise to hold off and contest against the people, to your uttermost power, who call upon you for such spectacles; & order the matter so alwaies, that the subject matter of your dispenfe may be honest and chaste, the end and intention good and necessarie, or at least wise that the pleasure and mirth be without wrong and hurt to any person. But if peradventure

ture your State be but meane, and that the center & circumference of your goods containe and comprehend no more than to serve and supply necessities, know well this: that it argueth neither a base mind nor an illiberal & ungentlemanlike heart to be known of your poverty, and so to give place unto other, who have wherewith to defray such ambitious expences & liberalities, and in by endebting & engaging your selfe in the usurers books, to be a spectacle both to be pitied & laughed at, for such publike miniftries: forasmuch as they whofoever they be that so do, cannot go to worke so secretly, but it will be thought and known how they enterprize above their abilitie, be driven to trouble and make bolde with their friends in borrowing of them, or els to flatter and court usurers to take up money at interest, in such sort as that they shall win no honour and credit, but rather shame and contempt by such expences; in which regard, good it is to were in these cases to set alwaies before your eyes the examples of *Lamachus* and *Phocion*. For *Phocion* one day when the Athenians at a solemne sacrifice called instantly upon him to contribute some money toward the charges: I would be ashamed (quoth he) to give you any thing, and in the meane while not be able to keepe my credit, and paie that I owe to this man here, and withall he pointed unto *Callicles* the usurer unto whom he was then indebted. As for *Lamachus* in his accounts of charges whiles he was lord generall of an armie under the Athenians in any expedition, put in alwaies, Thus much for a paire of shoes or pantofles for himselfe; Item, so much for a garment. The Theffalians ordeined and allowed unto *Hermion* who refused to be their captaine generall, because he was poore, a flagon or little runlet of wine monethly, and a measure or bulhell and halfe of meale every fower daies: whereby you see it is no shame for a man to confesse his povertie; neither have poore men lesse meanes to winne credit and authoritie in the government of cities, than they who lay out and spend much in making feasts or exhibiting publike shewes and spectacles, for to gaine the good will and favour of the people; provided alwaies, that by their vertue they have gotten reputation and libertie to speake their mindes frankly and freely unto them. And therefore a good governour ought wisely to master and rule himselfe in these cases; he must not (I say) enter into the plaine and champion ground on foote for to encounter with horsemen; nor being poore, to be seene in the race and shew-place for to set out games, or upon the scaffold & theater to represent plaies, or in great hals full set with tables to make feasts, and all to contend with rich men about glorie and magnificence; but he is to studie how to manage the people by vertue, by gentleness, by so wit and understanding joynded studies with wife words, wherein there is not onely honestie and a venerable port, but also a kinde of grace more amiable, attractive, and desireable,

*Than Cræsus coine of silver and gold,  
Or all the money that can be told.*

For to a good man it is not necessarie to have a furlie, coy, and presumptuous looke; neither is it required that a wife and sober person should carie a sterne and rigorous countenance,

*Who as he walks along the streets,  
In citie or in towne,*

*Doth cast a sharpe and hideous eie,  
And on his neighbours frowne.*

But contrariwise, a good man is first and foremost affable and lightsome of language, of easie access, and ready to be spoken withall whofoever comes, having his house open alwaies, (as it were) an haven or harbour of refuge, to as many as have occasion to use him. Neither is this debonairity and care of his, seene onely in the businesse and affaires of such as employ him, but also in this; that he will as well rejoyce with them who have had any fortunate and happie successe, as condole & greeve with those unto whom there is befallen any calamitie or misfortune; never will he be knownen to be troublesome, and looke for double diligence of a number of servitors and vassals to waite upon him to the baines or stoupes; nor to keepe a stir for taking up and keeping of places for him and his traine at the theaters where plaies and pastimes are to be seene, ne yet desire to be conspicuous and of great marke above others in any outward signes of excessive delights and sumptuous superfluities; but shew himselfe to be equall, like and suitable to others in apparell, in his fare and furniture at the table, in the education and nouriture of his children, in the keeping of his wife for her state and array, and in one word, be willing to carrie and demean himselfe in all things, as an ordinary and plaine citizen, bearing no greater port and shew than others of the common multitude; moreover, at hand to give advice and counsell friendly to every man in his affaires, ready to enterteine, defend, & follow their causes as an advocate, freely, and without taking fee or any consideration whatsoever; to reconcile man and

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wife when they be at odds, to make love-daies and peace betwene friends, not spending one little peece of the day for a shew at the tribunal seat, or in the hall of audience for the commonwealth, and then afterwards all the day & the rest of his life, drawing unto himselfe all dealings, all negotiations and affaires from everie side for his owne particular behoofe and profit, like unto the north-east winde *Cacias*, which evermore gathereth the clouds unto it; but continually bending his minde and occupying his head in carefull studie for the weale publike, and in effect making it appeere unto the world, that the life of a Statef-man and a governor, is not as the common sort thinke it, easie and idle, but a continuall action and publike function: by which fashions and semblable courses that he taketh, he gaineth and winneth unto him the hearts of the people, who in the end come to know, that all the flattering devices and enticements of others be nothing else but false baits and baftard allurements, in comparifon of his prudence and carefull diligence. The flatterers about *Demetrius* vouchsafed not to call any other princes and potentates of his time, Kings, but would have *Seleucus* to be named the Commander of the elephants; *Lysimachus* the keeper of the treasure; *Ptolomæus* the admirall of the sea; and *Agathocles* the governour of the islands. But the people although peradventure at the first they reject a good wife and sage person among them; yet in the end after they have seene his truth, and knownen his disposition and kinde nature, they will repute him onely to bee popular, politike, and worthie to be a magistrate indeed, and as for the rest, they will both repute and call one, the warden and setter out of the plaies; another the great feaster; and a third, the president of games, combats, and publike exercises. Moreover, like as at the feasts and bankets that *Callias* or *Alcibiades* were at the cost to make, none but *Socrates* was heard to speake, and all mens eyes were cast upon *Socrates*; even so in cities and States governed aright, well may *Ismerias* deale largesses; *Lichas* make feasts, and *Niceratus* defray the charges of plaies, but *Epinomondas*, *Aristides*, *Lysander*, and such as they, are those which beare the magistracie, they governe at home, they command and conduct armies abroad. Which being well and duly considered, there is no cause why you should be discouraged or dismayd at the reputation and credit that they win among the people, who have for them builded theaters, and erected shew-places, founded halles of great receipt, and purchased for them common places of sepulture, for to burie their dead: all which glorie lasteth but a while, neither hath it any great matter, or venerable substance in it, so but vanishesth away like smoke, and is gone even as soone as either the plaies in such theaters, or games in shew-places are done and ended.

They that have skill and experience of keeping and feeding bees, doe hold opinion and saie, that those hives wherein the bees yeeld the biggest found, make most humming and greatest stir within, like best, are most found, healthfull, and yeeld most store of home: but he upon whom God hath laid the charge and care of the reasonable swarme (as I may say) and civill societie of men, will judge the happinesse and blessed state thereof most of all by the quietnesse and peace therein, and in all other things he will approve the ordinances and statutes of *Solon*, endeavoring to follow and observe the same to his full power; but doubt hee will and marvell what hee should meane by this, when he writeth, that he who in a civill sedition would not range himselfe to a side, and take part with one or other faction, was to bee noted with infamie: for in a naturall bodie that is sicke, the beginning of change toward the recoverie of health, cometh not from the diseased parts, but rather, when the temperature of the found and healthie members is so puissant, that it chafeth and expelleth that which in the rest of the bodie was unkind & contrary to nature; even so in a citie or State where the people are up in a tumult & sedition, so it be not dangerous and mortall, but such as is like to be appeased and ended, there had need to be a farre greater part of those who are found and not infected, for to remaine and cohabit still; for to it there cometh and hath recourse that which is natural and familiar, from the wife and discreet within, and the same entrench into the other infected part and cureth it: but such cities as be in an univerfall uprore and hurly-burly, utterly perish and come to confusion, if they have not some constraint from without, and a chastisement which may force them to be wife and agree among themselves. Neither is my meaning, that I would have you a politike person and Statef-man in such a sedition and civill discorde to sit still, insensible and without any passion or feeling of the publike calamitie, to sing and chaunt your owne repose and tranquillitie of blessed and happie life, and whiles others be together by the eares, rejoyce at their follie; for at such a time especially you are to put on the buskin of *Theramenes*, which served as well the one legge as the other; then are you to parley and common with both parties, without joyning your selfe to one more than to the other; by which meanes, neither you shall be thought an adversarie,

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rie, because you are not ready to offend either part, but indifferent to both, in aiding as well the one as the other, and envie shall you incur none, as bearing part in their miserie, in case you seeme to have a fellow-feeling and compassion equally with them all: but the best way were to provide and foresaith, that they never breake out to tearmes of open sedition; and this you are to thinke for to be the principall point, and the height of all policie and civill government; for evident it is, and you may easily see, that (of those greatest blessings which cities can desire, to wit, peace, libertie, and freedome, plentie and fertilitie, multitude of people, and unitie and concord) as touching peace, cities have no great need in these daies of wise governors, for to procure or mainteine the same, for that all wars both against the Greekes and also the Barbarians are chased away and gone out of sight; as for libertie, the people hath as much as it pleaseth their sovereigns and princes to give them, and peradventure if they had more it would be woofe for them; for the fertilitie of the earth, and the abundance of all fruits, the kind disposition and temperature of all seasons of the yeere,

*That mother in due time their babes  
into the world may beare,  
Resembling in all points their fires,  
to wit, their fathers deare.*

and that children so borne may live and be live-like, every good and wise man, will crave at Gods hands in the behalfe of his owne fellow citizens. Now there remaineth for a States-man and politike governour, of all those works proposed one onely, and that is nothing inferiour to the rest of the blessings above-named, to wit, the unitie and concord of citizens that alwaies dwell together, and the banishing out of a cite of all quarrels, all jarres and malice, as the manner is in composing the differences and debates of friends; namely, by dealing first with those parties which seeme to be most offended, and to have taken the greatest wrong, in seeming to be injured as well as they, and to have no lesse cause of displeasure and discontent than they; afterwards by little and little to seeke for to pacifie and appease them, by declaring and giving them to understand, that they who can be content to strike faile a little, do ordinarily go beyond those who thinke to gaine all by force; surmount them I say not onely in mildenesse and good nature, but also in courage and magnanimitie, who in yielding and giving place a little in small matters, are masters in the end and conquerors in the best and greatest; which done, his part is to make remonstrance both particularly to every one, and generally to them all, declaring unto them the feeble and weake estate of *Greece*, and that it is very expedient for men of sound and good judgment to enjoy the fruit and benefit which they may have in this weakenesse and imbecillitie of theirs, living in peace and concord one with another as they doe; considering that fortune hath not left them in the midst any prize to winne or to strive for. For what glorie, what authoritie, what power or preeminence will remaine unto them that haply should have the better hand in the end, &c. be masters over their adversaries, but a proconsull with one commandement of his will be able to overthrow it, and transport it unto the other side, as often and whensoever it pleaseth him; but say that it should continue stil, yet is it not worth all this labour and travell about it. But like as leare-fires many times begin not at stately temples and publike edifices, but 40 they may come by some candle in a private and little house, which was neglected or not well looked unto, and so fell downe and tooke hold thereof, or haply straw or rushes and such like stuffe might catch fire and suddenly flame, and so thereupon might ensue much losse, and a publike wasting of many faire buildings; even so it is not alwaies by meanes of contention and variance about affaires of State, that seditions in cities be kindled, but many times braules and riots arising upon particular causes, and so proceeding to a publike tumult and quarrell, have beene the overthrow and utter subversion of a whole cite. In regard whereof, it pertaineth unto a politike man, as much as any one thing els, to foresee and prevent, or else to remedy the same, to see (I say) that such diffinitions do not arise at all, or if they be on foot to keep them down from growing farther and taking head, or at leastwise that they touch not the State, but rest still among whom it began: considering this with himselfe & giving others to understand, that private debates are in the end causes of publike, and small of great, when they be neglected at first, and no convenient remedies used at the verie beginning. Like as by report the greatest civill diffention that ever hapned in the cite of *Delphos*, arose by the meanes of one *Crates*, whose daughter *Orgilus* the sonne of *Phalus* was at the point to wed: now it hapned by meere chance that the cup, out of which they were to make an essay or effusion of wine in the honour of the gods first, and then afterwards to drinke one to another, according to the nuptiall ceremonies

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of that place, broke into peeces of it selfe, which *Orgilus* taking to be an evill presage, forsooke his espoused bride, and went away with his father, without finishing the complements of marriage. Some few daies after, when they were sacrificing to the gods; *Crates* conveyed covertly or underhand a certaine vessell of gold, one of those which were sacred and dedicated to the temple, unto them, and so made no more ado, but caused *Orgilus* and his brother, as manifest church-robbers, to be pitched downe headlong from the top of the rocke at *Delphos*, without any judgement or forme and processe of law: yea and more than that, killed some of their kinsfolke and friends, notwithstanding they entreated hard, and pleaded the liberties and immunities of *Minervæ* temple, surnamed *Provident*, into which they were fled and there tooke sanctuary. And thus after divers such murders committed, the *Delphians* in the end put *Crates* to death 10 and those his complices, who were the authors of this sedition, and of the money and goods of these excommunicate persons (for so they were called) seized upon by way of confiscation, they built those chapples which stand beneath the cite. At *Syracuse* also, of two yong men who were verie familiarly acquainted together, the one being to travell abroad out of his countrey, left in the custodie of the other a concubine that he had, to keepe until his returne home againe; but he in the absence of his friend abused her bodie: but when his companion upon his returne home knew thereof, he wrought so, that for to crie quittance with him he lay with his wife and made him cuckold: this matter came to hearing at the counsell table of the cite, and one of the ancient Senatours mooved the rest, that both twaine should be banished out of the 20 cite, before there arose further mischief, and left the cite by occasion of their deadly feud should be filled with parts taking of both sides, and so be in danger of utter destruction; which when he could not perswade and bring to passe, the people grew into an open sedition, and after many miserable calamities, ruinated and overthrew a most excellent State & government. You have heard I am sure of domesticall examples, and namely the enmitie of *Pericles* and *Tyrannus*, who went within a verie little of overthrowing the cite of *Sardis*, and upon small and private causes, had brought the same into civill war and open rebellion by their factions and particular quarrels. And therefore a man of government ought alwaies to be watchfull and vigilant, and not to neglect, no more than in a bodie naturall the beginnings of maladies, all little heart-burnings and offences that quickly passe from one to another, but to stay their course, and remedy the same with all convenient speed. For by a heedfull eye and careful prevention, as *Cato* saith, that which was at first great, becommeth small, and that which was small cometh to nothing. Now to induce and perswade other men so to doe, there is not a more artificiall device, nor a better meanes, than for a man of government to shew himselfe exorable, inclined to pardon, & easie to be reconciled in like cases; in principal matters of weight & greatest importance resolute and constant without any rankor or malice, and in none at all seeme to be selfe-willed, peevish, contentious, cholerike, or subject to any other passion which may breed a sharpnesse and bitternesse in necessarie controversies, and doubtfull cases which can not be avoided. For in those combats at buffets which champions performe for pleasure in manner of foiles; the manner is to binde about their fitts certaine round muffles like bals, to the end that when they 40 come to coping and to let drive one at another, they might take no harme, considering the knocks and thumps that they give are so soft, and can not put them to any paine to speake of; even so in the sutes, processe and trials of law which passe betwene citizens of the same cite, the best way is to argue and plead by laying downe their allegations and reasons, simply and purely, and not to sharpen or envenime their matters like darts and arrowes, with poisoned taunts, railing tearmes, opprobrious speeches and spightfull threats, and so to make deepe wounds, and the same festured with venom, whereby the controversies may grow incurable, and augment still in such sort, that in the end they touch the State. He that can so cary himselfe in his owne affaires, as to avoid these foresaid mischiefs and dangers, shall be able to compass others in the like, and make them willing to be ruled by reason: so that afterwards, when once the particular occasions of priue grudges be taken away, the quarrels and discords which touch a common-wealth, are sooner pacified and composed, neither doe they ever bring any inconveniences hard to be cured or remediless.

WHETHER



# WHETHER AN AGED MAN OUGHT TO MA- NAGE PUBLICKE AFFAIRES.

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## The Summarie.

**H**is title of this discourse discovereth sufficiently the intention of the Author: but, for that they who manage affaires of State, and namely men in yeeres, fall oftentimes into one of these two extremities as touching their duetie, namely, that they be either too slacke and remisse, or else more stiffe and severe than they ought; these precepts of 20 Plutarch, a man well conversed in high places and offices, and who (as we may gather by his words) was well stricken in age when he wrote this Treatise, ought to be diligently read, considered and practised by men of authoritie. And albeit this booke containeth some advertisements in that behalfe, which sort not wholly with the order of government put in practise in these our daies: yet so it is, that the fundamentall reasons are so well laid, that any politician or States-man building thereupon, may assure himselfe that he shall raise & edifie some good piece of worke. Now he beginneth with the refutation of one common objection of certaine men, who enioyne & command elder folke to sit still and remane quiet, and he prooveth the contrarie, namely, that then it is meet that they should put themselves forth more than ever before; but he addeth this correction and caveat withall, that they have beene a long time already broken (as it were) to the world, and beaten in publick affaires, to 30 the end that they be not taxed and noted for their slender carriage or light vanitie, nor proove the cause of some great mischiefe, meddling as they do in that which they had not wel comprehended before. After this he proposeth and laith abroad the examples of men well qualified, who have given good proofe of their sufficientie in old age: whereupon he inferreth, that those be the persons indeed unto whom government doth appertaine, and that to go about for to make such idle now in their latter daies, were as absurd and as much injurie offered unto them, as to confine a prudent Prince and wise King to some house in the country: and this he inforceth and verifieth by eloquent comparisons, and by the example of Pompeius. Which done he setteth downe the causes which ought to put forward, and move a man well spent in yeeres to the government of a common-weale, confuting those who are of the contrarie opinion, and proving that elderly persons are more fit therefore than younger, be- 40 cause of the experience and authoritie that age doth afford them, as also in regard of many other reasons: then he returneth the objection upon them, and sheweth that young folke are unmeet for publick charges, unless they have beene the disciples of the aged, or be directed and guided by them: he refuteth those also who esteeme that such a vocation resembleth some particular trafficke or negotiation: and when he hath so done, he taketh in hand againe his principall point, detecting and laying open the folly of those who would bereave old men of all administration of publick matters: and then he exhorteth them to take heart and shunne idleness (which he doth diffame wonderfully) and setteth before their eyes their duetie, which he also considereth in particular: then he adviseth them not to take so much upon them; not to accept any charge unworthie, or not befitting that gravitie which time and age hath given them, but to occupie and busie themselves with that which is hono- 50 rable and of great consequence; to endeavour and strive for to serve their countrie, and above all matters of importance; to use good discretion as well in the refusal as the acceptance of dignities and offices, carrying themselves with such dexterity among young men that they may induce & set them into the way of vertue. And for a conclusion, he teacheth all persons who deale in State affaires what resolution they should put on and carry this; that they have an assured testimony in themselves, that they be affectionate servitors of the common-weale.

WHETHER

# WHETHER AN AGED MAN ought to manage publick affaires.



E are not ignorant of *Euphanes*: that you are wont highly to praise the poet *Pindarus*, and how you have oftentimes in your mouth these words of his, as being in your conceit well placed and pithily spoken to the point,

*When games of price and combats once are set,  
Who shrinketh back and doth pretend some let,  
In darknesse hides and deepe obscuritie  
His fame of vertue and activitie.*

But forasmuch as men ordinarily alledge many causes and pretences, for to colour and cover their sloth & want of courage to undertake the businesse and affaires of State, & among others, as the very last, and as one would say, that which is of the sacred line & race, they tender unto us old age, & suppose they have found now one sufficient argument to dull or turne backe the edge, and to coole the heat of seeking honor thereby, in bearing us in hand & saying: That there is a certain convenient & meet end limited, not only to the revolution of 20 on of yeeres, proper for combats and games of prooffe, but also for publick affaires and dealings in State. I thought it would not be impertinent nor besides the purpose, if I should send and communicate unto you a discourse which sometimes I made privately for mine owne use, as touching the government of common-weale managed by men of yeeres; to the end that neither of us twaine should abandon that long pilgrimage in this world which we have continued in travelling together, even to this present day, nor reject that civill life of ours, which hitherto we have led in lwaying of the common-weale, no more than a man would cast off an old companion of his owne age, or change an ancient familiar friend, for another with whom he hath had no acquaintance, & who hath not time sufficient to converse & be made familiar with him. But let us in Gods name remaine firme & constant in that course of life which we have chosen 30 from the beginning, & make the end of life & of well living all one and the same, if we will not (for that small while which we have to live) discredit, & diffame that longer time which we have already led, as if it had bin spent foolishly and in vaine, without any good & laudable intention. For tyrannicall dominion, is not a faire monument to be entered in, as one said sometime to *Dionysius* the tyrant: for unto him this monarchicall & absolute sovereignty gotten & held by so unjust & wicked means, the longer that it had continued before it failed, the greater & more perfect calamitie it would have brought; according as *Diogenes* afterwards seeing the said *Dionysius* his son become a poore privat man, & deposed from the princely & tyrannicall dignity which he had: *O Dionysius* (quoth he) how unworthy art thou of this estate, & how unfitting is it for thee! for thou oughtest not to live here in liberty, & without any feare or doubt of any thing with us, 40 but remaine there still as thy father did, immured up & confined (as it were) within a forresse all thy life time, until extreme old age came. But in truth, a popular government which is just and lawfull, wherein a man hath beene conversant and shewed himselfe alwaies no lesse profitable to the common-wealth, in obeying than in commanding, is a faire sepulcher for him, to be buried honorably therein, and to bestow in his death the glorie of his life: for this is the last thing (as *Simonides* said) that descendeth and goeth under the earth; unless we speake of them whose honour, bountie and vertue dieth first, and in whom the zeale of performing their duetie doth faile and cease before that the covetous desire of things necessarie to this life giveth over: as if the divine parts of our soule, & those which direct our actions were more fraile, & died sooner than the sensual & corporal; which neither were honestie to say, nor good to beleeve, no more 50 than to give credit unto those who affirme that in getting and gaining onely, we are never weary: but rather we are to bring that saying of *Thucydides* to a better purpose, & not to beleeve him who was of minde that not ambition alone and desire of glorie, aged in a man but also (and that much rather) focalitie or willingness to live & converse with company, & civility or affection to policy & managing of publick affaires; a thing that doth persevere & continue alwaies to the very end, even in ants and bees: for never was it knowne that a bee with age became a drone; as some there be who would have those who all their life time were employed in the State, after the vigor & strength of their age is past to sit still & keepe the house, doing nothing els but eat & feed

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as if they were mued up, suffering their active vertue, through ease and idlenesse to be quenched & matted, even like as iron is eaten and consumed with rust & canker, for want of occupying. For *Cato* said verie wisely: That since old age had of it self miseries ynough of the one, they ought not to adde moreover thereunto the shame that proceedeth from vice, for to mend the matter. Now among many vices that be, there is not one that more shameth and defameth an old man than restivenesse, sloth, delicacie and voluptuousnesse: namely when he is seene to come downe from the hall and courts of Justice, or out of the counsell chamber and such public places, for to goe and keepe himselfe close in a corner of his house like a woman, or to retire into some farme in the country to oversee onely his mowers, reapers, and harvest-folke, of whom it may be well said, as we read in *Sophocles*:

*What is become of wise Oedipus,*

*In riddles a-reading who was so famous?*

For to begin to meddle in affaires of State in olde age, and not before (as it is reported that one *Epimenides* laied him downe to sleepe when he was very yong, and wakened an olde man fiftie yeeres after) and ere he have shaken off and laied aside so long repose and rest that hath stucke so close unto him by use and custome, to goe and put himselfe all at once upon a sudden into such travels and laborious negotiations, being nothing trained nor inured therein, nor framed nor exercised thereto in any measure, without converling at all beforehand with men experienced in matters of Estate, nor having practised worldly affaires, might peradventure give good occasion to one that were disposed to reprove and finde fault, for to say that which the 20 propheticke *Pythias* answered once to one who consulted with the oracle of *Apollo* about the like case:

*For government and rule of citie state,*

*Who ever thou be, thou comest too late:*

*An houre this is undecent and past date,*

*Thus for to knocke at Court or Pallace-gate,*

like an unmanerly guest, who cometh to a feast; or a rude traveller, who seeketh for lodging when it is darke night; for even so thou wouldest remooove not to a place, nor to a region, but to a life whereof thou hast no proofe and triall. As for this sentence and verse of *Simonides*,

*The city can instruct a man,*

true it is, if it be meant of them who have sufficient time to be taught and to learne any science which is not gotten but hardly and with much ado after great studie, long travell, continuall exercise and practise; provided also, that it meet with a nature painfull and laborious, patient and able to undergo all adversities of fortune. These reasons a man may seeme very well and to the purpose to alledge against those who begin when they be well stricken in yeeres to deale in publicke affaires of the State. And yet wee see the contrary, how men of great wisdom and judgement divert children and yong men from the government of common-weale, who also have the testimonie of the lawes on their side, by ordinance whereof, at *Athens* the publicke Crier or Bedle calleth and summoneth to the pulpit or place of audience, not such as yong *Alcibiades* or *Pythias*, for to stand up first and speake before the assemblie of the people, but those that be 40 above fiftie yeeres of age; and such they exhort both to make orations, and also to deliver their minds, and counsell what is most expedient to be done.\*

And *Cato* being accused when he was fourescore yeeres olde and upward, in pleading of his own cause, thus answered for himselfe: It is an harder matter my masters (quoth he) for a man to render an account of his life, and to iustifie the same before other men, than those with whom he hath lived. And no man there is, but he will confesse that the acts which *Cesar Augustus* achieved a litle before his death in defeating *Antonium*, were much more roiall and profitable to the weale-publicke, than any others that ever he performed all his life-time before: and himselfe in restraining and reforming secretly by good customes and ordinances, the dissolute riots of yong men, and namely, when they mutined, said no more but thus unto them: Listen 50 yong men, and heare an olde man speake, whom olde men gave care unto when he was but yong. The government also of *Pericles* was at the height and of greatest power and authoritie in his olde age, at what time as he perswaded the Athenians to enter upon the Peloponnesacke warre: but when they would needs in all haste and out of season, set forward with their power to encounter with threecore thousand men all armed and well appointed, who forraied and wasted their territorie, he withstood them and hindered their designed enterprise, and that in manner by holding sure the armour of the people out of their hands, and (as one would say) by keeping

ping the gates of the citie fast locked and sealed up. But as touching that which *Xenophon* hath written of *Agefilus*, it is worthy to be delivered word for word, as he setteth it downe in these tearmes: What youth (quoth he) was ever so gallant, but his age surpased it? what man was there ever in the flower and very best of all his time, more dread and terrible to his enemies, than *Agefilus* was in the very latter end of his daies? whose death at any time was more joyfull to enemies than that of *Agefilus*, although he was very olde when he died? what was he that emboldened allies and confederates, making them assured and confident, if *Agefilus* did not, notwithstanding he was now at the very pits brincke, and had in manner one foot already in his grave? what yong man was ever more missed among his friends, and lamented more bitterly 10 when he was dead, than *Agefilus*, how olde so ever he was when he departed this life? The long time that these noble personages lived, was no impediment unto them in atchieving such notable and honourable services; but we in these daies play the delicate wantons in government of cities, where there is neither tyrannie to suppress, nor warre to conduct, nor siege to be raised; and being secured from troubles of warre, we sit still with one hand in another, being troubled onely with civill debates among citizens, and some emulations, which for the most part are voided and brought to an end by vertue of the lawes and justice onely with words. We forbear (I say) and draw backe from dealing in these publicke affaires for feare, confessing our selves herein to be more cowardly and false-hearted (I will not say) than the ancient captaines and governours of the people in olde time, but even worse than Poets, Sophisters and Plaers in 20 Tragedies and Comedies of those daies. If it be true, as it is, that *Simonides* in his olde age won the prize for ending ditties and setting songs in quires and dances, according to the epigram made of him, which testifieth no lesse in the last verses thereof, running in this manner:

*Fourescore yeeres olde was Simonides*

*The Poet, and some of Treoprepes,*

*Whom for his carrols and muscull vaine,*

*The prize he won and honour did gaine.*

It is reported also of *Sophocles*, that when he was accused judicially for dorage by his owne children, who laied to his charge that he was become a childe againe, unfitting for governing his house, and had need therefore of a guardian; being convented before the judges, hereafter 30 in open court the entrance of the *chorus*, belonging to the Tragedie of his, entituled *Oedipus in Colono*, which beginneth in this wise:

*Wel-come stranger at thy entrie,*

*To villages best of this countrie,*

*Renowned for good steeds in fight,*

*The tribe of faire Colonus light;*

*Where nightingale doth oft resort,*

*Her dolefull moanes for to report:*

*Amid greene bowers which she doth haunt,*

*Her sundrie notes and laies to chaunt,*

*With voice so shrill as in no ground,*

*Elsewhere her songs so much resound, &c.*

And for that this canticle or sonet wonderfully pleased the judges and the rest of the company, they all arose from the bench, went out of the Court, and accompanied him home to his house with great acclamations for joy, and clapping of hands in his honour, as they would have done in their departure from the Theater where the Tragedie had bene lively acted indeed. Also it is confessed for certeine, that an epigram also was made of *Sophocles*, to this effect:

*When Sophocles this sonnet wrote*

*To grace and honour Herodote,*

*His daies of life by just account,*

*To fiftie five yeeres did amount.*

30 *Philemon* and *Alexis*, both comicall Poets, chanced to be attested and surprised with death even as they plaid their Comedie upon the stage for the prize, and were about to be crowned with garlands for the victorie. As for *Paulus* [or *Polus*] the actour of Tragedies, *Erastobenes* and *Philochorus* do report, That when he was threecore yeeres olde and ten, he acted eight Tragedies within the space of foure daies, a litle before his death. Is it not then a right great shame, that olde men who have made profession either to speake unto the people from the tribunal seat, or to sit upon the bench for to minister justice, should shew lesse generositie and magnanimitie

magnanimitie than those who play their parts upon a scaffold or stage? and namely, in giving over those sacred games and combats indeed, to cast off the person of a politician and man of honour, and to put on another (I wot not what) in stead thereof: for I assure you, to lay downe the roiall dignitie of a king, for to take up the personage of an husbandman, were very base and mechanically: and considering that *Demosphenes* said how the sacred galley *Paralus* was unworthily and shamefully misused, when it was put and emploied to bring home for *Meidas*, wood and timber, flates and tiles, fed muttous or such like fatlings: if a man of honour and estate should at any time give up and resigne his dignitie of superintendencie over the publicke feasts of *Bacchus*, or government over *Baotia*, of presidentship in that great counsell or assemblie of citates called *Amphyctiones*, and then afterwards be scene occupied in measuring and selling meale, or the refuse & cakes either of grapes and olives after they be pressed, or to weigh fleeces of wooll, or to make merchandise of their felles; were not this as much altogether, as (according to the olde proverbe) to put on the age of an olde horse without constraint of any person? Moreover, to go to any base and vile occupation or handicraft, or to trafficke in merchandise, after one hath borne office of government in the common-weale, were all one as to tume a gentlewoman well descended, or a sober matron, out of all her faire and decent apparell, for to give her an apron onely and a single petticoat to cover her shame, and so to set her for to keepe in some taverne or victualling house; for even so, all the dignitie, maiestie and continuance of vertue politike is quite lost, when it is debased to any such vile ministeries and trades, smelling onely of lucre and gaine. But in case (which is the onely point remaining behinde) they call this a sweet and healthfull life, and the true enjoying and use of goods, to be given over to delicacies and pleasures, and doe invite and exhort a politician or man of State, in aging therein, and spending his olde yeeres so, to waste and consume by little and little to nothing: I wot not well unto which of these two pictures, dishonest and shamefull both twaine, this life of his were better to be likened; whether to that of the mariners, who would solemnize the feast of *Venus* all their life time, being not yet arrived with their ship into the haven or harbour, but leaving it still under saile in the open sea; or to the painted table of *Hercules*, whom some painters merily and in sport, but not seemly and with reverence, depaint how he was in the roiall Palace and Court of the Lydian queene *Omphale*, in a yelow coat like a wench, making winde with a fanne, and setting his minde with other Lydian damosels and waiting-maids, to broid his haire and tricke up himselfe: even so we despoiling a man of estate of his lions skin, that is to say, of his magnanimous courage and a minde to be alwaies profiting the common-wealth, and setting him to take his ease at the table, will make him good cheere continually, and delight his eares with pleasant songs, with sound of flutes and other musickall instruments; being nothing at all ashamed to heare that speech which sometime *Pompeius Magnus* gave unto *Lucullus*, who (after his warres and conduct of armies, giving over all regiment of State, wholly was addicted to banes and slothfules, to feasting, to wantonnesse and company with women in the day time, to all dissolute life and superfluous delights, even so much, as to build sumptuous edifices, besetting rather men of younger yeeres) reproved *Pompeius* for his ambition and desire of government above that which became his age; for *Pompeius* answered unto him, and said: It is more unseasonable for an aged man to live loosely and in superfluitie, than to governe and beare rule. Again, the same *Pompey* being one day fallen sicke, when his Physician had prescribed him a blacke-bird for to eat, which was at that time out of season, and could not be had in the market for any money, and one made answer that *Lucullus* had good store of them, for he kept and fed them in mure all the yeere long; hee would neither send to him for one, nor receive any from him, saying withall: What? unlesse *Lucullus* be a belly-god and glutton, can not *Pompey* tell how to recover and live? For say that nature seeketh by all meanes possible to take her pleasure and delight, yet surely the disableth the bodie of old folke, and denieth it the fruition of all pleasures, unlesse it be in some few necessities of this life;

For why? not *Venus* onely is  
Offended with old folke ywis.

as *Eurypides* the Poet saith, but also their appetite to eate and drinke is for the most part dull and overthrowen with mofse, and as one would say toothlesse, in such sort as they do but mumble, touch their victuals a little aloft, and hardly and with much ado enter and pierce inwardly into the same. In which regard they ought to be furnished and provided of pleasures of the mind, not such as are base, illiberall, and vile as *Simonides* saide unto those who reproched him for his avarice: for being bereft of all other fleshly and corporall pleasures by reason of his yeeres,

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yeeres, he entertained one still which fed and maintained his old age, and that was the delight which he tooke in getting money & gathering good: but the life politike of those who manage affaires, hath many pleasures, and those right great and honest, in which onely or principally it should seeme that the gods themselves take joy and contentment; and these be they that proceed from beneficence, or doing good unto many; and the glorie of some worthe and noble act. For if the painter *Nicias* pleased his owne mind so well in his workmanship, and was so affectionate to the operation of his art, that oftentimes he forgot himselfe, and would aske his servants whether he had washed, and whether he had dined or no: If *Archimedes* also was so bent & intente unto the table before him, in which he drew his figures geometrick, that his servants were faine to plucke him from it by force, for to wash and annoint him, and yet in the meane time that they were annointing of him, he would be drawing and describing of new figures upon his owne bodie: If *Cassius* likewise the plaier of the fluit (a man whom you know well enough) was wont to say: That men wist not how much more mirth he made unto himselfe in his playing, than he did unto those that heard him sound; and that they that came to heare his musicke, ought rather to receive a reward of him, than bestow any money upon him. Do wee not conceive and imagine in our selves, what great pleasures vertues do yeeld unto those who effect any commendable action tending to the good of their countrey, & turning to the profit of the common-weale? they tickle not, they itch not, neither do they after a stroking manner give contentment, as do these sweete motions, and gentle prickes of the flesh; for such bring with them a certaine impatient itch, an unconstant tickling mingled with a furious heat and inflammation; but those pleasures which come from notable and praise-worthie deeds, such as they be, whereof the ordinarie workman and author is he, who governeth a common-weale aright, and as it appertaineth unto him for to doe, lift up and raise the soule to a greatnesse and haughtinesse of courage accompanied with joy, not with gilded plumes (as *Euripides* saith) but with celestiall wings (as *Plato* was wont to say) And that the truth hereof may the better appeere; call to remembrance your selfe, that which oftentimes you have heard concerning *Epaepete*; call to remembrance upon a time what was the greatest pleasure that ever he felt in all his life? answered thus: Marie even this (quoth he) that it was my fortune to win the field at the battell of *Leuctres*, my father and mother both being yet living: And *Sylla*, the first time that he came to *Rome* after he had cleered *Italy* from civill and domestick warres, could not sleepe one winke, nor lay his eies together a whole night, for exceeding great joy and contentment wherewith his spirit was ravished, as if it had bene with a mightie and violent wind: and thus much he wrote of himselfe in his owne Commentaries. I can therefore hold well with *Xenophon* in that hee saith: That there is no sound or speech more delectable to a mans eare, than the hearing of his owne praises; and even so it must bee confessed: That there is no spectacle no sight, no report and memoriall, no cogitation, nor thought in the world, that bringeth so great pleasure & delectation to the mind, as doth the contemplation and beholding of those good and laudable deeds, which a man hath performed whiles he was employed in the administration of State and in bearing offices, as being conspicuous, eminent, and publicke places to be seene as farre off. True it is moreover, that the amiable grace and favour thereby gotten, accompanying alwaies vertuous acts and bearing witness thereto; the commendation also of the people who strive a vie and contend who can give out greatest praise and speake most good (the verie guide which leadeth the way of just and due benevolence) doth adde a glorie and lustre (as it were) unto the joy proceeding from vertue, for to polish and beautifie the same. Neither ought a man by negligence to suffer for to fade and wither in old age, the glorie of his good deeds, like unto a coronet or garland of greene leaves which was woun at some games of prizes; but evermore to bring forth some fresh and new demerites, to stir up and awaken (as a man would say) the grace of the old deeds precedent, and thereby to make the same both greater, and also more permanent and durable. For like as the carpenters and shipwrights who had the charge to maintaine the ship called the *Gallion* of *Delos* evermore made supply of new pieces of timber, as one of the olde began to decaye, keeping it in continuall reparation by putting in one ribbe and planke for another, and so preserved it alwaies entire and whole, as it was the verie first daie when it was built; even so a man is to doe by his reputation and credit. And no harder matter is it for to maintaine glorie once up and on foote, than to keepe a fire continually flaming which is once kindled, by putting effoones fresh fiewell under (bee it never so little) for to feede the same: but if they bee once out and throughly quenched indeede, then it is no small matter to set either the one or the other a burning againe.

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again. And like as *Lamp*, as the rich merchant, and shipmaster, being demanded how he got his goods: Marie (quoth he) my greatest wealth I gained soone and with ease, but my smaller estate with exceeding much paine and slowly; even so it is no easie matter at the beginning to acquire reputation, or to win credit and authoritie in the managing of civill affaires, but to augment it after the foundation is laid, or to preserve and uphold the same, when it is once come to greatnes, is not so hard, for every litle thing, & the smallest meanes wil do it. And so we see that a friend when he is once had, requirith not many great pleasures & offices of kindnesse & friendship for to be kept and continued a friend still, but petie tokens & final signes of curesse, passing continually from time to time betweene, are sufficient to preserve mutuall love and amity. Sensible, the good will and affection of the people, their trust & confidence which they have conceived towards a man, although he be not able evermore to give largesses among them, although he doe not alwaies defend and mainteine their causes, nor sit continually in place of magistracie and office, yet nevertheless it holdeth still, if he doe but shew himselfe onely to carie a good heart unto them, & not to care for to take paines & care for the common good, nor refuse any service in that behalfe: for even the very expeditions and voiaiges in warre, have not alwaies battailes aranged, nor fields fought and bloudie skirmishes, ne yet besieging and beleaguering of cities; but they affoord betwene whiles, festivall sacrifices, parlies & enterviewes, some leasure also and time of rest, to follow games, sports, and pastimes. How then cometh it, that an old man should be afraid to meddle in State affaires, as if it were a charge unsupportable, full of infinite and innumerable travells, without any comfort and consolation at all? considering that there be allowed at times, varietie of plaies and games, goodly fights and shewes, solemne processions, and stately pompes, publike doles and largesses, daunces, musike and feasts, and ever and anon the honorable service and worship of one god or other, which are able to unkint the frownes and unbend the browes, to dispatch and dissipate the cloudy cares and austeritie of the judges in court hall, and of senatours also in counsell chamber, yielding unto them much more pleasure & contentment in proportion to their travells and paines belonging to their place. As for the greatest mischief which is most to be feared in such administrations of the common-wealth, to wit, envy, it seileth & taketh least hold upon old age of any other; for like as *Heracitus* was wont to say: That dogs do baite & barke at those whom they know not; even so envie assaileth him who beginneth to governe, just at the dore as it were, and the entrie of the tribunall and throne of estate, seeking to impeach his accessse and passage thither; but after it is accustomed and acquainted once with the glorie of a man, and when it hath bene nourished and fed therewith, it is not so troublesome and churlish, but becommeth more kinde and gentle; and this is the reason that some have likened envie unto a smoke, which at the first when the fire beginneth to kindle, ariseth grosse and thicke, but after that it burneth light and cleere, vanisheth away and is gone. In all other preeminences and superiorities, men are wont ordinarily to debate and quarrell, namely, about vertue, nobilitie of blood and honour, as being of opinion, that the more they yeeld unto others, the more they doe abridge from themselves; but the prerogative or precedence of time, which properly is called *Presbeium*, as if a man would say, the Honor of age, or Time-right, is voide of all jealousie and emulation, and there is no man but will willingly yeeld it to his companion; neither is there any kinde of honour whereunto so well sorteth this qualitie, namely to grace him more who giveth the honour, than the party who is honoured, as to the prerogative which is given to old men. Moreover, all men doe not hope nor expect to have credit one time or other by their riches, by their eloquence or wisdom; whereas you shall not see so much as one of those that rule in common-wealth, to despise of comming one day to that authoritie and reverence which old age bringeth men unto. He therefore who after he hath wrestled long against envie, retireth in the end from the administration of the common-wealth, at what time as it well appeared and at the point to be extinguished or laid along, should doe like unto that pilot who in a tempest having winde and waves contrary, spreadeth saile and roweth in great danger, but afterwards when the weather is faire, and a gentle gale of forewinde serveth, doth goe about to strike saile and ride at anchor in the pleasant funne-thine; he should I say in so doing, abandon together with his publike affaires, the societie, fellowship, alliance and intelligences which he had with his good friends; for the more time that he had, the more friends by good reason he ought to have gotten, for to stand with him and take his part, whom he neither cannot all at once leade forth with him, like as a master of carols his whole quire of singing men; nor meete it is and reason that he should leave and forsake them all: but as it is not an easie peece of worke to stocke up by the root olde trees, no more

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is it a thing soone done to extirpe a long government in the common-wealth, as having manie great rootes, and those entrelaced & entwined one within another, by reason of fundrie and weightie affaires, the which no doubt must needs worke more trouble and vexation to those that retire and depart from it, than to those that tarrie still by it; and say there remained yet behind for old men some reliques of envie, emulation, and contention, which grew in the time of their government; it were farre better to extinguish and quench the same by power and authoritie, than to turne both side and backe unto them, all naked and disarmed: for envious persons and evil willers never doe assaile them so much with despight, who make head againe and stand their ground, as they doe by contempt those who yeeld backe and retire: and to this accordeth well that which in times past that great *Epinondas* said unto the Thebans. For when the Arcadians had made offer unto them, yea and requested them to enter in their cities, during the winter season, and there to lodge and abide under covert; he would not permit them so to doe, nor to accept of their courtesie: For now (quoth he) all while that they behold you exercising and wrestling in your armour, they have you in great admiration, as valiant and hardy men; but if they should see you once by the fire side punning and stamping beanes, they would take you to be no better than themselves; even so I would make my application, and inferre heereupon; that it is a venerable and goodly sight to behold a grave and ancient personage speaking to the people, dispatching affaires of State, and generally to be honored of every man; but he who all the day long stirres not out of his warme bed, or if he be up, sitteth still in some corner of a gallerie, prating and talking vainly, or else reaching, hawking, spitting, or wiping his nose that drops for cold; such an one I say, is exposed to contempt. *Homer* verily himselfe hath taught us this lesson, if we will make and give good care to that which he hath written. For old *Nestor* being at the warre before *Troie*, was had in honour and reputation; whereas contrariwise *Peleus* and *Laertes* who taried behinde at home were set litle by and despised. For the habitude of wisdom doth not continue the same, nor is any thing like it selfe, in those who give themselves to ease, and doe not practise the same; but through idlenesse and negligence it diminisheth, and is dissolved by litle and litle, as having need alwaies of some exercise of the cogitation and thought which may waken the spirit, cleere the discourse of reason, and lighten the operative part of the minde to the dealing in affaires,

*Like as both iron and brasse is bright and cleere,  
All while mans hand the same doth use and weare:  
Where as the house wherein none dwells at all,  
In tract of time must needs decay and fall.*

Neither is the infirmitie and feebleness of the bodie so great an hinderance unto the government of State, in those who above the strength of their age seeme either to mount into the tribunall, or to the bench, or to the generals pavilion and place of audience within the campe, as otherwise their yeeres bring good with them, to wit, considerate circumspection & staied wisdom: as also not to be troubled or driven to a non plus in the managing of any busines, or to commit an absurditie & error, partly for want of experience, in part upon vaine glorie, & so to draw the multitude therewith and doe mischief to the common-wealth all at once; like unto a sea tossed with windes; but to treat and negotiate gently, mildly, and with a seded judgement, with those who come unto them for advice, or have any affaires or to doe with them. And heereupon it is, that cities after they have sustained some great shake or adverse calamitie, or when they have bene affrighted, desire straight waies to be ruled by ancient men, and those well experienced; in which cases they have many times drawn perforce an old man out of his house in the country, for to governe them, who thought or desired nothing lesse; they have compelled him to lay his hand upon the helme, for to set all straight and upright againe in securitie, rejecting in the meane while Greene headed generals of armies, eloquent oratours also, who knew well enough how to speake aloud, and to pronounce long clauses and periods with one breath, and never fetching their winde; yea and beleve me brave warriors and woorthie captaines indeede, who had bene able and sufficient to have affronted their enemies, and fought valiantly in the field. Like as upon a time at *Athens*, the oratours there shewing before *Timothew* and *Iphicrates*, who were farre steep in yeeres, one named *Chares* the sonne of *Theochares*, who was a lustie young man, in the flower of his age, and mightie of bodie, stripped out of his apparell, desired that, hee who was to be captaine generall of the Athenians, were such an one as he for yeeres and for person: God forbid (quoth *Timothew*) but rather I could with the generals vantage to be such an one, who is to carie after him his bed and the furniture thereto belonging. As

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for the commander and leader of an armie, he ought to be a man that knoweth how to see into the State, both before and behinde, and who will not suffer his counsels and resolutions for the weale publike, to be troubled and disordered by any passion whatsoever: for *Sophocles* when he was now become aged: I am well appaid (quoth he) that I am now escaped from wanton love and the delights of *Venus*; as being delivered from the subjection of a furious lord and raging master. But in the administration of the common-wealth, a man is not to avoid and shie one sort of masters, to wit, the love of boies and wenches, but many others which be more outrageous than it, and namely emulation and a contentious spirit, desire of vaine-glory, and a longing to be alwaies and in every thing the first and the greatest; a vice that engendreth most of any other, envie, jealousies, conspiracies, and factions; of which old age doth let slacke some, and dull their edge, others it cooleth and extinguisheth cleane, neither diminisheth and impairerth it the inclination and affection to well doing so much, as it representeth and cutteth off the passions which are too violent and over-hot, to the end that it may applie unto the care and studie about affaires, the discourse of reason, sober, staid, and well seiled: howbeit in very truth, and in the judgement of the readers, let this speech of the poet

*Lie still poore wretched and keeper beed*

*Starve not from thence, and have no dread.*

be alledged and spoken for to dissuade and distract him, who would with his grised beard and graie head begin now to be yong and plaie the youth, as also to taxe and reproove an old grand-fire, who after long repose in his house, out of which he hath not stirred, no more than in the time of a languishing discaise, will needs start up now on a sudden, and all at once belittle his old bones to be a capitaine forsooth in all haste, to leade an armie, or els to take upon him the charge of governing a citie. But he that would call away and reclaime one, who hath bene trained and employed all the daies of his life in politike affaires, and thoroughly beaten to the world, and the administration of the common-weale, not suffering him to runne forward in that course of life untill he have attained the goale, nor untill he have gained the prize of his victory, but will seeme to turne him out of his long journey for to take another way; he (I say) is altogether senselesse and unreasonable, and nothing resembleth the man we speake of. Like as he who to divert an old man being set out like a youth, with a chaplet of fresh flowers on his head, perfumed with sweet odors, and already to be married, would alledge those verses which in a Tragædie were sometime said unto *Philoctetes*,

*What maiden yong what frise and lustie bride*

*Will marry thee so lie close by thy side?*

*Alas poore man for pitie, at this age*

*Thine for to venture upon marriage?*

were nothing absurd nor out of the way, and beside the purpose; for even old folke themselves when they are disposed to be merrie, have manie such jests as these passe currant among them:

*I marrie old, how faire I am bested?*

*I well wot I, for my neighbour I do wed.*

But he that would perswade a man already married, to leave his wife with whom he hath lived so long in wedlocke, and dwelt together in one house without quarrels and complaints, supposing that because he is now grown in yeeres with her, he should forsake her, and live either a single life apart by himselfe, or else keepe a lemon or concubine in stead of his lawfull wedded wife, in my conceit were a verie absurd for in the highest degree; even so, it standeth to good reason, for to deale with an old man who having one foot already in his grave, or with one *Chilon* who had bene an husbandman all his life time; or with on *Lampon* the merchant venturer, who hath done nothing all his daies, but used shipping & trafficke beyond sea; or with some of these *Philosophers* out of *Epicurus* his orchard, who love a life to sit still and doe nothing, to admonish and dissuade them from approaching unto the publike affaires of the people, and to counsell them to hold them still to their former accustomed course of life, farre from troubles and busie dealings in common-weale: marie, he that tooke such an one as *Phocion*, *Caro* or *Pericles* by the hand, and said: My friend of *Athens* or *Rome*, whoever you are, now that you be arrived to withered olde age, make a divorce with the common weale, quit from this day forward all publike administration, all cares and affaires, as well of counsell as of warre; abandon both the tribunall seat in the citie and also the prætorie or pavilion of State in the campe, retire your selfe into an house in the countrey, and live the rest of your life there with one maid-servant to attend upon you; follow your husbandrie, or els employ your selfe in your private householde, to take accounts

counts and reckonings of your receivers and factours; surely he should perswade him to unjust things, and exact of a Statel-man and politician that which neither pleaseh nor yet becometh him. How then? will some man say unto me, never heard we the olde fouldiour, how he speaketh thus in the Comedie?

*My hoarie haies from war fare set me free,*

*That from henceforth enroll'd I shall not be.*

Yes forsooth good sir, it is very true; for requirit it is, and fit, that the squires and servitours of *Mars* should be in the flower and full strength of their age, as those who make profession of warre and the painfull services belonging thereto, whose gray haies, although the head-piece and motion do hide and cover, yet inwardly their limmes are heave and decayed by yeeres, and their strength is not to their good will, nor their hand answerable to their heart. But of the ministers of *Jupiter* surnamed Counsellor, Oratour, and Patron of cities, we require not the works of feet nor of hands, but of counsell, forecast & eloquence; and yet not such eloquence I meane, as should make a stirre, or raise a noise, out-crie and shout among the people, but that which is full of ripe understanding, of considerate wisdom, and of good directions and plots well and surely laid. In which persons, the white head and gray beard (which some laugh and make good game at) the crow-foot about the eies, the furrowes in the forehead, the rivels and wrinkles in the face besides appearing, beare witness of long experience, and adde unto them a reputation and authoritie, which helpe much to perswade and to draw the minds of the hearers unto their will and purpose. For to speake truly, youth is made (as it were) to follow and obey, but age to guide and command: and that citie or State is preserved, wherein the sage counsels of the elders and the martiall prowesse of the yonger, beare sway together. And for this cause highly and woonderfully are these vertes following praised in *Homer*, and namely in the first place:

*Then to begin, a goodly sort*

*of ancient captaines bold*

*Asssembled hem in Nestors ship,*

*acounsell there to hold.*

upon the same reason also, that counsell of the wisest and principall men assistant unto the kings of *Lacedæmon*, for the better government of the State, the oracle of *Apollo Pythius* first called *Priest-physians*, i. Elders: and *Lycurgus* afterwards directly and plainly termed *Tiestras*. i. Old men; and even at this very day, the counsell of Estate in *Rome* is named a Senate, that is to say, an assembly of ancient persons. And like as the law and custome, time out of minde, hath allowed unto Kings and Princes the diademe, that is to say, a roiall band or frontlet, the crowne also to stand upon their heads, as honourable mors & ensignes of their regall dignitie and soveraigne authoritie; even so hath nature given unto olde men (who in Greeke are called *γῆρας*) as honourable tokens of their right to command, and of their preeminence above others. And for mine owne part, I verily thinke that this nowne in Greeke, *γῆρας*, which signifieth a prize or reward of honour, as also the verbe *γῆρασκω*, which is as much to say, as to honour, continue still in use, as respective to the honour due unto olde men (who in Greeke are called *γῆρας*) not for that they bathe in hot waters, or sleepe in foster beds; but because in cities well and wisely governed, they be ranged with kings for their prudence, the proper and perfect goodnesse whereof, as of some tree which yeeldeth winter fruit which is not ripe before the latter end of the yeere, nature bringeth forth late and hardly in olde age: and therefore there was not one of those martiall and brave couragious captaines of the Greeks, who found fault with that great king of kings *Agamemnon* for making such a praiser as this unto the gods:

*That of the Grecian host which stood*

*of many worsebie men,*

*Such counsellors as Nestor was,*

*they would vouchsafe him ten.*

but they all agreed with him, and by their silence confessed, That not onely in policie and civill government, but also in warre, olde age carrieth a mightie great stroke: for according as the ancient proverbe beareth witness:

*One head that knowes full wisely for to weed,*

*Outgoessen hands, and maketh better speed.*

One advice likewise, and sentence grounded upon reason, and delivered with perswasive grace, effecteth the greatest and bravest exploits in a whole State. Well, say that olde age hath many difficulties

difficulties and discommodities attending upon it, yet is not the same therefore to be rejected: for the absolute rule of a king, being the greatest and most perfect estate of all governments in the world, hath exceeding many cares, travels and troubles; inasmuch, as it is written of king *Seleucus* that he would often-times say, if the people with how laborious and painfull it were to read and write only so many letters as he did, they would not deigne to take up his diademe, if they found it throwen in their very way as they goe. And *Philip* being at the point to pitch his campe in a faire ground, when he was advertised that the place would not afford forage for his labouring beasts: O *Hercules* (quoth he) what a life is this of ours, that we must live (forsooth) and care to serve the necessitie of our asses? Why, then belike it were high time to perswade a king when he is aged, for to lay downe his diademe, to cast off his robes of purple, to clad himselfe in simple array, to take a crooked staffe in hand, and so to go and live in the country, for feare lest if he with his gray haire rained still, he should seeme to do many superfluous and impertinent things, and to direct matters out of season? Now if it were unseemely and a meere indignitie, to deale with *Agesilus*, with *Xerxes* and *Darius*, all kings and monarchs, after this sort; unmeet likewise it is, that we should remove and displace *Solon* out of the counsell of *Athenes*, or depole *Cato* from his place in the Romane Senate, because of their olde age. Why should we then goe about to perswade such an one as *Pericles*: to give over and resigne his government in a popular State? for over & besides, there were no sence at all, that if one have leapt and mounted into the tribunall seat or chaire of estate in his young yeeres, and afterwards discharged upon the people & common-wealth those his violent passions of ambition and other furious fits, when ripe age is now come, which is wont to bring with it discretion and much wisdom gathered by experience, to abandon and put away (as it were) his lawfull wife, the government which hee hath so long time abused. The foxe in *Aesops* fables would not suffer the urchin to take off the riques that were setted upon her bodie: For if (quoth she) thou take away these that be already full, there will come other hungry ones in their place; and even so, if a State rejected evermore from administration of the common-wealth those governours that begin once to be olde, it must needs be quickly full of a sort of young rulers, that be hungrie and thirly both after glory, but altogether void of politike wit and reason to governe: for how can it otherwise be? and where should they get knowledge, if they have not bene disciples to learne, nor spectatours to follow and imitate some ancient magistrate that manageth state affairs? The Cards at sea which shew the feat of sailing and ruling ships, can not make good sea-men or skillfull pilots, if they have not bene themselves many times at the steerne in the poope, to see the manner of it, and the conflicts against the waves, the winds, the blacke stormes and darke tempests,

*What time in great perplexitie,*

*The mariner doth wish to see*

*Castor and Pollux, twins full bright,*

*Presaging safetie with their light.*

How then possibly can a young man governe and direct a citie well, perswade the people aright, & deliver wise counsell in the Senate, having but read one little booke treating of pollicy, 40 or haply written an exercise or declamation in the Schoole. *Lycum* touching that argument? unlesse besides, he have stood close unto the reines, or hard by the helme many a time, & by marking both citie rulers and martiall captaines, how they have but bene put to their trial, and according to the fundry experiences and accidents of fortunes, enclining now to the one side and then to the other, after many dangers and great affaires, have gotten sufficient knowledge and instruction before hand? I can not see how it can be: but if there were no other thing at all besides; yet surely an ancient man is to manage still the affaires of State, and it were but to traine and teach the youonger, that be to come up after him: for like as they who teach children musick, or to reade, do themselves *Solfes*, & sing the note, they finger & strike the key or string, they reade & spell the letters before them, & all to shew how they should do; even so the ancient politician doth frame and direct a young man, not onely by reading unto him, by discour- 50 sing and advertising him without forth; but also in the very managing and administration of affaires, fashioning, forming and casting him (as it were) lively in a mold, as well by operation and example, as by words and precepts. For he that is schooled and exercised herein, not in the schooles of the Sophisters that can speake in number & measure, as in the wrestling hall where the body is annointed with a composition of oyle & waxe together, against exercises performed without any danger at all: but (as it were) at the verie publicke games indeed, in the view of the whole

whole world, such as the Olympicks and Pythicks were: he (I say) followeth the tracts and foot- steps of his master and teacher, as saith *Simonides*:

*As suckling foale, that keeps just pace,*

*And runnes with him in everie place.*

This did *Aristides* under *Cambyses*, *Cimon* under *Aristides*, *Phocion* under *Chabrias*, *Cato* under *Fabius Maximus*, *Pompeius* under *Sylla*, and *Polybius* under *Philopemen*. For all these per- 10 sonages when they were young, drew neere and joined themselves with others that were ancient, and having taken root close by them, grew up together with them in their actions and admin- istrations, whereby they got experience and were inured to the managing of the State with honour and reputation. *Aeschines* the Academique Philosopher, when certaine envious sophis- 20 ters of his time charged him and said: That he made a semblance and shew, that he had bene the discipule and hearer of *Carneades*, whereas he never was. I say unto you (quoth he) that I heard the man, when as his speech abandoning the bruit applause and tumultuous noise of the people, by reason of his old age was shut up close and houlded (as it were) for to do good more familiarly in private conference. And even so it is with the government of an aged person, when as not onely his words, but also his deeds be farre remote from affected pompe in out- ward shewes, and all vaine glorie. Much like as is reported of the blacke Storke, called *Ibis*, who by that time that she is become old, hath exhaled and breathed forth all that strong and stin- king favour which she had, and beginneth to yeeld a sweet and aromaticall smell; even so, there 30 is no counsell nor opinion in old men, vaine, turbulent, or inconstant, but all grave, quiet, and seded. And therefore in any wise (as I said before) if it were but for young mens sake onely and no more; elder persons are to weld the affaires of State: to the end that as *Plato* speaking of wine mingled with water, said that it was to make the furious god wife, by chastising him with another that was sober and temperate: the staid wisdom of old age tempered with youth, swell- ing and boiling before the people, and transported with the greedy desire of honour, and with ambition, might cut off that which is furious, raging and over violent.

But over and besides all that hath bene said before, they who thinke, that to be employed in the managing of publicke affaires, is all one as to saile for trafficke, or to go forth to warre in some expedition, are much deceived: for both navigation & also war, men undertake for a cer- 30 taine end, and no sooner have they attained thereto but they cease: but the managing of State affaires is not a commission or office pretending or intending any profit and commoditie for the scope that it sheweth at; but it is the life and profession of a living creature, which is gentle, tame, civil, and sociable, borne to live so long as it pleaseeth nature, civilly, honestly, and for the publicke good of humane societie. This is the reason, that of a man it should be said, that he still is occupied in such affaires of common-weale, and not that he hath bene so employed: like as to be true, and not to have bene true; to be just and not to have bene just; to love his countrey and citizens, and not to have loved them, is his dutie and profession. For even nature her selfe directeth us hereto, and singeth this lesson in our eares (I speake to those who are not altoget- her corrupted and marred with sloth and idleness):

40 *Thy father thee, a man hath once begot:*

*To profit men alwaies, in this or that.*

Again:

*Let us not cease nor any end finde*

*To do all good unto mankind.*

As touching them who pretend and alledge for excuse, feebleness or impotencie, they do ac- cuse sicknesse & the maimed indisposition of the bodie rather than age. For you shall see many young men sicke & feeble, and as many old folke lusty & strong: so we are not to remove aged persons simply from the administration of the common-weale, but the impotent onely and un- sufficient; nor to call unto that vocation young men, but such as be able to undergo the charge: 50 for *Ardeus* was young enough, and *Antigonum* in yeeres; and yet this man as olde as he was, went within a litle of conquering all *Asia*; but the other had never but the bare name onely of a King, like as in a dumbe shew upon a stage, making a countenance onely with a guard of par- tizans and halberds about him, without speaking one word; and so he was a ridiculous pageant and laughing stocke among his nobles and peeres, who were alwaies his rulers, and led him as they list. And even as he who would perswade *Prodicus* the Sophister, or *Phileras* the poet (young men both, howbeit leane, feeble, sickly, and for the most part of their time bed-ridden) for to meddle with government of State, were a very foole and senselesse ass; so he were no whit better

better, who should debarre such old men as *Phocion*, as *Masaniissa* the African, or *Cato* the Roman, from exercising publike magistracie in citie, or taking the charge of a Lord Generall in the field: for *Phocion* one day when the Athenians all in the haste, would needs have gone forth to warre at an unseasonable time, commaunded by proclamation that as many as were not above threecore yeres of age, should arme and follow him now when they were offended and wroth hereat: Why? my masters (quoth he) what cause have you to complaine? I will go with you my selfe and be your capitaine, who carie already above fourcore yeres on my backe. And of *Masaniissa*, *Polybius* writeth in his storie, that he died when he was fourcore and ten yeres old, and left behind him at his death a sonne of his owne bodie begotten, but fower yeres old: also that a little before his dying day, he overthrew the Carthaginians in a raunged battell, 10 and the morrow after was seene eating favourly at his verie tent doore a piece of browne bread: and when some marvelled at him why he so did, he answered thus out of the Poet *Sophocles*:

*For iron and brasse, he bright and cleare  
All while mans hands the same doth weare,  
But the house wherein none dwells at all  
In time must needs decay and fall.*

and even as much may be said, of the lustre, glossie and resplendent light of the minde, by which we discourse, we remember, conceive and understand. And therefore it is generally held and said, that kings become much better in wars and militarie expeditions, than they be all the whiles they sit still quietly at home. In such sort, that it is reported of King *Atridus*, the brother of *Enneus*, how being enervate by long peace and rest, *Philopemen* one of his favourites led him up and downe as he list by the nose, and indeed being fed as fat as a beast, he might do with him what he would; so as the Romans were wont to aske by way of mockerie ever and anon, as any failed out of *Asia*, whether the king were in grace and favour with *Philopemen*, and might do any thing with him? There could not easily be found many Romane captaines more sufficient warriours in all kinde of service than was *Lucullus*, so long as he was in action, and mainteined his wit and understanding entier; but after that he gave himselfe over once to an idle life, and fat mued up (as it were) like an house-bird at home, and medled no more in the affaires of the common-weale, he became very dull, blockish and benumbed, much like to sea-spunges after a long calme, when the salt water doth not dash and drench them; so that afterwards he committed his olde age to be dieted, cured and ordered unto one of his affranchised bond-slaves, named *Callisthenes*, by whom it was thought he was medicined with amatorious drinks, and bewitched with other charmes and forceries, untill such time as his brother *Marcus* displaced this servitour from about him, and would needs have the government and disposition of his person the rest of his life, which was not very long. But *Darius* the father of *Xerxes* was wont to say: That in perillous times and dangerous troubles, he became the better and much wiser than himselfe. \* *Seleas* a King of *Scythia* said, that he thought himselfe no better than his horse-keeper, when he was idle. *Dionysius* the elder being demanded upon a time, whether he were at leisure and had nought to do? God defend (quoth he) that ever it should be so with me: 40 for a bow (as they say) if it be over-bent will breake, but the mind if it be over-slacke. For the verie musicians themselves, if they discontinue overlong the hearing of their accords; the Geometricians likewise, to proove & resolve their conclusions, the Arithmeticians also to exercise continually their accounts and reckonings, together with the verie actions do impair by long time and age the habitudes that they had gotten before in their severall arts, albeit they be not so much practike as speculative sciences: but the politike habitude, which is Prudence, Discretion, Sage, advise, and justice, and besides all these, Experience which can skill in all occurrences how to make choise of opportunities and the verie point of occasions, as also a sufficiencie to be able with good words to perswade that which is meet; this habitude (I say) 50 and knowledge can not be preserved & maintained, but by speaking often in publike place, by doing affaires, by discoursing and by judgement: and a hard case (it were) if by discontinuing and leaving off these goodly exercises, it should neglect and suffer to voide out of the mind so many faire and laudable vertues: for verie like it is, that in so doing all humanitie, sociable courtesie, and gratitude in time, for want of use and practise would decay and fade away, which in deed should never cease nor have an end. Now if you had *Tithonus* for your father, who indeed was immortall, howbeit by reason of extreme age standing in need continually of great helpe and careful attendance, would you avoide all good meanes? would you denie or be weary of doing him

him dutifull service, namely, to wait upon him, to speake unto him, to find talke with him, and to succour him everie way, under a colour and pretense that you had ministred unto him long enough? I trow you would not. Our countrey then, resembling our father, or our mother rather according to the tearme *Mingus*, which the Candiotis give it, which is more aged, and hath many more rights over us, and straighter obligations of us, than hath either father or mother, how durable and long lived so ever it be, yet notwithstanding subject it is to age, and is not sufficient of it selfe, but hath alwaies need of some carefull eie and good regard over it, and requireth much succour and vigilance; she (I say) plucketh unto her a man of honour and policie, she takes sure hold and will not let him go,

*She catcheth him by skirt of robe behind,  
And holds him fast, lest that he from her wind.*

you know well that there be many Pythiades, that is to say, five yeres terames gone over my head, since I began first to minister as Priest unto *Apollo Pythius*: but yet (I suppose) you would not say thus unto me: *Plutarch*, you have sacrificed enough now; you have gone in procession often enough, already, or you have lead a sufficient number of dances in the honour and worship of your god; now you are grown in yeres and become aged; it were time now, that you laid off the coronet which you weare on your head in token of your priesthood, and give over the oracle by reason of your old age. Neither would I have you thinke that it is lawfull for you, notwithstanding you be farre steep in yeres, to relinquish and resigne up your holy service of *Jupiter* the tutor and patron of cities, the president of civill assemblies and councils; you (I say) who are the soveraigne high priest, and the great prophet of the sacred ceremonies of religion politike wherein you thus long time have bene entred and professed.

But laying aside if you thinke good, these arguments that may distract and pull an old man from the administration of the State; let us discourse philosophically, and consider a little upon this point: namely, that we doe not impose upon old age any enterprize and travel, which is either too greivous or unbecoming, considering that in the universall government of the common-weale, there be many parts besitting well enough and agreeable to that age whereunto both you and I at this present be arrived. For like as if of dutie we were commaunded to continue singing all our life long, we are not bound after that we be grown to great age for to reach 30 to the highest, lowdest, and most shrill notes, considering that there be in musicke many divers tunes and different intensions of the voice, which the musicians call harmonies; but reason would that we make choise of that which is easiest for our yeres, and most fittable to our nature and disposition; even so since that to speake and manage affaires is to men more naturall during their whole life, than singing to swannes even unto their houre of death, we must not abandon that affection of saying and doing, as if we should fling away an harpe too high set, but we ought to let the same downe by little and little, taking in hand those charges and offices which be lesse painfull, more moderate, and better according with the strength and manners of old folke: for even our verie bodies, we that are aged doe not suffer to rest still without all exercise, and allow them no motion at all, because we can no more handle the spade to dig the ground, 40 nor weld the plummets of leade in the exercise of dauncing, nor pitch the barre, fling the hammer, cast the coit, or throw a stone farre from us, or fight and skirmish in our armour, or handle sword and buckler as we could have done in those daies; yet we can abide to swing and hang at a rope for to stretch our limmes, we can away with shaking of our bodies moderately in a pendant ship, coach, or easie horse-litter; we like well enough of walking gently, and devising one with another upon the way, and mainteining pleasant discourses, wakening and reviving our vitall spirits, and blowing as it were the coles to kindle our naturall heat: and therefore let us not suffer our selves to grow over colde, nor stiffe and starke as if we were frozen and congealed through our sloth and idleness; neither on the other side overcharge our selves with all offices, nor be readie to lay our hand to all ministries and functions, nor enforce our old age 50 convinced of impotencie to come at length to these or such like words,

*Ah good right hand, how gladly wouldst thou take  
The lance to couch, and pike in skirmish shake:  
But now alas, this forward will to fight,  
Thy feebleness doth checke, and worke thee spite.*

For neither is the man himselfe, who is able enough and in the floure of his yeres, commended, if he should undergo and lay upon his shoulders all the affaires of the common-weale, and not suffer any man else with him to take some part (like as the Stoicks affirme that *Jupiter* is content

to do) but engaging himselfe in all things, and meddling in every matter, either upon an unsatiable desire of glorie, or for envie that he beareth to thole, who in some measure would have their part of honour and authoritie in the common-weale. But unto an auncient person I assure you, (although you should ease him of infamie in this behalfe) yet it were a painfull ambition, and a most laborious desire of rule to be present personally at all elections of magistratres; yea and a miserable curiositie to wait and attend every hour of judgement in court, and all meetings and assemblies in counsell; also an intollerable humour of vaine-glorie to stand at receit and catch every occasion of embassage, or know every verdict of our grand-jurie, or undertake the patronage of all publike causes whatsoever; and say that all this might be performed with the favour and love of every man, yet greivous it is, and above the ordinarie strength of that age. 10 But what will you say if they meet with the cleane contrarie? for to yong men they be odious, because they let nothing passe their owne hands, but intercept from them all occasion and means of action, not giving them leave to arise and put themselves forth; as for their equals, this covetous desire of theirs to hold the highest place in all things, and to have the sole authoritie every where, is no lesse hated of them, & accounted infamous, than either avarice or loose life, and voluptuousnesse in other old folke. And therefore like as (by report) king *Alexander* the great, not willing to overcharge his horse *Bucephalus* when he grew in age, used to mount other couriers before the fight began, for to ride up and downe to review his armie and all the quarters and regiments thereof, but after he had ranged it in array, & set his squadrons and companies in ordinance of battell, and given the signall, he would alight and get upon his backe 20 againe as he was wont, and presently march directly affront his enemies, give the charge, and hazard the fortune of the field: even so a politike man of State, if he be wise and of sound judgement, will favour his strength a litle, when he feeleth himselfe aged, as he holdeth the reines in his owne hand, he will forbear to deale in those charges which are not altogether so necessarie, and suffer younger men to manage matters of lesse importance; but in weightie affaires of great consequence, he will lay to both his owne hands in good earnest, contrary unto the practice of the champions in publike games and combats of prize, who carefully looke unto their bodies without touching at all any necessary works, and all to employ and use them in needlesse, unprofitable, and superfluous feats: but we contrariwise letting passe by the petie and sleight charges, are to reserve our selves whole and entire unto those that be serious and of moment indeed: for a yong man as *Homer* saith, all things be seeme indifferently & alike, all the world smileth on him, every body loveth him; if he enterprise small matters, and many in number, they say he is a good common-wealths man, he is popular, he is laborious; if he undertake great works and honorable actions, he hath the name of generous, noble & magnanimous; yea, and divers occurrences there be, wherein rashnesse is selte and a contentious humour of emulation have a kinde of grace, and become gaily well such as be fresh and gallant youthes; but for a man of yeeres, who during the administration of the common-weale, undertaketh these and such like ministeries and commissions; namely, the letting to ferme the customes & revenues of the citie, the charge of maintaining an haven, or keeping of the market place and common hall in order and reparation; over and besides, the embassies and voiajes in forren parts to princes 40 and potentates, or the riding in poste thither, to treat about no matter of necessitie nor weighty affaires of any importance, but onely to salute them or make court unto them, or performe some offices of courtesie and courtesie: In my conceit, and be it spoken unto you my good friend, he is to be pitied for it, and his case is rather lamentable than commendable. To others haply it may seeme an odious trouble & a burdensome matter for him so to be employd; for surely this is not an age wherein a man should be encumbered with any offices, but such as wherein there is dignitie, grandence & reputation, such as that is, which your selfe at this time do execute in *Athens*, to wit, the presidence of the counsell or senate called *Ariopagus*, and verily of that kinde also is that dignitie of being one of that honorable counsell and assemblee of the States, called *Amphyctiones*, which your country hath conferred upon you by patent to hold all your life 50 time, the labour belonging whereto is pleasant, the paines easie, and the travell tolerable. Howbeit I would not have an auncient person to range and hunt after these offices, nor to accept them, as demanding the same, but to receive them by way of refusall, so as he may seeme to take them *volens nolens*, not as meanes for to be himselfe in honor, but as one that meanby his acception to grace and honour them. For it is no shame as *Tiberius Caesar* was wont to say, for men above three-score yeeres of age to reach forth their hand to a physician for to have their pulse felt; but rather to stretch out their hands to the people, in praying them to give their

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voices or suffrages with them at the election of magistratres; for this is a very vile and base thing: as contrariwise there is in this a certaine venerable majestie, and a dignitie right honorable; that when the country hath elected one to be a magistrat, when they call upon him and give attendance at his doore, hee should then come downe unto them out of his house, with a kinde of reciprocall honour of his part, a cheerefull countenance and courteous behaviour to the people againe, to salute, embrace, wel-come; and accept this their present, woorthily indeed and be seeming honourable old age. Semblable also in some sort an auncient man ought to use his speech in the congregation and assemblee of the people, not running ever and anon and leaping up into the pulpit or place of audience to make an oration unto the people, nor readie alwaies like as a cocke croweth againe when hee heareth 10 others, to counterchaunt (as it were) to all those that make any speech; nor in falsing upon them, and striving to take hold and vantage of their words, to unbride the reverence that yong men beare toward him, nor to breed in them by that meanes matter to exercise and accustom themselves in disobedience and unwillingnesse to heare him: but hee must otherwhiles seeme to passe by, and make semblance as though hee saw and heard nothing, and give them leave a litle to brave it, to sling out, and cast up the head like a wanton yong horse, neither to bee present, among or to search curiously into everie thing that is done or saide, especially when the daunger is not great, nor a matter touching the safetie of common weale, nor any honour and reputation; for there in such cases he ought not to stay until he be called, but to put forth himselfe and to runne even above the ordinarie strength of his age, or 20 else if he be not able, to yeeld his bodie to be led by hand and susteined up by folkes armes, yea and to be caried in a chaire; as the historie doth report of *Appius Claudius*, who having heard that the Senate of *Rome* after a great foughten field which king *Pyrrhus* had won of the *Romaines*, inclined to accept of articles and capitulations tending to a composition and to peace, could not endure that indignitie, nor containe himselfe, (blinde though he were of both his eyes) but would needs be caried through the common place even to the senat house; and being entred in upon his feet, he stood in the mids of them all and said: My masters, hitherto I have beene grieved for the losse of mine eye-sight, in that I could not see; but now I with that I had lost the use also of mine eares, and that I might not heare the shamefull counsels & coun- 30 ses that you take, besides the lewd exploits that you performe: then partly by reprooving them sharply, and in part by his effectuall reasons and remonstrations exciting them, he wrought so, that perswaded they were presently to resume armes for to fight with *Pyrrhus*, for the feignoric and empire of *Italy*. And *Solon* at what time as the flatterers of *Pisistratus* wherewith he abused the people of *Athens*, were openly detected and discovered, and that it appeared once that he aimed at nothing else but to usurpe tyrannie over them, and when no man durst make head against him and empeach or crosse his designs, himselfe alone bringing forth armour out of his house, and laying the same in the street before his very doores; cried with a loud voice unto the citizens for to aide him; which when *Pisistratus* heard, hee sent unto him for to 40 demaund & know upon what assurance that he had, he durst be so bold as thus to do: *Mary* (quoth he) I presume upon mine old age. Such occurrences as these so necessarie, doe rekindle and set on fire againe old men, who were in maner extinct and cleane dead before, provided, that there remained in them any sparke or breath at all: but in other smaller occasions, an auncient personage shall do well and wisely to excuse himselfe otherwhiles, and refuse base or vile ministeries, wherein greater toyle and paines groweth unto them that be employd therein, than profit and commoditie doth accrue unto the parties for whose sake they be undertaken. It falleth out also sometimes, that if he stay until he be called and fought unto, until he be desired, & that they fend to seeke for him at his house, he shall win more credit and authoritie among his citizens by comming among them in the end at their request: and say that he be present in place, he shall be silent himselfe for the most part & suffer younger men to speake, as being the judge of civill 50 contention and emulation among them, provided alwaies that the same exceed not a certaine meane; for then hee shall reproove them mildly, after a kind & loving sort cut off all opinionative debates, all head-strong opinions, all opprobrious tearmes and heat of choler. Now the advices and opinions delivered of any matter in question, his part is to comfort and encourage him that commeth short of the point, not reprooving and blaming him at all, but rather reaching him how to do better against another time, yea and to praise him boldly, who hath done well, and suffer his owne selfe willingly to take the woofe and be overcome, giving the place to some many times, and not disdaine to be overmarched and perswaded by reason: to the

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end that they may take the better heart and be more bold, and ready to helpe out and supplie others in their defects, and that with good words and faire language, like as that old *Nestor* did in *Homer*:

*Of all the Greeks there is no man,  
Who blame these words or gaine say can:  
But yet forsooth you say not all,  
Nor come are to the finall.  
For why? you seeme but young by your visage,  
And well my sonne you may be for your age.*

Moreover, this were more civilly done, nor to reprove and checke them openly nor in publicke place, although it be without any great biting and nipping, which is enough to abate and cast downe the courage of yong men; but rather apart and privately, especially such as be well framed and disposed by nature to government of State another day; instructing and leading them gently into the right way, setting before their eyes some excellent sayings, examples and inventions tending to policie, and inciting them alwaies to good and honest enterprises, heartening and inbolding them by that meanes, that they may shew a lively and light some spirit, and even at the beginning, making the people catch a liking and love unto them, and be more gentle and tractable afterwards: like as it is the manner of those, who when they teach yong men to sit and ride an horse, bring them first one that is gentle and easie to be mounted upon; now if peradventure one of them at his first entrance do faile and catch a fall, he must not let him lie along, and so breake the heart of a youth for ever, but lift him up and set him on his feet againe, yea, and give him comfortable and gracious words. Thus did *Aristides* in times past by *Cimon*, and *Meneptilus* by *Themistocles*, whom the people at the first could not abide and brooke, as having but a bad name in the citie for their audaciousness and loose life; and yet these good men stood their friends, brought them into credit, and mightily encouraged them. It is reported also even of *Demosthenes* himselfe, that the first time he came to the barre, he suffered a disgrace, and was rejected by the people, which he tooke to heart & was wondrously dismayed, untill such time as an ancient and fatherly citizen, one who had sometime heard *Pericles* making orations to the people, tooke him by the hand & said unto him: That he resembled *Pericles* for all the world in speech and gesture, and that he did himselfe great wrong upon such an occasion to be faint-hearted and cast downe. Semblably, *Enripides* after the same manner inboldened *Timotheus* the Musician, who at his first comming upon the stage was hissed out by the people, as one that by his novelities which he brought up, seemed to violate and breake the lawes of Musicke; but he willed him to be of good cheere for all that, saying: It would not be long after, but he should be able to draw and leade the whole Theater after him as he would, and have the people at his devotion. To be briefe, like as the terme of time limited and appointed for the vestall virgins or nunnas votaries at *Rome*, was divided into three parts: The first, to learne that which pertained to their religion; the second, to practise; and the third, to teach the yonger. And likewise, as in the citie of *Ephesus* every one of those maidens vowed to the service of *Diana*, was at the beginning called *Meliere*, which is as much to say, as a Novice to be a priestresse hereafter; then *Hiere*, that is to say, a full priestresse in deed; and last of all, *Pariere*, which signifieth one that had power to imitate and professe others in the same orders; even so, he that is a perfect politician and States-man, at the first is but a learner and a questionist (as it were) to doe his acts, and so to commence in that profession; but in the end, he teacheth others, he is a regent over novices, and sheweth them the secrets of policie. For to be a president and overseer of others that trie matters or combats, is not to be a fencer or champion himselfe; but he that instructeth and traineth a yong man to publike affaires and matters of State, framing and fitting him for his country another day, in shewing him how

*To frame his words with comely grace,  
And deeds performe meet for his place.*

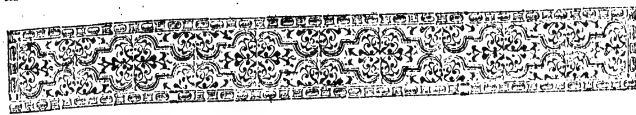
is a good and profitable member of the common-wealth, not in a small and base kinde office, but in a ministerie of great consequence; and to which especially and principally, *Lysander* having given himselfe and aimed at, accustomed yong men even from their infancie to obey and doe reverence to every elder, no lesse than to a ruler and law-giver. For in what regard els, and to what other purpose said *Lysander*? That there was no place in the world, where it was so honourable for to be old, as in *Lacedemon*. Was it because it was permitted and lawfull there for elder persons more than for any other, to till the ground, to put out money to usurie, to play

at dice, being set together, and to keepe good fellowship, drinke merrily as they are close at their game, and playing hard at hazard? I suppose neither you nor any man els will so say. But it was because all such, being after a sort in place of rulers, of fatherly governours and tutors over youth, have not a vigilant eye over the publicke affaires onely, but a particular regard also alwaies to every action of yong men, enquiring and learning not lightly, and as it were passing by their whole demeanour, namely, how they exercise their bodies in publicke place; how they play and disport themselves; what their diet is, and how they converse and live together, shewing themselves dread and terrible to those that do ill, but venerable and desirous to the good; for in truth yong folke alwaies observe & looke after them, and to such they make 10 court; for that ancient persons do labour for to make them better, & augment the generosity of their mind, without all envie. For this passion, as it becometh no time of mans age, howsoever in yong men it be entituled with a number of faire and honest names, to wit, emulation, zeale, and desire of honour; so in olde men it is altogether unreasonab, absurd, rude, savage, unmanly and base. And therefore a man of yeeres, who is a politician, must be very farre off from this humour of envie, and not like unto old runt-trees or dodles, which repining as it were at others, doe manifestly hinder and take away the spring and growth of yong poles and plants which come up under them, or grow neere about them: but contrariwise, he ought to admit and receive them kindly, yea, and to offer himselfe lovingly unto those that make toward him and be glad to fort and converse with him; such he ought to enforce, to direct, to daide and leade by 20 the hand, yea, and to cherish and nourish them, not onely with good instructions, sage counsels and wise admonitions, but also in yeelding unto them the place and meanes to exercise some functions of government, whereby there may grow unto them some honour and glorie, in preferring them to those charges and commissions which be not hurtfull to the State, but pleasing and acceptable to the common people. As for others, which at the first entrie be untoward and shew some resistance, be difficult, dangerous and hard to be achieved (like unto some medicines and potions which presently doe gnaw and wring the bellie, or make the stomacke sick) and whereof the honour and profit ensueth long after; it is not good to put such into yong mens hands, nor to helpe them to such hard bargaines, ne yet to expose them raw as they be and unacquainted, to the mutinous exclamations and obloquies of the rude multitude, 30 which is hard to be pleased; but rather he himselfe is to undergoe the displeasure and ill-will of the people for the weale publicke; for this will cause the yonger sort to be more affectionate unto him, and better willing a great deale to enterprise all other services. But over and besides all that hath bene delivered already, this would be well remembered, that to administer and governe the common-wealth, lieth not onely in bearing an office, or going in ambassage, or in crying with a loud voice to an assembly, or in the pulpit or tribunall for publicke orations, to fare as if he were mad and out of his wits, in vehement preaching to the multitude, or in penning a number of decrees, acts and edicts, wherein the common sort suppose that all policie and government doth consist, like as they imagine also; that to be a Philosopher, is nothing els, but to discourse and dispute in the schooles at certaine times of philosophical points aloft 40 in a chaire, and reade lecture at their houres out of their books, and in the meane while be ignorant of that civill administration and philosophie which is continually scene in works and daily actions. For this were all one, according to *Dicarchus*, as if one should say, that they only walked, who fetched many turnes up and downe in galleries, and not they, who went into the country on foot, or visited their friends. But wee must thinke, that to governe a common-wealth, is very like unto the profession of Philosophy: for *Socrates* was not to be thought a Philosopher onely, when he caused stooles and formes for to be made readie to sit upon, against a conference, or when he sat him downe himselfe in a chaire, or when he observed precisely the houres of lecture, of disputation, or of walking in the schooles, which were appointed for his disciples and familiar followers; but also otherwhiles, when he was at his game and play, as it fell 50 to, when he dranke and eat, when he was in warfare or in the campe with some, bargaining, buying and selling with others; and finally, when he was in prison, and even then, when as he drunke that cup of hemlocke for his poison; having taught and proved plainly before, that mans life at all times, in all parts, in every occasion and accident, and generally in all affaires admitteth the use of Philosophie. And even so, we are to make account of civill government; namely, to thinke that fooles or leud persons doe not administer the common-weale, either when they be Generals of armies, or L.L. Chancellors, or when they seeme to leade the people after them with their eloquent tongue; but rather raise tumult and sedition among them, or



flatter and insinuate into their favour, or declare for ostentation, or els execute some charge and office, and do that which they do compelled by force. Whereas contrariwise, a good and true politician in deed, who affecteth his citizens, loveth his country, hath a care and heedfull regard of the weale-publicke, although he never be clad in his rich coat of armes, nor have the roiall mantle of estate upon him, yet he is daily and hourelly employed in the administration of publicke affaires, inciting and exhorting to action those that are sufficient, instructing such as be unskillfull and wanting, assisting as many as come to him for counsell, reclaiming them who are ill given and about to practise mischief, confirming and encouraging those who be well minded, and shewing evidently in effect, and not for forme and fashion, that he is amused and wholly bent upon the good of the State: not because there is to grow thereby any interest to him or his, or in regard that he is called by name to go first into the Theater, or to be the principall and first man in the assemblie of counsell, or otherwise by way of recreation, as if he came thither to see plaies & games, or to heare some pleasant musicke when he is there; but contrariwise, when he cannot be present personally, yet to be there in spirit and advice; and after he hath intelligence of the proceedings there, to approve some things well done, and to shew himselfe displeased in other things. For neither *Aristides* the Athenian, nor *Cato* the Roman, were in place many times of chiefe government, yet they ceased not for all that, during their whole life, to be in action for the good and service of their countries. And *Epaminondas* achieved (I must needs say) many noble acts and valiant exploits, whiles he was capitaine generall for *Beotia*; howbeit, one act there is reported of his, when he was neither generall nor in any office at all, which he exploited in *Theffalie*, not inferior to any one of his other worthy deeds: for at what time as the capitaines of *Thebes* had engaged a battalion or regiment to farr into a difficult place and a ground of much disadvantage, whereby the enemies charged sore upon them so violently, that they were in great affright, and ready to be defeated, he being in the forefront among the footmen heavily armed, was called backe, and at his first coming appeared all the trouble & affright of the army, and put them in assured hope with his very precence: afterwards he set in order and arranged in battel-ray, that Squadron which had broken their ranks and were in confusion, delivered them easily out of this freight and difficult passage, and made head againe upon the enemies, who hereupon were so daunted, that they changed their minds and retired. Also when *Agis* the king of the Lacedaemonians led his armie in ordinance of battell ready to fight with his enemies in *Arcadia*, there was one ancient Spartane cried aloud unto him, and said: My lord, you thinke to remedie one mischief by another: (giving him thereby to understand, that this meaning was by this present and unseasonable forwardnesse of his, in giving battell unto the enemy, for to salve and cure (as it were) his former speedy retreat and departure from the siege before the citie *Argos*, according as *Thucydides* reporteth in his storie) which when *Agis* heard, he gave credit unto the man, retired presently, but afterwards he had the victory. This *Agis* caused his chaire of estate to be set every day before his palace gate, and many times the *Ephori* would rise from their Consistorie, and repaire unto him thither, for to aske his advice, and consult with him about the affaires of greatest importance; for he seemed to be a man of great reach, and is renowned in the histories for a most wise and sage prince. And therefore upon a time, after that the strength of his bodie was utterly decayed, in such sort as for the most part of the day he kept his bed and stirred not forth; when the *Ephori* sent unto him and requested that he would give them meeting in the common hall of the citie, he arose out of his bed, and strained himselfe to walke thither; but when he was gone a prettie way with much paine and difficultie, he chanced to meet with certaine little boies in the street, and demanded of them, whether they knew any thing more powerfull than the necessitie to obey their master; and when they answered No, he made this account, that his impotence ought to be the end and limit of his obedience, and so returned backe immediately to his owne house. For surely, ones good will ought not to shrink before his power; but when might faileth, the good will would not be forced further. Certes, it is reported that *Scipio* both in war abroad & also in civill affaires at home, used the counsell of *Caius Laelius*, in so much as some there were, who gave out and said, that of all those noble exploits *Scipio* was the actour, but *Laelius* the authour. And *Cicero* himselfe confesseth, that in the bravest & most honourable counsells which he exploited during his consulship, by the means whereof he saved his country, he consulted with *Publius Nigidius* the Philosopher. So that we may conclude, that in many kindes of government and publicke functions, there is nothing that impeacheth and hindereth old men, but that they may well enough shew their service to the common-wealth, if not in the best simply, yet in good

good words, sage counsell, libertie and authoritie of franke speech and carefull regard, according as the Poets say: for they be not our feet, nor our hands, nor yet our whole bodie and the strength thereof, which are the members and goods onely of the common-weale; but first and principally, the soule and the beauties thereof, to wit, justice, temperance and prudence; which if they come slowly and late to their perfection, it were absurd and to no purpose, that men should enjoy house, land and all other goods and heritages, and should not themselves procure some profit and commoditie to their common country, by reason of their long time which bereaveth them not so much of strength able for to execute outward ministeries, as it addeth sufficiency of those faculties which are requirit for rule and command. Loe, what the reason was that they portraied those *Hermes*, that is to say, the statues of *Mercurie*, in yeeres, without either hands or feet; howbeit, having their naturall parts plump and stiffe; giving us thereby covertly to understand, that we have least need of olde mens labour and corporall travell, so that their words be active, and their speeches full of seed and fruitfull, as it is meet and convenient.



## THE APOPTHEGMES OR NOTABLE SAYINGS OF KINGS, PRINCES AND GREAT CAPTAINS.

### The Summarie.

**I**F speech be the signe and lively picture of the minde, as it is indeed, a man may judge by these *Apophthegmes* or notable Sayings, and collected here together, how excellent in feats of armes, in politike government, or otherwise particularly these personages were, who are here represented unto us; like as some speciall acts entered among their sayings doe also shew. Two sorts of people there be who abuse the fruit that good men might draw out of the consideration & reading of these discourses. The one be certaine glorious persons, who upon a vaine desire of outward shew, and to be seene, and for no other intent, following *Acleps* crowd, trim themselves with the plumes and feathers of others: these have gotten together a heape and store-house as it were of wise sayings from ancient times, whereby they might be conspicuous, and seeme to be of some valour and reputation among those who have not wit enough to see into them, and know what they are. The other are hypocrites; who having a loathsome stinke and bitter gall in the heart, pretend sweetnesse and bonie at the end of their tongue, and all to seduce their neighbours, or rather to deceive their owne selves, for that they have never any regard of their owne duties.

But: here in this discourse there is to be seene nothing affected, nothing borrowed from others, nor farr set, but there is represented unto us a certaine open, simple & admirable nature in this diversitie of grave, pleasant & learned speeches, wherein sweetnesse is mingled with profit, for to fit all persons, and to be aptly applied unto their manners and behaviour, of what calling and degree soever they be in the world. Item, herein are represented acts proceeding from great wit, deep reach, and high conceit, of valour, of equitie, modestie, good disposition, and singular civility in the whole course and management of mans life: the which are proposed and manifested unto us to this end, that the wisdom and bounty of the almighty might so much the better appeere, in that he hath vouchsafed such ornaments to publike States, for to maintain and uphold mans life amid those confusions which were brought into the world by occasion of sin. Moreover, this first collection may well be divided into five principall parts, whereof The first containeth the notable sayings & deeds of the kings of Persia, and other strange nations. The second of the governors and potentates of Sicilie. The third of the Macedonian kings, and namely of *Alexander the great* and his successors. The fourth of the great

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mes fils ambis auec plebs nient coulp, et lun trone culg et l'auter nient, la le pl ne reconuef zc. quar donq il ne co spif, come est supp per le brieve, mes puit estoier que ils conspif en le cas auant, come que le matter en ley soit auge oue le defend, et si le principal deuie auant verdit done sur lacquital, ou ad chartre de pardon, et plede ceo zc. donques laceff nauera brieve de Conspiraci, pur ceo que il est dischARGE per la mort le pincipal, ou per le chartre fait al pinc.

¶ Si hōe soit faurmēt endite de felony, et puis pacte de parliament general pardon est graunt de felonies zc. ore le partye nauera brieve de Conspiracy, coment que il voil plede al inditement et est acquite, et ne voil plebs lact zc. pur ceo que sa vie ne fuit en icoperdye, et le felonie fuit dischARGE per lact.

¶ Les iustices de Gaole deliuerer arf vn prifoner de mur dour deins lan, lou vn appell est pend vers meisme le prifoner sur meisme le mordre, q est monstre a cur, z vn corz ils procebs, et luy acquit : il auera Conspiracy, comēt il ne acquite ne dischARGE del appel : vide le statute inde anno. 3. h. 7. cap. 1. Mes deuaunt cest statute fuit tenuis anno. 21. h. 6. per Paston et Newton, que il auera Conspiracy : quar ils dis, que il serra pend, sil auef est troue coup sur le arreimēt sur lenditement, qd nota. Et vide le statute fait de conspiratoribus in tempore regis Ed. 1. que le statute ne determine en queux cases Conspiracy gerra, mes per le statute fait anno. 4. E. 3. cap. 3. q done q iustices daff et de Nisi prius ont power denquerer, et doier et terminer conspiracies, confederacies, et chama parties zc. que ils ne poient determine pour brieftie de temps, ils adiozn en banke, et la serra determine.

¶ Et si home soit endite en appel de treason, ou felony, ou de trespas fait en fozen com zc. sil soit acquite de ceo, il auera brieve de Conspiracy vers celi que luy procuf destf endite ou appel, et reconuef treble dam per brieft sur le statute fait anno. 8. h. 6. cap. 10.

¶ Et si home soit endite de felonye ou treason, lou nest nscun tiel lieu deins le countie, il auera brieve de Conspiracy, et rees ses dam vers les abbetours, procuratours, ou conspiratours per le statute anno. 18. h. 6. cap. 12. et le forme de brieft pur accessof en brieft de Conspiracy est tiel. Quare conspiratione zc. prefat A. de eo quod ipse abbetasse et procurasse debuisset D. que fuit vroz E. f. et S. de morte ipsius E. quondam viri sui appellari corā J. es

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J. et socia suis nuper iustitiar nostris ad appellū illud audienb et terminand indictari, et ipsum ea occasione capi et imprisonari, et in prifona nostra Linē quousq coram prefatis iustic nostris inde secundū legem et consuetud regni nostri acquietatus fuisset, zc.

¶ Et sont autres brieves de Conspirac found sur disceite et trespas fait al partie, que sont proprement action de trespas sur le cas : Si come si homes conspif dendit vn home, pour ceo que il ne arestf vn felon que pass par le ville de W. et pur ceo ils luy caus destre endite et amercy en le lete de R. et ff. et pris et emprison par cest amerciez ment tangs que il soit acquit en le dit lete.

¶ Et si homes diount et afferme a vn A. que il ad droit a tiel terre, et procuf et caus luy de suer action de ceo vers vn B. que est tenant de cest terre. zc. par que le dit B. est de necessitie compel de vendf autre de ses terres ou tenements pur defend de sa terre. zc. ore il auera action vers ceux que procuf ou conspire de caus A. de suer cest action. et cetera.

¶ Et issint si homes procuf ou caus vn destre endite pour chaf en parke dun autre, par que il est pris et emprison, et mis al expens tangs il ad luy acquite de cest trespas : donques il auera brieft de Conspiracy vers ceux zc.

¶ Et conspiracy serra mayntē vers ceux, que conspif de forger faux faitz, queux fuef donez en euidence, per que il parde sa terre zc.

¶ Conspiracy serra mayntē vers ceux que conspire de port ass en nosme le pleint vers lun def. et de faire vn atz torney pur le pleintife : en quel ass le pleintife fuit troue villē zc. que ore port cest brieft de conspif.

¶ Et Conspiracy serra mayntene vers ceux que conspif de luy endit de trespas zc. de quel il fuit acquit zc.

¶ Conspiracy serra mayntē pur ceo que le def. fait vn present en nosm le pl a vn Aduouf, et per ceo pich vn al euesq que est admit et institute zc.

¶ Si home conspif de caus vn faux offi destre troue de ma terre, par que il est troue par son procurement. zc. ieo auera brieft de Conspiracy. Et Conspiracy vers. ii. lun iustifie pur ceo que il fuit donq iustic par commission, quant le pleintife fuit endite deuant luy. zc. et pur ascun conspiracy fait auant, il plebs nient coulp.

¶ Et brieft de conspiracy pour enditer luy de felony ne gist, si non vers. ii. persons al meyns, mes brieft de Conspiracy pur enditement de trespas ou autre faupm fait

Q.iii. come

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come en les auandit cas gist vers vn person solement.  
**E**t home nauera briefe de Conspiracy pour cndit luy de felony vers le baron et femme solement, pour ceo que ils sont forsq come vn person, mes vers le baron et feme et le tierce person il gist bien. Mes si le briefe de Conspiracy soit port vers .ij. donques il serra dit proprement briefe de Conspiracy. Mes sil soit port vers vn person solement, donqs nelt forsq acē sur son cas sur le faurfi et disceit fait, pur ceo que vn person ne puit conspir oue luy mesme .zc.

**E**t le briefe de conspiracy puit sup<sup>p</sup> le conspiracy est fait en .ij. feuerall lieux, et serra bon, et le briefe deuē est port en le com, ou le conspiracy est fait, et nemye ou lenditement fuit fait : ou lou le fait fuit fait .zc.

**E**t auxi est auter briefe de conspiracy, que est done sur le statute, que est appell<sup>e</sup> articuli super cartas en temps Edward le prīm, anno regni sui. 28. cap. 10. quel briefe serra directe vers iustices dāssise denquer<sup>e</sup> des conspi<sup>r</sup> .zc. et le briefe serra tiel.

**R**ex dilectis et fidelibus suis in de S. et socijs suis .zc. assign salutem. Cum inter ceteros articulos, quos dominus Edwardus quondam rex Angl<sup>e</sup> auus noster ad emendac<sup>o</sup> status populi sui concessit, ordinatum sit, quod de conspiratoribus, falsis informatoribus, et malis procuratoribus duodenariū inquisitionum assisarum et iuraz<sup>o</sup> forum, iustic<sup>e</sup> de vtroq<sup>ue</sup> banco, et iustic<sup>e</sup> ad ass<sup>e</sup> cap<sup>o</sup> assign<sup>o</sup> cum in patriam venerint ad officium suum faciend<sup>o</sup>, faci<sup>o</sup> tiant inquisitionem, ad cuiuscunq<sup>ue</sup> querelā sine breui et sine delatione, et faci<sup>o</sup> tiant inquisitionem conquerenti, prout in articulis predictis plenius continetur : nos dictos articulos in omnibus inuolabiliter obseruari volent, vobis mandamus, quod inspecta ordinatione predict<sup>a</sup>, vlt<sup>er</sup>ius ad prosecutionem omnium et singulorum coram vobis conque<sup>r</sup> volent faciat<sup>is</sup>, quod secundum formam ordin<sup>is</sup> nationis predict<sup>e</sup> fuerit faciend<sup>o</sup> .T. .zc.

**E**t sur ceo il auera Alias et pluries et Attach<sup>o</sup> vers le meye ou vicount .zc. sils ne sount accor<sup>d</sup> al briefe a euz man<sup>d</sup>, ou retorne la cause pur q<sup>ue</sup> ils ne puit ceo fair .zc. Et il semble resonable que le partye en prison auera acē sur cest statute vers le reconise, sil ne troue luy pay<sup>o</sup> et cwe en prison .zc. accor<sup>d</sup> al estatute.

Breue

### Breuium.

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### Breue de compoto.

**B**reue de Accompt gist en diuers maners, quar si vn fait vn auter son bayly de son maner .zc. il auera briefe de accompt vers luy come baylye. **E**t si home fait home son rescieuer de rescieuer sez rentz ou dettz .zc. il auē briefe dacompt vers luy cōe receiuer. **E**t si home fait home son baylye .zc. et auxi son rescieuer : donques il auera briefe dacompt vers luy come baylie et auxi come rescieuer .zc.

**E**t home auera briefe dacompt vers vn come baylie ou rescieuer, lou il ne vnq<sup>s</sup> luy fait bailie ne rescieuer .zc. Quar si home rescieue money a mon oep<sup>s</sup>, iauera briefe dacompt vers luy come rescieuer. Ou si home deliuer argent a vn a diliuer a moy, iauera briefe dacompt vers luy come mon rescieuer.

**E**t issint si home entre en ma terre a mon vse, et rescieue les profits de ē, iauera bfe dacompt vs luy cōe bailly .zc.

**E**t issint si les parentes occupie la terre dascun enfant, que lenfant ad purchas, lenf, auē briefe dacompt vers euz come bailie de sa terre .zc. Et cest briefe daccōpt puit est<sup>r</sup> sue cibien en le com come en le comen bank<sup>e</sup>.

**E**t si home ad cause dauer acē dacompt vers ascū cōe son bailie ou rescieuer, sil deuie, ses execut auē cest acē. Mes acē dacompt ne gist vers exēc<sup>o</sup> dun bailie ne dun rescieuer pur le rescit et locupation de lour testatour. Et le briefe dacompt que serra sue en le countie, est vn iustic<sup>e</sup> direct al vicount, le quel est tiel.

**R**ex viē L. salutē. Preē tibi, qd iusticies A. qd iuste et sine dilatiōe reddat B. rationabilē cōpotū suū de tēpore quo fuit balli<sup>o</sup> suus in A. et receptor denarioꝝ ipsi<sup>o</sup> B. sicut rationabilē monstrare poterit, q<sup>ue</sup> ei reddere debet, ne amplius inde clam<sup>o</sup> audiamus p defectu iusticie. T. .zc.

**E**t pur exēc<sup>o</sup> le bfe est, Quod redd<sup>o</sup> B. et C. exēc<sup>o</sup> testamēt<sup>o</sup> D. rationabilē cōpotū suū de tēpore quo fuit ball<sup>o</sup> ipsi<sup>o</sup> D. in A. vel ipsi<sup>o</sup> defuncti, sicut ratio<sup>n</sup> monstrā<sup>r</sup> poterit.

**E**t si il marchantz occupie lour biens et marchand en comē a lour cōen pfit, lū auē bfe daccōpt vs son cōpaigh en le com, ou en le comē banke, et le bfe en le com serr tiel.

**R**ex viē .zc. Preē tibi, qd iustic<sup>e</sup> A. mercatorē, qd iuste redd<sup>o</sup> B. mercatori rationabilē cōpotū de tēpore quo fuit recept<sup>o</sup> denarioꝝ ipsi<sup>o</sup> B. ex quacunq<sup>ue</sup> causa et contractu ad cōmū<sup>e</sup> vtilitatē ipsor<sup>um</sup> A. et B. p<sup>ro</sup>oue<sup>n</sup>, sicut p legem mercator<sup>is</sup> rationabilē mōstrā<sup>r</sup> poterit, qd ei redd<sup>o</sup> debet.

Quij. Et cest

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Et cest claus, Ex quacuncq; causa et cōtractu, debet pont in quolibet tali breui, soit il sue en comen banke ou en le com: et lexecut lun marchant auer tuel briefe vers laut marchant, mes nemi s lexecut le marchant, z la forme del briefe en le comen banke est.

¶ Rex viē zc. Precipe A. quod reddat B. rationabilē cōpotum de tempore quo fuit receptor denariorū ipsius A. vel balliuus ipsius A. in N. et nisi fecerit, et predicti A. fecerit te securum de clamore suo prosequendo, tunc sum predicti B. quod sit coram iusticiis nostris apud westm in quindena pasche zc. ostensurus quare non fecerit, et habeas ibi sum et hoc breue zc.

¶ Et prior ou abbas ou master de hospital aucta briefe dacompt vers celi que fuit receyuer ou bailie en tēps lour predecess, et le forme de briefe serra tiel.

¶ Precipe A. qd reddat J. priorisse de S. rationabilē cōporum de tempore zc. balliuus Alicie quondam priorisse de S. predecessor predicti J. et receptor denariorum ipsius Alicie priorisse zc.

¶ Et auter brief sic. preē A. qd reddat cōmunitati ville de W. rationabilem compotum suum de tempore zc. quo fuit receptor denariorū ipsius cōmunitatis in W. et nisi zc. Et predicti cōmunitas zc.

¶ Et nota que le briefe dacompt sue en le countie, puit estf remoue al fuit le pten en le comen banke per vn pone, sans ascun cause monstre en le briefe, mes il ne serra remoue hors del com al fuit le def. sans cause monstre en le briefe de pone zc. Si come le def. pleb foren reles, donq; serra dit en le pone. Quia preb le def. in placitans in curia nostra de N. in qua loquela pendet per retornum breuis nostri, prouitit quoddam scriptum acquietantiū sub nomine ipsius A. continens in se prefat A. omnes acē, quas versus prefat B. def. ratione compoti preb habuit, eidem B. remisit in com Lincolni factum, vt dicitur, qd quidam scriptum prefatus A. omnino dedit: propt qd loquela illa in curia predicti vltius deduci non debet: fiat executio istius breuis, si causa sit vera, z aliter non.

¶ Et est auter maner de briefe dacompt fonnē sur le statute de Marleburge cap. 23. et cest briefe gist lou home deuē faire accompt come bailie ou rescuer, et nad terf ne tenementes, per queux il puit estf distf, mes est vagaz rant et alant in secrete lieu, ou il ne voil estf troue: donq; le ptaura briefe dacompt que est appel monstrant sur ceo statute, et le briefe est de tiel forme.

Rex

# Penitum.

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¶ Rex viē zc. Monstrauit nobis prior de N. qd cum A. extiterit balliuus suus in R. omnium rerum et bonorum suorum cū habens et administrationem, idem A. composito suo nō soluto subfugia querens, latitat in balliua sua, nec possit inueniri et distringi ad reddendū prefato priori compotū suū preb. Et quia de communi consilio regni nfi prouisum sit, qd si balliuus, qui dñs suis compotū suū reddere tenentur, se subtraxerint, et terras vel tenementa non habeant, per que distringi valeant, pcorū corpora attachiant. Itē qd viē in quorū balliuus inueniēti, eos venire fac ad cōpotum suū reddendū, tibi precipimus, qd si predictus prior fecerit te secur de clamore suo prosequendo, tunc preb A. attach, ita qd eū habeas corā iusticiis zc. tali die ad reddendū prefato priori cōpotū suū preb, sicut rationabiliter monstrare poterit, quod ei reddere debet zc. et habeas zc. Mes cest briefe nelt ore in vs, pur ceo que per le statute de westm. 2. fait apres le statute de Marleburge, proē de vlagar est don en briefe dacompt vers bailies et rescuours, cap. 21. mes vncōf il puit sue monstrauit, sit voil a cest iour, et le forme de briefe del monstrauit direct as viē de London est tiel.

¶ Rex viē London salutem. Monstrauit nobis A. qd cū B. extiterit receptor denariorū ipsius A. et balliuus suus in N. idem B. cōposito suo non soluto interfugia querens latitat in balliua vestra zc. Et quia zc. vobis precipimus quod si preb A. fecerit vos secur de clamore suo prosequendo, tunc predicti B. attachiatis, ita quod eum habeatis corā maior cūttatis nfe Lond, et vobis in priori mo hustingo vestro London, ad reddendū prefat A. compotū suū preb, sicut zc. et habeatis zc.

¶ Et possint receptores et balliuus poni simul in vno breui in le monstrauit sic. Receptor denariorum ipsius A. et balliuus suus in N. Mes si le bfe soit sue en l comen bank, tunc debet balliuus pponi en le brief, sicut balliuus suus et receptor denariorum ipsius A. in N.

¶ Et briefe dacompt gist vers garden en socage, mes le forme del briefe varie del forme del briefe vers bail zc. et le forme est tiel.

¶ Rex viē zc. Si A. fecerit zc. tunc sum zc. B. qd sit corā iusticiis zc. ostensurus quare cum de cōmuni consilio regni nostri prouisum sit, qd custodes terrarū et tenementorū, que tenentur in socagio hereditibus terrarū et tenementorum illorum cū ad plenam etatē peruenerint, reddat rationabilem compotū suū de exitibus de terris et tenementis

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illis pronententib<sup>9</sup> de tempore quo custodia illam habuerunt ratione minoris etatis heres p<sup>re</sup>b<sup>is</sup> : idē B. prefato A. rationabilem comportū suum de exitibus prouenient de terris et tenementis suis in A. que tenent in focagio, et quorum custodiam idē B. habuit dñi predictus A. infra etatem fuit, vt dñ, et ideo zc. Et cest brieue est founē sur le statute de Marlebriggge cap. 17.

¶ Et si home duf le nonage del heif, entre en les terres leire, que il ad per discent, et prist les profits de cell al oepe leire, leire al pleyne age auera brieue dacompt vers luy come garden pur les profits rescues tanqz que leire veign al age de .xiii. ans, et pur les profits rescues apz que leire ven al age de .xiii. ans, leire auera brieue dacompt vers luy pour ceuz, come baill<sup>z</sup> zc. et nemi come garden: car il ne puit est gardien al heire plus longemēt pur terris en focage, si non al age de .xiii. ans del heire, mes leif nauera acē dacompt vers vn cōe garden, tanqz leire soit al pleyne age de .xxi. ans, et ceo est per les pōls del statute, que voit. Qui cum ad etatem peruenierit zc. Mes il auera acē dacompt vers vn baillie durant son nonage, a quel temps que il voit, vers cesti que prist les profits de la terre que il ad per discent, si il ne soit gardien en focage en droit zc.

¶ Et appiert per le Register vn brief q si home soit trone en arreraq sur son accompt, et le partye pleintife luy arrest en London pour ceuz arrest, donques il puit suer vn brieue en chaunē direct al viē, reherē cest matē, cōmaunē le viē de detein garē en prison cesti q est issint arrest tanc il ad satisfie et paye les areraq. Et semble per vn tiel reason, si home sue brieue de det sur arreraq de accompt auant auditours, et ad le partye attache zc. que il auer brieue hors de chaunē al viē, de luy garē en prison tanqz il ad pay ceuz arreraq, mes il semble a moy, que cest brief ne puit estoier oue ley, que il serra garē en prison sauns auer respons al suit pris vers luy.

¶ Home puit auer brieue dacompt vers vn femme come receptrix denariorum, ou vers vn chaplen: mes home nauera brieue dacompt vers enfant.

¶ Et home puit auer brieue dacompt vers vn come baill dun court ou dun hundred.

¶ Et home auera brieue dacompt vers prior sur rescit fait per luy per mayns son cōmoign, mes la le brief supp que il mesm rescieue zc. z ne plet per mayns le cōmoign. Et issint rescit fait per le baron per mayns la femme est son

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son resē demene, et le brieue et le counte supp, que il que rescieue. zc. sans parler par maynz la femme. Mes autrement est, Si prior ou baron resē money de estrang, donques le count serra, que il resē par mayns destrang. zc. mes le brieue serra general, de tempore quo fuit receptor denariorum, sans dire par mayns dascun, mes il monstra ceo en le count.

¶ Et si home deliuer biens ou argent a vn oustre le mere, a deliuer a luy arriere en Engl a certeyn lieu. zc. il auera brieue dacompt vers luy pur ceuz biens ou deniers.

¶ Et si home deliuer certeyn deniers a vn sur condicion que sil fait tiel chose, que il auera les deniers. zc. et si non, que donqz cestz que euz deliuer reauet ceo: ore sil ne per forme la condicion, le partye que deliuer les deniers, auera brieue dacompt vers luy pur ceuz.

¶ Si. ii. ont biens en ioyntour, ou en commen, et lun de euz deliuer mesm ceuz biens a vn pour accompt rendr a luy, il soule auera lacion pur ceuz.

¶ Et si. iii. ont garē. zc. et lun prist toutz les profits, lautre auera brieue dacompt vers luy. p. 45. E. 1.

¶ Et si baron ad rescieue les profits del terre la femme, et deuie, la femme nauera brieue dacompt des profits ne des rentes rescueuz duf le couerture, mes les excē le baron.

¶ Et si rescieue ou baill fait depute, ynquore lacc de accompt couient estre port vers le baill mesme, et vers le rescueur mesme, et nemy vers lour deutes: quar les deutes rescieue ceo al vse lour master.

¶ Cestz que est vn surneyour del terre ou controller. zc. ne serf charge en accompt. zc.

¶ Et apprentice ne serra charge dacompt par brieue dacompt, mes vers seruant q est mant de rescueur money, le master auera brieue dacompt. zc. sil ceo rescueur.

¶ Ne pariche prist ne serra charge pur les offringes offres par brief dacc, si ne soit autr agrement ent euz. zc. car le clerke tient le vessel, en queuz ils sont mises. zc.

¶ Si le roy graunt a vn vyl certen toll de chose que serf vend en mesme le vill pur faire le cloisur del dit vyl, et autr chose necessaire entour le vyl, et ilz fount certen colleezours pur rescueur ceo: ore si les collectours ne voille faire accomptz de ceo, ils poient auer vn cōmission hors de chanē denquerer, q ad resē cest toll ou deniers, z doier et terminer ceo, et doier lour accomptz. zc. et autre brieue al viē de attendanē, z de faire retoine vn enquest denat les commissiois. zc.

Brieue



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Breue de debito.

**B**refe de Det gist proprement ou vn home doit a vn autre certain somme d'argent par oblig ou par bargen pur chose a luy vend, ou par contracte, ou sur apprompt fait par le creditour al dettour, et le dettour ne voit ceo det paier al tour accors que il deuex ceo paier: donques le creditour auera brefe de dette pur cest dette vers luy, et cest dette poet estre sue en le com deuât le viç par brefe que est appell Justicies, come en le comen banke: et le forme de cest brefe serra ascun foiz en le debet et detinet, et ascun foiz en le detinet tantu, et nemy en le debet. Et si soit en le debet, il abat. Il serra toutz foiz en le debet et detinet, quant cestuy que fait le bargen ou contract, ou apprompt l'argent, ou cestuy a que l'obligac est fait, port l'action vers celuy que est obligé ou partie al contract ou bargen ou al apprompt, et quant l'action est port pour argent. s. money, et demande ceo par le brefe. Mes si home vend. xx. quarters de frument pur vn chival. et. ore si port brefe de dette pour le chival, le brefe serra en le detinet solement, et la forme del brefe que serra sue en le com devant le viscont pur dette de argent est tiel.

¶ Rex viç Sur salutem. Precipimus tibi, quod iusticies A. quod iuste et sine dilatione reddat B. xx. s. quos ei debet vt dic, sicut rationabiliter monstrare poterit, quod ei reddere debet, ne amplius inde clamorem audiamus pro defectu iusticie. et. Teste. et.

¶ Et si le brefe de dette soit pur autres biens ou chateux que argent, donques le brefe de dette serra tiel.

¶ Rex viç. et. Precipimus tibi, quod iusticies A. quod et. reddat B. quendam librum, vel quendam cyphum, vel quendam equum, vel duos agnos precii. et. quem vel quos vel que ei iniuste detinet sicut. et.

¶ Et si le brefe de dette soit port en le com devant le viç par vn iusticies, le pleintif poet remouer cest plee en le comen banke par vn pone sans ascun cause monstre en le brefe, mes le def. ne remouer cest plee hors del com ou comen banke sans monstre cause en le bref del pone, et yncore en le fyn del brefe serra dit, fiat executio istius brevis si causa sit vera, aliter non. Et les causes pur quel il est def. poet remouer le parol, sont diuers, cõe appert par le registre. Un si le def. ples forein plee, que ne poet estre trie en le com. et. ou si le def. monstre, que cesti deuât que le

que le ple pends maynt le pl ou luy sauour. et.

¶ Et si ple de dette soit sue deins ascun libertie ou court dascun borough ou citie. et. le pl poet remouer le plee par recor dare sans ascun cause mys en le brefe, en le comen banke: mes si le def. sue a remouer le plee par recor dare hors del vill ou citie ou cõe banke, il comient monstre cause en le brefe, come auant est dit. Et si le viç remoue le ple hors dascun court par pone al suite le def. ou pleintif, et puis les bailies ou officers del court procede sur le plee, et don iugement, et font execution. et. donq le def. ou cestuy vers que iugement ou execution est fait, auera brefe dattachement vers les bailies ou ceur que issint procedr al iugement. et. de respondr al roy cybien del contempt come al partie des dam. et. Et le forme del brefe en le comen banke del det est.

¶ Rex viç. et. Precipe A. quod iuste et. reddat B. C. s. quos ei debet et iniuste detinet vt dic. Et nisi fecerit, et preb B. fecerit. et. tunc som per bonos som preb A. et.

¶ Et le rule en le Registre est, quod in breui de debito de cattallis nunq dicerur, que ei debet. Et si brefe de dette soit port par exec sur duitie due a lour testatour, le brefe serra, quos eis detinet, et nemy debet et detinet, pour ceo que ils ne fuef partie al contract. Et issint si le brefe de dette soit port vers exec par le credit sur duitie par lour testatour, le brefe serf quas ei detinet. et. et nemy debent et detinent, coment que par le brefe il dbe argent. s. rr. li. ou autre some de money. ¶ Et si home fait vn B. son exec, et vn chand son exec auxint, et est en det al autre person: ore le brefe de det serra port vers le dit B. et vers labbe et le chanon. Et le forme del brefe serf tiel.

¶ Preb B. execut testamenti S. et abbati de C. et fratri Ade de C. cõcanonico eiusdẽ abbatis de C. coexecutori preb B. testamenti preb. rr. li. et. Et issint si ils port acc le brefe serf, preb D. et. quod reddat B. execut testamenti S. et abbati de C. fratri Ade de C. cõcanonico eiusdẽ abbatis de C. coexecutori preb B. testamenti preb.

¶ Et si home soit obligé a vn B. et a vn abbe en. x. li. et puis le dit B. deuie: ore ses exec et le dit abbe ioyndr en action, et le forme de brefe de dette serra tiel. Precipe C. et. quod iuste. et. reddat B. et M. executori testamenti R. et Abbat de C. decem lib. et. quas. et. Et nisi et. et preb execut et abb. fecerint et. et.

¶ Et si brefe de dette soit port vers leff sur oblig. fait par son aunc, le brefe serra tiel. preb A. de S. filio et hered

res B. quod reddat 2c.

¶ Et si sont plusieurs heirs, donques il dirra. *prez A. de S. fratri et vni heres B. et C. consanguineo, et alteri heres eiusdem B. 2c.*

¶ Et si home soit en det et deuie intestate, ou les execut refuse delif execut 2c, per q les biens deuient as mayns del ors : donques les creditours auer brieve de det vers loz per le statute *Westm. 2. cap. 19.* et le brieve serf tiel. *prez A. episcopo Lincolne, ad cuius manus bona et catalla, que fuerunt B. qui obiit intestatus ut dicitur, deuenerunt, quod iuste 2c. reddat 2c.*

¶ Et si les biens deuient as mayns del ors, et puis loz fait exec et deuie, les creditours auer brieve de det vers les executours del ors, et le brieve serra tiel. *prez A. de B. et C. de T. executor testamenti magistri R. de P. nuper decani ecclesie beati Petri Eborac, et custod spiritualitatis archiepiscopatus Eborac sede vacante, ad cuius manus bona et catalla, que fuerunt E. de B. qui obiit intestatus ut dicitur, deuenerunt, quod iuste 2c. reddat 2c.*

¶ Et appert per le Register, quod anno. 16. Edward. 3. le pf fuit respond a tiel brieve que il port vers lerec loz.

¶ Et est brieve de det en le Register pour loz vers cesti que fuit en det, et vers cesti que deuie entestate : mes loz pinyon des sages a ceo iour est, que loz nauer accyon de dette vers ceu que fuit en dette a cesti que deuie intestate, pour ceo que accyon est done as admist, et loz poet comit ladministraci des biens, quant il luy pleyt. Mes deuant le statute Edward le tierc, anno. 37. cap. 11. les administras ne poient auer accyon de dette vers les detours 2c. per que donques semble reason, que aucun person auer accyon pour rec ceu dettes 2c. mes loz a cest iour puit auer brieve de trespass pour prisel des biens hors de son possession demesne, mes nemi de prisel fait hors de possession cesti que deuie intestate, comme administris poient auer.

¶ Si home soit deteign en Engl de faire seruices ouff le mere, pernaunt pour ceo. x. li. per an, il auera brieve de det en Engle, ou le reteign fuit.

¶ Et si home prist vn femme que est en det as auters persons, le baron et femme serf sues pour cest det viuant la femme : mes si le femme deuie, le baron ne serra charge pur cest det apres la mort le femme, si non que le creditur vers le baron et femme rec le det durant le couerture que fuit

fuit due per la femme auant le couerture, donques comment que le femme deuie, yncore le baron serra charge pour payer cest dette apres le mort la femme per cest recouere 2c.

¶ Home serra charge en dette pour contracte son baille ou son seruaunt, lon il donec auctorite a son bail ou son seruaunt de acheter et vend pour luy, et issint pour contract sa femme sil donec tiel auctorite a sa femme, autrement nient.

¶ Et si home less terres a terme des ans, rends rent, et pur defaut de paiement que il reentf 2c. ore sil rente en la terre pur non paiement del rent, yncore il auer brieve de det pur non paiement de cest rent, per que il rentf, et recoz uer en cest brieve cest rent, per que il rentf.

¶ Si home oblige luy et ses heirs a vn home en. xx. li. et deuie, leire serra charge de paier ceo, sil ad terres per discent en fee simple per mesme launt, autrement nient. Mes si home soit oblige en obligation a vn home et a ses heirs, et le oblige deuie, son heir nauera acc de det sur cest obligation, mes les execut le pere.

¶ Si home promise vn. xx. li. a marier sa file, et il luy marie, il auera brieve de dette vers luy sur cest promesse *2c. 11. E. 3.*

¶ Si person ad annuite en fee en droit de sa esgl, et le annuite est arere, et le person deuie : ses executours auer brieve de dette pour les arerag del annuite en le vie iour testatour.

¶ Et si home grant vn rent en fee, et ouff grant que si le rent soit arref 2c. que il forsetf vn penaltie de. xl. s. al grantee et a ses heirs : ore si le rent soit arere, le grantee auera brieve de dette pour cest penaltie. Et issint semble que leire auera cest penaltie, et auer brieve de det pour cest, pour ceo que ceo est come vn inheritance, que continuer per cas.

¶ Et si home soit condempne en dette ou damage, et est commise al prison pour cest, et le Gaoler luy less aler alarge, ou il eschape hors del prison, le Gaoler serra charge per brieve de dette a cesti a que suite il fuit condempne 2c. et a ses exec 2c.

¶ Et si home apprompt vn chival tanq a certain iour, et donques a deliuer arere le chival, ou. x. li. a mesme cel iour : ore apres le iour si le chival ne soit redeliuer, il est a son liberte de suer brieve de dette pour le chival en le detinet, ou brieve de dette pour le. x. li. en le debet.

Si home

### Natura

¶ Si home leſſe terre a terme de vie a vn feme, rend rent, et el priſt baron, et puis le rent eſt arere, et la femme deuie, le baron ſerra charge per brieſe de det pour ceſt rent arere, pur ceo que il priſt le profit del terre per reſon de ſa femme. Mes auter eſt de oblig. fait per ſa femme auant leſpouſ, la le baron ne ſerra charge per ē, ſi rec ne ſoit cyue vers luy et ſa femme en la vie ſa femme.

¶ Mes ſi femme ſoit endowe de rent, et puis el priſt baron, et le rent eſt arere, et la femme puis deuie: le baron auera brieſe de det pur ceſt rent, pur ceo que il fuit duyte accrue a luy duſ les eſpouſ. Mes ſi home ſoit obligē a vn femme, et el priſt baron, et le iour de payment vient duſ les eſpouſ, et puis la femme deuie, le baron nauē acc de det pur ceſt oblig. pur ceo que ceo fuit vn duyte due a l femme, et choſ en acc auant les eſpouſels.

¶ Et ſi perſon ad annuite en ſec, et lannuite eſt arere, et le perſon reſiḡ: vncore le perſon que reſiḡ auē brieſe de det pur les arerages auant. Et ſi home ad leſſe de maner a terme de vie, et le rent eſt arere a luy des tenantes que teigne del maner, et le leſſe a terme de vie del maner moruſt: ſes exrecutours auē brieſe de det pur les arerages des rentes due per les tenantes del maner .zc.

¶ Et iſſint ſi le tenant a terme de vie del maner ſurrendſ ſon eſtate a ceſtuy en reuerſion del maner: vncore il auera brieſe de det vers les tenantes del maner pour les arerages auant.

¶ Si home ad patent le roy dauer certen ſom annuclmēt pur terme des ans ou a terme de vie del cuſtom de Lond, et ſur ceo il ad vn brieſe de liberate al cuſtom, de luy paieſ: le quel brieſe il deliuer al cuſtom, a quel temps le cuſtom ad aſſes en ſes mayns de luy payer: or per ceo deliuerans del liberate, et le aſſes en mayns le cuſtom, le cuſtom eſt dettour a luy, et il auera bſe de det ſur ceſt maſ vers le cuſtom.

¶ Et ſi. ii. cur miſſ en arbitrement, et les arbitours aſgarde, que lun paieſ a l'auter. x. li. il auera brieſe de det vers luy ſur cel arbitrement.

¶ Si abbe ad annuite en ſec, et lannuite eſt arere: il nauera brieſe de det pur les arerages, pur ceo que lannuite continue.

¶ Ne perſon nauera brieſe de det pur arref de annuite q il ad in ſe duſ le temps que il eſt perſon, mes ſil reſiḡ, il auera, ou ſil deuie, ſes exrecut auē brieſe de det.

¶ Et ſi home que eſt bayle, accomplt deuant auditours, et eſt

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et eſt troue en ſurplus, que il ad diſpens plus que il ad reſceiue. .zc. or pur ceſt ſurplusage il auera brieſe de det vers le ſeignour, a que il fuit baill. Mes ſi reſceiue accōpt, et eſt troue en ſurplus .zc. plus diont, que il nauera action de det pur ceſt, pur ceo que il ne fuit tenus de diſpens aucun parcel de ceo: mez il ſemble que ſil fiſt ceo par commandment le ſeignour, que adonques il ſerra reaſon que il maynt accion de dette vers le ſeignour pour ceſt ſurplus.

¶ Un abbe ſerſ charg. en brieſe de det ſur apprompt fait a ſon predeceſſ de argent que vient al uſe del meafon.

¶ Et attourney auera brieſe de dette vers ſon client pur le money que il ad pay a aucun parſon pur ſon client touchant les coſtages del ſuite, ou a ſon counſel. .zc.

¶ Si home fait vn contract a pater certen money pour choſ par luy achate: or ſil fait vn oblig pur ceſt money, le contract eſt diſcharg, et il nauera brieſe de dette ſur le contract.

¶ Si home fait lees pur terme dezans, rend rent de terre diuiſible par teſtament, et puis il deuſe le reuerſion del terre a vn eſtrang. .zc. en ſec, le deuſe auera action de det pur ceſt rent reſerue, ſans aucun attournement del tenant a terme des ans: mes ſi leſſour auē grant le reuerſe come par ſyn ou fait, le grauntie nauera brieſe de dette ſauns attournement del leſſe pur le rent reſerue.

¶ Si home ſoit en dette et entre en religion, ſes exrecut ſerſ ſue pur ceſt dette, et ney labbe que luy accept en religion.

¶ Si home ſoit condempne en trespas ou en dette ſur oblig. lou il deny ſon fait al ſuite de partie, et puis ceſtuy que eſt condempne eſt pris per cap pro ſine deins lan al ſute le roy, et committe al gaole, ſi le gaoler luy ſuffre deſchapp, le ptie auera action de det vers le gaoler pur ceſt condempnation: et vncore il ne fuit cōmis a luy a ſon ſute, mes al ſute le roy: mes deins lan apres le condempnation et iugement done, ceſt ſute pour le roy ſerueſ cy bien pur le partie come pur le roy, pur ceo que le roy fuit entitle a ceo par le partie. .zc. mes apres lan nemy, que la ſerra intende que le partie eſt accord ou ceſtuy que fuit cōdempne, et pur ceo il ſerra mis apres lan dauer et ſuer ſeire ſac ſur ceſt iugement.

¶ Et ſi home leſſe terre a terme des ans, rend rent. .zc. et puis le rent eſt arere, et le leſſe ſurrendſ ſon terme: vncore le leſſour auera brieſe de dette pour les arerages

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deuant, come semble p. 38. l. 3. tamen quere, quar los pinion ad estf contrary anno. 2. M. 6.

¶ Et si vn seruant ne voil seruer .x. p. le statute anno. 35. l. 1. cap. 9. il serra arrest et cōmiss al Bayler, et sil luy less a large, il perdra .x. li. al roy, et C. s. al partie .x. ore si le Bayler less tiel person aler a large, le partye que voil auer luy reteign, auera brieve de det vers le Bayler.

¶ Si home recouer damages en brieve de wast, il poet suer brieve de dette sur cest recouere, sil voil.

¶ Et issint home puit suer brieve de dette sur statute Marchant, ou sur statute de Staple, ou sur reconusans fait, ou puit suer execution accor al statute a son pleiure.

¶ Un prior recouef annuyte en fee vers vn person, et puis il sue Scire facias sur cest recouere vers le suc le person, et recouef en cest Scire facias les arrerages del annuite, et puis il poet brieve de dette vers le person sur ceo recouere en le Scire facias pur ceux arrerages, et fuit maynt p. 17. l. 4.

¶ Abbe serra charge per brieve de dette pur vytrayll et auters chos necessary achates per le seiser, ou auter offi que est depnt de faire purueyauns pour labbey en temps de vacation de ceo.

¶ Si home leue raisonnable ayde de ses tenantes pour sa yle marier, et puis deuie, la yle nient marie, la yle auer brieve de dette vers les executours le pere pur cest resonable ayde issint leue : et si les executours nount riens, el auera brieve de dette vers leur pur cest resonable ayde, sil ad riens per discent.

¶ Si .ii. coperceners font partitio, et lun grant ou promise a l'auter certain somme d'argent pur egalite del partitio : ore el auera brieve de dette sur cest promise, et recouef le money .x.

¶ Mes si home fait vn tail, et fait vn obligatio sur ceo, et ceo enseale, et deliuer ceo come son fait : vncore ceo ne lier luy, mes puit pleo riens luy doit encontf ceo, ou gage sa ley : quar obligation couient estf fait en parchement ou en paper, et nemi escrie sur vn pece de bois, cōc taile est.

¶ Et home auera brieve de dette vers cesti que deuient plegge pur auter per son promise de paier certain somme .x. sans ascun fait de ceo : quod vide en title de plegg inquietandis. p. 43. l. 3.

Breue

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### Breue de rationabili parte bonorum.

**B**rieve de rationabili parte bonorum gist ou femme apres la morte son baron ne puit auer le tierce part des biens son baron apres les dettes pays, et fuserall'erpens faites, donques el auera cest brieve vers les executours son baron : et semble per le statute de Magna carta, cap. 18. que ceo fuit le comen ley del terre. Et issint appiert per Blainduile, que ceo est le comen ley, que apres les dettes pays, les biens serf diuides en trois pres, vn al feme, et auter parte destf enter les fitz et files, et le tierc as execut .x. mes vncore les briefes en le Register reherb le custome des com, et sont de tiel forme.

¶ Rex viē .x. Si A. que fuit vxor B. .x. fecerit .x. tunc som C. et D. executores testamenti preb B. quod sint .x. ostensuf quare cū secundū cōsuetudinē in com preb hactenus optentam, vxores post mortem virozum suozū habere debeāt rationabilē partē suam de bonis et catallis virozū suozū preb, idem exec prefat A. rationabilē prem suam ad valentiā decem marcap de bonis et catallis, que fuer preb B. quondam viri sui detinent, minus iusto, et ea ei reddere cōtradiciunt, in ipsius A. damni non modicū et grauamē, et cōtra consuetudinem predictā, et habeas ibi suū et hoc breue .x.

¶ Et semblable bfe le fitz et file puit suer as les execut, et le forme est. Rex .x. quia A. de N. et S. foror ei⁹ fecerūt nos secuf .x. suū .x. J. de W. et E. exec testamenti R. de N. qd sint .x. ostensuf quare cū secundū consuet in com preb hactenus optentā et apptobatā, pueri post mortem patris suoz, qui corū heres non sunt, nec in vita patrum suoz promoti fuerunt, habere debeant rationabiles ptes suas de bonis et catallis, que fuere patrum suoz preb : idem execut prefatis A. de N. et S. post mortem preb R. patris sui, cuius heres ipsi non sunt, nec qui in vita eiusdem patris sui promoti fuerunt, rationabiles partes suas ad valentiā decem librarum .x. vt supra.

### Secta ad molendinum.

**S**ecta ad molendinū gist ou hōe per vn vsage de tēps dont .x. ad vse de moler ses granes al molen de B. et puis il ale al auter molen, et susbrete son suit del dit molen de B. donq cesti q ad le molen poit auer cest bfe. Et auxi il semble q le seigneur puit auer cest bfe vers les frank tē, q teign de luy de fait suit a son molen, et vñ il puit distf ses tē pur cest suit, et de fait auowre pur cest.

R. ij.

Et

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¶ Et per prescriptione home puit auer sinit a son moleſ des villens dun eſtrang, et auer ſecta ad molendinū vers ceux, et ceo ſemble p cause de lour reſſeauncy en certē ter res que ils demur eus, et ceſt brieſe eſt aſcun ſoytz viz contiel, et ſerra ſue en le countye per vn brieſe de Juſtices al pleaſure le pſ, ou en comen banke, per vn pſeē zc. Et le forme del brieſe en le com eſt tiel.

¶ Rex viē zc. precipimus tibi, quod iuſtices A. quod iuſte et ſine dilatione faē ſectam ad molendinum E. de N. in C. quā ad illud debet vt ſolet, vt diē, ſicut rationabiliter monſtrare poterit, quod eā ad illud facere debet, ne amplius inde clamorē audiam⁹ p defectu iuſticiē zc.

¶ Et ſi le brieſe ſerra ſue en comen banke, le bſe ſerf tiel. ¶ Precipe A. quod iuſte et ſine dilatione faē ſectam ad molendinum E. de N. in C. quam ad illud facere debet vt ſolet, vt diē, et niſi fecerit zc. et pſeē zc. tunc ſum zc.

¶ Et per le rule en le Reſiſter home auera brieſe de ſecta zc. quod faciat ſectam ad furnū et ad Thorale, z ad oia alia huiſmodi, et tenant a terme de vie ou en dower maynt ceſt brieſe en le debet et ſolet: quar ceo eſt en ſa nature brieſe de poſſ, mes en le debet tantū ſemble que ceſt en le mere droit, et le def. auera le vierre en ſecta ad molendinum en le debet z ſolet del terre zc. et del moleſ, a que zc. Et le proces en ſecta ad molendinū ſerra ſom, attach, et diſſ zc. Et ſil appere, z puis faē defaut: donz ques iſſera diſſ ad audiendum iudicē, et vnē il purf ſauer ſon defaut, et vo⁹ veres le forme del count en ceſt bſe en title de liuer de entre des ples, lou il count ſur tenouf del terre zc. et auter count lou il count ſur preſcription .s. que le tenant et toutes ceux que teiſh ceſt terre, ont yſe de faire ſuit al molliſh. quod vide folio. 169.

### Quod permittat.

**Q**uod permittat giſt lon home ad comē de paſture a ſes beyſſes, et il eſt diſturbe per aſcun eſtrang, que il ne puit yſer ſon comen: donques il auera ceſt bſe: z ceſt bſe puit eſſi ſue deuant le viē per iuſtices en le countie, ou en le comen banke per brieſ de Quod permittat: et le forme del brieſe en le com eſt.

¶ Rex vicecomiti zc. precipimus tibi, quod iuſtices A. quod iuſte zc. permittat B. habere communiam paſture in N. ad centum oues zc. vel ad centum boues zc. quam habere

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habere debet, vt diē, ſicut rationabiliter zc. ne amplius inde clamorem audiamus. Uel ſic: coſiam paſture in terra iplius A. quam in ea habere debet zc. Uel ſic, Quod permittat B. habere communiam paſture in centum acris iplius A.

¶ Et le rule en le Reſiſter eſt, quando clamat communia paſture in terra alicuius cert⁹ perſone, tunc non dicat ad certum numerum aueriorum in breui zc. Sed communia paſture in N. ad centum oues zc. Mes la forme de brieſe de Quod permittat ſue en comen banke eſt tiel.

¶ Rex viē zc. precipie A. quod iuſte zc. permittat B. habere communiam paſture in N. et xl. acſ boſci, quam habere debet vt dicit. Et niſi fecerit, Et predict⁹ B. fecerit te zc. tunc ſum zc.

¶ Et auter forme de brieſe pur comen appenē, ſic. Rex viē zc. precipie A. quod iuſte zc. permittat B. habere communiam paſture in N. que pertinet ad liberum tenementum ſuum in eadem villa, vel in alia villa, de qua idem A. vel pater pſeē A. cui⁹ heres ipſe eſt, inuſte et ſine iudicio diſſ. R. patrem predicti B. cuius heres ipſe eſt, poſt priam tranſſetationem domini Henſ regis filii regis Johannis in Gaſconiā, vt dicit, Et niſi zc.

¶ Et le rule en le Reſiſter eſt, quod breue de quod permittat iacet de communia paſture, turbarie, piſcarie et de rationabilibus eſtouiſijs, verſus diſſiſſorem per ipſum vel eius antecellores de diſſiſſina facta petenti vel eius antecellori, et non in alijs gradibus: quia ior oportet vti breui de recto en le debet et ſolet.

¶ Mes abbe puit auer brieſe de Quod permittat de diſſiſ fait a ſon predeceſſ, et ſerf mencion del diſſiſ en ſon brieſe zc. Et la forme de brieſe de libera piſcaria eſt tiel.

¶ Rex zc. precipie A. zc. quod zc. permittat B. habere libera piſcaria in aqua iplius A. in N. Uel ſic, in aqua in N. quam in ea habere debet et ſolet vt dicit, et niſi zc.

¶ Et eſt auter forme de brieſe de Quod permittat en nature de mortanē, et eſt tiel.

¶ Rex zc. precipie A. quod zc. permittat B. habere communiam paſtur in N. de qua C. pater vel mater, vel ſoror iplius B. cuius heres ipſe eſt, ſuit ſeiſitus vt de feodo, tanq̄ pertinens ad liberum tenementum ſuum in eadem villa, die quo obiit, vt dicit, et niſi zc.

¶ Et ſi il ſoit comen en gros, donques il doit omitt ceſt clauſ en le brieſe, Tanq̄ pertinens ad liberum tenementum ſuum zc.

R. iij.

Et iſſius



himselfe wounded in fight, he seized upon his enemies body, & brought him perforce armed as he was alive, out of his galley into his owne. Being encamped in the land of his friends and confederates, yet nevertheless he fortified his campe with a deepe trench and high rampar round about verie carefully; and when one said unto him, what needs all this? and whom are wee to feare? The woorthie speech (quoth he) that can come out of a captaines mouth is this: Had I wist, or I never looked for such a thing. As he was putting his armie in array, for to give battell unto the Barbarians; he said that he feared nothing at all, but that they should not take knowledge of *Iphierates*, whose verie name and preface was enough to affright all their enemies. Being accused of a capitall crime, he said unto the Sycophant who had enformed and drawn a bill of enditement against him: Canst thou tell what thou doest good fellow? when the citie is environed with warre on everie side, thou perfwadest the people to consult about me, and not to take counsell with me. *Harmolitus* (who was descended from the race of that ancient and noble *Harmodius*) reproched him one day for his meane parentage, as being come from an house of base degree: The noblenesse (quoth he) of my line beginneth in me, but thine endeth in thee. An orator making a solemne speech in the assembly of the people, grew to these tearmes with him before them all: And what are you sir, if we may be so bold as to know, that you beare your selfe so bigge, and thinke so well of your selfe, are you a man at armes, are you an archer, a pike man, or a footman or what are you? I am not indeed (quoth he) any of these; but he I am, who knows how to command and direct all these?

*TIMOTHEUS* had the name to be a fortunate captaine, rather than otherwise a speciall warrior; and some who envied his good estate, shewed him a picture, wherein certaine cities were entrapp'd, and of themselves fallen into the compasse of net and toile, whiles hee lay asleepe; whereupon he said unto them: Consider now, if I can catch and take such cities lying asleepe, what shall I be able to doe when I am awake? When one of these venturous and too forward captaines, shewed upon a glorious braverie unto the Athenians, what a wound he had received upon his bodie: But I (quoth he) my selfe was a greatly abashed and ashamed one day, being your captaine generall before the citie of *Samos*, that a short discharge from the walles, light but nere unto me. When the orators highly praised and recommended captaine *Chares*, laying: Lo what a brave man is here to make the generall of the Athenians, shewing his goodly personage. *Timotheus* answered againe with a loud voice: Never say Generall, but rather a good stout groom to carrie the trulle of a captaines bedding after him.

*CHARRIAS* was wont to say, that they were the best captaines who had most intelligences of their enemies defeignings & proceedings. Being accused together with *Iphierates* of treason, he gave not over for all that, to frequent the publicke place of exercises, and to take his dinner at his accustomed howers: and when *Iphierates* rebuked him for being so rechelesse, standing in such danger as he did; hee answered him in this manner: In case the Athenians proceede against us otherwise than well, they shall put you to death, all foule and fasting, but me full and faire cleane washed, and having well dined. This was his ordinarie speech: That an armie of flags and hindes having a lion for their leader, was better than an armie of lions led by a flag.

*HEGESIPPUS* surnamed *Crobylus*, solicited and incited the Athenians to take armes against King *Philip*: and when one spake unto him aloud from out of the assembly: What Sir, wilt thou that we draw upon us war? Yea verily (quoth he) and bring in among us blacke mourning robes, solemne and publicke obsequies, yea and funeral orations too, if we desire to live free still, and not to be servile and subject to the Athenians.

*PYTHEAS* being but yet verie young, presented himselfe one day in open place to crosse and contradict the publicke decrees which had passed by the peoples voices, in the honour of King *Alexander*; what saith one unto him: Darest thou presume, so young as you are to speake of these lo weightie matters? And why not (quoth he) seeing that *Alexander* whom you will needs make a god by your suffrages, is younger than my selfe?

*PHOCION* the Athenian was a man of so laied and constant behaviour, that he was never seene of any person, either to laugh or weepe. Upon a time in a great assembly of the citie, one said unto him: You are verie sad and pensive *Phocion*, it seemeth you are in a deepe studie. Guesse againe (quoth he) and guesse not so; for I am indeed studying and devising with my selfe how I may cut-off somewhat of that which I have to speake unto the Athenians. The Athenians underloody by an oracle that they had one man among them in the citie, who was thwart & contrary to the opinion & advice of all others: Now when they caused diligent search & enquiry

quie to be made for this fellow, and cried out upon him in great furie whosoever he was; *Phocion* stood up, and with a loud voice: I am the very man (quoth he) seeke no further; for I am he alone, who am nothing at all pleased with whatsoever the people either doth or faith. One day, when he had delivered his advice in a frequent assembly of the people, he pleased the whole audience very well, and seeing that they all with one accord approved his speech, he was abashed thereat, and turning toward his friends: What? (quoth hee) have I let fall and escaped some words that are not good, and otherwise than I meant? For the better furnishing of this solemnitie, they demanded of every man a contribution of money toward it: all others gave liberally, only *Phocion* after he had bene called upon by name sundry times to do the like, in the end said thus unto them: I would be ashamed to give any thing (I trow) unto you, and not be able to pay him there, pointing with his finger to an usurer, unto whom he was indebted. When *Demades* said unto him: The Athenians will one of these daies kill thee, if they fall once into their furious fits: True indeed (quoth he) they will kill me in their mad mood, but thee they will put to death when they be come againe into their right wits. *Ariflogon* the sycophant or false promotor, being condemned to death for troubling men with wrongfull imputations, and at the point to be executed within the prison, sent unto *Phocion*, requesting him to come and speake with him; but *Phocions* friends would not let him goe to talke with such a leaud and wicked wretch: Why (quoth he unto them) in what place may honest men more willingly and better speake with *Ariflogon*? When the Athenians were highly offended and angrie with the Bizantines, for that they would not receive into their citie captaine *Chares*, whom they had sent with a power for to aid them against King *Philip*, *Phocion* came among them, and said: That they were not to be displeased with their confederates for being mistrustfull, but rather with such captaines as they mistrusted: upon which remonstrance of his, hee was immediatly himselfe chosen captaine; who being admitted and well trusted by the Bizantines, defended them so valiantly against King *Philip*, that he forced him to raise his siege, and retire from thence without effect. King *Alexander* the great sent unto him a present of one hundred talents; but he demanded of the messengers that brought it, why the king their master sent unto him alone, considering there were so many Athenians besides himselfe; they answered: It was because he esteemed him to be the only honest and vertuous man among them all: Why then (quoth he) could not hee let me both to seeme and also to be a good man still? *Alexander* upon a time demanded of the Athenians certaine gallies; whereupon the people called unto *Phocion* by name, for to give his advice, and to counsell them what was best to be done in this case: then he stood up and said: My counsell unto you is this; That you make meanes either to be your selves the stronger in armes, or els at the least well friended by them who are mightier than you. When a brute was blazed abroad, without any certaine author, that King *Alexander* the Great was deceased, the orators at *Athens* mounted the pulpits by-and-by, and strave avie who could perswade the people most, even in all haste to put themselves in armes and rebell; but *Phocion* was of a contrary minde to them all; and his opinion was; That they should stay and rest quiet, until more assured newes came of his death: For (saith he) if he be dead to day, he will be so to morow, yea and afterwards also. When *Leosthenes* had set the citie all upon warre, feeding the peoples hearts with great hopes of recovering their freedom and the sovereignty of all Greece, *Phocion* compared these projects of theirs unto the *Cypres* trees: For they (quoth hee) be faire, straight and tall, but not a whit offruit do they beare: howbeit, when the Athenians at the first sped well in sundrie battels and wan the field, whereupon the citie made sacrifices unto the gods for the good newes thereof, some would come unto him, and say: How now *Phocion*, are you not pleased herewith? and would you with all undone againe? I am contented very well (quoth he) that it hath so fallen out, but yet I repent never a whit of my former counsell. The Macedonians, immediatly after this, made rodes into the countrey of *Asia*, and beganne to overrun, harrie and spoile all the sea coasts: for remedie whereof, he caused all the lustie men of the citie, who were of age to beare armes, to enter into the field; and when many of them came running unto him, some calling upon him to seize such an hill, others as instant with him to put his men in battell-ray in such a place: O *Hercules* (quoth he) what a number of captaines doe I see, and how few good souldiers? howbeit, he gave the enemies battell, wan the victorie, and slew *Necton* the captaine generall of the Macedonians in the place. Not long after, the Athenians being vanquished in warre, were constrained to receive a garrison from *Antipater*, and *Antimachus* captaine of the said garrison sent unto him in free gift certaine money; wherewith he

being offended, said: That neither *Menillus* was better than *Alexander*, nor the cause so good, for which he should take any gift at his hand at this present, considering that he refused the like from *Alexander*. Moreover, *Antipater* was wont to say: That he had two friends at *Athens*, the one of whom, to wit, *Phocion*, he could never persuade to take any thing; and the other, who was *Demades*, he could not satisfie whatsoever he gave him. When *Antipater* was in hand with him to do a thing which was not just: ' You cannot (quoth he) *Antipater*, have me to be your friend and a flatterer to. After the death of *Antipater*, when the Athenians had recovered their libertie and free state or popular government, concluded it was and pronounced in a generall assembly and counsell of the people, that *Phocion* together with his friends and associates, must suffer death: as for the rest, they went weeping and lamenting as they were led to execution, but *Phocion* marched gravely, and gave not a word: now as he was going upon the way, one of his enemies met him and spet upon his face; whereupon he turned backe to the magistrates, and said: Is there no man here to repress the insolencie and villanie of this wretched varlet? one of them who were to suffer with him, tooke on and tormented himselfe exceedingly: What (quoth he to him) *Euippus*,<sup>k</sup> doth it not thee good that thou goest to take thy death with *Phocion*? And when the deadly cup was presented to him to drinke his last draught of hemlocke, he was asked the question, whether he had any more to say or no: then addressing his speech unto his sonne: I charge thee (quoth he) and beseech thee, not to cary any ranckor and malice in thy heart to the Athenians for my death.

*PISTRATUS*, a tyrant of the Athenians, being advertised that some of his friends having revolted and conspired against him, had seized upon the fort called *Phyle*, went towards them, carying himselfe about at his backe a fardell of his bedding, and the furniture thereto belonging: whereupon they demanded of him what he would? I come (quoth he) with an intent either to persuade you to returne with me, or else with a resolution to tarry here with you myselfe; and therefore have I brought my baggage with me. He was advertised that his mother loved a yong man, who secretly kept her and used to lie with her; howbeit in great feare, and refusing her company many times; whereupon he invited the man to supper, and after supper, he asked him how he did, and how he liked his entertainment? Gaily well (quoth he: Thou shalt (quoth *Pisistratus*) finde no woofe every day so thou content and please my mother. *Thrasibulus* cast a good liking and fancie to his daughter; and as he met her one time upon the way, bestowed a kisse upon her; whereat her mother was offended, so as she exasperated her husband against him for it: but he mildly answered her in this wise: Why woman, if we set our selves against them that love us and grow to malice them, what shall we doe to those who hate us? and so he gave the maiden in mariage to *Thrasibulus*. Certaine lustie yoonkers after they had taken their cups well, went in a maske and plaid the fooles through the citie, and chauncing to meete with his wife, abused her both in worde and deed very unbecomely and dishonestly; but the morrow after they came weeping before *Pisistratus*, acknowledging their fault, and craving pardon; who made them this answer: As for you, endeavour to be more wife and sober from hence forth: ' But I assure you, my wife yesterday went no whither abroad, nor stirred out of her dores. When hee was about to marrie a second wife; the children whom he had by the former, demanded of him, whether he were in any respect discontented with them; that he should in despight of them espouse another: No, (quoth he) that is the least of my thought; but cleane contrary it is, because I like and love you so well, I would willingly have more children to resemble you.

*DEMETRIUS*, surnamed *Phalerem*, counselled king *Ptolomus* to buy and reade those books which treated of policie and government of kingdomes and seigneories; for that which courtiers and minions durst not say unto their princes, was written within those books.

*LYCURGUS*, who did set downe and establish the lawes of the Lacedaemonians, accustomed his citizens to wear their haire long: For that (saith he) side haire, maketh those who are faire, seeme more faire and amiable; but those who were foule more hideous and terrible. In so the reformation of the Lacedaemonian State, some one there was who persuaded him to erect the popular government called Democracy, wherein everie one in his course hath as much authorities as another: unto whom hee answered: Begin thou first to set up this government in thine owne house. He ordained that in building of houses there should be used nothing but the sawe & the axe: For that (quoth he) it were a shame to bring into houses so simple builded, any plate of silver and gold, rich hangings, carpets and furniture of beds, or costly and sumptuous tables. He forbad his citizens to fight at buffets, or to enter combat in that generall exercise of

of hand, foot, teeth and all together, called *Pancratium*, to the end that they should not accustom themselves so much as in sport and game to faint, give over, or yeeld themselves overcome. Likewise he debarrd them from encountering often with their very enemies; for feare they should make them more warlike and better soldiers: Whereupon afterwards when king *Agesslaus* was brought out of the battell very grievously wounded; one *Antalcides* said unto him: You have met with a fairer reward at the Thebans hand, and no lesse than you well deserve, for schooling and reaching them to fight whether they will or no.

*CHARILLUS* the king, being asked the question why *Lycurgus* made so few lawes? answered thus: That they who used few words, had no need of many lawes. One of those slaves whom they call *Elotes*, had behaved himselfe somewhat too insolently and knavishly against him: Now I sweare by the two twins (quoth he) *Castor* and *Pollux*, were I not angrie, I would doe thee to death out of hand. unto one who demanded the reason why the Lacedaemonians ware long haire: It is (quoth he) because of all trimming and ornaments of the bodie, it costeth least.

*TELECHUS* king of *Lacedaemon* answered unto a brother of his, who complained unto him of the citizens of *Sparta*, saying: They use me more uncivilly and uncourtiously, than they doe you: It is for nothing else (quoth he) but because you know not how to endure and put up any wrongs.

*THEOPOMPUS*, being in a certaine citie, was shewed by one of the inhabitants the wals, and demanded whether he thought them not to be faire and high: Faire, (quoth he?) no in verie truth, kept though they be by none but women.

*ARCHIDAMUS* during the time of the Peloponnesian warre, when as the allies and confederates of *Lacedaemon* requested him to set them downe a certaine taxe and rate which they were to contribute toward the charges thereof; answered them in this manner: Warre knoweth not how to be gaged and feed within the teddar.

*BRASIDAS* chaunced to finde a mouse among certaine dried figs, which bit him so, as he was glad to let her goe; and thereupon said to those about him: See, how there is nothing so little, but it is able to make shift and save the owne life, if it have but the heart to defend it selfe against those who assaile it. In a certaine skirmish his hap was to be hurt with the head of a par-tisane, or javelin, which went through his brain; and when he had drawne it out of his wound, with the very staffe and steile of it, he slew his enemy: now when one asked him how it came to passe that he was thus wounded? Forsooth because my shield deceived and betrayed me. His fortune was afterwards to die in the country of *Thrace*, whither he had bene sent to deliver and set free the Greeks who inhabited those marches: And the embassadours who were sent from the said parts to *Lacedaemon*, went to visit his mother: who at the first asked them whether *Brasidas* her sonne did valiantly and like a man? the embassadours highly praised him, in-somuch as they said; That there would never be his like againe: Oh, you are mightily deceived (quoth she:) true it is that *Brasidas* was a brave and valiant man, but *Lacedaemon* hath many faire better men than he by farre.

King *AGIS* was wont to say, that the Lacedaemonians used not to aske how many their enemies were, but in what place they were. At *Manius* he was forbidden to strike a battell, because the enemies were many in number to one: It must needs be (quoth he) that whosoever would rule and command many, should likewise fight with many. unto them who greatly commended the Eliens for observing such good order and formality at the Olympick games: What great marvell is it (quoth he) if the Eliens in foure yeeres space use justice one day? but when they continued still in their praise and commendations: What wonder is it (quoth he) if the Eliens use a good thing well, to wit justice. A naughtie fellow there was and a troublesome, who importuned him exceeding much, by asking him oftentimes, who was the best man of all the Spartans? Mary even he (quoth he) that is most unlike to thee. To another who questioned with him and would needs know how many the Lacedaemonians were in number: Enough (quoth he) to drive out all lewd and wicked persons: And when another asked him the same question, he answered: Thou wouldest say they were a great number if thou sawest them fight.

*LYSANDER* would not accept of the rich and sumptuous robes, which *Diogenes* the Tyrant sent unto his daughters, saying: I am afraid that these garments will make them looke the fouler. Some there were who reprooved and blained him, for that he exploited the most part of his acts by craft and subtiltie, as if it were an unworthie thing for one who vaunted

himselfe to be of the race of *Hercules*: unto whom he answered: That where the lions skin would not serve, it were good to fow thereto a little piece of a foxes case. There was some difference and debate between the Argives and Lacedæmonians about their confines; and it seemed that the Argives alleged better reasons, and brought forth more pregnant evidences for the land in question; but he drawing out his sword: They (quoth he) who are the better men at handling this, are those who plead the better for the bonds of their territorie. The Lacedæmonians found much difficultie in assaulting the walles of *Corinth*; and when he sawe them draw backe and go unwillingly about that service, he chanced to espie at the very same time an hare to start from within the trench and towne ditch; whereupon he tooke occasion thus to say: why make you doubt to give the assault unto the walles of those men, who are so idle as to suffer hares to sleepe within the verie precinct of their walles? There was a certaine Megarian, who in the generall assembly of all the Sates of *Greece*, spake unto him his minde freely and boldly; unto whom he answered thus: Thy words have need of a citie, that is to say, that *Megara*, wherof he was a citizen, was not able to make good and maintaine his words.

\* Brave words without means to effect matters, are vouch naught.

*Agessilaus* used to say: That the inhabitants of *Asia*, (to speake of free men) were but bad, & namely so long as they enjoyed libertie; marie they be passing good slaves (quoth he.) These *Asians* had a custome to call the King of *Persia* the Great King: And why (quoth *Agessilaus*) is he a greater king than I, if he be not more just and temperat? Being demanded his opinion as touching Fortitude & Justice, whether of them was the better vertue: We have no need or use (quoth he) of Fortitude if we were all just. Being enforced to breake up his campe, and dislodge one night in great haste out of his enemies countrey, and seeing a boy whom hee loved well, weeping and all blubbered with teares, for that he was left behind, &c could not follow by reason of weaknes: It is (quoth he) an hard matter to be pitifull and wise both at once. *Meneceates* the physician who would entitle himselfe with the name of *Jupiter*, wrote a letter unto him with this superscription; *Meneceates Jupiter* unto King *Agessilaus* long life, &c. Unto whom hee returned this answer: King *Agessilaus* unto *Meneceates* better health: meaning in deed that he was braine-sicke. The Lacedæmonians having defeated those of *Athens* with their allies and confederates neere unto the citie of *Corinth*: when he heard what a number of enemies lay dead in the field: O unhappie and unfortunate *Greece* (quoth he) that hath destroyed so many men of her owne, as had bene able to have subdued all the Barbarians in the world. Having received an answer from the oracle of *Jupiter* at *Olympia*, according to his minde; the great Lords controllers, called *Ephori*, willed him also to consult with the oracle of *Apollo* as touching the same: when he was therefore at *Delfos*, he demanded of the said god, whether he were not of the same minde as his father was? When he sued for the deliverance of a friend of his who was taken prisoner, and in the hands of *Idrieus* a prince of *Caria*, he wrote unto him about it in this manner: If *Nicias* have not trespassed, deliver him for justice sake; if he have transgressed, deliver him for my sake; but howsoever it be, in any wise deliver him. He wast requested one day to heare a man sing, who could marvellous lively and naturally counterfeit the voice of a nightingale: I have heard (quoth he) the nightingale her selfe many a time. After the overthrow at the battell of *Leuctres*, the lawe ordained that as many as saved themselves by their good footmanship, should be noted with infamy: but the *Ephori* fore-seeing, that in so doing the citie would be dispeopled and empty, were willing to abrogat & disanul this ignominie, and for this purpose declared *Agessilaus* for law-giver: who going into the market place, and mounting up into the pulpit, ordained that from the next morrow forward, the lawes should remaine in their ancient force and vertue. Sent he was upon a time to aide the King of *Aegypt*, where he together with the King was besieged by the enemies who were many more in number than they, & had begun to cast a great trech about their camp, & so beleaguered them that they could not escape: Now when the king commaunded him to make a sally upon them, and to keepe them battell: I will not (quoth he) empeach our enemies, but that they may (as I see them go about it) willingly fight with us so many to so many: and finding that their trench wanted but a litle of both ends meeting and joining together; in that verie distance and space betweene, he set his souldiers in battell array, and so comming to encounter on even hand he defeated his enemies. When he died, he charged his friends to make no image nor statue of him: For if I have (quoth he) done any thing in my life worthy of remembrance, that will be a sufficient monument and memoriaill for me after my death: if not, all the statues and images in the world shall never be able to perpetuate my memorie.

\* Vertue immortalizeth a man and not works in stone, wood or brasse.

ARCHIDAMVS

*ARCHIDAMVS* the first time that ever he saw the shot discharged out of an engin or battering peece which had bene newly brought out of *Sicilie*, cried out aloud: O *Hercules* the prowesse and valour of man I see well is now gone for ever.

\* The invention of warre engins diminisheth valor.

When *Demades* mocking at the Lacedæmonian courtlaffes, said merrily; That they were so little and short, as that the jugglers and plaiers at leger-damein, were able to swallow them downe whole as they be. *Agessilaus* the younger answered verie fely and said: Yet as short as they be, the Lacedæmonians can reach their enemies verie well with them. The *Ephori* charged him upon a time to deliver vp his souldiers into the hands of a traitour: I will beware I crow (quoth he) to commit another mans souldiers to him who betrayed his owne.

*CLEOMENES* when one promised to give him certaine cocks of the game, so courageous, that they would with fighting die in the place and never give over: Give me not (quoth he) those that will die themselves, but such rather as in fight will make others to die.

*PAEDARETVS* missing the place to be chosen one of the great counsell consisting of three hundred, returned from the assembly verie joycond merrie and smiling: I am well appaied (quoth he) that in the citie of *Sparta* there be found three hundred better men and more sufficient than my selfe.

*DAMONIDAS* being by the master of the Revels set in the last place of the dance: Well fare thy heart (quoth he) thou hast devised a good meanes to make this place honourable.

*NICOSTRATVS* captaine of the Argives, being sollicit by *Archidamus* to take a good round summe of money for to deliver up unto him by treason, a place wherof he had the keeping, with a promise also, that he should espouse and wed what damosell he would himselfe chosse in all *Sparta*, excepting those of the blood-royall, made him this answer: You are not (quoth he) of the race of *Hercules*; for that *Hercules* went thorow the world, punishing and putting to death in all places, malefactors and wicked persons: but you go about to make those naught and leaud who are good and honest.

\* *EYDAMONIDAS* seeing in the great schoole Academie, *Xenocrates* an auncient man among other yoong scholars, students in Philofophie, and understanding that he sought for vertue: And when will he use vertue (quoth he) if he have not yet found it? Another time hearing a philofopher to mainteine this paradox: That a learned Sage was onely a good captaine: Brave words (quoth he) and a marvelous position; but the best is, he that holdeth it, never in his life heard the found of a trumpet in the campe.

\* To become much not a clerk to school of names.

*ANTIOCHUS*, one of those controllers in *Sparta*, named *Ephori*, being advertized that king *Philip* had given unto the *Massenians* their territorie: But hath hee withall (quoth he) given them the meanes to vanquish in battell when they shall be put to it, for to defend the same?

*ANTALCIDAS* answered unto an Athenian who termed the Lacedæmonians ignorant persons: Indeed (quoth he) it may well be so, for wee are the onely men who have learned of you no evil. Another Athenian contested with him and said: we have driven you manie a time from the river *Cephissus*, which is in *Attica*: but he replied againe and said: And we never yet chased you from the river *Eurolas* which is neere *Lacedemon*. There was a certaine Rhetorician would needs rehearse an oration which he had made concerning the praise of *Hercules*: Why (quoth he) was there ever any man that blamed or despised him?

So long as *EPAMINONDAS* was captaine general of the Thebans, there was never seene in his campe any of these sudden foolish frights, without any certaine cause, which they call *Panique Terrors*. He was wont to say, that no death was so honourable as to die in the warres: Also that a man of armes or warriour ought to keepe his bodie not exercised after the manner of champions, for to be faire and full; but rather hardned with travel, and made lanke as cometh good soldours. He loved therefore to fight with those enemies who were corpulent; and such soldours as he found in his owne bands grosse & fat, he would be sure to cassier & displace them, if it were for nothing else: For he was wont to say of them, that three or foure bucklers would hardly cover their grand-panch, which bare out so bigge that they could not force for it their privy parts. Moreover, so strict and precise he was in his living, and hated so much all excessse & superfluitie, that one time above the rest being bidded to supper by one of his neighbors, when he saw in the house great provision of viands, cates, juncques, comfutures and sweet perfumes, he said unto him: I had thought you made a sacrifice, and not an expense of superfluitie, and so went his way & would not stay supper. When the head cooke or clerke of the kitchen gave up his account unto him and other his companions in government, of their ordinary charges for certaine daies; he misliked nothing in his bill but the great quantitie of oyle that

was spent: and when his colleagues wondered that he should fare so at that; he said unto them: That it was not the cost and expence that hee stood upon, but onely this, that so much oyle should goe down mens throats. The city of *Thebes* upon a time made a great publike feast, and besides, privately they were all in their bankers, inviting one another, and meeting in companies to make merrie together: he contrariwise all this while, without being either annointed with oile and sweete perfumes, or clad in his best clothes, all pensive and sad, walked alone thorough the citie; and when one of his familiar friends who met him, wondered thereat, and would needs know why he went so alone and out of order and formalitie: Mary (quoth he) that you all might in securitie follow your drinking and good cheere, and not bee troubled with thinking of any other cares. He had caused a meane man and of base condition to be put in prison for some light trespasse that he had committed, and *Pelopidas* requested him for to set him at large, but he denied him flatly; howbeit afterwards a woman whom he loved, intreated him, and at her suite he granted his libertie, saying: That in such pettie favours and cutesies as these it became him to gratifie concubines and harlots; but not generals and great warriors. When the Lacedemonians came with a puissant power to make cruell war upon the Thebans, there were brought oracles unto the Thebans from sundrie parts, some promising the victory, others menaling an overthrow: he went up therefore into the tribunall seat and commanded, that the oracles of victorie should be set upon the right hand, and those of discomfiture on the left: when they were thus disposed and bestowed, he stood up, and in this wise spake unto the Thebans: If you will be directed by your captaines, shew obedience unto them, and withall put on a resolution and good heart to encounter your enemies; these heere, (shewing the good oracles on the right hand) be yours; but if for want of courage you cast doubts and start backe for feare of perils, those there, (pointing to the bad oracles on the left hand) are for you. Afterwards as he led the armie into the field, for to meet with the Lacedemonians, it began to thunder; whereat they that were neerest unto him asked, what he thought this might presage and signifie: Surely (quoth he) it betokeneth thus much; That God hath astonished our enemies, and put their braines out of temper, who having such commodious places neere unto them for to encampe in, have pitched here where they are. Of all the honorable and happie fortunes that ever befell unto him, he said; This was most to his hearts joy and contentment; that he had defeated the Lacedemonians in the battell at *Leutres*, whiles his owne father that begat him, and his mother who bare him were both alive. Being a man who otherwife all his life time used to be seene abroad, fine, neat, & wel anointed, with a cheerefull and merrie countenance also; the morrow after the said battell, he came forth into the publike place, all foule, sullied, heavy and pensive; whereupon, his friends by and by were in hand with him to know, whether any sinister accident was come unto him: None (quoth he) but I perceived yesterday that for the joy of my victorie, my heart was lifted up more than it ought, and therefore to day I doe abate and correct that which was the day before too excessive and out of order: knowing full well that the Spartans used to cover and hide as much as they could such misfortunes, and being desirous to make them see and acknowledge the great losse and overthrow which they had sustained, hee would not in any wise permit them to gather their dead all together, and pile them up in one entire heape; but to every citie he gave leave one after another to entere them; by which it appeared, that there were more of the Lacedemonians slaine by a thousand. *Jason* a prince and monarch of *Thessalie*, being allied and confederate with the Thebans, came one day into the citie of *Tales*, and sent unto *Epaminondas* a present of two thousand pieces of gold, knowing that indeed he was exceeding poore: this gold would not he receive at his hands; but the first time after that he saw *Jason*, he came unto him and said: You begun twise to offer me injuries; and in the meane while he borrowed of a certeine burgesse of the citie fiftie drams of silver, for to defray the charges of a journey or expedition which he intended; and therewith entred in armes and invaded *Peloponnesus*. After this, when the great king of *Persia* sent him thirtie thousand pieces of gold called *Dariques*, he was displeased highly with *Diomedes*, and sharply checked him, asking him if he had undertaken so great a voiage, thinking to bribe and corrupt *Epaminondas*; and with that commaunded him to deliver this message backe unto the king his master; That so farre forth as he intended and procured good unto the Thebans, hee should make reckoning of him to be his friend without any pennie cost; but if he wrought or practised any losse or displeasure unto them, he would be his enemy. When the Argives were entred into league and amitie with the Thebans, those of *Athens* sent their ambassadours into *Arcadie*, to assay if they could draw the Arcadians to side with them:

\* Excessive joy in prosperitie ought to be abated.

So

So these ambassadours began to charge and accuse unto them, as well the Argives as the Thebans, in so much as *Callistratus* the orator, who was their speaker, upbraided both cities, and hit them in the teeth with *Orestes* and *Oedipus*: then *Epaminondas* who sat in this assembly of them in the councell, rose up and said: We confesse indeed (my masters) that in times past there was in our citie one parricide who killed his owne father, like as another in *Argos* who murdered his owne mother; but when we had chafed and banished them for committing these facts, the Athenians received them both. And when the Spartans had charged the Thebans with many great and grievous imputations: Why my masters of *Sparta* (quoth *Epaminondas*) these Thebans, if they have done nothing els, yet thus much they have effected, that you have forgotten your manner of short speech and using few words. The Athenians had contracted alliance and amitie with *Alexander* the tyrant of *Pheres* in *Thessalie*, a mortall enemy of the Thebans, and who promised to the Athenians for to serve them flesh in the market at halfe an *obolus* a pound weight: And wee (quoth *Epaminondas*) will furnish the Athenians with wood enough for nothing, to roast and feede the said flesh; for if they begin busily to intermeddle more than we like of, we will fell and cut downe all the trees growing in that cuntry. Knowing well enough that the Boeotians were lost for idleness, he determined and advised to keepe them continually in exercise of armes: now when the time approached for the election of governors, and that they were minded to chuse him their *Baotarches*, that is to say, the ruler of *Boeotia*: He well advised my masters (quoth he) what ye do, whiles it lieth in your hands; for if you elect me your captaine generally, make this reckoning, that to warrre you shall. He was wont to call the cuntry of *Boeotia*, because it lieth plaine and open, the stage and scaffold of warre, saying that it was impossible for the inhabitants to keepe and hold it, so long as they had not one hand within their shield and the other on their sword. *Chabrias* the captaine of the Athenians having put to foile and defeated some few Thebans about *Corinth* (who for heat of fight had run disbande and out of aray) made a bravado: for which exploit, as if he had won some great field, he caused a trophae to be erected in memorie of this victorie: whereas *Epaminondas* scoffed and said: That hee should not have set up a trophaeum there, but rather an *hecatæsum*, that is to say, the statue of *Proserpina*, for that in times past it was an ordinary thing to set up the image of *Proserpina* in manner of a crosse, at the first carrefour or meeting of crosse waies which was found nere unto the gate of a city. When one brought him word that the Athenians had sent an armie into *Peloponnesus* bravely set out and appointed with new armour: Now surely (quoth he) *Antigenidas* wil weep and sigh when he knoweth once that *Tellis* hath gotten him new flutes and pipes to play upon: now this *Tellis* was a bad minstrell, and *Antigenidas* an excellent musician. He perceived upon a time that his squire or shield-bearer had received a good piece of money for the ranfome of a prisoner, which was in his hands; whereupon he said unto him: Give me my shield, but goe thou thy waies and buy thee a tavern or victualling house, wherein thou maist leade the rest of thy life, for I see well, that thou wilt no more expose thy selfe to the dangers of warre as before-time, since thou art now become one of these rich and happie men of the world. He was once demanded the question, whom he reputed to be the best captaine, himselfe, *Chabrias*, or *Iphicrates*, his answer was: It is hard to judge, so long as we all be alive. At his returne out of the cuntry of *Laconia*, hee was judicially accused for a capitall crime, together with other captaines joined in commission with him, for holding their charge longer by four moneths than the lawes allowed: as for his companions and colleagues above-said, hee willed them to derive all the fault from themselves, and lay it upon him, as if he had forced them so to doe; but in his owne defence he pleaded thus: Albeit I can not deliver better words than I have performed deeds, yet if I be compelled (as I see I am) to say somewhat for my selfe before the judges, I request thus much at their hands, that if they be determined to put me to death, they would command to be engraven upon the square column or pillar of my sepulchre, my condemnation and the cause thereof, to the end that all the Greekes might know how *Epaminondas* was condemned to die; for that hee had forced the Thebans against their willes to waste and burne the cuntry of *Laconia*, which in five hundred yeeres before had never bene forraied nor spoiled; also that hee had repopled the citie of *Messene* two hundred and thirtie yeeres after it had bene destroyed and left desert by the Lacedemonians: Item, that he had reunited, incorporated and brought into one league all the States and cities of *Arcadie*; and last of all, that he had recovered and restored unto the Greeks their libertie: for all these acts have bene achieved by us in this voiage: the judges when they heard this speech of his, rose from the bench, and went out of the court laughing heartily; neither would they so much as receive the voices or verdicts

\* The end of mens works.

\* A good conscience is a brazen wall.

\* Then that  
is notable  
to the more  
waite shaft  
the for peace.

dicts to be given up against him. After the last battell that ever he fought, wherein he was wounded to death; being brought into his tent, he called first for *Diophantus*, and after him for *Iolidas*, but when he heard that they were both slain, hee advised the Thebans to compound and grow to an agreement with their enemies, as if they had not one capitaine more that knew how to lead them to the warres; and in truth, the event did verifie his words, and bare witness with him that he knew his citizens best of any man.

PELOPIDAS joint capitaine with *Epaminondas* in the charge of *Naotia*, when his friends found fault with his neglect in one thing right necessary, to wit, the gathering of a masse of money together: Money indeed (quoth he) is necessary, but for such an one as this *Xicomedes* here, shewing a poore cripple, maimed, lame and impotent in hand and foot. When he departed from *Thebes* upon a time to a battell, his wife praised him to have a regard unto his owne safetie: This is (quoth he) an advertisement fit for others; as for a capitaine who hath the place of command, he is to be put in minde for to save those under his charge, and not himselfe. To one of his souldiers, who said unto him: We are fallen among our enemies: And why (quoth he) are we fallen among them more than they among us. Moreover, being treacherously held prisoner, and kept in yrons during a truce, against the law of armes, by *Alexander* tyrant of the *Pheareans*, he grew to heat and gave him some hard words, calling him perjured traitour: whereupon the tyrant asked him if he made so great haste to die: Yea (quoth hee) to the end that the *Thebans* may be more provoked against thee, and that so much the sooner thou maiest be punished for thy disloyaltie. *Thebe* the tyrants wife came to visit him in prison, and seeing him, said so that they marvelled how hee could be so joyous, being as hee was, a prisoner and bound with chaines: Yea, but I rather wonder at you, that being as you are, at libertie and not bound, you can endure such a wicked wretch as *Alexander*. When *Epaminondas* had delivered him out of prison, he said that he tooke himselfe much beholden to *Alexander*: For now (quoth hee) by his meanes I have made a triall of my selfe and my resolution, more than ever before, and namely, how my heart is settled not against the feare of warre onely but also of death.

\* Roman.

MANIUS CURIUS, when one of his souldiers complained, that of the lands conquered from the enemies, he had given to every souldier very little, but had incorporated in the common weale the greatest part of the said demeanes: I would it were Gods will (quoth he) that there were not a *Romane* who thought that land but little, which is sufficient to nourish and mainteine one man. The *Samnites*, after that hee had vanquished them in a battell, sent unto him as a present, a good summe of gold: him they found sitting by the fire side, tending the pot, wherein hee boiled certaine rape-roots: and when the *Samnite* embassadors tendered unto him the said present, he made them this answer: That hee who could content himselfe with such a supper, had no need at all of gold: also that he thought it more honorable to command them who had the gold, than to have gold himselfe.

\* Some read thus: said unto *Levinus*, that *Pyrhus*, and not the *Epirotes* had overcome the *Romans*.

C. FABRICIUS hearing of the overthrow that King *Pyrhus* had given the *Romaines*, said: That *Pyrhus* had overcome *Levinus* & not the *Epirotes* vanquished the *Romaines*. Being sent unto *Pyrhus* to treat for the deliverance of certaine *Romaines* taken prisoners, the king offered him a great summe of gold, but he would not receive it: the next morrow *Pyrhus* commanded that the greatest Elephant which he had, should be brought and set just behind *Fabricius* without his knowledge, and that suddenly he should be forced to bray, which was done accordingly: whereat *Fabricius* turning him about, and looking behind him, began to smile and say: Neither thy gold yesterday, nor this beast thy Elephant to day, hath once astonished me. *Pyrhus* thought to have perswaded him to take his part and to stay with him, with promise that he should have all the authoritie in managing of the affaires next unto himselfe; but he answered him in this sort: This would not be good and expedient for you: and why? when the *Epirotes* shall know us both well, they will rather have me than you to be their king. When *Fabricius* was created Consull of *Rome*, King *Pyrhus* his physician wrote unto him a letter, wherein he made promise unto him for to kill the king his master with poison if he would. *Fabricius* sent the verie same letter incontinently unto King *Pyrhus*, willing him to see by that, how his judgement served not him well to discerne and to make choise of his enemies and his friends. When this ambush was discovered and directed thus unto *Pyrhus*, which was laid for his life, he caused the said physician to be apprehended, and sent backe those *Romaines* whom he had prisoners, unto *Fabricius* without any ransom paid: howbeit *Fabricius* would not receive them from him as in free gift; for he returned likewise as many of his men who remained prisoners with him: which he did, for that he would not be thought to take

take any thing at his hands by way of a reward or recompense for disclosing the foresaid treason: for hee did it not so much to gratifie King *Pyrhus* and do him a pleasure, as for feare it should be thought that the *Romaines* practised his death by treacherie, whom they could not vanquish by vertue.

FABIUS MAXIMUS not willing to fight a set battell with *Annibal*, but by tract of time to spend his armie; which by that meanes grew to a great default of victuals and money: went alwaies as though he dogged and followed him, keeping the rough places and hilly grounds, coasting him otherwhiles, but evermore having him in his eie: for which manner of service many mocked him and called him the *Pedagogue* of *Annibal*: but he nothing at all regarding such words, persisted still continually in his designs & counsels particular to himselfe, saying thus to his friends: That he who could not abide a scotte, but feared frumps and reviling words, was a greater coward than he who fled before his enemy. When his colleague or brother in office *Minutius*, had discomfited certaine of his enemies, in such sort, as there was no talke of him any more, but every man gave out of *Minutius*, that he indeed was a man worthy of *Rome*: he said: That he feared more the prosperitie than the adversitie of *Minutius*: and within a while after, when *Minutius* was fallen into the danger of an ambush that *Annibal* had set for him, so as he and all his men had like to have left their bodies dead behinde them, *Fabius* came speedily to his rescue, and not onely delivered him out of this perill, but also slew a number of his enemies; whereupon *Annibal* said then unto his familiars about him: Did not I foretell you many times, seeing as I did this cloud lowering upon the tops of the mountains, how it would one time or other powre downe a good shewre upon our heads? After the overthrow at *Cannae*, when he was chosen consull of *Rome* together with *Claudius Marcellus* a valiant and courageous man, who desired nothing more than ever to be fighting with *Annibal*; he was of a contrary minde, and hoped, that if he were not fought with, his army within a while by delays onely and holding off, would of it selfe come to nothing; so as *Annibal* would oftentimes say: That he feared more *Fabius* that fought not, than he did *Marcellus* who was ever fighting. It was tolde him that he had in his campe a *Lucane*, who was wont to steale out by night, forth of the campe, for the love of a woman whom he used to visit; but otherwise he heard say, that the man was a right good souldier and woonderfull hardie in armes; whereupon he gave commandment that the woman upon whom this souldier was so enamoured, should be secretly and without the mans knowledge attached and brought unto him: now when she was come, he sent for the souldier aforesaid: I am advertised (quoth he) that thou against the lawes of military discipline, usest many times to lie out of the campe, and I understand likewise full well, that setting that fault aside, thou art a souldier good enough: well, in regard of thy good services, I am content to pardon all that is past, but from henceforth thou shalt abide and tatie with me, for I have a good pawne and suretie within that thou shalt not start; and with that he caused the woman to come forth and appeare, and so he gave her into his hands to be his wedded wife. *Annibal* held all the citie of *Tarentum* with a strong garrison, saving onely the castle, but *Marcellus* by a wile and subtil stratageme, trained him as farre as he could from thence, and then returning with all expedition, was master of the whole towne, and sacked it: in the execution of which service his scribe or chancellour asked him what should be done with the sacred images of the gods among the rest of the pillage: May I let us leave (quoth he) unto the *Tarentines* their gods, being thus angered as they are with them. When *M. Livius*, who had the keeping of the castle, wanted and boasted that by his meanes the citie was woone, all the rest who heard him, laughed and mocked him; but *Fabius* answered: Thou saiest truth indeed, for if thou hadst not lost it once, I had never recovered it againe. After he was stepped farre in yeeres, his sonne was chosen consull, and as he was giving audience in open place and dispatching certaine publicke affaires in the presence of many, *Fabius* his father being mounted on horsebacke, came toward him; but the sonne sent one of his liectors or hushers before, to command him to alight from his horse: whereat all the rest there present were abashed, and thought it a great shame and unseemly sight; but the olde man dismounting quickly from his horse, came toward his sonne as fast as his yeeres would give him leaue, embraced him and said: Thou hast well done my sonne, to know whom thou dost governe, and to shew that thou art not ignorant what the greatesse is of that charge which thou hast undertaken.

SCIPIO the elder, whensoever he was at any leasure and repose either from military affaires or politike government, employed all that time in his private study at his booke; whereupon he was wont to say: That when he was alone, he had most companie; and when hee was at leasure



\* Or named  
Bastrea, as  
some read;  
Bastria town  
in Spain.

sure, he had greatest businesse. After hee had woonne by assault the city of *New Carthage* in *Spain*, some of his souldiers brought a most beautifull damosell taken prisoner, and her they offered unto him: I would receive her willingly (quoth he) if I were a private person, but being as I am, a capitaine generall, I will none of her. Lying at siege before a certaine citie \* situated in a low place, and over which might be seene the temple of *Venus*, he gave order unto them that by vertue of writs were to make appearance in court, that they should come and plead before him within the said temple, where they should have audience the third day after; which hee made good, for before that day hee had forced the citie. When one demanded of him being in *Scitlie*, ready to embarke and passe over to *Africke*, upon what confidence hee presumed so much to crosse the seas with his armada against *Carthage*: See you not 10 heere (quoth he) 300 men how they disport and exercise them selves armed all in militarie feats of armes, along an high tower situate upon the sea side? I tell you, there is not one of all this number, but if I bidde him, will runne up to the top of this tower, and cast himselfe downe from thence with the head forward. Being passed over sea, and soone after master of the field; when hee had burnt the campes of his enemies, the Carthaginians sent immediately unto him an embassage to treat of peace; in which treatie it was concluded, that they should quit all their vessels at sea, abandon their elephants, and besides pay a good grosse summe of money: But so soone as *Annibal* was retired out of *Italy* into *Africke*, they repented themselves of these capitulations and conditions, for the trust which they had in the forces and person of *Annibal*: whereof *Scipio* being advertised, said unto them: That although they would 20 performe the articles of the foresaid agreement, yet the accord should not stand for good, unlesse over and above they paid 5000 talents, because they had sent for *Annibal* to come over. Now after that the Carthaginians had bene vanquished by him in open battell, they sent new embassadors for to treat of peace againe; but hee commaunded them presently to depart, for that he would never give them audience, unlesse they brought backe unto him lord *Terentius*, a knight of *Rome*, and a man of worth and honor, who by the fortune of warre was taken prisoner, and fallen into the hands of the Carthaginians: now when they had brought *Terentius*, he caused him to sit close by his side in the counsell, and then gave he audience to the foresaid embassadors, and granted them peace. Afterwards when he entred *Rome* in triumph for this victorie; the said *Terentius* followed hard after his triumphant chariot, wearing a cap of libertie on his head, like an enfranchised slave, and avowing that he held his freedome by him: 30 and when *Scipio* was dead, unto all those who accompanied his corps when it was caried forth to sepulture, *Terentius* allowed to drinke a certaine kinde of mede, made of wine and honie; and for all other complements belonging to an honorable funerall, he tooke order with great diligence; but this was performed afterwards. Moreover, when king *Antiochus* saw that the Romanes were passed over into *Asia*, with a puissant armie to make warre upon him, he sent his embassadors to *Scipio*, for to enter into a treatie of peace: unto whom he answered: This you should have done before, and not at this present, now that your king and master hath already received the bit of the bridle in his mouth, and the saddle with the rider upon his backe. The Senat had granted out a commission unto him that he should take forth certaine money out 40 of the publick chest and chamber of the citie; but when the treasurers would not suffer him that day to open the treasury, for to be furnished from thence; he said: He would be so bold as open it himselfe; Which (quoth he) I may well doe, considering that by my means it was kept fast shut and locked first, for the great quantitie of gold and silver which I have caused to be brought into it. *Perilius* and *Quintus*, two Tribunes of the commons, accused him before the people, and laid many grievous matters to his charges; but he in stead of pleading his owne cause, and justifying himselfe, said thus: My masters of *Rome*, upon such a day as this, I desired in battell the Carthaginians and *Annibal*, and therefore will I goe my selfe directly from hence with a chaplet of flowers upon my head, up into the Capitoll to sacrifice and give those 50 unto *Jupiter* for my victorie; meane while, whosoever will give his voice either for or against me, let him doe as he thinketh good: and having thus said, he went out of the court, and all the people followed after him, leaving his accusers to plead there their fill to the bare walls.

T. *QUINTIUS*, immediately upon his comming to the management of State affaires, grew to such reputation and renowne, that before he had bene Aedile, Prætor, or Tribune of the common-weale, he was chosen Consull of *Rome*, who being sent as capitaine and lieutenant generall for the people of *Rome*, to warre against *Philip* king of *Macedonia*, was counselled and perswaded to a parle and personall conference first with him: *Philip* for the better securitie of

his

his owne person, demanded of him hostages: Because (quoth he) the Romanes have heere many capitaines besides you, but the Macedonians have none but my selfe: No marvel indeed (quoth *Quintus*) that you are heere by your selfe alone, for you have done to death all your kinsfolke and friends. After that he had vanquished in battell king *Philip*, he caused proclamation to be made in the solemnitie of the Isthmian games; That he restored all the Greeks to their ancient liberties and full freedome, to live from that day forward according to their owne lawes: and thereupon, the Greeks caused all the Romanes to be fought out throughout all *Greece*, who had bene sold thither for slaves during the warres with *Annibal*, and having redeemed & bought them againe out of their masters hands for 500 drams a poll, they presented them unto him as a free gift: these followed him in his triumph, with caps upon their heads, as the custome was of such slaves as were newly enfranchised & endued with liberty. The Achæans were minded and fully purposed to enterprize the conquest of the isle *Zacynthus*: But he admonished them not to goe forth of *Peloponnesus*, unlesse they would put themselves into evident danger, like unto the Tortoises, when they stretch forth their heads out of their shells. When the brute was blown over all *Greece* that king *Antiochus* came with a mightie power, inso much as all men wondered & were affraid to heare what numbers there were of soldiours and fighting men, and what diversitie of armors they brought with them; he made such a speech as this in the generall counsell of the Achæans: It was my chance (quoth he) upon a time to be lodged in the house of an old host and friends of mine within the citie of *Chalcides*, and as I sat with him at 20 supper, I marvelled how possible he could come by so many sorts of venison which I saw served up to the boord before me; at last mine host answered that all was but swines flesh, and the fame altered by sundry kinds of sauces and varietie of dressing: Semblably (quoth he) be you not dismayd and troubled at this great armie of king *Antiochus* whom you heere named, his men at armes and horsemen armed at all pieces, his light horse, his petronels and archers on horsebacke, and his footemen, for all these be no more but poore Syrians, men borne to servitude and slavery, and no better, differing one from another onely in diversitie of harnais and weapons. *Philopemon* was at that time capitaine generall of the Achæans, who had a number sufficient both of horse and foot, but he wanted money for their pay: whereat *Quintus* merrily scoffing; *Philopemon* (quoth he) hath hands and feet enough, but he wants a bellie; which 30 jest was indeed the more pleasant, for that *Philopemons* body was in truth naturally so shapen and made so flat, as if he had no belly at all.

C. *DOMITIUS*, he whom *Scipio* the great left in his place, next after his brother *L. Scipio* in the warre against king *Antiochus*; when he had viewed the armie of his enemies standing in battell-array, the Roman captaines who were about him, counselled him with all expedition to give them battell, but hee answered them thus: That they had not day enough to massacre and hew in peeces so many millions of men; to spoile also and make pillage of their tents and baggage, and then to returne when all was done into the campe for to refresh and looke to themselves; so the morrow after he charged upon them and slue fiftie thousand enemies.

P. *LICINIUS*, a Consull of *Rome*, in one battell of horsemen was vanquished by king *Perseus*, and lost about two thousand and eight hundred men, partly slaine, and partly taken prisoners in the field: after which victorie, *Perseus* sent unto the said Consull, embassadors to treat of peace and attonement; in which treatie the condition which the vanquished proposed to the Conquerour was: That he should submit himselfe wholly and his whole estate, unto the Romanes for to doe with them according to their will and discretion.

PAULUS *ÆMILIUS* waking fure for his second Consulship, was rejected and tooke repulse: but afterwards when it was seene that the warre against King *Perseus* was drawn out in length, and like to hold long, through the ignorance, sloth and idleness of those capitaines which were sent with the armie: the Romanes chose him consull for the second time; but he 50 said unto the I Con you no thank at all now, for that you have not elected me for to gratifie my selfe (because I sought for no office at this time) but in regard that your selves stand in need of a capitaine. Being returned from the common-place into his owne house, hee found a little daughter that he had named *Tertia*, weeping and all blubbered with teares: What is the matter (quoth he) that my pretie girle crieth and weepeth thus: with that the child: O father (quoth she) our *Perseus* is dead: (now a little puppet she had of that name.) In good houre be it spoken my sweet daughter (quoth he) I take it for a good offe and preface of happie fortune. When he was arrived and come into the campe, hee found much bibble-babble there, and

vaunting

\* Captaines  
are to detect  
Souldiers to  
obey and ex-  
cute.

\* or pounds.

\* Greest pro-  
spectie isto  
he interpreted:  
to shew our  
grade, there-  
fore God  
durst delay it  
with some  
crosses.

\* No man  
chastisech wife  
men so much  
as themselves.

\* Honour at-  
tends upon  
vertue, and is  
the reward  
thereof.

vaunting braverie on everie hand of those souldiors, who would busily intermeddle in the af-  
faires properly pertaining to the captaine, and in more matters than concerned them: hee  
willed \* them to be quiet and still, not to be dealing in such things, but onely to looke well to  
their swords, whether they were sharpe edged and wel pointed: As for the rest (quoth he) I will  
provide therefore. Those that kept the night sentinels, he commanded neither to beare launce  
nor weare sword, to the end that knowing they had no meanes to fight, in case they should be  
surprised by the enemie, they should be the more vigilant and carefull to withstand sleepe. Af-  
ter that he had passed over the mountaines in *Macedonie*, and was newly entered into the campe,  
hee found his enemies readie ranged in battell array before him: whereupon *Scipio Nasica*  
advised him to charge out of hand: If I were (quoth he) as yong as you, I should be of the  
same mind that you are; but now long experience forbiddeth me to advance forward, all weary  
as I am, upon any journey against mine enemies, being set strongly in ordinance of battell. Af-  
ter he had fully defeated *Perseus* in making feasts to his allies & confederates, for joy of victo-  
rie, he said: That it belonged to one and the same skill and experience, to know how to range a  
terrible battell against enemies, and to set out an acceptable feast for friends. *Perseus* being  
his prisoner, made earnest sute & humble supplication unto him, that he might not be lead in  
his triumph: That lies (quoth he) in your owne power o *Perseus*: by which words he gave him  
good leave to make himselfe away. Among the treasures of this king, there was found an infi-  
nit masse of gold and silver, whereof he touched not one jot for his owne proper use; onely  
to *Tubero* his sonne-in-law, who had married his daughter, in honor of his vertue he gave one 20  
silver boun, weighing five \* lytres: where (by the way) this is to be noted, that (by report) this was  
the first piece of silver plate that ever came into the house of the *Aemilii*. Of foure children-  
males that he had, two of the eldest he had given away before from himselfe to be adopted into  
other noble families of *Rome*, and of the two yongest which remained behinde in his owne  
house and name; the one (being fouretee yeeres of age) died five daies before his triumph;  
the other (twelve yeeres old) changed his life five daies after: whereat the people forrowed,  
and tooke it verie heavily, bewailing & pitying his desolate estate; but he himselfe went into the  
common place to comfort them, saying: That now from hence forth, he thought to be out  
of all feare and danger in the behalfe of the common-wealth, hoping that no infortunite  
would befall unto it: for that himselfe for them all, bare the heave load of the envie attending 30  
upon so great prosperities which he had achieved for the weale publike, \* in that fortune had  
derived and callt all despite upon his familie alone.

*Cato* the elder, in a solemne speech before the people of *Rome*, reprooving sharply their  
intemperance, riot and superfluous delicacies: I know full well (quoth he) that it is an hard  
matter to speake unto the belly which hath no eares. He said also, that he wondered how such  
a citie could long stand, wherein a fish was sold dearer than an ox. Also inveighing against  
the over-much libertie and power which generally was given to women: All other men  
(quoth hee) doe rule their wives, wee rule all men, and our wives rule us. It was a speech  
likewise of his: That hee had rather receive no favour and grace when hee had done any  
good service, than not be punished when he had committed a fault: I pardon moreover (quoth 40  
he) all those, who upon error or ignorance have trespassed, \* but I except my selfe. Further-  
more, in solliciting and mooving the magistrates to chastice those who offended the lawes, he  
plainly said: That whosoever had rule and authoritie sufficient to repress malefactors, if they  
did not execute the same, were themselves the authors and commanders of evil. He deliv-  
ered these words moreover: That yong men who blushed when they were reprooved, pleased  
him better than those that looked pale: and that he could not abide that souldier, who in his  
way as he walked, waggeth his hands; in fight stirreth his feet; and when he sleepeth snoreth  
lower than he holloweth as he encountreth his enemie. Item, that he was a bad ruler, who  
knew not how to rule himselfe. He was of opinion, that everie one ought to have more reve-  
rence of himselfe, than of any other person whatsoever; for no man was ever from himselfe. 50  
Perceiving that many there were who made sute that their statues might be erected: I had ra-  
ther (quoth he) that men should aske another daie, why there was no image set up for *Cato*,  
than why he had any. He counselled them who had power to do what they would, to spare and  
make much thereof, to the end that their libertie might last with them for ever. They who de-  
prive vertue \* of honour, take away vertue (quoth he) from youth. He was of advice that no  
man ought to entreat a magistrate or judge in good and just causes to maintaine them, nor sue  
unto them in bad and unright, as matters to passe by or winke at them. His saying was: That  
injustice

injustice and wrong doing, if it brought no perill to him that committed it, yet it was dange-  
rous to all others. He admonished old folke not to adde unto their age the foulness of vice:  
for that they had deformities enough besides. His opinion was, that anger and fury differed in  
nothing, but that the one endured longer than the other. He was wont to say that they were  
not highly envied, who knew how to use their fortune wisely and with moderation: For that  
(quoth he) it is not our person that is envied, but that which is about us. Also they who are car-  
nest in ridiculous matters, make themselves laughing stocks in serious affaires. Over and be-  
sides, this was one of his sage sawes: That faire and commendable actions ought to meet with  
faire and laudable words to set them forth, to the end that they never be without the glory to  
them belonging. He reprehended the citizens of *Rome*, for giving alwaies their voices to one &  
the same person, at the elections of their magistrats: For it should seeme (quoth he) in so do-  
ing, that either you do not much esteeme the honour of magistracies, or els that in your judg-  
ment you have not men sufficient enough & worthy to beare them. He made semblant upon a  
time, that he had in great admiration the strength of one who sold and made away his lands  
that lay along by the sea-coast, as being a man more mightie and puissant than the verie sea:  
For (quoth he) that which the sea undermineth, catcheth & swalloweth by little & little this good fellow  
hath swallowed & devoured all at once. When he stood to be chosen Censor, & saw that other  
of his competitors & concurrents trudged up & downe, glaving, glosing and flattering to the  
people for to insinuate themselves into their good favour & grace: he contrariwise went crying  
out: That the State & people had need of a rigorous & hard hearted physician, both to discum-  
ber & cut off some part, and also to give them a strong purgation: and therefore they were not  
to choose one who was most gracious, but him that was most severe; thus whiles he made these  
remonstrances, he was himselfe chosen before all the rest. In teaching yong men for to fight va-  
liantlie and with resolution, hee said: That a word often-times frighted the enemie more  
than the sword, the tongue also more than the hand, and caused him to take his heeles  
and runne away. Whiles hee warred in *Spain* against those who inhabit along the river *Ba-  
tis*, hee was in great danger, by reason of a great multitude of enemies who were in armes a-  
gainst him; neither could he be provided of aids upon a sudden, but from the Celtiberians, who  
for to succour him demanded two hundred talents: now the other *Romane* captaines would  
30 not yeeld that hee should make promise unto those barbarous nations of this money for their  
hire and sallarie; but *Cato* said: They were much deceived and out of the way; for if we winne  
(quoth he) we shall be able to pay them, not of our owne, but of our enemies goods; if we lose  
the day, there will be none left either to be paid or to call for pay. Having woon more townes  
in *Spain*, than hee had bene daies there (according as he said himselfe) he reserved of all that  
spoile and pillage for his owne use, no more than hee did eat and drinke; but hee divided and  
dealt to every one of his souldiers a pound weight of silver, saying: That it were better that ma-  
ny should returne home out of warre with silver in their purses, than a few with golde; for that  
rulers and captaines ought not to grow rich themselves by their provinces and places of go-  
vernment in anything but in honour and glorie. In that expedition or voiage of his, hee  
40 had with him in his traine five of his owne servitors; of whom, one there was who bought  
three prisoners taken in warre; but when he knew that his master had intelligence thereof, be-  
fore that ever he came in his sight hee hung and strangled himselfe. *Scipio* surnamed *Africanus*,  
praised him to favour the causes of the banished and fugitive Achaeans, and to be good unto  
them, namely, that they might be recalled and restored againe to their owne countrey; but he  
made semblance as though hee tooke no great heed and regard to such affaires; and when hee  
saw that the matter was followed hotly in the Senate, and that there grew much speech and de-  
bate about it, he stood up and said: Here is a great stirre indeed; and as though we had nothing  
els to do, we sit here & spend all the long day disputing about these old gray-beard Grecks, and  
all forsooth, to know whether they shalbe carried forth to their buriall by our porters and corse-  
50 bearers heere, or by those there. *Posthumius Albius* wrote certaine histories in Greeke, in the  
Preface and Proeme whereof, hee praised the readers and hearers to pardon him, if hee had com-  
mitted any folloefine or incongruities in that language; but *Cato* by way of a mocke, scoffed at  
him, and said: That hee deserved indeed to be pardoned for writing false Greeke, in case that by  
the \* ordinance and commandement of the high commission of the Amphyctiones, who were  
the chiefe Estates of all *Greece*, hee had bene compelled against his will, to enterprise and goe in  
hand with the said histories.

*Scipio* the yonger, in foure and fiftie yeeres (for so long he lived) neither bought nor  
solde,

\* Seele doe,  
false have.

folde, nor yet built: and it is for certaine reported, that in so great an house and substance as his might seeme to be, there was never found but three and thirtie pound weight of silver plate, and two of golde, notwithstanding the city of *Great Carthage* was in his hand, and he had enriched his souldiers more than ever any captaine did before him. Observing well the precept which *Polybius* gave, he hardly & without much ado would not returne out of the market place, before he had assailed to make in some fort one new friend and familiar or other, of those whom he met withall. Being but yet young, he was of such reputation for his valour and wisdom, that *Cato* the elder being demanded his opinion as touching others that were in the campe before *Carthage*, among whom he was one, delivered this commendation of him:

*Right wife and sage indeed alone is he,  
I be left to him but slitting shadows be.*

whereupon after his returne to *Rome* from the campe, they that remained behinde, called for him againe, not so much by way of gratification and to do him a pleasure, but because they hoped by his meanes more speedily and with greater facilitie to win *Carthage*: now when he was entred to the very walles, and yet the *Carthaginians* fought from the castle, *Polybius* gave counsel to scatter in the sea betwene (which was not very deepe betwene his campe and the said castle) certaine coldrops of yron, or els planks beset with naile points, to overcast and spread the shallow shelves with sticking upon them, for feare lest that the enemies passing that arme or firth of the sea, might come to assaile their rampars; but he said: It was a meere mockery, considering that they had already gained the walles, and were within the citie of their enemies, to make meanes not to fight with them. Finding the citie full of statues and painted tables which were brought out of *Sicilie*, he made proclamation, that the *Sicilians* from all their cities should come for to owne and cary away whatsoever had bene theirs; but of all the pillage he would not allow any one, either slave or newly enfranchised of his owne traine, to seize upon, nor so much as buy ought, notwithstanding that there was driving and carrying away otherwise on all hands. The greatest and most familiar friend that he had, *Lalius*, sued to be consull of *Rome*; him he bestowed and let forward his sute in all that hee could: by which occasion hee demanded of one *Pompeius*, who was thought to make labour for the same dignitie, whether it were true that hee was a competitor or no? now it was supposed that this *Pompeius* was a misfitts sonne that used to play on the flute; who made answer againe, that he stood not for the consullship; and that which was more, hee promised to assitt *Lalius*, and to gett all the voices that hee could for him: thus while they beleevied his words, and expected his helping hand, they were deceived in the end; for they were given to understand for certaine, that this *Pompeius* was in the common hall labouring hard for himselfe, going about unto every citizen one after another, requesting their voices in his owne behalfe; whereat, when all others tooke stomacke and were offended, *Scipio* laughed apace, and said: We are even well enough served for our great follie, thus to stay and wait all this while upon a fluter and piper, as if we had bene to pray and invoke not men, but the gods. *Appius Claudius* was in election and concurrence against him for the office of consullship, saying in a braverie: That he used to salute all the Romans by name and by surname upon his owne knowledge of them, without the helpe of a prompter, whereas *Scipio* scarce knew one of them all: Thou fittest trueth (quoth *Scipio*) for I have alwaies bene careful not to know many, but rather not to be unknown of any. He gave counsell unto the *Romane* citizens, at what time as they warred against the *Celtiberians*, for to send both him and his competitor together into the campe, in qualitie either of lieutenants or of colonels over a thousand foot, to the end that they might have the testimonie of other captaines and expert warriours indeed, whether of them twaine performed his service and devot better. Being created consull, he deprived a young gallant of his horse, for that being given excessively to feast and make good chere, whiles the citie of *Carthage* was besieged, he had caused a certaine matchpaine to be made by pastry-work in forme of a citie, and called it *Carthage*, and when he had so done, set it upon the boord to be spoiled and sacked (forsooth) by his companions; and when this youth would needs know of him why he was thus disgraced and degraded, as to lose his horse of service, which was allowed him from the State: Because (quoth he) you will needs rise and pill *Carthage* before me. During the time that he was consull, he seeing one day *C. Licinius* as he passed by: Now surely I knew this man (quoth he) for a perjured person, but for that there is none to accuse him, I will not be both his judge and a witness also to give evidence against him. Being sent by the Senate a third commissioner with other *Triumvirs*, according as *Cicero* said:

*Mens*

*Mens manners to observe and oversee,  
Where they doe well and where they faultie bee.*

to visit also and looke into the States of cities, nations, and kings: When he was arrived at *Alexandria*, and disembarked, as he came first to land, he went hooded as it were with his robe cast over his head; but the *Alexandrians* running from all parts of the citie to see him, requested him to discover his head, that his face might be the better scene; and he had no sooner uncovered his visage, but they all cried out with great acclamations, applauding and clapping their hands in signe of joy. And when the king himselfe of *Alexandria* streined and strived with great paine, so grosse (so idle, and delicate he was otherwife) to keepe pace with him and the other commissioners, as they walked, *Scipio* rounded *Panetius* softly in the eare and said: The *Alexandrians* have reaped already the fruite, and enjoyed the benefit of my voyage, for that by our meanes they have scene their king to walke and go afoot. There accompanied him in this voyage a friend of his and a Philosopher named *Panetius*, and five servitors besides to wait upon him, and when one of these five hapned to die in this journey, he would not buy another in a foraine country for to supply his place, but sent for one to *Rome*, to serve in his turne. It seemed to the people of *Rome* that the *Numantines* were invincible and inexpugnable, for that they had vanquished and defeated so many captaines and leaders of the Romans: whereupon they chose this *Scipio* Consull the second time for to manage this warre; now when many a lustie young gallant made meanes and prepared to follow him in this service, the Senat entreated them, alleging colourably, that *Italy* thereby should be left destitute of men for the defence of the country, what need soever should be: so they would not suffer him to take that money out of the treasure which was prest and ready for him, but assigned and ordered certaine monies from the Publicanes and fermers of the cities customes and revenues to furnish him, whose daies of payment were not yet come: As for money (quoth *Scipio*) I stand not in such need thereof, that I should stay therefore, for out of mine owne and my friends purses I shall have sufficient to defray my charges, but I complaine rather that I may not be allowed to levie & leade forth my souldiers such as I would, and be willing to serve, considering that it is a dangerous warre which we are to wage; for if it be in regard of our enemies valour, that our people have so often bene beaten and spoiled by them, then we shall finde it a hot peece of service and a hard, to encounter such; but if it be long of our owne mens cowardize, no lesse difficult will it be, because we are to fight with the slender helpe of such. When he was newly arrived at the campe, he found there great disorder, much loosenesse, superstition, and wastfull superfluity in all things; so he banished presently all diviners, prophets, and tellers of fortune; he rid out of the way all sacrificing priests, all bauds likewise that kept brothel-houses he chafed forth: and he gave straight charge that every man should send away all manner of vessels and utensils, save onely a pot or kettle to seeth his meat in, a spit to roast, and a drinking juggle of earth; & as for silver plate, he allowed no man more in all than weighed two pounds: he put downe all baines and stoupes, but if any were disposed to be annointed, he gave order that every man should take paine to rubbe himselfe; for he said that beasts who had no hands of their owne, needed another for to rub and currie them: he ordained that his souldiers should take their dinner standing, and ate their meat not hot and without fire, but at supper, they might sit downe who that list, and feed upon bread or single grewell and plaine pottage, together with one simple dish of flesh either boiled or rost: as for himselfe he wore a cassocke or souldiers coat all blacke, buttoned close or buckled before, saying; That he mourned for the shame of his armie. He met with certaine garrons and labouring beasts belonging to one *Aemilius*, a colouel of a thousand men, carying drinking cups and other plate enriched with precious stones, and wrought curiously by the hands of *Thericles*; whereupon he said unto him: Thou hast made thy selfe unfit to serve me and thy countrey for these thirtie daies, being such an one as thou art, and surely being given to these superfluities, thou art disabled for doing thy selfe good all the daies of thy life. Another there was, who shewed him what a trim shield or target he had, finely made and richly adorned; Here is a faire & goodly shield indeed (quoth he) my young man, but I tell thee, a *Romane* souldier ought to trust his right hand better than his left. There was one who carying upon his shoulder a bunch of pales, or burden of stakes for to pitch in the rampar, complained that he was over-laden: Thou art but well enough served (quoth he,) in that thou reposest more confidence in these stakes than in thy sword. Seeing his enemies the *Numantines* how they grew rash, desperate, and foolishly bent, he would not in that fit charge upon them and give battell, but held off still, saying: That with tract of time he would buy the

Oo 2

surety

It is good to  
he off and  
temperize;  
when enemies  
are desperate.



point to have put all the Mamertines to the sword, for that they banded against *Sylla*; but *Sthenis* one of the inhabitants, an oratour, and a man that could doe much with the people, and lead them with his persuasive orations, said unto him: That it were not well, that for one mans fault he should cause so many innocents to die; for I (quoth he) am the onely man culpable, and the cause of all this mischief, having by my persuasions induced my friends, & with threats forced mine enemies to take part with *Marius* and follow his slander: *Pompeius* wondering at this resolute remonstrance of his, said: That he was content to pardon the Mamertines, who suffered themselves to be ledde and perswaded by such a personage, as held the safetie of his owne countrey more deare than his owne life; and so he forgave the whole city and *Sthenis* himselfe. After this, being passed over sea into *Africa* against *Domitius*, and having woonne the field, in a great battell, when his souldiers saluted him by the name of Emperour or Sovereigne captain 10 generally, he said unto them: That he would not accept of that honourable title, so long as the rampar about his enemies campe stood; he had no sooner said the word, but they ranne all at once to this service, notwithstanding it was a great shewre of raine, plucked downe the palliada, mounted over the rampar, entered the campe and lacked it. At his returne home, *Sylla* made exceeding much of him otherwise, and did him great honour, but among many other, he was the first man that stiled him with the surname of *Magnus*: howbeit, when he minded to enter triumphant into *Rome*, *Sylla* would have hindered him, alledging for his reason: That he was not as yet admitted and sworn a Senator: whereat *Pompeius* turning to those that were present: It seemeth (quoth he) that *Sylla* is ignorant how there be more men that worships him 20 rising than setting: which words when *Sylla* heard, he cried out with a loud voice: Let him triumph a Gods name, for I see well he will have it: and yet for all that, *Servilius* a man of the senators degree, withstood his triumph, & tooke great indignation against him; yet, & many of his own souldiers set themselves against him and dashed it quite, if they might not have certaine gifts and rewards, which they pretended were due unto them: but *Pompeius* said with a cleere & audible voice: That he would sooner leave triumph and all, than to be so base minded as to flatter and make court unto his souldiers: at which words *Servilius* said unto him: By this now I see well 30 *Pompeius* that thou art truly named *Magnus*, a Great, & worthy indeed to triumph. There was a custome at *Rome*, that the knights or gentlemen, after they had served in the warres the complete time set downe and limited by the lawes, should present their horses in the market place before the two reformers of maners, called Censours, and there openly recount and relate unto them in what warres or battels they had fought, and the captaines under whom they had borne armes, to the end that according to their demerits they might receive condigne praise or blame. It so fell out that *Pompeius* being consull, himselfe led his owne horse of service by the bridle, and presented him before *Gellius* and *Lentulus*, censours for the time being; and when they according to the order and manner in that behalfe, demanded of him whether he had served in the warres so many yeeres as the law required: Even all (quoth he) fully, and that under my selfe, the soveraigne commander at all times. Being in *Spain*, he light upon certaine papers and writings of *Sertorius*, wherein were many letters missive sent from the principall Senators of *Rome*, and namely such as solicited and called *Sertorius* to *Rome*, for to raise some innovations, and make a change in the State: these letters he flung all into the fire, giving them occasion and opportunitie by this meanes, who intended mischief and were ill bent, to change their minds, repent and amend. *Phraates* king of the Parthians sent unto him certaine ambassadors to request him that he would not passe over the river *Euphrates*, but to make it the middle frontier & bound betwene them both: Nay rather (quoth *Pompeius*) let justice be the indifferent limit betwene the Parthians and the Romans. *L. Lucullus*, alter he was returned from his warres and conquests, gave himselfe over excessively to all pleasures, and to live most sumptuously, reprooving *Pompeius* for this: That hee desired alwaies from time to time more and more, great charges and employments even above his age, and unfitting those yeeres of his: unto whom *Pompeius* made this answer: That it was a thing more unbecoming olde yeeres, for a man to abandon himselfe to delights and pleasures, than to attend the weightie affaires of the common weale. upon a time when he was sicke, the Physicians prescribed that he should eat of a blacke-bird; great laying there was in many places for that bird, but none could be found, for that it was not their season nor the time of the yeere; but one there was, who said that if he would send to *Lucullus*, he might have of them, for he kept them in mure all the yeere long: And what needs that (quoth he) can not *Pompeius* recover and live, if *Lucullus* were not a waster and a delicate given to belly-cheere? and so leaving the Physicians prescript diet, hee composed and framed himselfe

himselfe to eat that which was ordinary and might be found in every place. In regard of a great famine and scaritie of corne and victuals at *Rome*, he was ordeined in outward shew of words, the grand purveyor or generall superintendent and over-seeer for victuals, but in effect and authority, lord indeed both of sea and land: by which occasion he made voiaiges into *Affricke*, *Sardinia* and *Sicilie*, where, after he had provided a mightie deale of corne, he intended presently to have returned with all speed to *Rome*; but there arose a terrible tempest, inso much as the pilots and mariners themselves made no haste to goe to sea and set saile; but he in his owne person embarked first, and when he was on ship-board, he commanded to weigh anchor, saying with a loud voice: Saile we needs must, there is no remedie, but to live there is not such necessitie. When the quarrell betwene him and *Cesar* was broken out and fully discovered, there was one 10 *Marc'ellinus*, (a man that before-time had bene advanced by him, & yet afterwards turned to the adverse part and faction of *Cesar*) who in a frequent assembly of the Senate, charged and challenged him to his face for many things, and spake spitefull words against him: *Pompeius* could not holde, but answered him thus: But heist not thou *Marc'ellinus*, in this open place to miscall and raile upon me, who have made thee eloquent, whereas before thou couldst not speake at all? who have fed thee full, even untill thou be ready to cast up thy stomacke, where before thou wert hungry and ready to pine for famine? Unto *Cato*, who chide and reprooved him sharply for that he would never beleieve his words, when he fore-tolde him many times, that the puissance and increase of *Cesar's* State, unto whom he lent his hand, would one day greatly prejudice 20 and hurt the weale-publique, he answered: Your counsell indeed was wiser, but mine more loving and friendly. In speaking of himselfe freely, he said: That all offices of State he both entered sooner upon than he looked himselfe; and also forwent them before it was expected that he would. After the battell of *Pharsalia* when he fled into *Aegypt*, and was to passe out of his gally into a little barke or fisher boat, which the king had sent unto him for to bring him to land, he turning unto his wife and sonne, said no more but this verse out of *Euripides*:

*Who once in court of Tyrant serve, become*

*His sives anon, though free they thither come.*

Being passed over in this barke, after he had received one blow with a sword, he gave onely a sigh and groane, and without saying one word, he covered his owne face with his garment, and 30 yielded himselfe to be killed.

*CICERO* the great oratour was mocked of some for that surname of his which alludeth unto a Cich-pease; in so much as his friends gave him counsell to change his name: but hee contrariwise said, that he would make the name of the Ciceroes more noble and renowned, than the Caroes, the Caruli, or the Scauri. He offered unto the gods a goodly faire vessell of silver, in which he wist to be engraven his two fore-names, *Marcus* and *Tullius* in letters; but for the third, to wit, *Cicero* his surname, hee commaunded to bee embossed or chased the forme of a Cich-pease. He said that those oratours who used to straine their voices, and crie aloud in the pulpit, were privie to their owne weakenesse and insufficiency otherwise, and had recourse to this one helpe, like as creples and lame-folke to their horses for to mount upon. 40 *Perres* had a sonne disdained for the abuse of his bodie in the floure of his youth; and yet he said *Perres* stucke not to flaunder *Cicero* and raile upon him, even to these broad and foule tearmes, as to call him a filthy wanton and a buggeror; whereto *Cicero* answered thus: Thou dost not know, that it were more seemly to rebuke thy children for this within doores in some secret part of thy house close shut. *Marc'ellus* one day in debating and contesting with him said: Thou hast brought more to their death by thy testimonies and depositions, than thou hast saved with all thy good pleading: I confesse as much (quoth *Cicero* againe) for I have more truth and fidelitie in me by farre, than eloquence. The same *Metellus* demanded of him who was his father, reproching him (as it were) thereby that he was a new upstart, and a gentleman of the first head: unto whom readily thy mother hath made this question more hard on thy part to be answered: now was *Metellus* his mother thought to be an unchast woman and naught of her bodie; and *Metellus* himselfe was counted a vaine braine-sicke and slipperie fellow, given over to his wanton lusts and desires. This *Metellus* had caused to be set upon the sepulchre of one *Diodorus*, who had bene his master sometime to teach him Rhetoricke, the portraiture of a crow in stone: whereupon *Cicero* tooke occasion to come upon him in this wise: A just recompence in deed and fit for him, because he hath taught this man to stie and not to speake. \**Valerius* was a lewd man, and his adversarie: now a rumour ran abroad that he was dead; but afterwards when he found it to be a false brute: A mischief take him for me 50 (quoth



\* Noting that  
by condition  
he was a  
slave.

\* Orgold.

(quoth *Cicero*) that made this lie first. There was one supposed to be an Africane borne, who said unto him: That he heard him not when he spake: I marvel at that (quoth *Cicero*) considering thine eares be bored as they are and have holes in them. *C. Popilius* would have bene taken and reputed for a great lawyer, although he had no law in the world in him; and was besides a man of very grosse capacity: this man was served with a writ to appear in the court for to beare witnesse of a truth, touching a certaine fact in question; but he answered: That he knew nothing at all: True (quoth *Cicero*;) for peradventure you meane of the law, and thinke that you are asked the question of it. *Hortensius* the orator, who pleaded the cause of *Verres*, had received of him for a fee or a gentle reward, a jewel with the portraiture of *Sphinx* in silver: it fell out to, that *Cicero* chanced to give out a certaine darke and ambiguous speech: As for mee (quoth *Hortensius*) I can not tell what to make of your words, for I am not one that useth to solve riddles and enigmaticall speeches: Why man (quoth *Cicero*) and yet you have *Sphinx* in your house. He met upon a time with *Vocconius* and his three daughters, the foulest that ever looked out of a pair of eies: at which object he spake softly to his friends about him:

*This man (I weene) his children hath begot  
In sight of Phoebus, and when he would it not.*

*Faustus* the sonne of *Sylla* was in the end so farre endebed, that he exposed his good to be sold in open sale, and caused billes to be set up on posts in every quarefour to notifie the same: Yea many (quoth *Cicero*) I like these billes and <sup>s</sup> proscriptiōs better than those that his father published before him. When *Cesar* and *Pompey* were entred into open warre one against another: I know full well (quoth *Cicero*) whom to flie, but I wot not unto whom to flie. He found great fault with *Pompey* in that he left the citie of *Rome*, and that he chose rather in this case to imitate the policy of *Themistocles* than of *Pericles*, saying: That the present state of the world resembled rather the time of *Pericles*, than of *Themistocles*. Hee drew at first to *Pompey* side, and being with him, repented thereof. When *Pompey* asked him where he had left *Piso* his son-in-law; he answered readily: Even with your good father-in-law; meaning *Cesar*. There was one who departed out of *Cesar*'s campe unto *Pompey*, and said: That he had made such haste, that hee left his horse behinde him: Thou canst skill (I perceive) better to save thy horses life than thine owne. Unto another, who brought word that the friends of *Cesar* looked foure and unpleasant: Thou saiest (quoth he) as much as if they thought not well of his proceedings. After the battell of *Pharsalia* was lost, and that *Pompey* was already fled, there was one *Nomus* who came unto him, and willed him not to despair, but be of good cheere, for that they had yet seven eagles left, [which were the standards of the legions:] Seven eagles (quoth he;) that were somewhat indeed, if we had to warre against jayes & jackdaws. After that *Cesar*, upon his victorie, being lord of all, had caused the statues of *Pompey* which were cast done, to be set up againe with honor: *Cicero* said of *Cesar*: In setting up these statues of *Pompey*, he hath pitched his owne more surely. He so highly esteemed the gift of eloquence and grace of well speaking, yea, and he tooke to great paines with ardent affection, for to performe the thing, that having to plead a cause onely before the Centumvirs or hundred judges, and the day set downe being neere at hand for the hearing and triall thereof; when one of his servants *Eros*, brought him word that the cause was put off to the next day, <sup>h</sup> he was so well contented and pleased therewith, that incontinently he gave him his freedome for that newes.

*Caius Caesar*, at what time as he being yet a young man, fled and avoided the furie of *Sylla*, fell into the hands of certaine pirates or rovers, who at the first demanded of him no great summe of money for his ranfome, whereat hee mocked and laughed at them, as not knowing what maner of person they had gotten; and so of himselfe promised to pay them twice as much as they asked; and being by them guarded and attended upon very diligently, all the while that he sent for to gather the said summe of money which he was to deliver them, he willed them to keepe silence and make no noise, that he might sleepe and take his repose: during which time that he was in their custodie, he exercised himselfe in writing a swell verse as prose, and read the same to them when they were composed; and if hee saw that they would not praise and commend those poems and orations sufficiently to his contentment, he would call them senselesse fots and barbarous, yea, and after a laughing maner, threaten to hang them: and to say a truth, within a while after, he did as much for them: for when his ranfome was come, and he delivered once out of their hands, he levied together a power of men and ships from out of the coasts of *Africa*, set upon the said rovers, spoiled them and crucified them. Being returned to *Rome*, and having enterprised a sute for the soveraign Sacerdotts dignitie against *Catulus*, who was then

\* It is a pleasure to see the  
turne & overthrow of such  
careless & covetous  
covetousness  
honors.

\* A man of  
honour can  
not be too  
carefull for  
to quit him  
well in his  
calling and  
vocation.

then a principall man at *Rome*; whereas his mother accompanied him as farre as to the utmost gates of his house, when he went into *Mars* field where the election was held, he took his leave of her and said: Mother you shall have this day your sonne to be chiefe Pontifice and high priest, or else banished from the citie of *Rome*. He put away his wife *Pompeia*, upon an ill name that went of her, as if she had bene naught with *Clodius*: whereupon when *Clodius* afterwards was called into question judicially for the fact, and *Cesar* likewise convented into the court, peremptorily for to beare witnesse of the truth, being examined upon his oath, he sware that he never knew any ill at all by his wife: and when he was urged and replied upon againe, wherefore he had put her away? he answered: That the wife of *Cesar* ought not onely to be innocent and cleere of crime, but also of all suspition of crime. In reading the noble acts of *Alexander* the great, the teares trickled downe his cheeks; and when his friends desired to know the reason why he wept: At my age (quoth he) *Alexander* had vanquished & subdued *Darius*, and I have yet done nothing. As he passed along through a little poore towne situate within the Alpes; his familiar friends about him, merrily asked one another whether there were any factions and contentions in that burrough, about superiortie, and namely, who should be the chiefe? whereupon he staid suddenly; and after he had studied and mused a while within himselfe: I had rather (quoth he) be the first here, than the second in *Rome*. As for haucie & adventurous enterprises, he was wont to say: They should be executed & not consulted upon: and verily when he passed over the river *Rubicon*, which divideth the province of *Gaul* from *Italy*, for to leade his power against *Pompey*: Let the Die (quoth he) be thrown for all: as if he would say: \* This cast for it, there is but one chance to lose all. When *Pompey* was fled from *Rome* to the sea side, and *Metellus* the superintendent of the publike treasure, would have hindred him for taking fourth any money from thence, keeping the treasure house fast shut, he threatened to kill him; whereat *Metellus* seeming to be amazed at his adacious words: Tush, tush, (quoth he) good young man, I would thou shouldst know that it is harder for me to speake the word, than to doe the deed. And for that his soldiours staid long ere they were transported over unto him from *Brundisium*, to *Dyrhachium*, he embarked himselfe alone into a small vessell, without the knowledge of any man who he was purposing to passe the seas alone without his company; but it hapned so, that he was like to have bene cast away in a gulf, and drowned with the waves of the sea: whereupon he made himselfe knowne unto the pilot, and spake unto him aloud: Assurance thy selfe and rest confident in fortune, for wor well thou hast *Cesar* a ship board: howbeit for that time he was impeached that he could not crosse the seas, as well in regard of the tempest which grew more violent, as also of his souldiers who ran unto him from all sides, and complained unto him for griefe of heart, saying: That he offered them great wrong to attend upon other forces, as if he distrusted them. Not long after this he fought a great battell, wherein *Pompey* had the upper hand for a time, but for that he followed not the train of his good fortune, he retired into his campe; which when *Cesar* saw, he said: The victorie was once this day our enemies, but their head and captaine knew not so much. Upon the plaines of *Pharsalia*, the very day of the battell, *Pompey* having arranged his army in array, commanded his soldiours to stand their ground, and not to advance forward, but to expect their enemies, and receive the charge; wherein *Cesar* afterwards said: He did amisse and grossely failed, for that thereby he let slack as it were the vigor & vehemencie of his soldiours which is ministred unto the violence of the first onfet, & abated that heat also of courage which the said charge would have brought with it. When he had defeated at his very first encounter, *Pharnaces* king of *Pontus*, he wrote thus unto his friends: I came, I saw, I vanquished. After that *Scipio* and those under his conduct were discomfited and put to flight in *Africa*; when he heard that *Cato* had killed himselfe, he said: I envie thy death *O Cato*, for that thou hast envied me the honour of saving thy life. Some there were who had *Antonie* and *Dolabella* in jealousy and suspition, and when they came unto him and said: That he was to looke unto himselfe, and stand upon his good guard; he made them this answer: That he had no distrust nor feare of them, who ledde an idle life, be well coloured and in so good liking as they: But I feare (quoth he) these pale and leane fellows pointing unto *Brutus* and *Cassius*. One day as he sat at the table when speech was moved and the question asked, what kind of death was best? Even that (quoth he) which is sudden and least looked for.

*Cesar*, him I meane who first was surnamed *Augustus*, being as yet in his youth, required and claimed of *Antonie* as much money as amounted to two thousand and five hundred \* Myriades, which he had transported out of *Julius Caesar*'s house after he was murthered, and got

\* Or else, I have put it upon the case, come what will of it.

\* i. 10,000,000  
ans of 500  
ces of Denari  
ten

\* i. Desari.

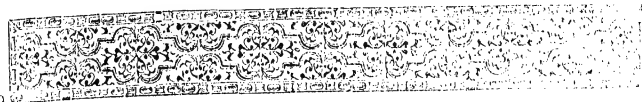
ten into his owne hands; for that he intended to pay the Romans that which the said *Cæsar* had bequeathed unto them by his last will and testament: for he had left by legacie unto every citizen of *Rome* 75. \* drams of silver; but *Antonie* detained the said summe of money to himselfe, and answered young *Cæsar*, that if he were wife he should desist from demanding any such monies of him: which when the other heard, he proclaimed open port sale of all the goods that came to him by his patrimonie, & in deed sold the same; and with the money raised thereof, he satisfied the foresaid legacies unto the Romanes: in which doing he wan all the hearts of the citizens of *Rome* to himselfe, & brought their evill wil and hatred upon *Antonie*. Afterwards *Metellus* king of *Thracia* left the part of *Anronius*, and turned to his side; but he overthor himselfe so much at the table, being in his cups, and namely, in that he could talke of nothing else, but of this great good service, and casting in his teeth this worthy alliance and confederacie of his, so as he became odious therefore; in somuch as one time at supper *Cæsar* taking the cup, dranke to one of the other kings who sat at the boord, saying with a loud voice: Treason I love well, but traitors I hate. The Alexandrians after their cite was woonne, looked for no better than to suffer all the extremities and calamities that might follow upon the forcing of a city by assault: but this *Cæsar* mounting up into the publike place to make a speech unto the citizens, having neere by unto him a familiar friend of his; to wit *Arus*, an Alexandrian borne; pronounced openly a generall pardon, saying that he forgave the cite: first, in regard of the greatness and beautie thereof; secondly in respect of king *Alexander* the great their first founder: and thirdly for *Arus* his sake, who was his loving friend, understanding that one of his Procurators named *Eros*, who did negotiate for him in *Aegypt*, had bought a quail of the game, which in fight would beat all other quails, and was never conquered himselfe, but continued still invincible; which quail notwithstanding, the said slave had caused to be roasted and so eaten it: he sent for him and examined him thereupon whether it was true or no? and when he confessed Yea, he commanded him presently to be crucified and nailed to the mast of his ship. He placed *Arus* in *Stellie* for his agent and procuratour, in stead of one *Theodorus*: and when one presented unto him a little booke or bill wherein were written these words, *Theodorus of Tharsis* \* the bauld is a theefe, how thinke you is he not? when he had read this bill, he did nothing else but subscribe underneath: I thinke no lesse. He received yeerely upon his birth day from *Mecenas* (one of his familiar friends who conversed daily with him) a cup for a present. *Athenodorus* the Philosopher being of great yeeres, craved licence with his good favour to retire unto his owne house from the court, by reason of his old age; and leave he gave him, but at his farewell, *Athenodorus* said unto him: Sir, when you perceive your selfe to be mooved with choler, neither say do nor ought before you have repeated to your selfe all the 24. letters in the Alphabet: *Cæsar* hearing this advertisement, tooke him by the hand: I have need still (quoth he) of your company and presence, and so retained him for one yeere longer, saying withall this verse,

*The hire of silence now I see  
Is out of perill and jeopardie.*

Having heard that King *Alexander* the Great at the age of two and thirtie yeeres, having performed most part of his conquests, was in doubt with himselfe and perplexed what to do and how to be employed afterwards: I wonder (quoth he) that *Alexander* thought it not a more difficult matter to governe and preserve a great empire after it is once gotten, than to winne and conquer it at first. When he had enacted the law *Julia* as touching adulterie, wherein is set downe determinately the manner of proesse against those that be attaint of that crime, and how such are to be punished who be convicted thereof: it hapned that through impatience and heat of choler, he fell upon a young gentleman, who was accused to have committed adulterie with his daughter *Julia*, in so much as he buffeted him well and thorowly with his owne fists: the young man thereupon cried unto him: Your selfe have made a law, *Cæsar*, which ordaineth the order and forme of proceeding against adulteries: whereat he was so dismasted & abashed, yea and so repented himselfe of this misfeatiage, that he would not that day eat any supper. When he sent his nephew or daughters sonne *Caius* into *Armenia*, he praised unto the gods to accompanie him with that good will of all men which *Pompey* had, with the valiantnesse of *Alexander* the Great, and with his owne good fortune. He said, that he left unto the Romans for to succeed him in the empire, one who never in his life had consulted twise of one thing, meaning *Tyberius*. Minding to appease certaine young Romane gentlemen of honour and authoritie, who made a great noise and stirre in his presence; when he saw that for all

\* Or read thus, it is either bald or atheetic, according to some Greeke copies.

his first admonitions he could do no good, he said unto them: Young gentlemen give care unto me an old man, whom when I was young as you are, ancient men would give care unto. The people of *Athens* had offended and done him some displeasure, unto whom hee wrote in this wise: You are not ignorant (I suppose) that I am displeased with you, for otherwise I would not have wintered in this little isle *Aegina*: and more than thus, he neither did nor said afterwards unto them. When one of *Enrycles* his accusers had at large with all libertie and licentiousnesse of speech uttered against him (without any respect) what he would, he let him run on still, untill he came to these words: And if these matters (*Cæsar*) seeme not unto you notorious and heinous, command him to rehearse unto me the seventh booke of *Thucydides*: *Cæsar* offended now at his audacious impudencie, commanded him to be had away and led to prison; but being advertised that he was the onely man left of the race and line of captaine *Brasidas* hee sent for him, and after he had given him some few good admonitions, he let him goe. *Pto* had build him a most stately and magnificent house, even from the foundation to the roofof thereof, which when *Cæsar* saw he said: It rejoiceth my heart exceedingly to see thee build thus, as if *Rome* should continue world without end.



## LACONICKE APOPHTHEGMES, OR THE NOTABLE SAYINGS OF LACEDÆMONIANS.

### The Summarie.

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**L**utarch had in the collection precedent among the Apophthegmes of renowned Greeks, mingled certaine notable sayings of King Agelilaus and other Lacedæmonians: but now he exhibiterh unto us a treatise by himselfe of the said Lacedæmonians, who deserve no doubt to be registred apart by themselves, as being a people who (of all other nations destitute of the true knowledge of God) least abused their tongue, in which regard also he maketh a more ample description of their Apophthegmes, shewing sufficiently by so many pleasant speeches and lively reencounters, that it was no marvell, if so small a State (as Sparta was) flourished so long, being governed and peopled by men of such dexterity, and so well qualified in the parts both of bodie and minde, and yet who knew better to do than to say. Moreover, this Catalogue here is distinguished into foure principall portions: whereof the first representeth the most wise speeches of Kings, Generall captaines, Lords and men of name in Lacedæmon: the second containeth the Apophthegmes of such Lacedæmonians, whose names are unknowne: the third describeth chiefly the customes & ordinances which serve for the maintenance of their estate: and the fourth compriseth certaine sayings of some of their women, wherein may be seene so much the more the valour & magnanimitie of that nation. As touching the profit that a man may draw out of these Apophthegmes it is verie great in everie respect: neither is there any person of what age or condition soever, but he may learne herein verie much, and namely, how to speake little, to say well, and to carie himselfe vertuously, as the reading thereof will make prooffe. We have noted also and observed somewhat in the margin, not particularising upon everie point; but onely to give a taste and appetite unto the Reader for to moderate better thereof, and to apply unto his owne use, both it and all thereto which he may there comprehend and understand.

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LACONICKE

# LACONICKE APOPH- thegmes, or the notable sayings of Lacedæmonians.



**A**GESILAUS a king of the Lacedæmonians, by nature given to heare and desirous to learne; when one of his familiar friends said unto him: I wonder sir since you take so great pleasure otherwise to heare men speake wel and eloquently, that you do not entertaine the famous sophister or rhetorician *Philophanes* for to teach you? made him this answer: It is because I desire\* to be their scholar, whose sonne also I am, that is, among whom I am borne. And to another who demanded of him, how a prince could raigne in safetie, not having about him his guards for the suretie of his person; *Marie* (quoth he) if he rule his subjects as a good father governeth his children.

**A**GESILAUS the Great, being at a certaine feast, was by lot chosen the master of the said feast; and to him it appertained to let downe a certaine law, both in what manner and how much everie one ought to drinke; now when the butler or skinker asked him how much he should pour out for everie one, he answered: If thou be well provided and have good store of wine, fill out as much as everie man list to call for; but if thou have no great plentie of it, let everie guest have alike. There was a malefactor, who being in prison endured constantly before him all manner of torments; which when he saw: What a cruel wretch is this and wicked in the highest degree, who doth employ this patience and resolute fortitude in the maintenance of so shamefull and mischievous parts, as he hath committed! One highly praised in his presence a certaine master of Rhetoricke, for that he could by his eloquent tooing amplifie small matters, making them seeme great, whereupon he said: take him not to be a good flonaker, who putteth on a big shoe upon a slide foot. When one in reasoning & debating a matter upon a time challenged him, and said: Sir, you gave your consent once unto it; and eefoones iterating the same words, charged him with his grant and promise: True indeed (quoth he) if the cause were just, I approved it in good earnest & gave my promise; but if not, I did but barely say the word & no more: but as the other replied againe and said: Yea, but kings ought to accomplish & performe whatsoever they seeme once to grant, & it be but with the nod of the head: Nay (said he againe) they are no more bound thereto, than those that come unto them are tied for to speake and demand all things just and reasonable, yea, and to observe the opportunity and that which fitteth and forteth well with kings. When he heard any men either to praise or dispraise others, he said: That it beloveth to know the nature, disposition and behaviour no lesse of those who so spake, than of the parties of whom they did speake. Being whiles he was very yoong, at a certaine publicke and festivall solemnitie, wherein yoong boies daunced (as the maner was) all naked, the warden or overseer of the said shew and daunce, appointed him a place for to beholde that sight, which was not verie honourable; wherewith notwithstanding he stood well contented, albeit he was knowne to be heire apparent to the crowne, and already declared king; and withall said: It is very well; for I will shew, that it is not the place which crediteth the person, but the person that giveth credit and honour to the place. A certaine Physician had ordered for him in one sicknesse that he had, a course of phyllicke to cure his maladie, which was nothing easie and simple, but very exquisite, curious and withall painfull: By *Cassor* and *Pollux* (quoth he) if my destinie be not to live, I shal not recover though I take all the drogues and medicines in the world. Standing one day at the altar of *Minerva* surnamed *Chaleceas*, where he sacrificed an oxe, there chanced a louse to bite him; and he was nothing dismayed and abashed to take the said louse, but before them all who were present, killed her, and swore by the gods, saying: That it would do him good at the heart, so to serve them all so, who should treacherously lay wait to assaile him, yea, though it were at the very altar. Another time, when he saw a little boy drawing a mouse which he had caught, out of a window, and that the said mouse turned upon the boy and bit him by the hand, inasmuch as thoe made him leave his holde, and so escaped; hee shewed the sight unto those that were present about him, and said: Loc, if so little a beast and fillicie creature as this, hath the heart to be revenged upon those that doe it injurie, what thinke you is meet and reason that men should doe? Being desirous to make warre upon the king of *Persia*, for the deliverance and freedome of

of those Greeks who did inhabit *Asia*, he went to consult with the oracle of *Jupiter* within the forest *Dodona*, as touching this deffaigne of his: and when the oracle had made answer according to his minde, namely: That if it pleased him, he should enterprise that expedition; he communicated the same to the controllers of State called *Ephori*; who willed him also to goe forward, and aske the counsell likewise of *Apollo* in the citie of *Delphos*; and being there, he entered into the chapell from whence the oracles were delivered, and said thus: O *Apollo*, art thou also of the same minde that thy father is? and when he answered, Yea; whereupon hee was chosen for the generall to conduct this warre, and set forth in his voiage accordingly. *Tissaphernes*, lieutenant under the king of *Persia* in *Asia*, being astonied at his arrivall, made a composition and accord with him at the very first; in which treatie, he capitulated and promised to leave unto his behoofe, all the townes and cities of the Greeks which are in *Asia*, free and at libertie to be governed according to their owne lawes: meane while hee dispatched messengers in post to the king his master, who sent unto him a strong and puissant armie; upon the confidence of which forces he gave defiance, and denounced warre, unless he departed with all speed out of *Asia*: *Agessilus* being well enough pleased with this treacherous breach of the agreement, made semblant as though he would go first into *Caria*; and when *Tissaphernes* gathered his forces in those parts to make head against him, all on a sudden he invaded *Phrygia*, where he won many cities, and raised rich booties from thence, saying unto his friends: That to breake faith and promise unjustly made unto a friend, was impietie; but to abuse and deceive an enemy, was not onely just, but also pleasant and profitable. Finding himselfe weake in cavallery, he returned to the citie of *Ephesus*, where he intimated thus much unto the rich men, who were willing to be exempt from going in person unto the warres, that they should every one set forth one horse and a man: by which means within few daies, he levied a great number both of horse and also of men able for service, in stead of those that were rich and cowards; wherein he said: That he did imitate *Agamemnon*, who dispensed with a rich man who was but a dastard and durst not go to the warre, for one faire and goodly mare. When hee sold those prisoners for slaves, whom he had taken in the warres, the officers for this sale, by his appointment, made money of their clothes and other furniture apart, but of their bodies, all naked by themselves; now many chapmen there were, who willingly bought their apparell, but few or none had any minde to the persons themselves, for that their bodies were soft and white, as having bene delicately nourished and choisly kept within house and under covert, and so seemed for no use at all, and good for nothing: *Agessilus* standing by: Beholde my masters (quoth hee) this is that for which you fight, shewing their spoiles; but these be they against whom you fight, pointing to the men. Having given *Tissaphernes* an overthrow in batell within the country of *Lydia*, and slaine a great number of his men, he overran and harried all the kings provinces: and when hee sent unto him presents of gold and silver, praying him to come unto some agreement of peace, *Agessilus* made this answer: As touching the treatie of peace, it was in the citie of *Lacedæmons* power to doe what they would; but otherwise, for his owne part he tooke greater pleasure to enrich his soldiers than to be made rich himselfe: as for the Greeks, they repuned it an honour not to receive gifts from their enemies, but to be masters of their spoiles. *Megabates* the yoong sonne of *Spiridates*, who was of village most faire and beautifull, came toward him as it were to embrace and kisse him, for that he thought (as he was right amiable) to be exceedingly beloved of him; but *Agessilus* turned his face away, inasmuch as the youth desired and would no more offer himselfe unto him; whereupon *Agessilus* demanded the reason thereof, and seemed to call for him; unto whom his friends made answer: That himselfe was the onely cause, being afraid to kisse to faire a boy; but if he would not seeme to feare, the youth would returne and repaire unto him in place right willingly: upon this he stood musing to himselfe a good while, and said never a word; but then at length hee brake forth into this speech: Let him even alone, neither is there any need now that you should say any thing or perswade him; for mine owne part I count it a greater matter to be the conquerour, and have the better hand of such, than to win by force the strongest holde or the most puissant and populous citie of mine enemies; for I take it better for a man to preserve and save his owne libertie to himselfe, than to take it from others. Moreover, he was in all other things a most precise observer in every point, of whatsoever the lawes commanded, but in the affaires and businesse of his friends, he said: That straightly to keepe the rigour of justice, was a very cloake and colourable pretence, under which they covered themselves who were not willing to doe for their friends: to which purpose there is a little letter of his found written unto *Idriem* a prince of *Caria*, for the enlarging and deliverance of a friend of his, in these words: If

*Nicias* have not transgressed, deliver him; if he have, deliver him for the love of me; but howsoever, yet deliver him: and verily thus affected stood *Agessius* in the greatest part of his friends occasions; howbeit, there fell out some cases, when he respected more the publicke utility, & used his opportunity therefore, according as he shewed good prooffe. upon a time, at the dislodging of his campe in great haste & hurry, inso much as he was forced to leave a boy who he loved full well behind him; for that he lay sick: for when the partie called instantly upon him by name, & besought him not to forsake him now at his departure, *Agessius* turning backe, said: Oh how hard is it to be pitifull & wise both at once. Furthermore, as touching his diet & the cherishing of his bodie, he would not be served with more nor better than those of his traine and company. He never did eat untill he was satisfied, nor tooke his drinke untill he was drunke, and as for his sleepe, it never had the command and maister over him, but he tooke it onely as his occasions and affaires would permit: for cold and heat he was so fitted and disposed, that in all seasons of the yeere he used to weare but one and the same sort of garments: his pavilion was alwaies pitched in the mids of his soldiers, neither had he a bed to lye in, better than any other of the meanest: for he was wont to say: That he who had the charge and conduct of others, ought to surmount those private persons, who were under his leading not in daintinesse and delicacie, but in suiferance of paine and travell, and in fortitude of heart and courage. When one asked the question in his presence: What it was wherein the lawes of *Lycurgus* had made the citie of *Sparta* better? he answered: That this benefit it found by them; to make no reckoning at all of pleasures. And to another who marvelled to see so great simplicitie and plainnesse, as well in feeding as apparell both of him, and also of other Lacedæmonians, he said: The fruit (my good friend) which we reape by this straight manner of life, is libertie and freedome. There was one who exhorted him to ease and remit a little this straight and austere manner of living: For that (quoth he) it would not be used, but in regard of the incertitude of fortune; and because there may fall out such an occasion, and time as might force a man so to do: Yea but I (said *Agessius*) do willingly accustom my selfe hereto, that in no mutation and change of fortune, I should not seeke for change of my life. And in verie truth, when he grew to be aged, he did not for all his yeeres give over and leave his hardnes of life: and therefore when one asked him: Why (considering the extreame cold winter and his old age besides) he went without an upper coat or gabardine? he made this answer: Because young men might learne to do as much, having for an example before their eyes, the eldest in their country, and such also as were their governors. We reade of him, that when he passed with his armie over the Thasians countrey, they sent unto him for his refection meale of all sorts, geefe and other fowles, comfitures, and pastrie works, fine cakes, marchpanes, and sugar-meats, with all manner of exquisite viands, and drinks most delicate and costly: but of all this provision, he received none but the meale aforesaid; commanding those that brought the same, to carrie them all away with them, as things whereof he stood in no need, and which he knew not what to do with: In the end after they had bene verie urgent, and importuned him so much as possibly they could to take that curtesie at their hands, he willed them to deale all of it among the Ilots, which were in deed the slaves that followed the campe: whereupon when they demanded the cause thereof, he said unto them: That it was not meet for those who professed valour and prowesse to receive such dainties; Neither can that (quoth he) which serveth in stead of a bait to allure & draw men to a servile nature, agree wel with those who are of a bold and free courage. Over and besides, these Thasians having received many favours and benefits at his hands, in regard whereof they tooke themselves much bound and beholden unto him, dedicated temples to his honour, and decreed divine worship unto him, no lesse than unto a verie god, and hereupon sent an embassage to declare unto him this their resolution: when he had read their letters and understood what honour they minded to do unto him, he asked this one question of the embassadors; whether their State and countrey was able to desirre men? and when they answered, Yea: Then (quoth he) begin to make your selves gods first, and when you have done so, I will beleeve that you also can make me a god. When the Greeke Colonies in *Asia*, had at their parliaments ordained in all their chiefe and principall cities to erect their statues; he wrote backe unto them in this manner: I will not that you make for me any statue or image whatsoever, neither painted nor cast in mould, nor wrought in clay, ne yet cut and engraven any way. Seeing whiles he was in *Asia*, the house of a friend or hoste of his, covered over with an embowed rowe of planks, beames and sparres foure-square; he asked him whether the trees in those parts grew so square? and when he answered, No, but they grew round: How then (quoth he) if they had grown naturally foure cornered, would you have made them round? He

was

was asked the question upon a time, how farre forth the marches and confines of *Lacedæmon* did extend: then he (taking a javelin which he held in his hand: Even as farre (quoth he) as this is able to goe. One demanded of him, why the citie of *Sparta* was not walled about? See you not (quoth he) the wallies of the Lacedæmonians; and therewith shewed him the citizens armed. Another asked him the like question, and he made him this answer: That cities ought not to be fortified with stones, with wood and timber, but with the prowesse and valiance of the inhabitants. He used ordinarily to admonish his friends, not to seeke for to be rich in money, but in valour and vertue. And whensoever he would have a worke to be finished, or service to be performed speedily by his soldiers; his maner was, to begin himselfe first to lay hand unto it in the face of all. He stood upon this and would glorie in it; that he travelled as much as any man in his company: but he vaunted of this; that he could rule and command himselfe more than in being a king. Unto one who wondering to see a Lacedæmonian maimed and lame, go to war, said unto the partie: Thou shouldst yet at leastwise have called for an horse to serve upon: Knowest not thou (quoth he) that in warre we have no need of those that will flie away, but of such as will make good and keepe their ground? It was demanded of him, how he wonne so great honour and reputation; In despising death (quoth he.) And being likewise asked why the Spartanes used the found of flutes when they fought? To the end (said he) that when in battell they march according to the measures, it may be known who be valiant and who be cowards. One there was who reputed the King of *Persia* happie, for that he attained verie young to so high and puissant a State: Why so (quoth he) for *Priamus* at his age was not unhappie nor unfortunate. Having conquered the greater part of *Asia*, he purposed with himselfe to make warre upon the king himselfe, as well for to breake his long repose, as also to hinder him otherwise and stop his course, who minded with money to bribe and corrupt the governors of the Greeke cities and the oratours that lead the people: but amid this desaigne and deliberation of his he was called home by the *Ephori*, by reason of a dangerous warre raised by the Greeke States, against the citie of *Sparta*, and that by meanes of great summes of money which the king of *Persia* had sent thither; by occasion whereof, forced he was to depart out of *Asia*, saying: That a good prince ought to suffer himselfe to be commanded by the lawes; and he left behinde him much sorrow and a longing desire after him among the Greeke inhabitants in *Asia* after his departure: and for that on the Persian pieces of coine, there was stamped or imprinted the image of an archer; he said when he brake up his campe, that the king of *Persia* had chased him out of *Asia* with thirtie thousand archers: for so many golden Dariques had bene carried by one *Timoerates* unto *Thebes* and *Athens*, which were divided among the oratours and governors of those two cities, by meanes whereof they were solicited and stirred to begin warre upon the Spartanes: so hee wrote a letter missive unto the *Ephori*, the tenor whereof was this: *Agessius* unto the *Ephori*, greeting. We have subdued the greatest part of *Asia*, and driven the Barbarians from thence; also in *Ionie* we have made many armours; but since you commaund me to repaiee home by a day appointed: Know yee that I will follow hard after this letter, or peradventure prevent it; for the authority of command which I have, I hold not for my selfe, but for my native countrey and coe'derates: and then in truth doth a magistrate rule according to right & justice, when he obiecth the lawes of his countrey & the *Ephori*, or such like as be in place of government within the city. Having crossed the straights of *Hellepont*, he entred into the countrey of *Thrace*, where he requested of no prince nor State of the Barbarians, passage; but sent unto every one of them, demanding whether he should passe as through the land of friends or enemies: And verily all others received him friendly, and accompanied him honorably as he journeyed through their countreies: onely those whom they call Troadians, (unto them as the report goeth, *Xerxes* himselfe gave presents, to have leave for to passe,) demanded of him for licence of quiet passage, a hundred talents of silver and as many women: but *Agessius* after a scoffing manner asked those who brought this message: And why doe not they themselves comewith you for to receive the money and women: so he led his armie forward; but in the way he encountered them well appointed, gave them battell, overthrew them, and put many of them to the sword, which done, he marched farther. And of the Macedonian king he demanded the same question as before; who made him this answer: That he would consult thereupon: Let him consult (quoth he) what he will, meane while we will march on: the king wondering at his hardinesse, stood in great feare of him, and sent him word to passe in peaceable and friendly maner. The Thessalians at the same time were confederate with his enemies: whereupon he forraied and spoiled their countreies as he went, and sent to the citie of *Larissa* two friends of his, *Xenocles* and *Sythas*,

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to

to found them & see if they could practise effectually for to draw them, to the league and amity of the Lacedæmonians, but those of *Larissa* arrested those agents, and kept them in prison; whereupon all the rest taking great indignation, were of this minde, that *Agesslaus* could doe no lesse, but presently encampe himselfe and beleaguer the citie *Larissa* round about: but hee saide that for to conquer all *Thessalie*, he would not lesse one of those twaine: so upon composition and agreement, he recovered and got them againe. Being given to understand that there was a battell fought neere to *Corinth*, in which very few Lacedæmonians were slaine, but of Athenians, Argives, Corinthians and their allies, a great number: he was not once seeme to have taken any joy or contentment at the newes of the victorie; but sighed deeply from the bottom of his heart, saying: Alas for unhappie *Greece*, who hath herselfe destroyed so many men of her owne, as had beene sufficient in one battell to have defeated all the Barbarians at once. But when the *Pharsalians* came to set upon the taile of his armie in his march, and to doe them mischief and damage; with a force of five hundred horse, he charged and overthrew them; for which luckie hand, he caused a Trophie to be erected under the mountaines called *Narthax*; and this victorie of all others pleased him most, for that with so small a troupe and corner of his owne horsemen which himselfe put out and addrest against them, hee had given those the overthrow, who at all times vaunted themselves to be the best men at armes in the world. Thither came *Diphridas*, one of the *Ephori* unto him, being sent expresse from *Sparta*, with a commandement unto him, that incontinently he should with force and armes invade the countrey of *Boeotia*; and he although he meant and purposed of himselfe some time after to enter with a more puissant power; yet would he not disobey those great lords of the State, but sent for two regiments of ten thousand a peece, drawn out of those who served about *Corinth*, and with them made a rode into *Boeotia*, and gave battell before *Coronae*, unto the Thebans, Athenians, Argives, and Corinthians, where he wan the field: which, as witnesseth *Xenophon*, was the greatest and most bloudie battell that had beene fought in his time: but true it is, that hee himselfe was in many places of his body sore wounded, and then being returned home, notwithstanding so many victories and happie fortunes, hee never altered any jot in his owne person, either for diet or otherwise for the manner of his life. Seeing some of his citizens to vaunt and boast of themselves, as if they were more than other men, in regard that they nourished and kept horses of the game to runne in the race for the prize; he perswaded his sister named *Cynisfa*, to mount into her chariot, and to goe unto that solemnitie of the Olympick games, there to runne a course with her horses for the best prize; by which, his purpose was to let the Greekes know, that all this running of theirs was no matter of valour, but a thing of cost and expence, to shew their wealth only. He had about him *Xenophon* the philosopher, whom he loved and highly esteemed; him he requested to send for his sonnes to be brought up in *Lacedæmon*, and there to learne the most excellent and singular discipline in the world, namely, the knowledge how to obey and to rule well. Being otherwise demaunded, wherefore he esteemed the Lacedæmonians more happy then other nations: It is (quoth he) because they profess and exercise above all men in the world, the skill of obeying and governing. After the death of *Lysander*, finding within the city of *Sparta* great factions and much siding, which the saide *Lysander* incontinently after he was returned out of *Asia* had raised and stirred up against him, he purposed and went about to detect his lewdnesse, and make it appeere unto the inhabitants of *Sparta*, what a dangerous medler he had beene whiles he lived: and to this purpose having read an oration found after his decease among his papers, which *Creon* verily the Halicarnassian had composed; but *Lysander* meant to pronounce before the people in a general assembly of the citie, tending to the alteration of the State, and bringing in of many novelties, he was fully minded to have divulged it abroad: but when one of the auncient Senatours had read the said oration, and doubted the sequell thereof, considering it was so well penned, and grounded upon such effectually and perswasive reasons, hee gave *Agesslaus* counsell not to digge up *Lysander* againe, and take him as it were out of his grave, but to let the oration lie buried with him: whose advice he followed, and so rested quiet and made no more ado: and as for those who underhand crossed him and were his adversaries, he did not coure them opened, but practised and made meanes to send some of them forth as captaines into certaine forraign expeditions, and unto others to commit certaine publicke offices: in which charges they carried themselves so, as they were discovered for covetous & wicked persons, and afterwards when they were called into question judicially, hee shewed himselfe contrary to mens expectation to helpe them out of trouble, and succour them so, as that he gat their love and good wils, inasmuch as

\* A good man  
rejoiceth too  
in the victory  
obtained in  
civill wars.

in the end there was not one of them his adversarie. One there was who requested him to write in his favour to his hostis and friends which he had in *Asia*, letters of recommendation; that they would defend and maintaine him in his rightfull cause: My friends (quoth he) use to doe that which is equitie and just, although I should write never a word unto them. Another shewed him the wals of a city how woondertull strong they were and magnificently built, asking of him whether he thought them not stately and faire: Faire (quoth he) yes no doubt, for women to lodge and dwell in, but not for men. A Megarian there was who magnified and highly extolled before him the city *Megara*: Yoong man (quoth he) and my good friend, your brave words require some great puissance. Such things as other men had in great admiration, hee would not seeme so much as to take knowledge of. Upon a time one *Callipides* an excellent plaier in Tragedies, who was in great name and reputation among the Greekes, inasmuch as all sorts of men made no small account of him, when he chanced to meet him upon the way, saluted him first, and afterwards presumptuously thrust himselfe forward to walke among others, with him, in hope that the king would begin to shew some lightsome countenance, and grace him; but in the end, seeing that it would not be, he was so bolde as to advance himselfe, and say unto him: Sir king, know you not me? and have you not heard who I am? *Agesslaus* looking wistly upon his face: Art not thou (quoth he) *Callipides Deicelichus*? (for so the Lacedæmonians use to call a jester or plaier.) He was invited one day to come and heare a man who could counterfeite most lively and naturally the voice of the nightingale; but he refused to go, saying: I have heard the nightingales themselves to sing many a time. *Meneerates* the Physician had a luckie hand in divers desperate cures; whereupon some there were who farnamed him *Jupiter*, and he himselfe would over arrogantly take that name upon him, inasmuch as he presumed in one letter of his, which he sent unto him, to set this superscription: *Meneerates Jupiter*, unto king *Agesslaus* witheth long life: but *Agesslaus* wrote back unto him in this wise: *Agesslaus to Meneerates* witheth good health. When *Pharnabazus* and *Conon* the high-admirals of the armada under the Persian king, were so farre forth lords of the sea, that they pillied and spoiled all the coasts of *Laconia*; and besides, the walles of *Athens* were rebuilt with the money that *Pharnabazus* furnished the Athenians withall; the lords of the counsell of *Lacedæmon* were of advice, that the best policie was, to conclude peace with the king of *Persia*; and to this effect sent *Antalcidas* one of their citizens to *Tiribazus*, with commission treacherously to betray and deliver into the barbarous kings hands, the Greekes inhabiting *Asia*; for whose libertie *Agesslaus* before had made warres: by which occasion *Agesslaus* was thought to have had his hand in this shameful and infamous practise: for *Antalcidas*, who was his mortall enemy, wrought by all meanes possible to effect peace, because he saw that warre continually augmented the credit of *Agesslaus*, and made him most mightie and honourable; yet nevertheless he answered unto one that reproched him with the Lacedæmonians, saying: That they were Medified, or turned Medians: Nay rather (quoth he) the Medians are Laconified and become Laconians. The question was propounded unto him upon a time, whether of these two vertues in his judgement was the better, Fortitude or Justice? and he answered: That where Justice reigned, Fortitude bare no sway, and was nothing worth; for if we were all righteous and honest men, there would be no need at all of Fortitude. The people of *Greece* dwelling in *Asia*, had a custome to call the king of *Persia*, The great king: And wherefore (quoth he) is he greater than I, unless he be more temperat and righteous? semblably he said: That the inhabitants of *Asia* were good slaves, but naughty freemen. Being asked how a man might win himselfe the greatest name and reputation among men, he answered thus: If he say well, and yet do better. This was a speech of his: That a good captaine ought to shew unto his enemies, valour and hardinesse; but unto those that be under his charge, love and benevolence. Another demaunded of him, what children should learne in their youth? That (quoth he) which they are to doe and practise when they be men grown. He was judge in a cause, where the plaintife had pleaded well, but the defendant so very badly; who estoones and at every sentence did nothing but repeat these words: O *Agesslaus*, a king ought to protect and helpe the lawes: unto whom *Agesslaus* answered in this wise: If one had so undetermined thy house, or robbed thee of thy raiment, wouldst thou thinke and looke that a carpenter or mason were bound to repaire thy house, and the weaver or tailour for to supply thy want of clothes? The king of *Persia* had writ unto him a letter missive after a general peace concluded; which letter was brought by a gentleman of *Persia*, who came with *Callias* the Lacedæmonian, and the contents thereof was to this effect: That the king of *Persia* desired to enter into some more especiall amitie and fraternitie with him; but he would not accept there-

\* If that hath  
done the inju-  
rie is to make  
amends.



of, saying unto the messenger: Thou shalt deliver this answer from me unto the king thy masters; that hee needed notto write any such particular letters unto mee, concerning private friendship; for if hee friend the Lacedæmonians in generall, and shew himselfe to love the Greeks, and desire their good, I also reciprocally will be his friend to the utmost of my power; but if I may find that he practiseth treacherie, and attempteth ought prejudiciall to the state of Greece, well may he write epistle upon epistle, and I receive from him one letter after another, but let him trust to this: I will never be his friend. Hee loved very tenderly his owne children when they were little ones, inasmuch as he would play with them up and downe the house, yea, and put a long cane betwene his legs, and ride upon it like an hobby horse with them for company; and if it chanced that any of his friends spied him so doing, he would pray them to say nothing unto any man thereof, untill they had babes and children of their owne. But during the continuall warres that he had with the Thebans, hee was in one battell to be grievously wounded; which when *Amaleidas* saw, he said unto him: Certes you have received of the Thebans the due salarie and reward that you deserved, for teaching them as you have done, even against their willes how to fight, which they neither could nor ever would have learned to doe: for in truth it is reported, that the Thebans then became more martiall and warlike than ever before-time, as being inured and exercised in armes by the continuall roads and invasions that the Lacedæmonians made; which was the reason, that ancient *Lycurgus* in those lawes of his which he called Rhetæ, exprefly forbod his people to make warre often upon one and the same nation, for feare lest in so doing their enemies should learne to be good fouldiers. When hee heard, that the allies and confederates of Lacedæmon were offended and tooke this continuall warfare ill, complaining that they were never in maner out of armes, but caried their hamfells continually upon their backs; and besides, being many more in number, they followed yet the Lacedæmonians, who were but an handfull to all them: hee being minded to convince them in this, and to shew how many they were, commanded all his said confederates to assemble together, and to sit them downe pell-mell one with another; the Lacedæmonians likewise to take their place over-against them apart by themselves; which done, he caused an herald to cry aloud in the hearing of all: That all the potters should rise first; and when those were risen, that the brasse-founders and smithes should stand up; then the carpenters; after them the malons; and so all other artificers & handi-cratts men, one after another; by which meanes all the confederates wel-nere were risen up, and none in maner left sitting; but all this while not a Lacedæmonian stirred off his seat, for that forbidden they were all, to learne or exercise any mechanicall craft: then *Agessilaus* tooke up a laughter, and said: Lo, my masters and friends, how many more fouldiers are we able to send into the warres, than you can make? In that bloodie battell fought at *Leuctres*, many Lacedæmonians there were that ran out of the field & fled, who by the lawes and ordinances of the country were all their life time noted with infamy; howbeit, the *Ephori* seeing that the citie by this meanes would be dispeopled of citizens and lie desert, in that verie time when as it had more need than ever before of fouldiers, were desirous to devise a policie how to deliver them of this ignominie, and yet notwithstanding preferre the lawes in their entire and full force: therefore to bring this about, they elected *Agessilaus* for their law-giver, to enact new lawes; who being come before the open audience of the city, spake unto them in this manner: Yee men of Lacedæmon I am not willing in any wise to be the author and inventor of new lawes: and as for those which you have already, I minde not to put any thing thereto, to take fro, or otherwise to alter and change them, and therefore mee thinkes it is meete and reasonable, that from to morrow forward, those which you have, should stand in their full vigor, strength and vertue accustomed. Moreover, as few as there remained in the citie; (when *Epaminondas* was about to assaile it with a great fleet and a violent tempest (as it were) of Thebans and their confederates, puffed up with pride for the late victorie achieved in the plaine of *Leuctres*) with those few (I say) hee put him and his forces backe, and caused them to returne without effect: but in the battell of *Mantineæ*, he admonished and advised the Lacedæmonians to take no regard at all of other Thebans, but to bend their whole forces against *Epaminondas* onely, saying: That wise and prudent men alone, and none but they, were valiant and the sole cause of victorie; and therefore if they could vanquish him, they might easily subdue all the rest, as being blockish fooles and men in deed of no valour; and so in truth it proved: for when as the victorie now enclined wholly unto *Epaminondas*, and the Lacedæmonians were at the verie point to be disbanded, discomfited and put to flight: as the said *Epaminondas* turned for to call his owne men together to follow the rout, a Lacedæmonian chanced to give

give him a mortall wound, wherewith hee fell to the ground, and the Lacedæmonians who were with *Agessilaus* called themselves, made head againe, and put the victorie into doubtfull ballance: for now the Thebans abated much their courage, and the Lacedæmonians tooke the better hearts. Moreover, when the citie of *Sparta* was neere driven and at a low ebbe for money to wage warre, as being constrained to entertaine mercenarie fouldiers for pay, who were meete strangers; *Agessilaus* went into *Aegypt*, being sent for by the King of *Aegypt* to serve as his pensioner; but for that hee was meanely and simply apparelled, the inhabitants of the country despised him, for they looked to have seene the King of *Sparta* richly arraigned and set out gallantly, and all gorgeously to be seene in his person like unto the Persian King; so foolish a conceit they had of kings: but *Agessilaus* shewed them within a while, that the magnificence and majestie of Kings was to be acquired by wit, wisdom, and valour: for perceiving that those who were to fight with him and to make head against the enemy, were frighted with the imminent perill, by reason of the great number of enemies, who were two hundred thousand fighting men, and the small companie of their owne side; hee devised with himselfe before the battell began, by some stratageme to encourage his owne men, and to embolden their hearts; which policie of his he would not communicate unto any person; and this it was: Hee caused upon the inside of his left hand to be written this word, Victorie, backward; which done hee tooke at the priests or sooth-saiers hand who was at sacrifice, the liver of the beast which was killed, and put it into the said left hand thus written within, and so held it a good while, making semblance as if hee mused deeply of some doubt, and seeming to stand in suspence & to be in great perplexity, untill the characters of the foresaid letters had a sufficient time to give a print, and leave their make in the superficies of the liver; then thewed hee it unto those who were to fight on his side, and gave them to understand that by those characters the gods promised victory: who supposing verily that there was in it a certaine signe & preface of good fortune, ventured boldly upon the hazard of a battell. And when the enemies had invested and beleaguered his campe round about; such a mightie number there were of them, and besides had begun to cast a trench on everie side thereof, King *Nectanebus* (for whose aid hee was thither come) solicited and intreated him to make a sally and charge upon them before the said trench was fully finished, and both ends brought together, he answered: That hee would never impeach the desceigne and purpose of the enemies, who went (no doubt) to give him meanes to be equall unto them and to fight so many to so many: so hee staid until there wanted but a verie little of both ends meeting; and then in that space betwene, hee raunged his battell; by which device they encountered and fought with even fronts, and on equall hand for number: so hee put the enemies to flight, and with those few fouldiers which hee had, hee made a great carnage of them; but of the spoile and booty which hee won, hee raised a good round masse of money, and sent it all to *Sparta*. Being now ready to embarke for to depart out of *Aegypt*, & upon the point of returne home, hee died: and at his death exprefly charged those who were about him, that they should make no image or statue whatsoever representing the similitude of his personage: For that (quoth he) if I have done any vertuous act in my life time, that will be a monument sufficient to eternize my memorie; if not, all the images, statues, and pictures in the world will not serve the turne, since they be the workes onely of mechanicall artificers which are of no woorth and estimation.

*AGESIPOLIS* the sonne of *Cleombrotus*, when one related in his presence that *Philip K.* of *Macedon* had in few daies demolished and rased the citie *Olimbus*: *Par die* (quoth he) *Philip* will not be able in many more daies to build the like to it. Another said unto him by way of reproch, that himselfe (king as he was, and other citizens men grown of middle age) were delivered as hostages, and neither their children nor wives: Good reason (quoth he) and so it ought to be according to justice, that we our selves and no others, should beare the blame and paine of our faults. And when hee was minded to fend for certaine dog-whelps from home; one said unto him; that there might not be suffered any of them to goe out of the country: No more was it permitted heeretofore (quoth hee) for men to be lead forth, but now it is allowed well enough.

*AGESIPOLIS* the sonne of *Pausanias* (when as the Athenians said to him: That they were content to report themselves to the judgement of the Megarians as touching certaine variations and differences between them, and complaints which they made one against another) spake thus unto them: Why my masters of *Athen*, this were a great shame indeed, that they who are the chiefe and the verie leaders of all other Greeks, should lesse skill what is just than the Megarians.

AGIS the sonne of *Archidamus*, at what time as the *Ephori* spake thus unto him: Take with you the yong & able men of this citie, & go into the countrey of such an one, for he wil conduct you his owne selfe, as farre as to the verie castle of his city: And what reason is it (quoth he) my masters, you that be *Ephori*, to commit the lives of so many lustie gallants into his hands, who is a traitour to his native countrey? One demanded of him what science was principally exercised in the citie of *Sparta*: *Marie* (quoth he) the knowledge how to obey and how to rule. He was wont to say, that the Lacedæmonians never asked, how many their enemies were? but where they were. Being forbidden to fight with his enemies at the battell of *Mantineæ*, because they were far more in number: He must of necessity (quoth he) fight with many that would have the command & rule of many. unto another who asked what number there might be in all of the Lacedæmonians? As many (quoth he) as are enough to chafe and drive away wicked perions. In passing a long the wals of *Corinth* when he saw them so high, so wel built, and so large in extent: What manner of women (quoth he) be they that inhabit within? To a great master of Rhetorick who praising his owne skill & profession, chaunced to conclude with these words: When all is done, there is nothing so puissant as the speech of man: Why then be like (quoth he) so long as you hold your peace you are of no worth. The *Argives* having bin once already beaten & defeated, returned nevertheless into the field & shewed themselves in a bravado more gallantly than before, and prest for a new battell: and when therupon he saw his auxiliaries and confederates to be somewhat troubled and frighted: Be of good cheere (quoth he) my masters and friends, for if we, who have given them the foile be affraid, what thinke you are they themselves. A certain embassador from the citie *Abdera*, came to *Sparta*, who made a long speech as touching his message, and after he had done and held his tongue a little, he demanded at last a dispatch, and said unto him: Sir, what answer would you that I should carry backe to our citizens: You shall say unto them (quoth *Agis*) that I have suffered you to speake all that you would, and as long as you list: and that I lent you mine eare all the while without giving you one word againe. Some there were who commended the *Eliens* for most iust men and precise in observing the solemnities of the Olympick games: And is that to great a matter and such a wonder (quoth he) if in five yeeres space they exercise justice one day? Some buzzed into his eares that those of the other roiall house envied him: Then (quoth he) doe they suffer a double paine; for first and foremost their owne evils will vex and trouble themselves; then in the second place, the good things in me and my friends will torment them. Some one there was of advice, that he should give way and passage to his enemies when they were put to flight: Yea, but marke this (quoth he) if we set not upon them who runne away for cowardise, how shall we fight against them that staie and make good their ground by valour? One there was who propounded a meanes for the maintenance of the Greekes libertie; which (no doubt) was a generous and magnanimous course, howbeit very hard to execute; unto who he answered thus: My good friend, your words require great store of money, and much strength. When another said that king *Philip* would watch them well enough that they should not set foote within other parts of *Greece*: My friend (quoth he) it shall content us to remaine and continue in our owne countrey. There was another embassador from the city *Perinthus*, came to *Lacedæmon*, who having likewise made a long oration, in the end demanded of *Agis* what answer he should deliver backe to the *Perinthians*: Marry what other but this (quoth he) that thou couldest hardly finde the way to make an end of speaking, and I held my peace all the while. He went upon a time sole embassador to king *Philip*, who said unto him: You are an embassador alone indeed: True (quoth he) and good enough to one alone as you are. An auncient citizen of *Sparta* said unto him one day, being himselfe aged also, and far sleet in yeeres: Since that the old lawes and customes went every day to ruine and were neglected, seeing also that others farre woofe were brought in and stood in their place, all in the end would be naught and runne to confusion; unto whom he answered merilie thus: Then is it at it should be, and the world goes well enough if it be so as you say; for I remember when I was a little boy, I heard my father say, that every thing then was turned upside downe, and that in his remembrance all went kim kam; and he also would report of his father that he had seene as much in his daies; no marvell therefore if things grow woofe and woofe; more wonder it were if they should one while be better, and another while continue still in the same plight. Being asked on a time how a man might continue free all his life time; he answered: By despising death.

AGIS the yonger, when *Demades* the oratour said unto him: That the Lacedæmonians swords were so short that these jugglers and those that plaid legerdmain, could swallow them downe

downe all once, made him this answer: As short as they be the Lacedæmonians can reach their enemies with them wel enough. A certaine leud fellow and a troublesome, never limed asking him, who was the best man in all *Sparta*: *Mary* (quoth *Agis*) even he who is unlikest thy selfe.

AGIS, the last king of the Lacedæmonians, being forelaid and surprisid by treachery, so that he was condemned by the *Ephori* to die; as he was ledde without forme of law and justice to the place of execution for to be strangled with a rope, perceiving one of his servants and ministers to shed teares; said thus unto him; Weepe not for my death; for in dying thus unjustly and against the order of law, I am in better case than those that put me to death; and having said these words, he willingly put his necke within the halter.

ACROTATUS, when as his owne father and mother requested his helping hand for to effect a thing contrary to reason and justice, staied their sute for a time: but seeing that they importuned him still and were very instant with him; in the end said unto them: So long as I was under your hands, I had no knowledge nor fence at all of justice; but after that you had betaken me to the common weale, to my countrey, and to the lawes thereof, and by that meanes informed and instructed me in what you could in righteousnesse and honestie, I will endeavour and straine my selfe to follow the said instruction and not you; and for that I know full well that you would have me doe that which is good, and considering that those things be best (both for a private person, and much more for him who is in authoritie and a chiefe magistrate) which are iust; sure I will doe what you would have me, and refuse that which you say unto me.

ALCAMES the sonne of *Telesus*, when one would needs know of him, by what meanes a man might preserve a kingdome best, made this answer: Even by making no account at all of lucre and gaine. Another demanded of him wherefore he would never accept nor receive the gifts of the *Messenians*? Forsooth (quoth he) because if I had taken the, I should never have had peace with the lawes. And when a third person said: That he marvelled much how he could live to strait and neere to himselfe, considering he had wherewith and enough: It is (quoth he) a commendable thing, when a man having sufficient and plentie can nevertheless live within the compasse of reason, and not according to the large reach of his appetite.

ALEXANDRIDAS the sonne of *Leon*, seeing one to torment himselfe, and taking on desperately because he was banished out of his native countrey: My friend (quoth he) never fare so for the matter nor vex thy heart so much, for being constrained to remoove so farre from thy countrey, but rather for being<sup>1</sup> so remote from justice. unto another who in delivering good matter unto the *Ephori*, and to very great purpose, but in more words a great deale than need was: My friend (quoth he) thou speakest indeed that which becommeth, but otherwise than is becomming. One asked him why the Lacedæmonians committed the charge of all their lands unto the *Ilotes* their slaves, & did not husband and tend them their owne selves: Because (quoth he) we conquered and purchased them, for that we would looke to our selves, and not tend them. unto another who held that it was nothing but desire of credit and reputation that undid men, and whofoever could be delivered from the care thereof were happie; he replied thus againe: If it be true that you say, we must confesse and graunt that wicked men, who do wrong unto others are happy; for how can a church-robber or these who spoileth other men of their goods be desirous of honour and glorie? When another demanded of him, how it came to passe that the Lacedæmonians were so hardy and resolute in all occurrences and dangers of warre, he rendred this reason: Because (quoth he) we studie and endeavour to have a reverend regard of our lives, and not to enterraine the feare of our lives, as others doe. It was demanded of him, wherefore the Seniors or Elders sat many daies in deciding and judging criminall causes? and why albeit the accused party were by them acquit, yet he continued nevertheless in the state of a guiltie and accused person? As for the Seniors (quoth he) they be long in deciding capital matters, where men are brought in question for their life; because those judges who have committed an error in condemning a man to die, can never rectifie and amend that sentence: and as to the partie absolved and enlarged, he must remaine alwaies liable and subject to the law, because they might ever after enquire and judge better of his fact according to the law.

ANAXANDER the sonne of *Emyrcates*, being asked the question why he and such other did not gather money and lay it up in the publicke treasury, made this answer: For feare lest wee being keepers thereof, should be corrupted and perverted thereby.

ANAXILAS, unto one who marvelled why the *Ephori* rose not up and made obeisance to the kings, considering that by the kings they were ordeined and put into that place? gave this reason:

<sup>1</sup> A man ought to grieve more for committing sinne, than for being exiled.

reason : Even because they are created *Ephori*, that is to say, overseers and controllers of them.

ANDROCLIDAS the Laconian, being maimed and lame of a legge, would nevertheless be enrolled in the number of those who were to serve in the warres; and when some withstood him because he was impotent of that legge: Why my masters (quoth hee) they be not the men of good footmanhip, who can run away, but such as stand their ground that must fight with enemies.

ANTALCIDAS making meanes to be admitted into the confraternitie of the Samothracian religion, when the priest his confessor, in houseling and thriving him, demanded which was the greatest sinne that ever hee had committed in all his life? If (quoth he) I have committed any sinne all my life time, the gods know the same well enough themselves. When a certaine Athenian mis-called the Lacedaemonians, terming them ignorant and unlearned for: In deed (quoth he) we onely of all the Grecians, are the men who have not learned of you to do ill. And when another Athenian bragged, and said: We have chafed you many a time from the river *Cepisus*: But we (quoth he) never yet drave you from the river *Eurolas*. unto another, who was delicious to know how one might please men best, he shapd this answer: In case he speake alwaies that which pleaseth, and doe that which profiteth them. A certaine great master and professor of Rhetoricke, would needs one day rehearse and pronounce before him an oration composd in the praise of *Hercules*: And who ever (quoth he) dispraised him? And unto *Agessilas*, being fore wounded in a battell by the Thebans: Nay (quoth he) you are well enough served and receive a due Minervall for your schoollage at the Thebans hands, whom you have taught even against their willes that which they knew not, nor were willing to learne, to wit, for to fight: for in trueth, by meanes of the continuall incurfions and expeditions that *Agessilas* made against them, they became valiant warriors. Himselfe was wont to say: That the wallies of *Sparta*, were their yong men; and their confines, the heads of their pikes. Unto another, who demanded why the Lacedaemonians fought with such short curtellaxes: To the end (quoth he) that we might cope and clofe more neerely to our enemies.

ANTIOCHUS being one of the *Ephori*, heard say that king *Philip* had bestowed upon the Messenians certaine lands for their territorie: But hath *Philip* (quoth he) given them withall, forces to be able for to defend the same?

ARIGUS, when some there were that highly commended certaine dames, not their owne wives, but wedded to other men: By the gods (quoth he) of good, honest, and faire women, there ought no vaine speeches to bee made, for that indeede they are not known of any other but their husbands who live ordinarily with them. As he passed once thorow the citie *Selinus* in *Sicilie*, he chanced to reade this epitaph engraven upon a sepulchre or tombe:

*These men before Selinus gates  
were slaine in bloudie fight,  
Aswhilom they fought for to quench  
the lawlesse tyrants might.*

And well deserved you (quoth he) to die, for seeking to extinguish tyranny when it burneth out of a light fire; for cleane contrariwise, you should have kept it from burning altogether.

ARISTON hearing one praise and discourse of a sentence that king *Cleomenes* was wont to use, at what time as the question was asked: What was the office of a good king? Mary even to do good unto his friends & hurt unto his enemies: But how much better (answered *Ariston*) my good friend, were it to benefit friends indeed, and of enemies to make good friends: but of this notable sentence, no doubt, *Socrates* was the authour, and upon him it is rightly fathered. Also when one demanded of him how many in number the Lacedaemonians were: As many (quoth he) as be sufficient to chafe away their enemies. A certaine Athenian pronounced a funerall oration which he had penned in the praise of their owne citizens, who had bene defeated and were slaine by the Lacedaemonians in a battell: If your countrey men (quoth he) were so valiant as you say, what thinke you then of ours, who vanquished them? When one praised *Chirilans* upon a time, for that hee shewed himselfe courteous indifferently to all men: And how can he deserve (quoth *Ariston*) to be commended, who is kind and friendly to wicked persons? Another reproved *Hecataeus* a professor in Rhetoricke, who being invited to eat with them at their feasts which they call *Sysitia*, spake never a word all dinner time; unto whom he made this answer: It seemeth that you are ignorant, that he who knoweth how to speake wel, can skill likewise of the time when it is good to speake and when to keepe silence.

ARCHIDAMUS the sonne of *Zeuxidamus*, when one asked him who they were that governed

governed the citie *Sparta*? answered: The lawes first, and then the magistrates who ruled according to those lawes. When he heard one praising exceedingly a plaier on the harpe, and for his skill in musick having him in singular admiration: My friend (quoth he) what honourable reward shall they have at your hands, who be men of prowesse and valour, when you commend so highly an harper? Another recommended unto him a musician and said: Oh, what an excellent chaunter is there? This is (quoth he) even as much as a good cooke or maker of portage among us: meaning that there was no difference at all betwene giving pleasure by sound of voice or instruments, and the dressing of viands or seasoning sewes. One promised to give him wine that was very sweet and pleasant: And to what purpose? (quoth he) considering that it serveth but for to draw on more wine, and to make folke drinke the rather; and besides, to cause men to be lesse valiant and unfit for any good things. Lying at siege before the city of *Corinth*, he marked how there were hares started even close under the wallies thereof; upon which sight he said thus to those that served with him: Our enemies are easie to be surprisid and caught, when they are so lazie and idle, as to suffer hares to lie and harbour hard under their citie wallies, even within the trench and towne-ditch. He had bene chosen an umpire betwene two parties who were at variance, for to make them friends; and he led them both into the temple of *Diana* surnamed *Chalceas*, where he willed them both to promise and sweare, laying their hands upon the altar of that goddesse, that they would both twaine observe from point to point whatsoever he should award; which they undertooke to doe, and bound it with an oath accordingly: I judge then (quoth he) that neither of you both shall depart out of this temple, before you have made an attonement, and pacified all quarrels betwene you. *Dionysus* the tyrant of *Sicily*, had sent unto his daughters certaine rich robes to wear; but he refused them, and said: I greatly feare, that when they have this raiment upon them, they will seeme more foule and illfavoured than now they do. Seeing his owne sonne in a battell, fighting desperately against the Athenians: Either (quoth he) augment thy strength, or abate thy courage.

ARCHIDAMUS the sonne of *Agessilas*, when king *Philip* after the battell which he had won against the Greeks, nere unto *Cheronea*, wrote unto him a rough and sharpe letter; returned unto him backe againe this answer in writing: If you take measure now of your owne shadow, you shall finde it no bigger than it was before the victorie. Being demanded the question upon a time, how farre the territory of the Lacedaemonians did extend? he answered: Even as farre as they can reach with their javelins. *Periander* the physician was a sufficient man in his art, and esteemed with the best and most excellent, howbeit he wrote in verse, but with a bad grace; unto whom he said one day thus: I marvel much *Periander* whether you had rather be named an ill poet or a good physician? In the warre which the Lacedaemonians made against King *Philip*, some gave him counsell to be wel advised where he fought, and to battell as far as he could from his owne countrey; unto whom he replied: gaine: This is not the thing (quoth hee) that wee ought to regard, but rather to consider and thinke upon this, how we may quit our selves so well in fight, that we be winners in the end. And to those who praised him for that he had woonne a field of the Arcadians, he made this answer: It had bene better that we had overcome them rather in wisdom and prudence than in might and force. About the time that hee entred by force and armes into the countrey of *Arcadia*, being advertised that the Eleans sent aide and succor unto the Arcadians, he wrote unto them in this sort: *Archidamus* to the Eleans, greeting: A blessed thing it is to be quiet & at repose. When the confederate & allied nations in the Peloponnesiacke warre, demanded how much money would serve for the defraying of the charges to the said warre belonging? and requested him to taxe each one how much they should contribute: War (quoth he) knoweth no sum, & is not waged at any certaine rate. Seeing a shot which was levelled from an engine of batterie newly brought out of *Sicily*: O *Hercules* (quoth he) now is mans prowesse gone for ever. And for that the Greeks would not give credit and be perswaded by him, to performe those conditions of peace which had bene made with *Antigonum* and *Cyrtarum*, two Macedonians, for to live in their ancient libertie; alleging that the Lacedaemonians would be lords more rigorous and insupportable than the Macedonians: The sheepe (quoth he) hath alwaies one and the same voice; but man changeth it oftentimes in divers sorts, untill he have brought about and finished his desseignes.

ASTICRATIDAS, when one said, after that King *Agis* had lost the field to *Antigonum*, about the citie *Megale*: O poore Lacedaemonians, what will you doe now? will you become slaves to the Macedonians? answered thus: And why for Can *Antigonum* forbid and let us, but we will die in fight for *Sparta*?

*BIAS* being surpris'd by an ambush, which was laid for him by *Iphierates* capitaine of the Athenians, when his souldiers said: Now capitaine what is to be done? What else (quoth hee) but to aduise you to fave your selves, and to resolve my selfe for to die in fight.

*BRASIDAS* found among dried figs a moule that bit him by the hand, so as he was glad to let her goe, whereupon he said unto those that were present: Lo, how there is not the least creature that may be, but it is able to make shift and fave it life, in case it have but the heart to defend it selfe against those who assaile it? In a certaine skirmish he was wounded with a javellin thorow his buckler, and when he had drawn the head out of his bodie, with the verie same weapon he slew his enemy who had hurt him; and to those who asked him, how he came so wounded? he answered thus: Because my buckler deceived me. When he put himselfe into his journey to the warres, he wrote thus unto the *Ephori*: All that is requisite for this warre as touching the warre, do I will to my power or die for it. After he had lost his life in the quarrell of delivering the Greeks out of servitude who inhabit in *Thracia*, the embassadors which were sent from those parts to give thanks unto the Lacedaemonians, went to visit his mother *Argileonis*; of whom she demanded first, whether her sonne *Brasidas* died manfully or no? And when the Thracian embassadors highly praised him, inasmuch as they said, that he had not left his fellow behinde him: Oh (quoth shee) you are much deceived my friends; *Brasidas* was in deed a valiant and hardie man, but there be in *Sparta* many more farre better than he.

*DAMONIDAS* hapned to be placed last in the dance by him who was the master chorister; whereat hee was no otherwise displeased, but said thus unto him: Well done, for thou hast found the meanes to make this place honourable, which heerebefore was but base and infamous.

*DAMIS*, when letters had beene written unto him as touching *Alexander* the Great, namely how *Alexander* by their suffrages was declared a god; wrote backe in this wise: We grant that *Alexander* should be called a god since he will needs have it so.

*DAMONIDAS*, when King *Philip* was entred with a maine armie unto *Peloponnesus*, whereupon one said unto him: The Lacedaemonians are in daunger to suffer many calamities, unless they can make meanes to agree and compound with him: Thou womanish-man (quoth hee) how can hee bring us to suffer any miseries, considering that we make no reckoning at all of death?

*DERCILLIDAS* was sent embassador unto King *Pyrhus*, what time as he had his armie encamped upon the verie confines of *Sparta*; and *Pyrhus* enjoined the Lacedaemonians to receive againe their King *Cleonimus* whom they had banished, or else he would make them to understand, that they were no more valiant than other men; upon whom *Dercyllidas* thus replied: If you be a god we feare you not, because we have no way offended you; but if you be a man, know you that you are no whit better than we.

*DEMARATUS* talked and communed one day with *Orontes*, who gave him blunt speeches and hard words; and when one who heard their talke, said afterwards: *Orontes* is verie bold with you, and utteth you but homely o *Demaratus*: Nay (quoth he) he hath nothing faulted to me; for those who glorie and flatter in all their speech, be they who doe most harme, and not such as speake upon ill will and malice. One seemed to demand of him, wherefore at *Sparta* those were noted with infamie, who in a discomfiture threw away their bucklers, and not they who cast from them their morrions, cuiraces or breast-plates: Because (quoth he) these armors and head-pieces, serve onely for those who wear them; but their sheilds & bucklers, have their use also for the common strength of the whole battalion. When he heard a certaine musician sing: Beleeve me (quoth hee) the fellow plaies the foole verie well. He was upon a time in a great companie & assembly, where he continued a long while and spake never a word; by occasion whereof one said unto him: Is it for folly and want of matter to talke of, that you are so silent? How can it be folly (quoth he) for a foole can never hold his peace? One asked of him what was the cause why he was banished out of *Sparta*, being king thereof? Because (quoth hee) the lawes there be mistresses and command all. A certaine Persian by continuall gifts had inveigled and gotten from him in the end a yong boy whom hee loved, and afterwards in manner of a skorne said unto him: I have so well hunted, that at last I have caught your love: Not so (quoth hee) I sweare by the gods, but rather you have bought it. A certaine gentleman of *Persia* there was, who had rebelled against the king of *Persia*; but *Demaratus* by reasons and remonstrances wrought with him, that he perswaded him to yeeld and returne againe to his allegiance; the king incontinently minded to put this Persian to death; but *Demaratus* diverted him, and

and said: Sir, this were an utter shame for you, if when you could not punish him for rebellion being your enemy you should proceed to his execution now, when he is become againe your servitor and friend. There was a certaine jester and parasite who used to play his part at the kings table, and gave unto *Demaratus* estoones: biting quips, and taunts by way of reproch for his exile; but hee answered him and said: Good fellow, I am not disposed to fight with thee now at this time, being put as I am out of my biace and the range of my life, and having lost my standing.

\* *EMEREPES* the *Ephorus*, cut two strings of the nine with an hatchet, in *Phrynis* his harpe, \* or *Ephorus* saying withall: Then marre not musick.

*EPAENETUS* was wont to say: That liars were the cause of all the offences and crimes in world.

*EUBOIDAS* hearing some to praise another mans wife, reprooved them for it, & said: That strangers who were not of the house, ought not in any respect to speake of the behaviour and manners of any dame.

*EUDAMIDAS* the sonne of *Archidamus* and brother to *Agis*, having espied *Xenocrates*, a man well stricken in yeeres, studying philosophie hard, with other yong schollers in the *Academie*, demanded what old man that might be: one standing by, answered, that he was a wise man and a great clarke, one of those who sought after vertue: If he be still seeking of it (quoth hee) when will he use and practise it? Having heard a Philosopher dispute and discourse upon this paradox: That there was no good capitaine in warre, but the great clarke and learned Sage onely: This is (quoth he) a strange proposition and a woonderfull, but the best is, he that maineth it, is in no wise to be credited, for his cares were never yet acquainted so much as with the found of a trumpet. He came one day into the open schoole or auditorie to heare *Xenocrates* discourse at large upon some question; but it fell out so, that he had new done when hee entred into the place; then one of his companie began to say: Surely, so soone as we were present, he became silent: He did well (quoth *Eudamidas*) if he had made an end of that which he had to say: but when the other replied: It were not amisse yet that we heard him, and that he would set to it againe: If we (quoth *Eudamidas*) should goe to visit a man in his house who had supped already before we came, were it well done of us to pray him to goe to a new supper for the love of us? It was once demanded of him why he alone would seeme to approve rest, quietnesse and peace, considering that all his fellow-citizens with one consent were of opinion to take armes and make warre upon the Macedonians? It is (quoth he) because I neither need nor am desirous to convince them of their error and lying. Another for to animate him to this warre, alleaged the prowesses and worthy exploits atchieved by them at other times against the Persians: Methinks (quoth he) you know not what you say, namely, that because we have overcome a thousand sheepe, we should therefore set upon fiftie woolves. He was upon a time in place to heare a musician sing, who did his part very well; and one asked him, how he liked the man, and what he thought of him? Mary (quoth he) I take him to be a great amuser of men in a small matter. When another highly extolled the citie of *Athens* in his presence: And who can justly and duly (quoth he) praise that citie which no man ever loved, for being made better in it? When *Alexander* the great had caused open proclamation to be made in the great assembly at the Olympick games: That all banished persons might returne unto their owne countries, except the Thebans: Behold (quoth *Eudamidas*) heere is a wofull proclamation for you that be Thebans; howbeit honorable withall, for it is a signe that *Alexander* feareth none but you onely in all *Greece*. A certaine citizen of *Argos* said one day in his hearing: That the Lacedaemonians after they be gone once out of their owne country and from the obedience of their lawes, proove woofe for their travelling abroad in the world: But it is contrary with you that be Argives and other Greekes (quoth he) for being come once into our citie *Sparta* you are not the woofe, but proove the better by that meanes. It was demanded of him what the reason might be, wherefore they used to sacrifice unto the Muses before they did hazard a battell: To the end (quoth he) that our valiant acts might be well and woorthilie written.

*EURYCRATIDAS* the sonne of *Anaxandrides*, when one asked him why the *Ephori* sat every day to decide and judge of contracts betweene men: For that (quoth hee) we should learne to keepe our faith and truth even among our enemies.

*ZENIDAMUS* likewise answered unto one who demanded of him why the statutes and ordinances of prowesse and martiall fortitude, were not reduced into a booke, and given in writing

ting unto young men for to reade? Because (quoth he) we would have them to be acquainted with deeds and not with writings. A certaine *Aetolian* said; That warre was better than peace, unto those who were desirous to shew themselves valorous men: And not warre onely (quoth he) for by the gods, in that respect better is death than life.

*HERONDAS* chanced to be at *Athens*, what time as one of the citizens was apprehended, arraigned, and condemned for his idleness, judicially and by forme of law; which when he understood, and heard a brute and noise about him, he requested one to shew him the partie that was condemned for a gentlemen's life.

*THEARIDAS* whetted his sword upon a time, and when one asked him if it were sharpe, he answered: Yea, sharper than a slanderous calumination.

*THEMISTEAS* being a prophet or soothsaier, foretold unto king *Leonidas* the discomforture that should happen within the passe or freights of *Thermopylae*, with the losse both of himselfe and also of his whole armie: whereupon being sent away by *Leonidas* unto *Lacedaemon*, under a colour and pretence to enforme them of these future accidents; but in truth, to the end that he should not miscarie and die there with the rest; he would not so doe, neither could he forbear but say unto *Leonidas*: I was sent hither for a warrior to fight, and not as an ordinary courier and messenger to carrie newes betwene.

*THEOPOMPUS* when one demanded of him how a king might preserve his kingdome and roiall estate in safetie? said thus: By giving his friends libertie to speake the truth, and with all his power by keeping his subjects from oppression, unto a stranger who told him that in his owne countrey & among his citizens he was commonly furnished *Philaleon*, that is to say, a lover of the Laconians: It were better (quoth he) that you were called \* *Philopolites* than *Philaleon*. Another embassadour there came from *Elis*, who said: That he was sent from his fellow-citizens, because he onely of all that citie loved and followed the Laconike manner of life; of him *Theopompus* demanded: And whether is thine or the other citizens life the better? he answered Mine: Why then (quoth he) how is it possible that a citie should continue safe, in which there being so great a number of inhabitants, there is but one good man? There was one said before him, that the citie of *Sparta* maintained the state thereof entier, for that the kings there knew how to governe well: Nay (quoth he) not so much therefore, as because the citizens there can skill how to obey well. The inhabitants of the citie *Pyle*, decreed for him in their generall counsell exceeding great honors; unto whom he wrote backe againe: That moderate honors time is wont to augment, but immoderate to diminish and weare away.

*THERYCION* returning from the citie *Delphos*, found king *Philip* encamped within the streight of *Peloponnesus*, where he had gained the narrow passage called *Isthmos*, upon which the city of *Corinth* is seated; whereupon he said: *Peloponnesus* hath but bad porters and warders of you, *Corinthians*.

*THECTAMENES*, being by the *Ephori* condemned to death, went from the judgement place smiling away; and when one that was present asked him, if he despised the lawes and judiciall proceedings of *Sparta*? No iwis (quoth he) but I reioice heereat, that they have condemned me in that fine which I am able to pay and discharge fully, without borrowing of any friend, or taking up money at interest.

*HIPPODAMUS*, as *Agis* was with *Archidamus* in the campe, being sent with *Agis* by the king unto *Sparta*, for to provide for the affaires of weale publike and looke unto the State; refused to goe, saying: I cannot die a more honorable death, than in fighting valiantly for the defence of *Sparta*: now was he fourecore yeeres old and upward and tooke armes, where hee raunged himselfe on the right hand of the king, and there fighting by his side right manfully, was slaine.

*HIPPOCRATIDAS*, when a certaine prince or great lord of *Caria* had written unto him, that he had in his hands a Lacedaemonian, who having beene privie unto a conspiracie and treason intended against his person, revealed not the same; demanding withall, his counsell what he should doe with him; wrote backe againe in this wise: If you have heerebefore done him any great pleasure and good turne, put him to death hardly and make him away; if not, expell him out of your countrey, considering he is a base fellow incapable altogether of vertue. He chanced to encounter upon the way a young boy, after whom followed one who loved him; and the boy blushed for shame; whereupon he said unto him: Thou oughtest to goe in their company my boy with whom thou being seene, needest not to change colour for the matter.

CALLICRATIDAS

*CALLICRATIDAS* being admirall of a fleet, when the friends of *Lyfander* requested him to pleasure them in killing some of their enemies; and in consideration thereof he should receive of them fifty talents; notwithstanding he stood then in very great need of money for to buy victuals for the mariners, yet would not he grant their request; and when *Cleander*, one of his counsell, said unto him: I would (I trow, if I were in your place) take the offer: So would I also (quoth he) if I were in yours. Being come to *Sardis* unto *Cyrus* the youonger, who at that time was an allie and confederate of the Lacedaemonians, to see if hee could speed himselfe of him with money for to enterteine mariners and maintaine the armada; the first day he gave him to understand that he was thither come to speake with him; but answere was made: That the king was at the table drinking: Well (quoth he) I will give attendance untill he have made an end of his beaver: after he had waited a long time, and saw that it was impossible for to have audience that day, he departed out of the court for that time, being thought very rude and uncivill in so doing: the morow after, when likewise he was given to understand that he was drinking againe, and that he would not come abroad that day; he made no more adoe, but returned to *Ephesus*, from whence he came, saying withall: That he ought not so farre forth to take paines for to be provided of money, as to doe any thing unbecoming *Sparta*: and besides, he sell a cursing those who were the first that endured such indignitie, as to subject themselves unto the insolencie of Barbarians, and who taught them to abuse their riches, and thereby to shew themselves so proud and disdainfull, as to insult over others; yea, and he sware a great oath in the presence of those who were in his company, that so soone as he was returned to *Sparta*, he would labor with all his might and maine, to reconcile the Greeke nations one unto another; to the end that they might be more dread and terrible to the Barbarians, when as they stood in no need of their forren forces to wage warre one upon another. It was demanded of him, what kinde of men the Ionians were? Good slaves they are (quoth he) but bad free-men. When *Cyrus* in the end had sent money for to pay his souldiers wages, and besides some gifts and presents particularly to himselfe; he received onely the foresaid pay, but as for the gifts, he sent them backe againe, saying: That he had no need of any private or particular amitie with *Cyrus*, so long as the common friendship which he had with all the Lacedaemonians pertained also unto him. A little before he gave the battell at sea, nere unto *Arginusse*, his pilot said unto him: That it was best for him to faile away, so for that the gallies of the Athenians were farre more in number than theirs: And what of all that (quoth he) is it not a shamefull infamie, & hurtfull besides to *Sparta*, for to flie? simply, best it is to tary by it, and either to win, or die for it. Being at the point to encounter and joine medley, and having sacrificed unto the gods, the soothsaier shewed unto him that the entrails of the beast signified and promised assured victory unto the armie, but death unto the captaine; whereat he was nothing daunted nor affrighted, but said: The state of *Sparta* lieth not in one man, for when I am dead, my countrey will be never the lesse; but if I should reule now, and yeeld unto the enemies, she will be much impaired, and lose her reputation. Thus having substituted *Cleander* in his place, if ought should happen otherwise than well, he gave the charge, and strooke a navall battell, wherein fighting valiantly he ended his life.

*CLEOMBROTUS* the sonne of *Pausanias*, when a certaine friend a stranger, debated and reasoned with his father about vertue, he said unto him: In this point at least-wis is my father before you, for that he hath already begotten a sonne, and you none.

*CLEOMENES* the sonne of *Anaxandrides*, was wont to say: That *Homer* was the Poet of the Lacedaemonians, because he taught how to make warre; but *Heiodus* the Poet of the Ilots, for that he wrote of agriculture and husbandry. He had made truce for seven daies with the Argives; and the third night after it beganne, perceiving that the Argives upon the assurance and confidence of the said truce were foundly allecpe, he charged upon them, slew some, and tooke others prisoners; and when he was reproched therefore, and namely, that he had broken his oath, he answered: That he never sware to observe truce in the night season, but in day-time onely; and besides, what annoiance soever a man did unto his enemies (in what sort it made no matter) he was to thinke that both before God and man it was a point above justice, and in no wise subject and liable unto it: howbeit, for this perjury of his and breaking of covenant, he was disappointed and frustrate of his hope and desseigne, which was to surprize the citie of *Argos*, for that indeed the very women tooke those armes which in memoriall of ancient victories were hung and set up fast in their temples, with which they repelled them from the walles: after this, he fell into a furious rage, and his wits were bestraught; inso much as he tooke a knife, and slit his bodie from the very ancles up to the principall and noble vital parts, and so laughing and scoffing, he

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assembled together is notable to furnish us, for it would but answer one portion or canton of their multitude: but if you stand upon valor & prowesse of men, certes this number is sufficient. Another there was who said as much to him: But yet I bring (quoth he) money enough, considering we are heere to leave our lives. *Xerxes* wrote unto him to this effect: You need not unlesse you list be so perverse and obdurate as to fight against the gods, but by siding and combining with me, make your selfe a monarch over all *Greece*; unto whom he wrote back in this wise: If you knew wherein consisted the soveraigne good of mans life, you would not covet that which is another mans; for mine owne part, I had rather loose my life for the safetie of *Greece*, than be the commaunder of all those of mine owne nation. Another time *Xerxes* wrote thus: Send me thy armour; unto whom he wrote backe: Come your selfe and fetch it. At the verie point when he was to charge upon his enemies, the marshals of the armie came unto him, and protested that they must needs hold off and stay until the other allies & confederates were come together: Why (quoth he) thinke you not that as many as be minded to fight are come already? or know you not that they onely who dread and reverence their kings, be they that fight against enemies? this said, he commaunded his souldiers to take their dinners, for sup we shall (said he) in the other world. Being demanded why the best and bravest men preferre an honorable death before a shamefull life? Because (quoth he) they esteeme the one proper to nature onely; but to die well they thinke it peculiar to themselves. A great desire he had to have those young men of his troupe and regiment, who were not yet married, and knowing well that if he delt with them directly and openly, they would not abide it; he gave unto them one after another two brevets or letters to carrie unto the *Ephori*, and so sent them away: he meant also to save three of those who were married; but they having an inkling thereof, would receive no brevets or missives at all: for one said, I have followed you hither to fight, and not to be a carrier of newes; the second also: By staying heere I shall quit my selfe the better man; and the third: I will not be behind the rest, but the formost in fight.

*Lochagus* the father of *Polyanides* and *Syron*, when newes was brought unto him that one of his children was dead: I knew long since (quoth he) that he must needs die.

*Lycurgus* the law-giver, minding to reduce his citizens from their old maner of life, unto a more sober and temperate course, and to make them more vertuous and honest (for before time they had beene dissolute and over delicate in their maners and behaviour) nourished those whelpes which came from the same dogge and bitch, and the one he kept alwaies within house, & used it to licken in every dish & to be greedy after meat; the other he would leade forth abroad into the fields and acquaint it with hunting: afterwards he brought them both into an open and frequent assembly of the people, and set before them in the mids, certaine bones, fesse & traps; he put out also at the same time an hare before them; now both the one and the other tooke incontinently to that whereto they had beene acquainted, and ranne apace, the one to the melle of tops, and the other after the hare and caught it: heereupon *Lycurgus* tooke occasion to inferre this speech: You see heere my masters and citizens (quoth he) how these two dogs having one sire and one dam to them both, are become farre different the one from the other, by reason of their divers educations and bringing up; whereby it is evident how much more powerful nouriture and exercise is to the breeding of vertuous maners, than kinde and nature: howbeit some there be who say, that these two dogs or whelpes which he brought out, were not of one and the same dogge and bitch; but the one came from those cures that used to keepe the house, and the other from those hounds that were kept to hunting; and afterwards that he acquainted the whelp that was of the worse kinde onely to the chafe, and that which came of the better race, to slappe, licken, and doe nothing else but raven; whereupon either of them made their choise and ranne to that quickly whereto they were accustomed; and thereby he made it appear evidently, how education, traying, and bringing up is available both for good and bad conditions, for thus he spake unto them: By this example you may know my friends that nobilitie of bloud, how highly soever it is esteemed with the common sort, is to no purpose, no though we so bee descended from the race of *Hercules*, if we doe not practise those deeds whereby hee became the most renowned and glorious knight in the world, learning and exercising all our life time those things which are honest and vertuous. Having made a devision of the whole territorie, and distributed to every citizen an equall portion; it is reported that a good while after, being returned frō a long voiage which he had into the said territorie about harvest time; when the corne was newly reaped and cut down, seeing the shocks & sheaves, cocks and fitches running even and orderly, and the same like one to another; he rejoiced in his heart, and smiling said

said to those about him: That the whole territorie of *Laconia* looked like unto the inheritance and patrimonie of many brethren who had lately parted and divided their portions together equally. When he had brought in the cutting off and abolition of debts, he went in hand with the devision of all utensils also and moveable goods within house into even shares; to the end that there might be no imparity nor inequality at all among his citizens; but perceiving that if he went directly and plainly to work, they would hardly beare and brooke that any thing should be abridged and taken from them: he discredited first and formost all sorts of gold and silver coine, giving commaundement that there should be no money used but made of iron: and taxed a certaine rate and limitation to what summe each mans estate should amount; according to the estimation of the said money by way of exchange; which done, all wronges and unjust dealings were chased cleane out of *Lacedemon*: for now by this meanes there could no man rob nor steale, there was no bribing nor corruption by gifts, no man might defraud in contracts and bargains, nor embezzell any more, considering that neither they might conceale and hide that which was unjustly gotten, nor any man joied in possessing ought, nor could possibly use and occupie the same without perill, ne yet carie to and fro in safetie and securitie: and withall by the same meanes, he banished out of *Lacedemon* all superfluities, whereby there were no more any marchants, nor pleading fopshifters, no wifards & fortune tellers, no cogging mount-banks & jugglers, no ingenious devisers of new fables & buildings that haunted *Sparta* any more; for why, he would not permit any money there which was current in other places, but onely this iron coine was in request, and passed from one to another: as for the price thereof it weighed an Aeginetick pound; but in worth and valour, it went but for foure *Chalcins*. Moreover, having a purpose to root out delicate and superfluous pleasures, and to cut off cleane all covetous desire of riches, he instituted and brought up those meetings which they call *Systira*: i. eating at publick meales and making merrie together: and when some demanded of him what he meant to devise the same, and also why he ordeined that his citizens should be divided by little tables when they sat together in armes? To the end (quoth he) that they might be in more readinesse to receive commaundement from their superiors; as also if peradventure there should be some practise among them of change and alteration, the fault might be in some few; and moreover, that there should be equality in their eating & drinking, & neither in their dishes of meat nor cups of drink, nor in their beds nor apparel, no nor so much as in the utensils & implemēt of the house, or in any thing whatsoever, the rich should have any vantage over the poore: by this policy having brought to passe that riches was not set by and desired, considering that such order was taken, that neither men had much occasion to use it, nor any joy & pleasure to shew it, he would thus say unto his familiars: My good friends, what a gay & goodly matter is it, to make it known by effect indeed, that *Pluto*, that is to say, the god of riches, is in truth blinde, according as he is named to be. Furthermore, carefull he was, and had a speciall regard that his people should not first dine at home in their owne houses, and after that, goe to their publicke halles and meetings aforesaid, being full of other viands and drinks; for others would reproch and speake badly of a man who did not eat among them with a good appetite, as being a glutton, or one who for daintinesse and delicacy disdained this common and vulgar maner of diet; but if any such happened to be seene and knowne, he was sure to be condemned in a good round fine. Hereupon it was, that a long time after, king *Agis* (after his returne from an expedition or voiage in warre, wherein he had subdued the Athenians) willing one day to suppe privately by himselfe with his wife at home, sent into the kitchen for his part or allowance of meat; but the marshals of the armie would send him none; and the morrow after, when the matter came to the knowledge of the *Ephori*, he had a fine set on his head for it: but by reason of these new ordinances, divers of the richer sort tooke misse, and in great indignation rose up against him, abused him with hard termes, threw stones and would have brained him; but he seeing himselfe thus furiously pursued, made shift by good footmanship, and escaped out of the common market place, & put himselfe within the sanctuarie of *Minervaes* temple, called *Chalcos*; before the other could overtake him, only *Alexander* was so neere unto him, that when he cast his eye behinde to see who followed after, caught him a rap with his baston, and strake one of his eyes out of his head: but *Alexander* afterwards, by the common sentence of the whole citie, was put into his hands for to do exemplarie justice upon him, according as he thought good: howbeit, hee wrought him no mischief nor displeasure at all; and that which more is, hee never so much as complained of any wrong or abuse that he had offered and done unto him; but having him to be a domestical guest and to live with him, he did this good of him: That hee blazed in

every place where he came, his commendable parts, and namely, the orderly dier and maner of life, that he had learned by conversing with him; and in one word, shewed himselfe highly to affect that discipline in which *Lycurgus* had trained him: afterwards, for a memoriall of this accident which befell unto him, he caused within the temple of *Minerva Chalcæcos*, a chapel to be built unto *Minerva*, surnamed *Optileta*; for that the Dorians inhabiting those parts, do call in their language, *Eies, Opteli*. It was demanded of him upon a time, why he had not established a ny written positive lawes: Because (quoth he) they that are well brought up and instructed in that discipline as it appertaineth, know well how to judge that which the time requireth. Some asked him why he had ordeined that the roofes of houses should be made with timber rough hewen with the axe, and the doores of sawen planke or boord onely, without worke of any other tooles or instruments at all? unto whom he answered: Because our citizens should be moderate in all things that they bring into their houses, and have no furniture therein that might set other mens teeth on water, or which other men do so much affect. From this custome by report it came, that king *Leorychides* the first of that name, being at supper in a friends house of his, when he saw the roofe over his head richly seced with embowed arch-woike, demanded of his host whether the trees in that country grew square or no? When he was asked why he forbade to make warre often against the same enemies: For feare (quoth he) that being forced estoones to stand upon their owne guard and put themselves in defence, they should in the end become well experienced in the warres: in which regard *Agessilus* afterwards was greatly blamed for being the cause by his continuall expeditions and invasions into *Bæotia*, that the Thebans were equall in armes unto the Lacedæmonians. Another asked also of him, why he enjoined maidens marriageable to exercise their bodies in running, wrestling, pitching the barre, flinging coits, and lancing of darts? For this purpose (quoth he) that the first rooting of their children which they are to breed, taking fast and sure holde in able bodies wel set and strongly knit, might spring and thrive the better within them; and they also themselves being more firme and vigorous, beare children afterward the better, be prepared and exercised (as it were) to endure the paines and travels of child birth easily and stoutly, over and besides, if need required, be able to fight in defence of themselves, their children and country. Some there were who found fault with the custome that he brought in, that the maidens of the city at certeine festivall daies should dance naked in solemne shewes and pomps that were set, demanding the cause thereof? to whom hee rendered this reason: That they performing the same exercises which men do, might be no lesse enabled than they, either in strength and health of body, or in vertue and generosity of minde, and by that means checke and despise the opinion that the vulgar sort had of them. And from hence it came, that *Gorgo* the wife of *Leonidas*, as we finde written, when a certeine dame and ladye of a foren country said unto her: There be no other women but you Laconian wives, that have men at command; answered in this wise: For why? we onely are the women that beare men. Moreover, he debarred and kept those men who remained unmarried, from the sight of those shewes where the yong virgins aforesaid danced naked; and that which more is, set upon them the note of infamie, in depriving them expressly of that honour and service which yonger folke are bound to yeeld unto their elders: in which doing, he had a great foresight and providence to move his citizens to marriage and for to beget children; by occasion whereof, there was never any man yet who misliked and complained of that which was said unto *Dercillidas*, by way of reproch, though otherwise he was a right good and valiant captaine; for when he came upon a time into a place, one of the yonger sort there was, who would not deigne to rise up unto him, nor give him any reverence; and this reason he gave: Because (quoth he) as yet you have not begotten a child to rise up and doe his duty likewise to me. Another asked of him, wherefore he had ordeined that daughters should be married without a dowrie or portion given with them? Because (quoth he) for default of marriage-money none of them might stay long ere they were wedded, nor be hearkened after for their goods; but that every man regarding onely the maners and conditions of a yong damosell, might make choise of her whom he meaneth to espouse, for her vertue onely; which is the reason also that he banished out of *Sparta* all maner of painting, trimming, and artificiall embellishments to procure a superficiall beauty and complexion. Having also prefixed and set downe a certeine time, within the which as well maidens as yong men might marrie; one would needs know of him why he limited forth such a definite terme? unto whom he answered: Because their children might be strong and lustie, as being begotten and conceived of such persons as be already come to their full growth. Some woondered why hee would not allow that the new married bridegrome should lie with his

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espouse; but expressly gave order that the most part of the day hee should converse with his companions, yea, and all the nights long, but whensoever hee went to keepe company with his new wedded wife, it should be secretly and with great heed and care that hee be not surprized or found with her? This (quoth he) is done to this end that they may be alwaies more strong and in better plight of body: also that by not enjoying their delights and pleasures to the full; their love might be ever fresh, and their infants betweene them more hardie and stout: furthermore, hee removed out of the citie all precious and sweete perfumes, saying: That they were no better than the verie marring and corruption of the good natural oile; the art also of dying and tincture, which he said was nothing else but the flatterie of the senses: to be brieve, he made the citie *Sparta* inaccessible (as I may say) for all jewelers and fine workmen, who professe to set out and adorne the body: giving out, that such by their lewd artificiall devices, do deprave and marre the good arts and mysteries in deed. In those daies the honestie and pudicitie of dames was such, and so far off were they from that tractable facilitie and easie access unto their love; which was afterwards, that adulterie among them was held for an unpoffible and incredible thing. And to this purpose may well be remembered the narration of one *Geradatus*, an ancient Spartane, of whom a stranger asked the question: What punishment adulterers were to suffer in the citie of *Sparta*? for that, he saw, *Lycurgus* had set downe no expresse law in that behalfe: Why (quoth he) there is no adulterie among us: but when the other replied againe: Yea, but what and if there were? even the same answer made *Geradatus*, and none other: For how (quoth he) can there be an adulterer in *Sparta*, wherein all riches, all superfluous delights and dainties, all outward trickings and embellishings of the bodie are despised and dishonoured? and where shame of doing ill, honestie, reverence and obedience to superiors carrie away all the credit and authoritie? One put himselfe forward, and was in hand with him to set up and establish the popular State of government in *Sparta*; unto whom hee answered: Begin it thy selfe first within thine owne house. And unto another who demanded of him, why he ordeined the sacrifices in *Lacedæmon* so simple and of final cost? To the end (quoth he) that we should never cease and give over to worship and honour the gods. Also when hee permitted his citizens to practise those exercises of the bodie onely, wherein they never stretched forth their hands; he was required by one to yeeld a reason thereof: Because (quoth he) none of us should in taking paines be accustomed to be wearie or to faint, and give over at any time. Likewise being asked the reason why he gave order oftentimes to change the campe, and not in one place to lie long encamped? To the end (quoth he) that we might doe the greater damage to our enemies, and hurt more of them. Another was desirous to know of him, why he forbade to give the assault unto any walles? unto whom he answered: For feare that the best men might not be killed, by a woman, a child, or some such like person. Certaine Thebanes craved his advice and opinion touching the sacrifice, divine service, and dolefull moane which was solemly made in the honour of *Leucothea*; unto whom he answered thus: If you take her for a goddesse, weepe not for her as if she were a woman; if you suppose her to be a woman, sacrifice not unto her as to a goddesse. Unto his citizens who demanded of him, how they might put backe and repulse the invasions of their enemies? Marie (quoth he) if you continue poore, and none of you do covet to have more than another. Again, when they would needs know why he would not have their citie to be walled about: Because (saith he) that citie is never without a wal, which is environed and compassed about with valiant men, and not with bricke or stone. The Spartanes also were verie curious in trimming the haire of their heads, alledging for their warrant a certaine speech of *Lycurgus* as touching that point, who was wont to say: That side-haire made them who were faire more beautifull, and those that were foule, more hideous and terrible. Likewise he gave commendement, that in their warres, when they had discomfited their enemies and put them to flight, to follow the chase so hardly, untill they were fully assured of the victorie, and then to retire withall speed, saying: That it was no act of a generous spirit, nor befitting the brave minde of the Greekeish nation, to massacre and execute those who had quit the place and were gone; besides, this also would be safe and commodious for themselves, inasmuch as the enemies who knew once their custome, namely, to put those to the sword who obstinately resist and make head, and to spare those and let them escape who flie before them; find by that means that flight is better than to stand to fight. A certaine man asked him, for what cause he would not suffer the souldiers to rife and spoile the bodies of their enemies as they fell dead: For feare (quoth hee) lest while they busie themselves, and stoupe forward to gather

thier

ther the spoiles, they should neglect their fight in the meane time, but rather entred onely with their povertie and want to keepe their range.

The Tyrant of *Sicilie Dionysius* had sent unto *LYSANDER* two futes of womens robes, that he might choofe whether of them he liked better, to carrie unto his daughter; but hee said unto him: That the herselfe knew best which to choofe, and what was fittest for herselfe, and so he tooke both away with him. This *Lysander* was a verie craftie and subtil foxe, who ordered and managed most part of his affaires by cunning casts and deceitfull devices, esteeming justice onely by utilitie, and honestie by profit; confessing in word that truth was better than falsehood; but measuring in deed the worth and price as well of the one as the other by commoditie. To them who reprooved and blamed him for conducting the most part of his enterprises by fraud and guile, and not by plaine direct force, a thing unworthy the magnanimity of *Hercules*, hee would laugh and answer: That where he could not achieve a thing by the lions skin, hee must needs low thereto a piece of the foxes case. And when others charged and accused him mightily, for that he had violated and broken his oath, which he had made in the citie *Athens*, he used to say: That children were to be deceived with cock-all-bones, but men with oaths: Having defeated the Athenians in a battell by means of an ambush, in a certaine place called the Goats-rivers, and afterward pressed them so sore with famine, that he forced them to yeeld the citie unto his mercie, he wrote unto the *Ephori* thus: *Athens* is woon. The Lacedæmonians in his time were at some difference with the Argives about their confines; and it seemed that the Argives alleged better reasons, and brought forth more direct evidences for themselves than the other; whereupon he came among them and drew his sword, saying: They that are the mightier with this, plead best for their confines. Seeing the Bœotians as he passed throw their country, hanging in equall ballance, and as yet not resolved and certaine to which side for to range themselves, he sent one unto them for to know whether they would chuse, that he marched throw their lands with speares and pikes upright, or bending downward and trailing. In a certaine assembly of the estates of *Greece*, there was a Megarian who spake bravely and audaciously unto him: Thy words my friend (quoth he) have need of a citie; meaning thereby, that he was of too weake and small a citie, as to give such glorious words. The Corinthians rebelled upon a time, whereupon he advanced with his forces against their walles, which the Lacedæmonians seemed to assaile verie coldly: but at the verie instant there was espied an hare, running crosse over the towne ditch: whereupon he tooke occasion to say: Are yee not ashamed in deed o yee Spartans, to feare such enemies, who are so idle and stirre so little abroad, that hares can sleepe quietly, even under their verie walles. When hee was at *Smothrace* to consult with the oracle there; the priest was in hand with him to confesse what was the most wicked and enormous act that ever hee did in all his life time: whereupon hee asked the priest againe: Whether is it your selfe or the gods that would know thus much, and impoeth this confession upon mee? The gods (quoth the priest) would have it so: Why then (quoth he) retire you aside out of my sight, and if they demaund the same of mee, I will answer them. A certaine Persian asked him what kinde of government hee liked best and praised most: Even that (quoth hee) which ordeineth for cowards and hardy men that reward and hire which is meet for them. Another said unto him: That in every place where he came hee was ready to commend and defend him: I have (quoth he againe) in my grounds two oxen, and neither of them speaks a word; howbeit, I know for al that, which is good of deed, and which is idle and lazie at his worke. There was one who let lie at him divers odious and reprochfull words: Speake on good fellow (quoth he) out with it hardly and spare not, vomit up all and leave nothing behinde, if haply thou canst rid and purge thy heart of all the wicked venom wherewith thou seemest to swell. Some time after, when he was dead, there arose variance betweene the allies of *Sparta* as touching certaine matters; and for to know the truth and settle all causes among them, *Agessilaus* went to *Lysanders* house, for to search certaine papers that might give light and evidence to the thing in controversie; and among other writings he chanced to light upon an oration or pamphlet penned by him as touching policie & the State; wherein he seemed to perswade the Spartans to take the roialtie and regall dignitie from the houses of the *Eurytida* and *Agida*, and to bring it to a free election of the citizens, that they might chuse for their kings out of all the citie those who were approved and known for the worst-thiest men, and not to be obliged for to take and admit of necessitie one of *Hercules* line; so as the crowne and regall state might be conferred as a reward and honoure upon him who in verie resembled

resembled *Hercules* most, considering that it was by the means thereof, that unto him were assigned the honors due unto the gods: now was *Agessilaus* fully bent to have published this oration before al the citizens, to the end that they might take knowledge how *Lysander* was another kind of man than he had beene taken for, and withall to traduce those that were his friends and bring them into obloquie, suspition, and trouble: but by report *Lacratidas* the principall man, and president of the *Ephori*, fearing lest if this oration were once divulged & openly read, it might take effect, and perswade that indeed which it pretended; staied *Agessilaus* and kept him from doing so, saying: That he should not now rake *Lysander* out of his grave, but rather enterre and burie the oration together with him, so wittily and artificially composed it was, and so effectually to perswade. Certaine gentlemen there were of the citie, who during his life were furies to his daughters in marriage; but after his death when his estate was known to be but poore, they defisted and cast them off, whereupon the *Ephori* condemned them in great fines, for that they made court unto them, so long as they esteemed him wealthy; but afterwards when they found by his poore estate that he was a righteous and just man, they made no more reckoning of his daughters but disdained them.

*NAMERTES* being sent as embassadour into a forren country, there chanced to be one of those parts who said unto him: That he held and reputed him for an happie man, because he had so many friends; unto whom he replied and asked: Whether he knew the true prooffe where-by a man might be assured that he had many friends? the other answered: No, but I pray you tell me: Why then (quoth he) it is \*advertising.

*NICANDER*, when one brought him, word that the Argives spake ill of him: It makes no matter (quoth he) are they not sufficiently chastised and punished for railing upon good men? One asked of him wherefore the Lacedæmonians wore their haire long of their heads, & suffered likewise their beards to grow side; unto whom he answered: Because a mans owne proper ornament is of all other the fairest, and costeth least. A certaine Athenian being in communication with him, cast out this word: All you Lacedæmonians (*Nicander*) love your ease well, and are idle: You say true indeed (quoth he) but we busie not our selves as you doe in every trifling matter.

*PANTHOIDAS*, being sent in embassage into *Asia*, was shewed by the people of those parts a certaine strong citie well fortified with high and goodly wals: Now by the gods (quoth he) my friends, this seemes to be a trim cloister to mue up women in. In the schoole of *Academie* the philosophers discoursed and disputed as touching many good themes, and after they had made an end, they said unto him: Now good sir o *Panthoidas*, how like you these discourses? What should I thinke of them else (quoth he) but that they are goodly and honest in shew, but surely profitable they are not, nor edifie at all, so long as your selves doe not live accordingly.

*PAUSANIAS* the sonne of *Cleombrotus*, when the inhabitants of the isle *Delos* were at debate, and pleaded for the proprietie of the said isle against the Athenians, alleging for themselves that by an old law (time out of minde) observed among them, there might none of their women beare children within the said island, nor any of their dead be buried there: How then (quoth he) can this isle be yours, if none of you were ever borne or buried there? When certaine exiled persons from *Athens* solicited him to leade his armie against the Athenians, and forto provoke him rather thereto, said: That they were the onely men who hissed and whistled at the naming of him, when he was declared victor in the solemnitie of the Olympick games: But what thinke you (quoth he) will they doe when we have wrought them some shrewd turne, since they sticke not to hisse at us being their benefactors? Another asked of him, wherefore the Lacedæmonians had enfranchized the poet *Tyrtæus* their denizen? Because (quoth he) we never would be thought to have a stranger or alien our leader and governour. There was a very weak and feeble man of bodie who neverthelesse seemed very earnest and instant to make warre upon the enemies, and to give them battell both on sea and land: Will you (quoth he) strip your selfe out of your clothes; that we may see what a goodly man of person you are, to moove and perswade us for to fight? Some there were who seeing the spoiles that were taken from the dead bodies of the Barbarians after they were slaine in the field, marvelled much at their sumptuous and costly clothes: It had been better (quoth he) that themselves had beene of more valour, and their habilements of lesse valew. After the victorie which the Greeks wan of the Persians before the citie *Platea*, he commaunded those about him to serve him up to the table that supper which the Persians had provided for themselves, which being woonderfull excessive and superfluous: Now *Par-die* (quoth he) the Persians are great gourmaunders and greedy gluttons, who

who having so great store of viands come higher among us, for to eate up our browne bread and course bisket.

PAUSANIAS the sonne of *Plisnonax*, unto one who asked him, why it was not lawfull in their countrey to alter any of their aunient statutes, made this answer: Because lawes ought to be mistresses of men, and not men masters of the lawes. Being exiled from *Sparta*, and making his abode within the citie *Tegara*, he highly praised the Lacedæmonians; one of the standers by said unto him: And why then staid not you at *Sparta*, if there be so good men there? why I say fled you from thence? Because (quoth he) physicians doe not use to keepe where folke be found and whole, but where they are sicke and diseased. One came to him and said: How shall we be able to defeat & conquer the Thracians? Mary (quoth he) if we chuse the valiantest man for our captaine. A certaine Physician advised & looked upon him very wittily, & after he had well considered his person, said: Thou ailest nothing, neither is there any evil in thee: I thinke so (quoth he) because I use none of thy counsell & physick. His friends reprooved him for speaking ill of a physician, of whom he had no prooffe nor experience, and at whose hands he had received no harme: True indeed (quoth he) I have made no triall of him; for if I had, surely I should not have bene a lives-man at this day. When a Physician said unto him: You are now become old fir: Thou saist trueth (quoth he) because I have not entertained thee for to minister physicke unto me. He was wont also to say: That he was the best Physician, who would not let his patients rot above ground, but dispatch them at once, and send them quickly to their graves.

PASDARETUS, when one said unto him: There is a great number of our enemies: Then (quoth he) shall we win greater honour, for kill we may the more of them. Seeing one who by nature was a very dastard and coward, howbeit, commended otherwise by his fellow-citizens for his modestie and mildnesse: I would not have men (quoth he) praised for being like women, nor women for resembling men, unlesse peradventure a woman be driven upon some occasion of extremitie to play the man. Having the repulse upon a time, when hee should have bene chosen into the counsell of the three hundred, which was the most honourable degree of State in all the citie, he departed from the assembly all jocund, mery and smiling; and when the *Ephori* called him backe againe, and demanded of him why he laughed? Because (quoth he) I joy in the behalfe of the citie, that it hath in it three hundred better and more sufficient citizens than my selfe.

PLISTARCHUS the sonne of *Leonidas*, when one enquired of him the cause why they carried not the denomination of their families from the names of their first kings, but of the later? Because (quoth he) those in the olde time chose rather to be leaders than kings; but their successors not. There was a certaine advocate at the barre, who in pleading for his client, was full of his jests and frumps, never ceasing to scoffe and move laughter: My friend (quoth he unto him) do you not consider and regard, that in seeming to make others for to laugh, you will cause your selfe to be ridiculous and a laughing stocke? even as those who by wrestling oft become good wrestlers? Report there was made unto him one day of a certaine foule-tongued fellow, who used to slander and back-bite all men, and yet spake all good of him: I wonder much (quoth he) if no man tolde him that I was dead; for surely he cannot for his life afford any man living one good word.

PLISTONAX the sonne of *Pausanias*, when a certaine Athenian oratour called the Lacedæmonians, unlettered and ignorant persons: Thou saiest true (quoth he) for we alone of all other Greeks, are the men who have learned no naughtinesse of you.

POLYDORUS the sonne of *Alcarnenes*, said unto one who ordinarily did nothing els but menace his enemies: Dost thou perceive how thou spendest the most part of thy revenge in these threats? He led upon a time the army from *Lacedæmon* against the citie of *Massene*; and one demanded of him, whether his heart would serve to fight against brethren? No (quoth he) but I can finde in mine heart to march into that inheritance which is not yet set out and parted by lots. The Argives, after the discomfiture of their three hundred men who fought against so many of the Lacedæmonians, were defeated a second time, all in a ranged battell; by reason whereof, the allies and confederates of the Lacedæmonians were earnest with *Polydorus* not to let slip so good an opportunitie, but to follow the traine of victorie, and to go directly to the oppugnation of their city walles, and to win it by force; which he might effect right easily, considering that all the men were killed up in the field, and none but women left alive within, to defend the citie; unto whom he answered: I am well appaied, and take this for my great honour and glory, that I have vanquished mine enemies in battell, fighting on even-hand so many to so many;

many; but being to determine the quarrell by dint of sword for our confines onely, and having exploited that, so proceed forward, and covet to assault and winne their city, I holde it not to be just and equall; for come I am to recover those lands of ours which they occupied, and not to seize upon their home-stalles. Being demanded why the Lacedæmonians exploited themselves so manfully to the hazzard of warre? It is (quoth he) because they have learned to reverence, and not to feare their rulers and capitaines.

POLYCRATIDAS being sent with others, in ambassage to the lieutenants of the king of *Persia*, when they demanded of him & the rest, whether they were come of their own proper motion, or sent by commission from the State? If we speed of that (quoth he) which we demand, 10 then are we come in the behalfe of the common weale; but if we misse, we come of our owne heads.

PHOEBIDAS immediately before the battell of *Leuctres*, when some gave out, and said: This day will trie and shew who is a good man: Such a day (quoth hee) is much worth in deed, if it be able to shew a good man.

SOUS, as it is reported (being upon a time straightly besieged by the Clitorians, in a place which was very rough and without water) made offer to render into their hands all those lands which he had conquered from them, in case that he and all his company might drinke at a certaine fountaine which was neere at hand: the Clitorians accorded thereto, and this covenant was concluded and confirmed by oath betweene them: so hee assembled all his men together, 20 and declared unto them: That if there were any amongst them would abstaine from drinke, he would resigne up into his hands all his soveraigne power and roialtie; but there was not one of all his troupe who could conteine and forbear, so exceeding thirstily they were all; but everie man drunke heartily, himselfe onely excepted, who went last downe to the spring, where he did nothing els but coole and besprinkle his body without, in the presence of his very enemies, not taking one drop inwardly: by which evasion, he would not afterwards yeeld up the forefaid lands, but alledged that they had not all drunke.

TELECRUS when one came unto him & said: That his owne father gave him alwaies hard words; made him this answer: Surely, if there were not cause to use such speeches, he would never speake so. His brother also was discontented, and complained in this wise: The citizens do 30 not beare mee such favour and kindnesse as they shew in your behalfe; notwithstanding we are the sonnes of one father and mother; but they misuse me most injuriously: Thereason is (quoth he) because you know not how to put up a wrong as I doe. Being demanded why the custome was in their country, that young men should rise up from their places where they were set, and do reverence unto their elders: It is (quoth he) to this end, that in doing this honor unto those, who nothing belonged unto them, they might learne so much the more to honour their parents. Unto another that asked him of what wealth he was, and how much goods he had? he answered: I have no more than will suffice.

CHARILLUS being asked the question why *Lycurgus* had given them so few lawes? Because (quoth he) they have no need at all of many lawes who speake but little. Another demanded 40 of him the cause, why at *Sparta* they suffered to goe forth into publick place, virgins with their faces open, but wives veiled and covered: For that (quoth he) maidens might finde them out husbands to be wedded unto, and wives keepe those whom they have married already. One of the slaves (called *Ilotes*) behaved himselfe upon a time over boldly and malapertly with him; unto whom he said: Were I not angrie, I would kill thee at my foot. One asked him what kind of government he esteemed best? Even that (quoth he) wherein most men, in managing of publicke affaires without quarrels and sedition, strive a vie who shall be most vertuous. And unto another who would needs know the reason, why at *Sparta* the images and statues of the gods were made in armor? he shaped this answer: To the end that the reproches which are fastned upon men for cowardise, might not take hold of them; also that young men should never with- 50 out their armes make their prayers unto the gods.

The Samiens had sent certaine embassadors unto *Sparta*, who after audience given, were very long and somewhat tedious in their orations; but when they had found the way to make an end, THE LORDS OF SPARTA made them this answer: The beginning of your speech we have forgotten, and we conceived not the rest because the beginning was out of our remembrance. The Thebanes upon a time had contested bravely, and contradicted them stoutly in certaine points in question, unto whom they answered thus: Either lesse hearts, or more puiffance. There was one asked a Lacedæmonian upon a time why he let his beard grow so long? Because (quoth

\* Some render this: Were compelled of necessity to be captaines or kings

*Apophthegmes of Spartans and Lacedæmonians, whose names are not expressed.*



(quoth he) whensoever I see my hoary and grey haire, I might be put in minde to doe nothing unbecoming them. When another highly praised certaine men for most valiant: a Lacedæmonian heard him and said: Oh, such were sometime at *Great Troy*. Another of them hearing it spoken, that in certaine cities men were forced to drink after supper: And doe they not (quoth he) compell them also to eate? The poet *Pindarus* in one of his canticles nameth the cite of *Athen* the prop of all *Greece*: Thē wil *Greece* quickly come tumbling down (quoth a Laconian) if it beare but upon so sleight a pillar. Another beheld a painted table, wherein was the pourtrature of the Lacedæmonians, how they were killed by the Athenians, and when one that stood by said, Now surely these Atheniās be valiant men: Yea mary (quoth he) in a picture. There was one seemed to take pleasure in hearing certaine opprobrious and slanderous words untrue given out to against a Laconian, & to beleve the same; but the partie thus misused said: Cease to lend your care against me. Another when he was punished, went crying: If I have don amisse it was against my will: Why then (answered a Laconian) let it be against thy will also that thou art punished. Another seeing men going forth of the country, set at their ease within coaches: (God forbid (quoth he) that I should sit there where I can not rise up to doe my dutie unto him that is elder than my selfe. Certaine Chians there were, who being come to see the cite of *Sparta*, chanced to be well whittled and starke drunke, who after supper went to see also the consistorie of the *Ephori*, where they cast up their gorges, yea and that which more is, both vomited and discharged their guts, even upon the very chaires where the *Ephori* was wont to sit: the morrow after, the Lacedæmonians made great search and diligent enquire at the first, who they were that thus had 20 themselves. Another Laconian seeing hard almonds sold at the double price: What (quoth he) are stones to geason heere? Another having plucked all the feathers off from a nightingale, and seeing what a little body it had: Surely (quoth he) thou art all voice and nothing else. There was likewise a Lacedæmonian, who seeing the cynick philosopher *Diogenes* in the mids of winter when it was extreme cold, embracing and clipping a brassen statue very devoutly, asked him if he chilled not for cold? and when the other answered, No; Why then (quoth he) what great matter doe you? A certaine Laconian reproched upon a time one borne in *Metapontine*, say- 30 ing: They were all cowards and false-hearted like women: If it be so (quoth the *Metapontine*) how is it that wee hold so much of other mens lands as wee doe? Why then (replied the Laconian) I see that you are not cowards onely, but unjust also. A traveller being come to *Sparta* for to see the cite, stood upright a long while upon one foote onely, and said unto a Laconian I doe not thinke thou canst stand so long of one leg as I do: Not I indeed (quoth the other) but there is not a goose but can do as much. There was one vaunted greatly what a Rhetorician he was, and namely that he was able to perswade what he would; Now by *Cassor* and *Pollux* I sweate (quoth a Laconian) there never was, nor ever will be any arte indeed without verity. A certaine *Argive* boasted much, that there were in their cite many graves & tombes of the Lacedæmonians: And contrariwise (quoth a Laconian) there is not among us one sepulcher of the *Argives*; 40 giving him thus much to understand, that the Lacedæmonians had many times entred with a puissant armie into the country of *Argos*, but the *Argives* never into the territorie of *Sparta*. A Laconian being taken prisoner in warre (when hee should bee sold in port sale, as the cite began with a loud voice to pronounce: Who will buy a Laconian, who) put his hand to the citers mouth and said: Cry for Gods sake who will buy a prisoner? One of those mercenary soldiers whom king *Lysimachus* waged, being demanded of him this question: Art thou one of these Lacedæmonian slots? Why, thinke you (quoth the other) that a Lacedæmonian will deigne to come and serve for foure obols by the day? After that the Thebans had defeated the Lacedæmonians at the battell of *Leuctres*, they invaded the country of *Laconia*, so farre as to the verie river *Eurotas*; and one of them in boasting & glorious manner, began to say; And where be now 50 these brave Laconians? what is become of them? a Laconian who was a captive among them, straight waies made this answer: They are no where now indeed, for if they were, you would never have come thus farre as you doe. At what time as the Athenians delivered up their owne cite into the hands of the Lacedæmonians, for to be at their discretion, they requested that at leastwise they would leave them the isle *Samos*: unto whom the Laconians made this answer: VVhen you are not masters of your owne, doe you demand that which is other mens: hereupon arose the common proverb through out all *Greece*:

VVho

Who cannot that which was his owne save,  
The isle of *Samos* would yett saue have.

The Lacedæmonians forced upon a time a certaine cite, and wan it by assault; which the *Ephori* being advertised of, said thus: Now is the exercise of our yong men cleane gone, now shall they have no more concurrences to keepe them occupied. When one of their kings made promise unto them for to rase another cite and destroy it utterly (if they so would) which oftentimes before had put those of *Lacedæmon* to much trouble; the said *Ephori* would not permit him, saying thus unto him: Doe not emolish and take away quite the whetstone that giveth an edge to the harts of our youth. The same *Ephori* would never allow that there should be 10 any professed masters, to teach their yong men for to wrestle and exercise other feats of activitie: To this end (say they) that there might bee jealousie and emulation among them, not in artificiall flight, but in force and vertue. And therefore when one demanded of *Lysander*, how *Chiron* had in wrestling overcome him and laid him along on the plaine ground: Even by flight and cunning (quoth he) and not by pure strength. *Philip* king of *Macedonia*, before he made entrie into their country, wrote unto them to this effect: Whether they had rather that he entred as a friend, or as an enemy: unto whom they returned this answer: Neither one nor the other. When they had sent an embassadour to *Demetrius* the sonne of *Antigonus*, having intelligence that the said embassadour in parle with him, effsoones gave him the name of King, they condemned him to pay a fine when he was returned home; notwithstanding that hee 20 brought as a present and gratuite from the said *Demetrius*, in time of extreme famine, a certaine measure of come called *Medimnus*, for every poll throughout the whole cite. It hapned that a leud and wicked man delivered in a certaine consultation very good counsell: this advice of his they approoved right well, howbeit receive it they would not comming out of his mouth, but caused it to be pronounced by another who was known to be a man of good life. Two brethren there were at variance, and in sute of law together; the *Ephori* let a good fine upon their fathers head, for that he neglected his sonnes, and suffred them to maintaine quarrell and debate one against another. A certaine musician who was a stranger and a traveller, they likewise condemned to pay a summe of money, for that he strake the strings of his harpe with his fingers. Two boies fought together, and one gave the other a mortall wound with a sickle or reaping hook; 30 & when the boy that was hurt lay at the point of death, & was ready to yeeld up the ghost, other companions of his promised to be revenged for his death, and to kill the other, who thus deadly had wounded him: Doe not so I beseech you (quoth he) as you love the gods, for that were injustice; and even I my selfe had done as much for him, if I had beene ought, and could have raught him first. There was another yong lad, unto whom certaine mates and fellows of his (in that season wherein yong lads were permitted freely to filch whatsoever they could handsomely come by, but reputed it was a shamefull and infamous thing for them to be surprized and taken in the manner) brought a yong cub or little foxe to keepe alive, which they had stolen: those who had lost the said cub came to make search; now had this lad hidden it clofe under his clothes, & the unhappie beast being angered, gnawed & bit him in the flanke as far as to his very bowels, 40 which he endured resolutely and never quetched at it, for feare he should be discovered: but after all others were gone and the search past, when his companions saw what a shrewd turne the curst cub had done him; they chid him for it, saying: That it had been far better to have brought forth the cub and shewed him, rather than to hide him thus with danger of death: Nay I wis (quoth he) for I had rather die with all the dolorous torments in the world, than for to save my life shamefully to be detected so, for want of a good heart. Some there were who encountered certaine Laconians upon the way in the country, unto whom they said: Happie are you that can come now this way, for the thieves are but newly gone from hence: Nay forsooth (by god *Mars* we sweate) we are never the happier therefore; but they rather, because they are not fallen into our hands. One demanded of a Laconian upon a time, what he knew and was skillfull in? 50 Mary in this, to be free. A yong lad of *Sparta* being taken prisoner by King *Antigonus*, and sold among other captives, obeyed him who had bought him in all things that he thought meet for to be done by a freeman; but when he commanded to bring him an urinall or chamber-pot to pisse in; he would not endure that indignitie, but said: Fetch it your selfe for me, I am no servant for you in such ministeries: now when his master urged him thereto and pressed hard upon him, hee ran up to the ridge or rooffe of the house, and said: You shall see what an one you have bought; and with that cast himselfe downe with his head forward, and brake his

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owne

owne necke. Another there was to be sold; and when the partie who was about him, said thus: Wilt thou be good and profitable if I doe buy thee? Yea that I will (quoth he) though you ne-  
 ver buy me. Another there was likewise upon sale in open market, and when the crier proclai-  
 med aloud: Here is a slave, who buies him, who? A shame take thee (quoth he) couldst not thou  
 say, a captive or prisoner, but a slave. A Laconian had for the badge or ensigne of his buckler a  
 flie painted, and the same no bigger than one is naturally; whereupon some mocked him and  
 flie painted, and the same no bigger than one is naturally; because he would not be known by it: Nay rather  
 said: That he had made choise of this ensigne, because he would not be known by it: Nay rather  
 (quoth he) I did it, because I would be the better marked: for I meane to approch mine enemies  
 (quoth he) I did it, because I would be the better marked: for I meane to approch mine enemies  
 to neere, that they may see how great or little my cognifance is. Another there was, who when  
 there was rendered unto him at the end of a banquet, the harpe to play upon according to the  
 custome of *Greece*, refused it and said: The Laconians have not yet learned to play the foolles.  
 One asked a Spartan once, if the way that led to *Sparta*, were safe or no? but he answered thus:  
 Even according as a man doth goe downe thither: for \* they who goe thither as lions, be  
 hardly entreated and rue their comming; but hares we hunt from under the shade of their bor-  
 oughs. In wrestling it chanced that a Laconian was caught hold on by the necke, and notwithstanding  
 standing that he strove what he could to make the other leave his hold; yet hee forced him and  
 made him stoupe groveling downeward to the ground: the Laconian seeing himselfe feeble in  
 the reines of the backe, and at the point to be laide along, bit the others arme who held him so  
 hard, whereupon hee began to crie: What thou Laconian, dost thou bite like women? No  
 (quoth he) but I bite as lions use to do. A certaine Laconian who was maimed and lame of this  
 legge, went to warfare, whereupon some mocked him; but hee said unto them: It is not for  
 those to goe into the warres who are good of foot-manship and can runne away apace; but such  
 as are able to make good their ground and keepe well their ranke. Another Laconian being  
 shot thorow the body with an arrow, when he was at the point to yeeld up his vitall breath, said  
 thus: It never grieves me to leese my life, but to die by the hand of an effeminate archer, before  
 I came to hand-strokes, that is it that troubleth me. Another being come to an hostellie or  
 inne to be lodged in, gave his hoste that kept the inne, a piece of flesh to dresse for his supper;  
 but hee called for cheefe besides and oyle: And what needes that (quoth the Laconian) if I  
 had cheefe, do you thinke that I would desire to have any viands more? Another hearing the  
 marchant named *Lampus* borne in *Aegina*, highly praised and esteemed happie, for that he was  
 exceeding rich, and had many great ships going at sea: I never (quoth hee) make reckoning of  
 that felicitie, which hangeth by ropes and cords. Another likewise answered unto one who said  
 unto him: Thou liest Laconian: And why not? (quoth he) wee are free, as for others that hap-  
 pen to speake untruths, they are wel punish for it and crie out, alas. There was a Laconian who  
 laboured hard to make a dead body stand upright upon his feet; but when he saw that he could  
 not bring his purpose to effect, do what he could: Now by *Jupiter* (quoth hee) there wanteth  
 somewhat that should bee within. *Tynnichus* the Laconian, when his sonne *Thrahybulus* was  
 slaine in the warre, tooke his death verie well and like a man, whereupon was this Epigram  
 made:

*Thy body was upon the sheild  
 of Thrahybulus brought  
 All breathlesse to the armed troupe,  
 from place where thou hadst fought:  
 Seven deadly wounds at Ar gives hands  
 thou didst receive in fight,  
 And on the forepart of thy corps,  
 thou shew'st them all in fight.  
 Thy father old Sir Tynnichus  
 it tooke with blood beaid,  
 And putting it in funerall fire,  
 with good cheere thus he said:  
 Let cowardes weepe and waile thy death;  
 but I thy father kinde,  
 Will shed no teares, nor semblance make  
 of sad and grieved minde:  
 But thee enterre (my sonne) as doth*

beseme

*beseme thy fathers child,  
 And as a true Laconian,  
 who loves to die in field.*

The master of the baines where *Alcibiades* the Athenian was wont to bathe and wash him-  
 selfe, powred great store of water upon his bodie more than ordinarily upon others; a Laconi-  
 an being then by said: It seemeth that he is not cleane and neat, but that he is exceeding foule  
 and filthie, that he bestoweth so much water upon him. When King *Philip* of *Macedonia* entred  
 with a maine army into *Laconia*, at what time as it was thought all the Lacedaemonians were kil-  
 led up and dead, he said unto one of the Spartans: O poore Laconians, what will you do now?  
 10 what else (quoth the Laconian) but die valiantly like men; for we alone of all other Greeks have  
 beene taught to live free and not to serve in bondage under any others. After that King *Agis*  
 was vanquished; *Antipater* the king demanded of the Lacedaemonians for hostages, fittie chil-  
 dren of theirs: *Eteocles* one of the *Ephori* for the time being, returned this answer: That hee  
 would not deliver into his hands any of their children, for feare they would learne ill manners  
 and lewd conditions; for that they should not be brought up and nourtered in the discipline of  
 their owne country, and wanting it they would not prove so much as good citizens; but if he  
 would be so content, he should receive for pledges women or old men, twice as many. And when  
 he menaced hereupon and said: That he would worke him all the despite that possibly he could;  
 they answered all with one accord: If thou impose upon us those conditions which are more  
 20 grievous than death, we shall die with so much the better will. One old man desirous to see the  
 combats at the Olympicke games, could not get a roome to sit in, but passed along by manic  
 places, and no man would make him roome, but fell to laugh and made good game at him, un-  
 till he came at length to that quarter of the whole theater, whereas the Lacedaemonians were set;  
 and there all the children, yea and many of the men rose up unto him, and offered him their  
 place: all the whole assembly of the Greekes observed well this behaviour of theirs, and with  
 great applause and clapping of hands, approoved and praised the same: then the good olde  
 father

*Shaking his head with haire all gray,  
 His beard also as hoare as they.*

30 and weeping withall: Ah, God helpe (quoth he) what a world is this? that Greekes should all of  
 them know well enough what is good and honest; but the Lacedaemonians onely practise it?  
 Some write, that the same hapned in *Athens* also, at the festivall solemnitie called *Panathena*;   
 where those of *Athens* plaied mock-holiday, and made themselves merry with a poore olde man,  
 who they seemed to call unto them (as it were) to give him a place among them; but after hee  
 was come to them, no roome he could have with them, but was well mocked and flumped for  
 his labour: howbeit, when he had passed along by all the rest, at length he came to a place where  
 certaine ambassadours of *Lacedaemon* were set, and they made him roome, and set him among  
 them: the people there assembled, taking great pleasure to see this act, clapped their hands a-  
 loud, with great acclamation, in token that they approved it: then one of the Spartans, who  
 40 there was: By the two twin-gods, *Caster* and *Pollux* (quoth he) I sweare, these Athenians know  
 what is good and honest, but they doe not according to their knowledge. A begger upon a  
 time craved almes of a Laconian, who answered him thus. But if I should give thee any thing,  
 thou wouldst make an occupation of it, and beg still so much the more; for verily, whosoever  
 he was that first bestowed almes upon thee, was the cause of this villanous life which thou lea-  
 dest now, and hath made thee so vagrant and idle as thou art. Another Laconian seeing a col-  
 lectour going about, and gathering mens devotions for the gods, said thus: I will now make no  
 more reckoning of the gods, so long as they be poorer than my selfe. A certaine Spartan hav-  
 ing taken an adulterer in bed with his wife, a foule and illfavoured woman: Wretched man that  
 thou art (quoth he) what necessitie hath driven thee to this? Another having heard an oratour  
 50 making long periods, and drawing out his sentence in length: Now by *Caster* and *Pollux*, what  
 a valiant man is he here? how he rolleth and roundly turneth his tongue about, and all to no pur-  
 pose. A traveller passing thorow *Lacedaemon*, marked among other things, what great honour  
 and reverence yong folke did to their elders: I perceive (quoth he) there is no place to *Sparta*,  
 for an olde man to live in. A Spartan was upon a time asked the question, what maner of Poet  
*Tyrtaeus* was? A good Poet beleeveme (quoth he) to \* wher and sharpen the courages of yong  
 men to warre. Another having very badde and disealed cies, would needs goe to warfare; and  
 when others said unto him: Wilt thou go indeed in that case as thou art in? what deed thinkest  
 thou

thou to do there? Why (quoth he) if I do no other good els, I will be sure to dull the brightnesse of mine enemies sword. *Buris* and *Speris*, two Lacedæmonians, voluntarily departed out of their countrey, and went to *Xerxes* king of *Persia*, offering themselves to suffer that paine and punishment, which the Lacedæmonians had deserved by the sentence of the oracle of the gods, for killing those heralds which the king had sent unto them; who being come before him, were desiring that he should put them to death in what maner he would himselfe, for to acquit the Lacedæmonians: the king wondering at this resolution of theirs, not onely pardoned the fault, but earnestly requested them to stay with him, promising them liberrall enterainment: And how can we (say they) live here, abandoning our native soile, our lawes, and those kinde of men, for whose sake to die we have so willingly undertaken this long voiage? and when a great captaine<sup>10</sup> under the king, named *Indarnes*, intreated them fill very instantly, assuring them upon his word, that they should be kindly used, and in equall degree of credit and honour, with those who were, in highest favour with the king, and most advanced by him, they said unto him: It seemeth unto us sir, that you full little know what is liberty and freedome; for he that wist what a jewell it were, if he be in his right wits, would not change the fame for the whole realme of *Persia*. A certaine Laconian as he way-fared, came unto a place where there dwelt an olde friend and host of his, who the first day, of purpose avoided him and was out of the way, because he was not minded to lodge him; but the morrow after, when he had either hired or borrowed faire bedding, coverings and carpets, received him very stately; but this Laconian mounting up to his beds, trampled and stamped the faire and rich coverlets under his feet, saying withall: I be shew these fine beds<sup>20</sup> and trim furniture, for they were the cause that yesternight I had not so much as a mat to lie upon, when I should sleepe and take my rest. Another of them, being arrived at the city of *Athens* and seeing there the Athenians going up and downe the city, some crying salt-fish to sell, others flesh and such like viands; some like publicanes, sitting at the receit of custome, other professing the trade of keeping brothel-houses, and exercising many such vile and bale occupations, esteeming nothing at all foule and dishonest: after he was returned home into his owne countrey, when his neighbours and fellow-citizens asked him, what newes at *Athens*, and how all things stood there? Passing well (quoth he) and it is the best place that ever I came in (which he spake by way of mockerie and derision) every thing there, is good and honest; giving them to understand, that all meanes of gaine and lucre, were held lawfull & honest at *Athens*, and nothing<sup>30</sup> there, was counted villanous and dishonest. Another Laconian being asked a question, answered; No: and when the party who mooved the question said: Thou liest; the Laconian replied againe, and said: See what a foole thou art, to aske me that which thou knowest well enough thyselfe! Certaine Laconians were lent upon a time, ambassadours to *Lygdamis* the tyrant, who put them off from day to day, and hastened with them so, as he gave them no audience; at the last, it was tolde them, that hee was at all times weake and ill at ease, and not in case to be conferred with: the ambassadours thereupon said unto him who brought this word unto them: Tell him from us, that we are not come to wrestle, but to parle onely with him. A certaine priest, induced a Laconian into the orders and ceremonies of some holy religion; but before that he would fully receive and admit him, he demanded of him what was the most grievous sinne that ever he committed, and which lay heaviest upon his conscience? The gods know that best (quoth the Laconian: but when the priest pressed hard upon him, and was very importunate, protesting that there was no remedie, but he must needs utter and confesse it: unto whom (quoth the Laconian) must I tell it, unto you or to the God whom you serve? unto God (quoth the other:) Why then turne you behind me (quoth hee) or retire aside out of hearing. Another Laconian chanced in the night to goe over a church-yard by a tombe or monument, and imagined that he saw a spirit standing before him; whereupon he advanced forward directly upon it with his javelin; and as he ran full upon it, and as he thought, strake thorow it, he said withall: Whither fliest thou from me, ghost that thou art, now twise dead? Another having vowed to fling himselfe headlong from the high Promontorie *Leucas*, downe into the sea, mounted up the top thereof, but when hee saw, what an huge downfall it was, he gently came downe againe on his feet: now when one twitted and reproched him therefore: I wist not (quoth he) that this vow of mine had need of another greater than it. Another Laconian there was, who in a battell and hot medley, being fully minded to kill his enemy who was under him, and to that purpose had lifted up his sword backe, to give him a deadly wound; so soone as ever hee heard the trumpet sound the retreat, presently staied his hand, and would no more follow his stroake: now when one asked him, why he slew not his enemy whom he had in his hands? Because (quoth he) it is better<sup>40</sup> to

to obey a captaine, than to kill an enemy. There was a Laconian tooke the soile in wrestling at the Olympicke games; and when one cried aloud: Thy concurrent is better than thou, Laconian: Better (quoth hee) not so, but in deed he can skil better than I of supplanting and tripping.



## THE CVSTOMES AND ORDINANCES AMONG THE LACEDÆMONIANS.



HE manner and custome was at *Lacedæmon*, that when they entred into their publicke halles where they tooke their meats and meales together; the eldest man of the whole companie should shew the doores unto everie one as they came, and say unto them: At these doores there goeth not forth so much as one word. The most exquisite dish among them was a messe of broth, which they called Blacke-pottage; inso much as when that was served up to the table, the elder folke would not care for any flesh meats, but leave all them fame for the yonger fort. And (as it is reported) *Demys* the Tyrant of *Sicily*, for this purpose bought a Cooke from *Lacedæmon*, and commaunded him to make him such pottage and spare for no cost; but after he had a little tasted thereof, he found it so bad that he cast up all that he had taken of it; but his Cooke said unto him: Sir, if you would finde the goodnesse of this broth, you must be exercised first after the<sup>50</sup> Lacedæmonian manner, all watted, and be well washed in the river *Enrotas*. Now after the Laconians have eat & drunk soberly at these ordinaries, they returne home to their houses without torch or any light before them: for it is not lawfull for any man at *Lacedæmon*, to go either from thence or to any place else with a light carried before him in the night; because they should bee accustomed to keepe their way, and goe confidently without leare, all night long in the darke without any light at all. To write and reade they learned for necessitie onely; as for all other forein sciences and literature they banished them quite out of their coasts, like as they did all strangers and aliens: and in verie truth their whole studie was to learne how to obey their superiours, to endure patiently all travels, to vanquish in fight, or to die for it in the place. All the yeere long they went in one single gaberdine without coat at all under it; and ordinarily they were<sup>40</sup> foule and sullied, as those who used not the stoupes & baines, ne yet annointed themselves for the most part. Their boies and yong men commonly slept together in one dorter, by bands and troups, upon pallets and course beds, which they themselves gathered, breaking and tearing with their owne hands without any edged tooles, the heads of caues and reeds which grew along the banks of the river *Enrotas*: and in winter time they strewed and mingled among, a certaine kind of Thistle downe, which they call *Lyophanes*; for they are of opinion, that such stuffe hath in it (I wot not what) which doth heat them. It was lawfull and permitted among them to love yong boies for their good minds and vertuous natures; but to abute their persons wantonly and fleshly, was reputed a most infamous thing, as if such were lovers of the bodie and not of the minde; in such fort, as whosoever was accused and attaint thereof, became noted with infamie,<sup>50</sup> and shame followed him wherefoever he went all his life time. The custome was that elder folke when and wherefoever they met with yonger, should demand whither and whereabout they went? yea and checke and chide them, if they were to seeke of a good answere or if they went about to devise colourable excuses: and whosoever he was that did not reprove him that did a fault in his presence, incurred the same reprehension and blame as he did who transgressed; yea and if he chafed and shewed himselfe discontented, when he was reprooved, he sustained reproch, disgrace and discredit thereby. If peradventure one were suspected and taken tardie in some fault; he must be brought to a certaine altar within the citie, and there forced to go round about

about it singing a song, made of purpose for his owne reproofe, and containing naught else, but the blame and accusation of himselfe. Moreover, yong folke were not onely to honor their owne fathers, and to be obedient unto them; but also to shew reverence unto all other elder persons; namely, in yielding them the better hand, in turning out of their way when they met them, and giving them the wall, in rising up from their seats before them when they came in place, and in standing still when they passed by: and therefore everie man had a certaine hand of government, and dispose, not onely (as in other cities) over their owne children, their proper servants and goods; but also they had a regard of their neighbours children, servants and goods, as well as if they had bene their owne: they made use also of them as of things common, to the end, that to each one everie thing might be (as it were) his owne in proprietie. Whereupon, if it fortuned that a child having bene chastised by another man, went to complaine thereof to his owne father; it was a shame for the said father, if he gave him not his payment againe: for by the ordinarie course of discipline in that countrey, they were assured, that their neighbors would impose nothing upon their children, but that which was good and honest. Yong lads were used to fitch and steale whatsoever they could come by, for their food and victuals; yea and they learned from their verie infancie, to forelay and lie prettily in ambush for to surprisethose who were asleepe, & stood not well upon their guards: but say that one were taken in the manner when he stealerh; this was his punishment, namely, to be whipped and to fast from meat; expressly therefore and of very purpose they were allowed verie little to eate, to the end that they might be driven upon verie extreame necessitie to make shifts and expose themselves venturously into any danger, yea and to devise alwaies some cunning craft or other to steale more cleanly: but generally the reason and effect of this their straight diet was, that they should long before accustom their bodies never to be full, but able to endure hunger; for that in deed they were of opinion, that they should be the meetest for foulitarie, if they could take paines and travell without food; yea and that it was a good meanes to be more continent, sober, and thrifte; if they were taught & inured to continue a long time with small cost & expence: to be brieve, persuaded they were: That to abstaine eating of flesh or fish dressed in the kitchin, or to feed savordy of bread or any other viands that came next to hand, made mens bodies more healthy, & caused them to burnish and grow up; for that the naturall spirits not pressed nor over-charged with a great quantitie of meat, and so by that meanes not kept and depressed downward, but dispersed and spread in largeness and breadth, gave libertie for the bodies to shoot up, waxe tall, and per-  
fectible; yea and made them more faire and beautifull; for that the habitudes and complexion which be slender, lank and empie, are more obsequent unto that naturall vertue and facultie which giveth forme and fashion to the limmes; whereas those who be corpulent, grosse, full, and given to much feeding, by reason of weight and heavines resist the same. They set their minds also to compose and make proper ditties and ballads, yea, and no lesse studious are they to sing the same; having alwaies in these their compositions, a certaine pricke or sting (as it were) to stir up and provoke their courage and stomacke, to enspire also into the hearts of the hearers a considerate resolution, and an ardent zeale and affection to doe some brave deed: the ditties were plaine, simple, and without all affectation; containing in manner nothing else, but the praises of those who had lived virtuously, and died valiantly in the warres for the defense of *Sparta*, as being of all others most happie; as also the blame and reproch of such as for cowardise and faint heart were afraid to die, whom they accounted to live a wretched and miserable life. Moreover they stood much upon promises of future prowess or vanteries of present valour, according to the diversitie of their ages who chanted the said songs; for alwaies in their solemne and publike feasts, three quiers or dances there were: one of old folke, and the foreburthen of their canticle was this:

*The time was when we gallant were,  
Youthfull and hardy, void of feare.*

Next to it came in place a daunce of men in their best age and full strength, who answered them so in this wise:

*But we are come to prooffe, and now at best;  
Try who that list, to fight we are now prest.*

And a third followed after of children who chaunted thus:

*And we one day shall be both tall and strong;  
Surpassing far, if that we live so long.*

Now their very notes and tunes to the measures and numbers whereto they daunced and marched

ched in battell against their enemies after the sound of the flute, were appropriate and fitted to incite their hearts to valour, confident securitie, and contempt of death: for *Lycurgus* did study and endeavor to joine the exercise & practise of militarie discipline with the pleasure of musick, to the end, that warlike and vehement motions being mingled and delaid with sweet melodie, might be tempered with a delectable accord and harmonie: and therefore in battels before the charge and first shock of the conflict, their king was wont to sacrifice unto the Muses, for this entent, that the soldiers in fight might have the grace to performe some glorious and memorable exploits. But if any man passed one point beyond this ancient musicke, they would not endure him, in so much as the *Ephori* set a fine upon the head of *Terpander* (though otherwise he loved antiquitie well enough, and was the best harper in his time, yea & tooke greatest delight to praise the heroicke acts of the renowned woorthies in times past) and more than that, they hung up his harp upon a stake or post, onely because he had set to it one string more than ordinarie, whereby he might varie his voice the better with more sundry notes; for they allowed no songs nor sonets but such as were plaine and simple; and when *Timothus* at the feast *Carnia* played upon the harpe for to winne the prize; one of the *Ephori* taking a skene or knife in his hand, asked him, on whether side, either above or beneath, he would rather have him to cut a two the strings which were more than seven. Moreover *Lycurgus* tooke from them all vaine & superfluous feare as touching sepulchers, permitting them to burie their dead within the citie, and to reare their monuments and tombs round about the temples of their gods: he cut off likewise all pollutions of mortuaries, and would not give them leave to enterre any thing with the corps, but onely to enwrap the same within a winding sheet of red cloth, together with olive leaves strewed among, and the same indifferently to all bodies, no more to one than another: sensibly he put downe all epitaphes and superscriptions upon graves, unless it were for such as lost their lives in battell; forbidding all mourning and dolefull lamentations. Furthermore it was unlawfull for them to make voiajes into strange countries, for feare they should learne forreign fashions and uncivill manners, favouring of no good bringing up; and for the same reason, *Lycurgus* banished aliens out of the citie, lest if they should thither resort, by reason of their confuence, they might teach and shew the citizens their vices. And as for citizens borne, any of them would not suffer their children to be brought up according to the discipline and institution of the citie, they might not enjoy the rights and privileges of free burgesse. Some say also that *Lycurgus* ordained; If a very alien would yeeld to the observation of his discipline, and be ranged under the policie of the State, he might enjoy one of those portions which from the beginning was set out and appointed; but he was not allowed to sell the same. The maner and custome was in *Lacedemon*, to make use of their neighbours servants, even as well as of their owne, whensoever they had any businesse or occasion to employ them; as also to make bold with their horses and hounds, unless the owners themselves and masters had present need of them. In the countrey also and territorie of *Laconia*, if they stood in need of anything that was in their neighbours house, they would goe boldly and aske no leave, to their cupboards, presses, coffers, and such places where the thing was, make no more ado but open them, take out and carie away  
whatsoever they thought good; so they made fast and shut againe the roome out of which they had taken ought. To warfare they went in red liveries, both for that they thought this colour more decent for a man, as also because it resembled blood, it sticke the greater feare into those who were not used thereto; besides, there was good use and profit thereof in this respect, that if any of them hapned to be wounded, the enemies could not so perceive it, because that colour looked so like unto blood. Whensoever they had vanquished their enemies by some stratagem that their capitaines used, their maner was to sacrifice an ox unto *Mars*; but if they got a victorie by fine force & open manhood, they sacrificed a cock; by which meanes, they occasioned their leaders to be not onely valiant, but also politicke warriors. Among other praies that they made unto the gods this was ever one: That they might have the power and grace to beare wronges; but the shame of all their supplications was this: That the gods would vouchsafe them honour for well doing, & no more. If they worshipped the goddess *Venus* in her compleat armor, and made all the images of their gods, as well female as male, with launces and javelins in their hands, as if they all had militar and martiall verue in them. Also they used this saying as a common proverbe: *Call upon fort are in each enterprife; millius*  
*With hand stretch forth; woe otherwise.*  
As if they would say, that we ought when we invoke the gods, to enterprife somewhat our selves,

selves, and lay our hands to worke, or else not to call upon them. They used to let their children see the Ilotes when they were drunk, to keepe them by their example from drinking much wine. They never knocked and rapped at their neighbours doores, but stood without, and called aloud to those within. The curry-combes that they occupied were not of iron, but of canes and reeds. They never heard any comedies or tragedies acted, because neither in earnest nor in game they would not heare those that any wise contradicted the lawes. When *Archilochus* the poet was come to *Sparta*, they drave him out the very same houre that he came, for that they knew he had made these verses, wherein he delivered: That it was better to fling away weapons than to die in the field:

*A foole he is, who trusting in his shield,  
Doth venture life and limme in bloody field:  
As for mine owne, I have it flung me fro  
And left behind in bushes thicke that grow.*

Others translate it thus.

*Some say as now, in that my doubtie shield  
Doth take great joy, which flying out of field,  
Though full against my mind, I flung me fro  
And left behind in bushes thicke that grow.  
Although it were right good, yet would not I  
Presume to fight with it, and so to dy,  
Farewell my shield, though thou be lost and gone,  
Another day as good I shall buy one.*

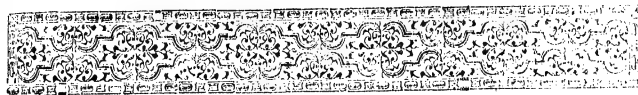
All their sacred and holy ceremonies were common, as well for their daughters as their sonnes. The Ephori condemned one *Siraphidas*, to pay a summe of money, for that he suffered himselfe to take wrong and abuse at many mens hands. They caused one to be put to death for playing the hypocrite, and wearing sackcloth like a publike penitent, for that the saide sackcloth was purfled with a border of purple. They rebuked and checked a yoong man as he came from the ordinary place of exercise, for that he frequented it still, knowing as he did the way to *Pytea*, where was held the assembly of the States of *Greece*. They chased out of the citie a Rhetorician named *Cephisophon*, because he made his boast; That he could speak if it were a whole day of any theme proposed unto him; for they said: That speech ought to be proportionable to the subject matter. Their children would endure to be lashed & whipped all the day long, yea, and many times even to death, upon the altar of *Diana*, surnamed *Orthia*, taking joy and pleasure therein, striving a vie for the victorie who could hold out longest; and looke who was able to abide most beating, he was best esteemed, and caried away the greatest praise: this strife & emulation among them was called the *Vhippados*; and once every yeere they observed such an exercise. But one of the best, most commendable and blessed things that *Lycurgus* provided for his citizens; was the plentie & abundance that they had of rest & leisure; for they were not allowed at all to meddle with any mechanicall arte; and to trafficke and negotiate painfully for to gather and heape up goods, was in no wise permitted; for he had so wrought that riches among them was neither honored nor desired. The Ilotes were they that ploughed and tilled their ground for them, yeelding them as much as in old time was set downe and ordeined; and execrable they esteemed it to exact more of any of them, to the end that those Ilotes for the sweetness of gain which they found thereby, might serve them more willingly, and themselves covert to have no more than the old rate. Forbidden likewise were the Lacedæmonians to be mariners, or to fight at sea; yet afterwards for all that, they fought triall battels, and became lords of the sea; howbeit they soone gave that over, when they once saw that the manners and behavior of their citizens were thereby corrupted and depraved; but they changed afterwards againe, and were mutable, as well in this as in all other things: for the first that gathered and hoarded up money for the Lacedæmonians, were condemned to death, by reason that there was an ancient oracle which delivered this answer unto *Alcamenes* and *Theopompus*, two of their kings,

*Avarice one day (who ever lives to see)*

*Of Sparta citie will the ruine bee.*

And yet *Lysander* after he had wonne the citie of *Athens*, brought into *Sparta* a great masse of gold and silver, which the citizens received willingly, and did great honour unto the man himselfe for his good service. True it is, that so long as the citie of *Sparta* observed the lawes of *Lycurgus*, and kept the othes which it was sworne by, she was a paragon, yea and the soveraigne of all

all *Greece*, in good government and glorie for the space of 300. yeeres: but when they came once to transgresse the saide lawes and breake their oathes; avarice and covetousnesse crept in among them by little and little, and they with all their puissance & authoritie decreased, yea and their allies and confederates heereupon began to be ill affected unto them: and yet being as they were in this declining estate, after that king *Philip* of *Macedonia* had wonne the battell at *Charonea*, when all other cities and states of *Greece*, by a generall consent, and with one accord had chosen him the generall capitaine of all the Greeks, as well for land as sea, yea, and after him his sonne *Alexander* the Great, upon the destruction of the citie *Thebes*, only the Lacedæmonians, notwithstanding their citie lay all open, without any wall about it, and themselves were brought to a very small number by occasion of their continuall warres, which had wasted and consumed them, whereby they were become very feeble, and by consequence more easie to be defeated than ever before, yet for that they had retained still some little reliques of the government established by *Lycurgus*, they would never yeeld to serve under those two mightie monarches, no nor other kings of *Macedonia* their successors, neither would they be present at the generall diets and common assemblies of other states, nor contribute any money with the rest, untill they having utterly cast aside and rejected the lawes of *Lycurgus*, they were held under and yoked with the tyranny of their owne citizens; namely when they retained no part of the ancient discipline, whereby they grew like unto other nations, and utterly lost their old reputation, glory, and libertie of franke speech, so as in the end they were brought into servitude, and even at this day be subject unto the Roman empire, as well as other cities and states of *Greece*.



## THE APOPTHEGMES, THAT IS TO SAY, THE NO- BLE SAYINGS AND ANSWERS OF LACEDÆMONIAN DAMES.



**A**RGILEONIS the mother of *Brasidas*; (after that her sonne was slaine, when certaine embassadors from the citie *Amphipolis* came to *Sparta*, and visited her;) demanded of them, whether her sonne died like a valiant man, and as became a Spartan? now when they praised him exceedingly, saying that he was the bravest man in armes in all *Lacedæmon*; she said againe unto them: My sonne was indeed a knight of valour and honour (my good friends;) but *Lacedæmon* hath many others yet more valiant than he was.

**G**ORGO, the daughter of king *Cleomenes*, when *Aristagoras* the Milesian was come to *Sparta*, for to sollicit *Cleomenes* to make warre upon the king of *Persia*, in the defence of the Ionians freedome; and in consideration heereof promised him a good round summe of money; and the more that he contradicted and denied the motion, the more he still augmented the summe of money which he promised: Father (quoth she) this stranger here will corrupt you if you, send him not the sooner out of your house. Also when her father willed hir one day to deliver certaine corn unto a man, by way of a reward and recompence, saying withall: For this is he who hath taught me how to make wine good: How now, good father (quoth she) shall there be more wine drunke still, considering that they who drinke thereof become more delicate and lesse valorous? When she saw how *Aristagoras* had one of his men to put on his shooes: Father (quoth she) heere is a stranger that hath no hands. When she saw a forreiner comming toward her who was wont to goe softly and delicatlie, she thrust him from her



her and said: *Avaunt idle lusk as thou art, and get thee gone, for thou art not so good of deed as a woman.*

GYRTIAS, when *Acrotatus* her nephew or daughters sonne, (from out of a braule and fray that was betwene him and other yoonkers his companions) was brought home with many a wound, inso much as no man looked for life; seeing his familiar friends and those of his acquaintance, waile and take on piteously: What (quoth she) let be this weeping and lamentation, for now hath he shewed of what blood he is descended; neither ought wee to crie out and bewaile for the hurts of valiant men, but rather to goe about their cure and salve them; if haply we may save their lives. When a messenger coming out of *Candia*, where he served in the warres, brought newes that the said *Acrotatus* was slaine in fight: Why (quoth she) what else should he do, being once gone forth to warre, but either die himselfe or else kill his enemies? yet had I rather heare, and it doth me much more good that he died woorthy my selfe, woorthy his native country and his progenitours, than that he should live as long as possible a man could, like a coward and man of no woorth.

DEMETRIA hearing that her sonne proved a dastard, and indeed not woorthy to be her sonne, so soone as ever he was returned from the wars, she killed him with her owne hands; whereupon was made this epigram of her:

*By mothers hand was slaine one Demetrie,  
For that he brake the lawes of chivalrie,  
No marvell, she a noble Spartan dame  
Disclaime her sonne, unwoorthy of that name.*

Another woman of *Lacedæmon* being given to understand, that her sonne had abandoned his ranke, made him likewise away, as unwoorthy of that country wherein he was borne, saying: That he was no sonne of hers: And thereupon this epigram also was composed of her:

*Amischiefe take thee wicked impe,  
be gone in devils name  
Through balefull darknesse: Hatred is  
too good, and earthly shame:  
For cowards such of craven kind  
like hims, are not to drinke,  
Nor wash in faire Eurotas streame  
their bodies, as I thinke.  
Avaunt thou cur-dogge, w helpe to hell,  
thou devils limme unmon'd,  
unwoorth by Sparta soile thou art  
for thee I never grow'd.*

Another, hearing that her sonne was saved and had escaped out of the hands of his enemies, wrote thus unto him: There runneth a naughtie rumor of thee; either stop the course thereof, or else live not. There was another likewise, whose children had fled out of the battell, and when they came home unto her, she welcomed them in this manner: VVhither goe you running leawd lozels and cowardly slaves as you are; thinke you to enter hither againe from whence you first came? and therewith plucked up her cloaths, and shewed them her barebelly. Also another espying her sonne new returned from the wars, and comming toward her: What newes (quoth she) how goeth the world with our country and common-wealth? and when he answered: We have lost the field and all our men be slaine; sheooke up an earthen pot, let it fly at his head & killed him our-right, saying: And have they sent thee to bring us the newes? There was one brother recounted unto his mother what a noble death his brother died, unto whom his mother answered: And wert not thou ashamed that thou didst not accompanie him in so faire a journey? Another there was who had sent her sonnes (and five they were in number) to the warres, and she stood waiting at the townes end, about the suburbs and hamlets neere unto them, for to hearken what was the issue of the battell: and of the first man whom he encountered from the campe, she asked, what newes, and who had the day; hee told her that her sonnes were slaine all five: Thou leawd varlet (quoth shee) and base slave as thou art, I did not demand that question of thee; but in what state the affaire of the common-wealth stood: The victorie (quoth he) is ours: Then am I well appaid (saith shee) and contented with the losse of my children. Another there was, unto whom as she buried her sonne slaine in the warres; there came a silly

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old woman and moaned her, saying: Ah good woman what fortune is this? Why good (quoth shee?) by *Castor* and *Pollux* I sweare; for I bare him into this world for nothing else, but that he should spend his life for *Sparta*; and loe this is now hapned. A ladie there was of *Tonia*, who bare herselfe verie proud of a worke in tapistrie which she herselfe had made, most costly and curiously; but a Lacedæmonian dame shewed unto her, foure children, all verie well given and honestly brought up: Such as these (quoth shee) ought to be the works of a ladie of honour, and herein should a noble woman in deed, make her boast and vaunt herselfe. Another there was, who heard newes, that a sonne of hers behaved himselfe not well in a strange country where hee was, unto whom she wrote a letter in this wise: There is blowen a bad brute of thee in these parts, either prove it false or else die, I advise thee. Certaine fugitives or exiled persons from *Chios*, came to *Sparta*, who accused *Pedaretus*, and laid many crimes to his charge: his mother *Teletia* hearing thereof, sent for them to come unto her; at whose mouthes when she heard the severall points of their imputations, and judging in herselfe that hee was in fault, and had done great wrongs, she sent a letter unto him in this sort: Either do better or tarry there still, and never thinke to have thy selfe here. In like manner another wrote unto her sonne accused of an heinous crime, in these termes: My sonne quit thy selfe of this imputation, or else quit thy life. Another accompanying a son of hers upon the way when he went to battell, said unto him: Sonne remember every foot that thou steppst to vertue and prowess, and fight like a man. Another whose sonne returned out of the field wounded in the foot, and complaining unto her of the great paine which he endured: Sonne (quoth shee) if thou wouldst remember vertue and valour, thou shouldst never thinke of thy paine. A certaine Lacedæmonian chanced so grievously to be wounded in a skirmish, that he had much adoe to stand upon his legs, so that he was faine to go with crutches (as it were) upon foure feet; now when he was abashed to see some laugh at him for it, his mother said: Greater cause thou hast (my sonne) to rejoice for this testimonie of thy valour and prowess, than to be dismayed at their fond and senselesse laughter. Another woman when she gave unto her sonne a shield, admonished him to use it well, and do his devoir like a man, and these words she used unto him: My sonne either bring this shield home againe, or let it bring thee dead upon it. Another likewise giving a targuet to her sonne when he tooke his leave of her to go to warre, said unto him: Thy father kept this targuet well from time to time; see thou (for thy part) keepe it as well, or else die with it. Another when her sonne found fault with his short sword, said unto him: Then set foot neerer to thine enemy. A woman hearing that her sonne died valiantly in battell: No marvell (quoth shee) for he was my sonne. Contrariwise, another when she heard that her sonne tooke him to his heeles, and escaped by good footmanship: He was never (quoth shee) a sonne of mine. But another hearing that her sonne was slaine fighting in the verie place where his captaine had set him: Remoove him than (quoth shee) from thence, and let his brother step into his place. A Lacedæmonian woman being in a solemne and publicke procession, with a chaplet of flowers upon his head, understood that her sonne had wonne a field, but was so grievously wounded, that ready he was to yeeld up his breath; without putting off her chaplet of flowers from her head, but glorying (as it were) in these newes: Oh my friends (quoth shee) how much more glorious and honourable is it for a souldier to die with victorie in battell, than for a champion to survive after he hath wonne the prize in the Olympike games. A brother reported unto his sister, how valiant her sonne died in battell, unto whom she answered againe: Looke how much I joy & take pleasure to heare this of him; so much I am displeased and discontented at you, brother, for that you would not beare him companie in so vertuous a voiage, but tarry behind him. When one sent unto a Lacedæmonian woman to sollicite and found her, whether she would consent unto him, she made this answer: When I was a maiden, I learned to obey my father, and so I did evermore; and when I was a wife, I did the like unto my husband; if then that which he demanded of me be honest and just, let him acquaint my husband with it first. A poore maiden being asked the question on what dowrie she would bring her husband? The pudicitie (quoth shee) and honestie of my country. Another Lacedæmonian woman being demanded, whether she had yet bene with her husband? Not I (quoth shee) but hee hath bene with me. Also another young woman chanced secretly to be deflowred and to lesse her maiden-head; now when by some mishap she fell unto untimely labour, and to slip an abortive fruit; she endured the paines of travell thereto belonging so patiently, without one crie or groane, that neither her father, nor any one about her, perceived any thing at all that she was delivered; for shame and honestie fighting together, overcame all the vehemencie of her paines. A Lacedæmonian woman being sold in the mar-

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ket for a slave, was asked what she could doe? I can skill (quoth shee) to bee true and faithfull. Another likewise being a captive and demanded the like question, answered, that she could keepe the house well. Another likewise when she was asked by one whether shee would proove good if he bought her, made answer thus: Yea that I will, although you never buy me. Last of all, a Lacedæmonian woman when she was to be sold in port-sale, and the crier demanded of her what she had skill in? answered: To be free. Now when he that bought her commaunded her to do some things unbecoming a free person: You will repent (quoth she) that you envied your selfe to noble a possession; and so she killed herselfe.



## THE VERTVOVS DEEDS OE WOMEN.

### The Summarie.

**V**ertue alwaies deserueth praise where so ever it is found, but especially when it is proceeded from feeble instruments, and those of small shew; for by that meanes the excellencie thereof is so much better seeme: our Author therefore in that regard, hath made here a collection of histories, relating the worthy demeanours of many women who have shewed manly courage in sundry dangers; the consideration whereof, is able greatly to move and affect the reader. In the Preface of this discourse, after he had refuted the opinion of Thucydides, who would confine women (as it were) into a perpetuall eremitage, he proveth by divers reasons, that vertue being alwaies the selfe-same, notwithstanding that it hath objects and subjects different, it were meere injurie and too much iniquitie, either to forget or to despise those women who for their valour have deserued, that their name and example should continue to the end that the same might be imitated as occasions requirer in many sorts, not onely by other women, but also by the most part of men. Which done, he describeth the notable exploits of some in generall: and then he commeth to speake of certaine in particular, noting and observing in them divers graces and commendable parts, but especially an excreame hatred of tyrannie and servitude, an ardent love and affection toward their country, a singular affection to their husbands, rare honestie, pudicitie, chastitie joined with a generous nature, which hath caused them, both to enterprize and also to execute heroique acts and well deserving that praise, which hath bene reserved entire for such women, after so many yeeres until this day, by the meanes of this present historickall fragment; the which concerneth goodly instructions for men and women of name and make, to induce them to governe themselves in such sort, that in the mids of the greatest confusions they might take a good courage, and lay their hands to that which their vocation requirerh; and to hold this for certeine, that enterprises lawfull and necessarie, will sooner or later have good issue, to the shame and ruine of the wicked, but to the repose and quietnesse of all persons, who desire, seeke, and procure that which is good.



THE

## THE VERTUOUS DEEDS of women.



**A**m not of *Thucydides* minde (dame *Clea*) touching the vertue of women; for he is of this opinion: That she is the best & most vertuous, of whom there is least speech abroad, as well to her praise as her dispraise; thinking that the name of a woman of honour, ought to be shut up and kept fast within, like as her bodie, that it never may go forth. *Gorgias* yet (me thinks) was more reasonable, who would have the renowne and fame, but not the face & visage of a woman, to be knowne unto men: and it seemeth unto me, that it was an excellent law and custome among the Romans, which imported thus much: That women as well as men, after their death might be ho-

noured publicly at their funerals, with such praises as they had deserved: and therefore immediately after the decease of the most vertuous ladie *Leontis*, I discoursed with you at large upon this matter; which discourse (in my conceit) was not without some consolation founded upon reason & Philosophy: and now also (according to your request at that time) I send you in writing, the rest of our speech and communication, tending to this point: That the vertue of man and woman is all one and the very fame; which appeareth by the prooffe and testimony of many and sundry examples, drawn out of ancient histories, collected by me, not upon any intention to please the eare; but if the nature of an example be such, as alwaies, to the persuasive power that it hath to proove, there is joined also a lively vertue to delight. This treatise of mine rejecteth not the grace of that pleasure, which doth second and favour the efficacy of a prooffe; neither is it ashamed to join Graces with Muses, which (as *Empyridas* saith) is the best conjunction in the world, inducing the minde most easily to give eare and credit unto good reasons, by means of the delectation which it there findeth. For it to proove, that it is all one art, to paint and draw the life of women and men, I should produce and bring forth such pictures of women as *Apelles*, *Zeuxis* or *Nicomachus* have left behind them; hath any man reason to finde fault and to charge me, that I aime and intend to delight the eie and content the minde, rather than to verifie my assertion? I suppose that no man will do so: seemably, if otherwise to shew, that the art of Poetrie, or skill to represent in verse, all things whatsoever, is the same in women and men, and nothing different one from the other, I should confesse the Odes and verses of *Sappho* with those of *Anacreon*; or the oracles penned by the *Sibilles* with those which are set downe by *Bacchis*; is there any man that could justly blame such a demonstration, for that it draweth the hearer to beleve with some pleasure and content? no man (I trow) would ever so say: and yet there were no better way to know either the resemblance, or the difference in the vertue of man and woman, than in comparing lives with lives, and deeds with deeds; as if wee should lay together the works of some noble science, and consider them one by another; even so likewise, to see whether the magnificence of queene *Semiramis*, hath all one forme and figure with that of king *Sesostrius*; and the wisdom of queene *Tanquil*, with that of king *Servius*; or the magnanimitie of ladie *Porcia*, with that of *Brutus*; or of dame *Timoclea*, with that of *Pelopidas*; namely, in that quality which is most principall, and wherein lieth the chiefest point and force of these vertues: for vertue admitteth certeine other differences, as proper and particular colours, according to divers natures, and is in some sort conformable to the manners and conditions of those subjects wherein they be, and to the temperatures of their bodies, or to the vertie nutriments and divers diets and fashions of their life. For *Achilles* was after one sort valiant, and *Ajax* after another; the wisdom of *Ulysses* was not like unto *Nestors*; neither were *Cato* and *Agesilanus* just alike; *Irene* loved not her husband in that manner as *Alceste* loved hers; nor *Cornelia* & *Olympias* were alike magnanimous; and yet for all that, we say not, that there be many and divers kinds of fortitude, sundry sorts of prudence and widome, nor different justices, in regard of the dissimilitude and varietie which ariseth particularly in each one person, so as the said peculiar differences, do not exclude any one vertue from the proper definition thereof. As for such examples as are most divulged and published abroad (of which I presume you have already sufficient knowledge, and firmly remember their historie, by that which you have read in ancient books) I will passe them over at this present; unless haply there be some acts worthy of remembrance

brance, which they were ignorant of, who before our time have written the common histories and vulgar Chronicles. But for that the women in times past, as well in common as particular, have performed many memorable deeds, it will not be amiss in the first place to set downe briefly what some of them have done in societie and companie together.

### THE TROJANE DAMES.

OF those Trojanes who escaped after the winning and destruction of *Troie the Great*, the most part went to seeke their fortune, and by force of tempest (the rather for that they had no skill in navigation, and were not acquainted with the seas) were cast upon the coast of *Italie*,<sup>10</sup> where putting into such baies, ports & creeks as they could meet with, in that very place (whence the river *Tybris* dischargeth it selfe into the sea) with much adoe and great difficultie they landed, and the men went wandering up and downe the countrey, for to see if they could light upon those that might direct them in their voyage, and give them some light and intelligence of those coasts. Meane while the women communed and devised thus among themselves: That since they had bene the most fortunate and happie nation in the world, it were better for them to settle in any one certaine place whatsoever, than still to wander uncertainly upon the seas, and to make that, their countrey and seat of habitation, since they were not able to recover that native soile which they had lost: to which motion after they had all with one accord agreed, they set fire on their ships, and the first ring-leader in this action was a Ladie (by report) named *Roma*; which done, they went farther up into the continent to meet with the men aforesaid, who now by this time were coming apace to the sea for to succour their ships on fire, & fearing their furious anger, they fell to embrace and kisse them very kindly, some their husbands, others their kinsfolke, and by this means appeased their wrath. Hereupon arose that custom, which continueth at this day among the Romanes, that no men should salute their kinsfolke, and those that be joined in blood to them, by kissing their lips: for the Trojan men seeing (as it should seeme) in what necessitie they stood, were well enough content; and withal, finding the inhabitants of the sea-coasts courteous, and ready to receive and entertaine them friendly, approved that which the women had done, and so remained and dwelt in the same part of *Italie* among the Latines.<sup>30</sup>

### THE DAMES OF PHOCIS.

THE worthy act of the dames of *Phocis*, whereof we now meane to make mention, no Historiographer of name hath yet recorded and set downe in writing: howbeit there was never a more memorable deed of vertue wrought by women, and the same testified by the great sacrifices, which the Phocians do celebrate even at this day, neere unto the citie *Hyampolis*, and that according to the ancient decrees of the countrey. Now is the totall historie of this whole action from point to point particularly recorded in the life of *Daiphantus*; as for that which the said women did, thus stood the case. There was an irreconcilable and mortall warre betweene the Thessalians and those of *Phocis*, for that the Phocians upon a certaine fore-set day, killed all the magistrates and rulers of the Thessalians, who exercised tyrannie in the cities of *Phocis*: and they againe of *Thessalia* had beaten and bruised to death two hundred and fiftie hostages of the Phocians, whom they had in custodie; and after that, with all their puissance entred and invaded their countrey by the way of the Locrians; having before hand concluded this resolution in their generall counsell, not to pardon nor spare any one that was of age sufficient to beare armes, and as for their wives and children, to leade them away captives as slaves: whereupon *Daiphantus* the sonne of *Bathyllus*, one of the three soveraign governours of *Phocis*, moved and perswaded the Phocians (as many as were of yeres to fight) for to go forth and encounter the Thessalians; but their wives and children, to assemble all together unto a certaine place in *Phocis*, & environe the whole pourprise and precinct thereof with a huge quantity of wood, and there to set certaine guards to watch and ward; whom hee gave in charge, that so soone as ever they heard how their countrey-men were defeated, they should set the wood on fire, and burne all the bodies within the compasse thereof: which desseigne when all others had approved, there was one man among them, stood up and said: It were just and meet, that they had the consent also of the women as touching this matter; and if they would not approve and allow of this counsell, to leave it unexecuted, and not to force them thereto: this consultation being come to the eares of the said women, they held a counsell together apart by themselves as touching this

this intended action, where other resolved to follow the advice of *Daiphantus*, and that with so great alacritie and contentment, that they crowned *Daiphantus* with a chaplet of flowers, as having given the best counsell that could be devised for *Phocis*. It is reported also, that their verie children sat in counsell hereabout by themselves, and concluded the same: but it fortun'd so, that the Phocians having given the Thessalians battell neere unto a village, called *Cleone*, in the marches or territorie of *Hyampolis*, defeated them. This resolution of the Phocians, was afterwards by the Greekes named *Apomaea*, that is, A desperat desseigne: and in memoriall of the said victorie, all the people of *Phocis* to this day do celebrate in *Hyampolis*, the greatest and most solemne feast that they have, to the honour of *Diana*, and call it *Elaphebolia*.

### THE WOMEN OF CHIOS.

THE men of *Chios* inhabited sometime the colonie *Leuconia*, upon such an occasion as this. A gentleman, one of the best houses in *Chios*, chanced to contract a marriage; and when the bride was to be brought home to his house in a coach, King *Hippoclaus* being a familiar friend unto the bridegroom, & one who was present with others at the espousales and wedding; after he had taken his wine well, being set upon a merrie pin, and disposed to make sport, leapt up into the coach where the new wedded wife was; not with any intent to offer violence or villanny, but only to dallie, toy & make pastime in a meriment, as the maner was at such a feast: howbeit the friends of the bridegroome tooke it not so, but fell upon him and killed him outright in the place: upon which murder there appeered unto those of *Chios* many evident tokens and signes of Gods anger; yea and when they understood by the oracle of *Apollo*, that for to appease their wrath, they should put all those to death who had murdered *Hippoclaus*; they made answer: That they all were guiltie of the fact: and when the god *Apollo* commanded them, that if they were all tainted with the said murder, they should all depart out of the citie *Chios*, they sent away (as manie, as either were parties and principals, or accessaries and privie to the said blood-shed; yea, and whosoever approved and praised the fact, and those were neither few in number, nor men of meane qualitie and power) as far as to *Leuconia*; which citie the Chians first conquered from the Coroneans, and possessed by the helpe of the Erythraens: but afterwards when there was warre betweene the said Chians and the Erythraens (who in those daies were the mightiest people in all *Ionia*) in so much as the Erythraens came against *Leuconia*, with a power intending to assault it: the Chians being not able to resist, grew to make a composition, in which capitulated it was & agreed, that they should quit the citie, & depart every person with one coat & cassock onely, without taking any thing els with them. The women understanding of this agreement, gave them foule words, & bitterly reproched them, for being so base minded as to lay off their armor, & thus to go naked thorow the mids of their enemies; but when their husbands alleaged that they had sworn & taken a corporall oth so to do, they gave them counsel in any wise, not to leave their armes and weapons behind them, but to say; that a javelin was a coat, and a shield the cassocke of a valiant and hardie man. The Chians perswaded hereunto spake boldly to the Erythraens to that effect, and shewed them their armes, in so much as the Erythraens were afraid to see their resolute boldnesse, and there was not one of them so hardie as to come neere for to impeach them, but were verie well content that they abandoned the place, and were gone in that sort. Thus you may see how these men having learned of their wives to be courageous and confident, saved their honours and their lives. Long after this, the wives of the Chians achieved an other act nothing inferiour to this in vertue and prowesse. At what time as *Philip* the sonne of *Demetrios*, holding their citie besieged, caused this barbarous edict, and proud proclamation to be published: That all the slaves of the citie should rebell against their masters, and come to him: for that he would make them all free, and give them libertie to espouse and marie their mistresses, even the wives of their former masters. The dames conceived hereof so great cholet and indignation in their harts (together with the slaves themselves, who were provoked likewise to anger as well as they, and readie to assist their mistresses) that they tooke heart to mount upon the walles of the citie, and to carrie thither stones, darts and all manner of shot, beseeching their husbands to fight lustily and with good courage, & estoones admonishing and encouraging them to quit themselves like men, and do their devoir; which they did so effectuallly both in word and deed, that in the end they repulld the enemy, and constrained *Philip* to raise his siege from before the citie without effecting his purpose, and there was not so much as one slave that revolved from his master unto him.

## THE WOMEN OF ARGOS.

**T**He exploit of the *Argive* dames against *Cleomenes* king of *Lacedæmon*, in defence of the citie *Argos*, which they enterprised under the conduct and by the perswasion of *Telephila* the poetesse, is not lesse glorious and renowned, than any action that ever was achieved by a crew of women. This dame *Telephila* (as the faine goeth) was descended of a noble and famous house, howbeit in body she was very weake and sickly; by occasion whereof, she lent out to the oracle for to know how she might recover her health: answer was made, that she should serve, honour and worship the Muses: she yeelding obedience to this revelation of the god, and giving herselfe to learne poeie, and likewise vocall musicke, and skill in song, in short time was delivered from her maladie, and became most renowned and highly esteemed among women for hir poeticall veine, and musically knowledge in this kind: in proceesse of time it fortuned that *Cleomenes* the king of the Spartans, having in a battell slaine a great number indeed of Argives, but not as some fabulous writers have precisely set downe (seven thousand, seven hundred, seven-<sup>10</sup> tie and seven) advanced directly to the citie of *Argos*, hoping to finde and surprize the same void of inhabitants: but the women, as many as were of age sufficient (as it were by some heavenly and divine instinct) put on a resolute minde, and an extraordinary courage, to doe their best for to beate backe their enemies that they should not enter the citie; and in very truth under the leading of *Telephila*, they put on armes, tooke weapon in hand, and mounting up the wals stood round about the battlements thereof, and environed them on every side, defending the citie right manfully, to the great wonder & admiration of the enemies: thus they gave *Cleomenes* the repulse, with the losse and carvage of a great number of his men. Yea and they chased *Democratæ* another king of *Lacedæmon* out of their citie, as *Socrates* saith, who had made entrance before, and seized that quarter which is called *Pamphiliacum*: when the citie was thus saved by the prowess of these women, ordeined it was, that as many of them as chanced in this service to be slaine, should be honorably enterred, upon the great cauley or high-way called *Argeia*; and unto them who remained alive, graunted it was for a perpetuall monument and memoriall of their prowess, to dedicate and consecrate one statue unto *Minerva*. This combat and fight (as some have written) was the seventh day, or (as others say) the first of that moneth<sup>30</sup> which at *Argos* in old time they called *Tetartus*, but now *Hermæus*, on which day the *Argives* do celebrate even in this age, a solemne sacrifice and feast which they call *Hybristica* (as one would say) reprochfull and infamous; wherein the custome is, that women went clad in soldiers coates and mantels, but men were arraied and attired in womens petticoates, frocks, and veiles. Now to replenish and repeople the citie againe, for default of men who died in the wars, they did not (as *Herodotus* writeth) use this pollicie, to marrie their slaves to their widdowes, but they granted free burgesie of their citie, unto the better sort of men who were their neighbors and borderers, and granted unto them for to affiance and espouse the said widdowes: but it should seeme that these wives disdained & despised (in some sort) these husbands of theirs, as not comparable to their former; for they made a law, that these wives should have counterfeit beards set to their<sup>40</sup> chins whensoever they slept and lay with their husbands.

## THE PERSIAN WOMEN.

**C**yrus (having caused the Persians to rebel against king *Astages* & the Medes) hapned to be discomfited & vanquished together, with the Persians: now when the Persians fled amaine toward the city, and their enemies followed hard at their heeles, ready to enter pell-mell with the women issued out of the gates, met them even before the citie, and plucking up their clothes before, from beneath, to their waste, cried unto them: VVhither away, and whither doe you flee, the most beaulty cowards that ever were? for run as fast as you will there is no reentrance here for you into that place, out of which you came first into the world: the Persians being ashamed as well to see such a sight, as to heare those words, blamed and rebuked themselves; whereupon they turned againe, and made head at their enemies, fought fireshly, and put them to flight: from which time forward, there was a law established: That whensoever the king returneth from some farre voiage, and entred into the citie, everie woman should receive of him a peece of gold, and that by the ordinance of king *Cyrus*, who first enacted it. But it is reported, that king *Ochus* one of his successors (who being bad enough otherwise) was the most covetous prince that

that ever reigned over them, turned alwaies out of the way, passed besides the citie, and never would come into it after such a journey; whereby the women alwaies were disappointed of that gratiitie and gift which they ought to have had: but king *Alexander* contrariwise entered the citie twice, and gave to every woman with childe, double so much, that is to say, two such pieces of gold.

## THE WOMEN OF GAULE.

**B**Efore that the Gaules passed over the mountaines called *Alpes*, and held that part of *Italy* which now they doe inhabit; there arose a great discord and dangerous sedition among<sup>10</sup> them, which grew in the end to a civill warre: but when both armies stood embattailed and arranged, ready to fight, their wives put themselves in the very mids betwene the armed troupes, tooke the matter of difference and controversie into their hands, brought them to accord and unitie, and judged the quarrell with such indifferent equitie, and so to the contentment of both parts, that there ensued a woonderfull amitie, and reciprocall good will, not onely from citie to citie, but also betwene house and house; insomuch that ever after, they continued this custome in all their consultations, aswell of warre as peace, to take the counsell and advice of their wives; yea to compose and pacifie all debates and braules with their neighbours and allies, by the mediation of them: and therefore in that composition and accord which they made with *Anniball*, at what time as he passed through their citie, among other articles this went for one:<sup>20</sup> That in case the Gaules complained of any wrongs done unto them by the Carthaginians, the Carthaginian captains and governors which were in *Spain* should be the judges betwene them; but contrariwise, if the Carthaginians pretended that the Gaules had wronged them, the Gaule dames should decide the quarrell.

## THE WOMEN OF MELOS.

**T**He Melians purposing to seeke for another land to inhabit, more large and fertile than their owne, chose for the captaine and leader of that troupe or colonie which was sent forth, a yong gentleman of singular beaultie, named *Nymphæus*; but first they had consulted<sup>30</sup> with the oracle, where they received this answer: That they should take the seas, and saile; and looke in what place soever they happened to leese their porters and cariers, there they should rest and inhabit: now it happened as the coasted along *Caria*, and were set aland, their ships were lost in a tempest and perished; and then the inhabitants of the city *Cryssa* in *Caria*, (were it that they had pity of their necessitie, or feared their hardinesse and valour) requested them to make their abode with them, and granted them a part of their territorie to holde and occupie: but afterwards the Carians seeing, that in a small time the Melians mightily increased and waxed great, they comploted and laid ambushes for to murder them al, at a certeine solemne feast and supper which they prepared for them: but it fell out so, that a yong damosell of *Caria* named *Cophene* (who secretly was in love and enamoured upon *Nymphæus* above said, and could not endure that her love *Nymphæus* should so treacherously be murdered) discovered the said plot and intended desseigne of her countrey men: now when the *Cryassians* came to call them to the feast above said, *Nymphæus* made them this answer: That the custome of the Greeks was not to go unto any great suppers or feasts, unless they had their wives with them; which when the *Carians* heard, they said: Bring your wives with you and spare not, they shall be welcome: thus when he had advertised his countrey men the Melians, what had passed betwene him and the Carians, he gave order that they should themselves come unarmed in their plaine apparell, but every one of their wives should bring with them a skeine or dagger under their clothes, and so each of them sit close unto her husband: now in the mids of supper, when the signall was given to the Carians for to go in hand with the execution of their desseigne, they Greeks knew thereby<sup>50</sup> incontinently, that the time was now come to execute this feat; and then the women all at once opened their bosoms, and their husbands caught the skeines afore said, ran upon the barbarous Carians, and massacred all in the place, insomuch as not one of them escaped with life: and thus being masters of the countrey, they rased the city, and built another, which they called *New Cryssa*: *Cophene* then was married to *Nymphæus*, and woon much honour and favor, which she right well had deserved for the great good service that she did: but in my conceit, the principal matter in this whole action, and that which is most to be commended, was the silence and

and secrecie of these dames, that being so many as they were, there was not one whose hart fainted in the execution of this enterprife, nor perforce and for feare against her will, failed in her dutie.

## THE TUSCANE WOMEN.

There were in times past certaine Tyrrhenians or Tuskanes, who seized upon the isles of *Lemnos* and *Imbros*; yea and ravished certaine Athenian wives out of *Brauron*, and begat children of them; but afterwards, the Athenians chased that generation out of the said isles, as being mungrels and halfe Barbarians, who fortuning to arrive at the cape or head of *Tenarus*, did very good service under the Spartans in their wars against the Ilots; and for this cause obtained their freedom and burgeoisie in *Sparta*, yea, and were allowed to take wives and marrie among them; onely they were not capable of any office of State or magistracie, nor admitted into the counsell of the citie: howbeit, suspected they were in the end, that they conspired and went about a change and alteration in the government: whereupon the Spartans apprehended their bodies, and cast them in prison, where they kept them very straight, as close prisoners, to see if they could convince them by some proofes and undoubted evidence. Meanwhile, the wives of these prisoners came to the goales, and by their earnest praies and importunate sute, wrought fo with their keepers, that they suffred them to have access unto their husbands, onely to visite, salute, and speake unto them: they were no sooner entred in, but they advised and perswaded their husbands, with all speed to put off their owne clothes, and doe on their apparell, and so to get away with their faces veiled and covered; which presently was put in execution, and themselves remained fast shut up in the said prison, prepared and resolute to abide all the miseries and tortures that might be done unto them: thus the goalers let out their husbands, taking them to be their wives. No sooner were they at libertie, but immediately they went and seized the mountaine *Taygeta*, and solicited withall the Ilots to take armes and rebell; which the men of *Sparta* much fearing, sent unto them an herald with an trumpet, by whose entercourse they agreed upon these articles of composition. Inprimis, to deliver them their wives. Item, to restore unto them their money and all their goods. Item, to furnish them with ships to passe upon the seas for to seeke their adventure: and when they had found a commodious land, in one place or other, & were provided of a citie to inhabit; that they should be named and reputed kinsfolke to the Lacedæmonians, and a colonie derived and descended from them. The fame did the Pelasgians, who tooke for their captaines in this voiage, *Pollis*, *Adelphus*, and *Cratidas*, all three Lacedæmonians; for when one part of them staid in the isle *Melos*, the greater troupe under the conduct of *Pollis* arrived in *Candie*, attending and expecting if those signes which had beene foretold them by the oracles would happen; for answer was given them by oracle: That whensoever they had lost their anker and goddesse, then they were at an end of their voiage and should build them a citie: being come therefore unto the demie island *Chersonesus*, and their ship lying at anker in the harbour; there hapned in the night a sudden feare and fright among them without any apparant cause, such as they call Panique Frights, wherewith being wonderfully troubled and scared, they went a shipboord, without all order, and in a tumultuous maner, leaving behinde them for haste, the image of *Diana* upon the land, which had remained a long time among them, and had passed by descent from father to sonne, and by their forefathers had beene first brought unto them from *Brauron* unto the isle *Lemnos*, and which they caried with them from thence into all places wherefoever they came: after this sudden fright and tumult was passed, as they sailed in the open sea, they missed the said image, and withall *Pollis* also was advertised, that a flouke of an anker was wanting and lost; for that when they came to weigh anker by great force (as commonly it hapneth in such places where it taketh hold of the ground among rocks) it brake and was left behinde in the bottome of the sea; whereupon he said that the oracles were now fulfilled which foretold them of these signes, and therewith gave signall to the whole flecte for to retire backe, and so he entred upon that region to his owne use: and after he had in many skirmishes vanquished those who were up in armes against him, he lodged at length in the citie *Lyctus*, and wan many more to it. Thus you see how at this day they call themselves the kinsfolke of the Athenians by the mothers side; but indeed by the father they are a colonie drawne from *Lacedæmon*.

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## THE LYCIAN WOMEN.

That which is reported to have beene done in *Lycia*, as a meere fable and tale devised of pleasure, yet neverthelesse testified by a constant fame that runneth verie currant. For *Amisodarus* (as they say) whom the Lycians name *Isarus*, came from about the marches of *Zeles*, a colonie of the Lycians, with a great flect of rovers and men of warre, whose captaine or admirall, was one *Chimæra* a famous arch-pirate, a warlike man but exceeding cruell, savage and inhumane) who had for the badges and ensignes of his owne ship, in the prow a lion, and at the poepe a dragon: much hurt hee did upon all the coasts of *Lycia*; inso-much as it was not possible either to saile upon the sea, or to inhabit the maritime cities and townes, neere unto the sea side for him. This man of warre or arch-rover, *Bellerophon* had slaine who followed him hard in chase with his swift pinnace (*Pegasus*) as he fled, untill he had overtaken him, and withall had chased the Amazones out of *Lycia*; yet for all this, hee not onely received no worthy recompence for his good service, at the hands of *Iobates* king of *Lycia*, but also which was woofse, sustained much wrong by him: by occasion whereof *Bellerophon* taking it as a great indignitie, went to sea againe, where hee praied against him unto *Neptune*, that he would cause his land to be barraine and unfruitfull; which done, hee returned backe againe: but behold a strange and fearfull spectacle, for the sea swelled & overflowed all the countrey, following him everie where as he went, and covering after him the face of the earth: and for that the men of those parts, who did what possibly they could to entreat him for to stay this inundation of the sea, could not obtaine so much at his hands, the women tooke up their petticoats before & went to meet him, & shewed their nakednes; whe upon for very shame he returned backe, & the sea likewise (by report) retired with him into the former place. But some there be (who more civilly avoiding the fabulosity of this tale) say: That it was not by praies & imprecations that he drew after him the sea, but because that part of *Lycia* which was most fertile, being low and flat, lay under the levell of the sea: there was a banke raised along the sea side which kept it in; and *Bellerophon* cut a breach throtow it, and so it came to passe: that the sea with great violence entred that way, and drowned the flat part of the countrey; whereupon the men did what they could by way of praies and intreatie with him, in hope to appease his mood, but could not prevaile: howbeit, the women environing him round about by great troups & companies, pressed him so on all sides, that he could not for verie shame deny them, & so in favour of them, laid downe his anger. Others affirme that *Chimæra* was an high mountaine, directly opposite to the sunne at noon-tide, which caused great reflections and reverberations of the sunne beames, and by consequence, ardent heats in manner of a fire, in the said mountaine, which coming to be spread and dispersed over the champion ground, caused all the fruits of the earth, to dry, fade, and wither away: whereof *Bellerophon*es (a man of great reach and deepe conceit) knowing the cause in nature, caused in many places, the superface of the said rocke or mountaine to be cloven and cut in two, which before was most smooth & even, and by that reason consequently, did fend back the beames of the sun, & caused the excessive heat in the countrey adjoining: now for that he was not well considered and regarded by the inhabitants, according to his demerit, in despite he meant to be revenged of the Lycians; but the women wrought him so, that they allaid his fury. But surely that cause which *Nymphus* alleageth in his fourth booke as touching *Heraclæa*, is not fabulous nor devised to delight the Reader: for he saith: That this *Bellerophon*es having killed a wilde bore that destroyed all the fruits of the earth, & all other beasts within the Xanthiens country, had no recompense therefore; whereupon, when he had poured out grievous imprecations against those unthankfull Xanthiens, unto *Neptune*, hee brought salt-water all over the land, which marred all and made all become bitter, untill such time as he (being wonne by the praies and supplications of the women) besought *Neptune* to let fall his wrath. Loc whereupon the custome arose and continueth still in the Xanthiens countrey: That men in all their affaires negotiate not in the name of their fathers, but of their mothers, and bee called after their names.

## THE WOMEN OF SALMATICA.

*Amibal* of the house of *Barea*, before that he went into *Italie* to make warre with the *Romaines*, laid siege unto a great citie in *Spaine*, named *Salmatica*: the besieged were at the



the first affraid, and promised to do whatsoever *Annibal* would command them; yea and to pay him three hundred talents of silver; for securitie of which capitulation to be performed, they put into his hands three hundred hostages: but so soone as *Annibal* had raised his siege, they repented of this agreement which they had concluded with him, and would do nothing according to the conditions of the accord; whereupon hee returned againe for to besiege them afresh: and to encourage his souldiers the better to give the assault, he said: That hee would give unto them the saccage and pillage of the towne; whereupon the citizens within, were wonderfully affraid, and yielded themselves to his devotion, upon this condition: That the Barbarians would permit as many as were of free condition, to goe forth, every man in his single garment, leaving behind them their armes, goods, money, slaves and the citie. Now the dames and 10 wives of the towne, fearing lest the enemies would search and rife their husbands as they went forth of the gates, and not once touch and meddle with them, tooke unto them short curtelaisses or skeines, hid them under their clothes, and so went forth together with their husbands. When they were all out of the towne, *Annibal* (having set a guard of Macesylians to attend them) staid them at the end of the suburbs: meane while the rest of his armie, without all order put themselves within the citie, and fell to the spoile and sackage of it: which when the Macesylians perceived, they grew out of all patience, & could not containe themselves, nor looke wel into their prisoners; but were woonderous angrie, and in the end meant for to have as good a part and share as the rest, of the spoile: hereupon the women tooke up a crye, and gave unto their husbands the swords which they had brought with them, yea & some of them sel upon the guard or 20 garrison, in so much as one of them was so bold, as to take from *Banon* (the Truchman or interpreter) the speare which he had, and thrust at him with it, but he had on a good corps of a curace which saved him: but their husbands having wounded some of them, and put the rest to flight, escaped by this meanes away, together in a troupe with their wives; which when *Annibal* understood, he set out immediately after them, and surprised those who were left behind; whiles the rest got away and saved themselves for the present, by recovering the mountaines adjoining; but after they sent unto *Annibal* and craved pardon, who graciously granted it yea and permitted them to returne in safetie and reinhabit their owne citie.

## THE MILESIAN WOMEN.

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THE Milesian maidens upon a time, were surprized with a verie strong passionate fit of a fearfull melancholicke humour, without any apparant cause that could be rendred thereof, unless it were (as men most conjectured:) that the aire was infected and empoisoned, which might cause that alienation of the mind, and worke a distemperature in their braines, to the overthrow of their right wits; for all on a sudden, every one had a great desire to die, and namely, in a furious rage would needs hang themselves; and in truth many of them secretly knit their necks in halats, and so were strangled; no, reasons and remonstrances, no teares of father and mother, no perswasions and comfortable speeches of their friends would serve the turne; but looke what keepers soever they had, and how carefully soever they looked unto them, they 40 could find means of evasion to avoide and goe beyond all their devices and inventions; in such sort, that it was thought to be some plague and punishment sent from the gods above; and such as no humane provision could remedie, untill such time as by the advice of a sage and wise citizen, there went forth a certaine edict, and the same enacted by the counsell of the citie: That if any one more, hapned to hang herselfe, she should be carried strake naked as ever she was borne thorow the market place in the view of the whole world: this proclamation being thus ratified by the common-counsell of the citie, did not onely repress for a while, but also staid for altogether, this furious rage of the maidens and their inordinate desire to make themselves away. Thus we may see, that the fear of dishonor, shame & infamy, is a great signe & infallible token of good nature and vertue, considering that they feared neither death nor paine, which are the most horrible accidents that men can endure; howbeit they could not abide the imagination of villannie, shame and dishonor, though it hapned not unto them, untill they were dead and gone.

## THE WOMEN OF CIO.

THE manner and custome was for the young virgins of *Cio*, to goe altogether unto their publick temples and churches, and so to passe the time al the long day there, one with another: where

where their lovers who wooed them for marriage, might behold them disport and daunce: and in the evening they went home to each of their houses, in order, where they waited up to their fathers and mothers, yea and the brethren, one of another, even to the very wathing of their feet. Now it hapned sometimes that many young men were enamoured of one and the same maide; but their love was so modest, good, and honest, that so soone as a maiden was affianced and betrothed unto one, all the rest would give over fute, & so cease to make any more love unto her: In summe, the good order and cariage of these women of *Cio* might be knowen in this: that in the space of eleven hundred yeeres, it was never knowen nor appeared upon record, that anie wife committed adulterie, nor maiden unmarried lost her virginitee.

10

## THE WOMEN OF PHOCIS.

THE tyrants of *Phocis*, surprized upon a time and seized the citie of *Delphos*; by occasion whereof, the Thebans made that warre upon them, which was called the Holy warre; at which time it so befell, that the religious women consecrated unto *Bacchus*, named *Thyades*, being besetraught and out of their right wits, ranne wandring like vagrants up and downe in the night, and knew not whither, untill ere they were aware, they ranne unto the citie *Amphissa*, where being wearie (but yet not come againe to their senses) they lay along in the mids of the market place, and couched themselves scattering heere and there to take their sleepe: the wives 20 of *Amphissa* being advertised heereof, and fearing lest their bodies should be abused by the soldiers of the tyrants (whereof there lay a garrison within the citie, for that *Amphissa* was of the league, and confederate with the Phocæans) ranne all thither to the place, standing round about them with silence, and not saying one word, and so long as they slept, troubled them not; but so soone as they wakened of themselves and were gotten up, they tooke the charge of them, gave them meat, and each of them looked to one; yea, and afterwards having gotten leave of their husbands, they conveyed and accompanied them in safetie, so farre as to the mountains and marches of their owne territorie.

## VALERIA and CLOELIA.

THE outrage committed upon the person of a Roman ladie, named *Lucretia*, and her vertue together, were the cause that *Tarquinius Superbus* (the seventh king of the Romanes after *Romulus*) was deprived of his roiall estate, and driven out of *Rome*: This dame being married unto a great personage, descended of the bloud roiall, was abused and forced by one of the sons of the said king *Tarquinius*, who was entertained and friendly lodged in her house: by occasion of which villanous fact, she called all her kinsfolke and friends together about her; unto whom after she had declared and given them to understand the shamefull dishonour that he had done upon her body, she stabbed herselfe in the place before them: and *Tarquinius* the father (for this cause being deposed from his princely dignitie, and chased out of his kingdome) levied manie warres against the Romans, thinking thereby to recover his state; and among the rest in the end 40 wrought so effectually with *Porfena* king of the Tuskanes, that he perswaded him to laie siege to the citie of *Rome*, and to beleaguer it with a puissant power: Now over and besides this hostilitie, the Romans within, were afflicted also and sore pressed with famine; but hearing that the said *Porfena* was not onely a valiant captaine in armes, but withall a good and righteous prince, they were willing to make him the indifferent umpire and judge betweene them and *Tarquinius*: but *Tarquinius* standing stiff in his owne opinion, and highly conceited of himselfe, giving out also, that *Porfena* if he continued not a fait and constant ally, he would not afterwards be a just & equal judge: whereupon *Porfena* forsaking him, and leaving his alliance, capitulated and promised to depart in good tearmes of amitie & peace with the Romans, upon condition to recover 50 of them all those lands which they had occupied in *Tuskane*, & to have away with him those prisoners whom they had taken in those wars: now for the better assurance of this composition so concluded, there were delivered into his hands as hostages, ten boies, and as many young maidens; among whom *Valeria* the daughter of *Poplicola* the consull was one: which done, presently he brake up his campe and dislodged, yea and gave over preparation of farther warre; notwithstanding that all the articles of the said capitulation were not yet accomplished. These young virgins before said, being in his campe, went down as it were to bath and wath themselves, unto the river side, which ran a good way from the campe; and by the motion and instigation of

of one among the rest named *Cleolia*; after they had wrapped and weathed their clothes fast about their heads; theyooke the river which ran with a very strong streame and swift current, and by swimming crosse over it, helping one another what they could amid the deepe channell, and surging whirlpoles thereof, untill with much travell, they hardly recovered the banke on the other side. Some report, that this damosell *Cleolia*, made meanes to get an horse, mounted his backe, and gently by litle and litle passed overthwart the river, shewing the way unto the rest of hir fellows, encouraging, yea, and supporting them as they swomme on each side and round about her: but what the reason is of this their conjecture, I will shew anon: when the Romans saw that they were gotten over in safetie, they woondered at their boldnesse and rare vertue; howbeit they were nothing well pleased with their returne, neither could they endure to be chalenged and reproched: that in fidelitie and troth, they all should be inferior to one man, and therefore gave commandement that these virgins should returne from whence they came, and sent with them a guard to conduct them; but when they were passed over the river *Tybris* againe, they escaped very hardly of being surprized by an ambush that *Tarquin* had laid for them by the way: as for *Valeria* the consull *Papilius* daughter, she fled at first with three servants into the campe of *Porfena*: and the rest, *Arms* the sonne of *Porfena*, who ran presently to the rescue, recovered out of the hands of the enemies: now when they were all presented and brought before the king; he demaunded which of them it was, who had encouraged her companions to swim over the river, and given them counsell so to doe: all the rest fearing lest the king would doe *Cleolia* some harme, would not speake a word; but she her selfe confessed all: *Porfena* highly esteeming her valour and vertue, caused one of the fairest horses to be fetched out of his stable, richly trapped and set out with costly furniture, which he bestowed upon her, yea, and that which more is (for her sake and to grace her) curiously and kindly dismissed all her fellows, and sent them home. This is the gesse (I say) by which some thinke that *Cleolia* passed over the river on horse-back: but others say no; who deliver the storie thus. That the king marvelling at this valour and extraordinarie hardinesse, above the proportion of that sex, thought her woorthy of a present, which is woont to be given unto a valiant man at armes and a brave warrior: but how ever it was, for a memoriall of this act, there is to be seene her statue at this daie, to wit, a maiden sitting on horse-backe, and it standeth in the street called *Via sacra*, which some say, representeth *Cleolia*, others *Valeria*.

## MICCA and MEGISTO.

**A**ristotimus having usurped tyranny and violent dominion over the Elians, bare himselfe much upon the favor and countenance of king *Antigonus*, established the same; but so cruelly and excessively he abused this power and authoritie under him, that in nothing he was tolerable; for over and besides that, he was a man by nature given to violence (by reason that he stood in some servile feare, and was glad to please the guard that he had about him of mixt Barbarians, whom he had gotten together from divers parts, for the defence of his state and person) he suffered them also to commit many insolent parts and cruell outrages upon his subjects; and among the rest, that unhappie indignitie which befell to *Philodemus*, who had a faire damosell to his daughter, named *Micca*, unto whom one of the captaines of the said tyrant, named *Lucius*, seemed to make court, not for any true love and heartie affection that he bare unto her, but upon a wanton lust to abuse and dishonour her bodie: so he sent for this maiden to come and speake with him: her parents seeing, that whether they would or no, constrained they should be to let her goe, gave her leave; but the damosell her selfe of a generous spirit and magnanimous heart, clasped them about and hung upon them, fell downe at their feet, and humbly besought them, all that ever she could, rather to kill her out of hand, than to suffer her thus shamefully to be betrayed, and villanously to be disposed of her maidenhead: but for that she staid longer than was to the good liking of the foresaid *Lucius*, (who burned all this whiles in lust, and had withall taken his wine liberally) he rose from the table in great choler, and went himselfe toward her: when he came to the house, he found *Micca* with her head upon her fathers knees, and her he commanded to follow him; which she refused to do; whereupon he rent her clothes from her bodie, and whipped her stark naked; and she, without giving one word againe, endured for her part with patience and silence all the smart and paine: but her father and mother, seeing, that with all their piteous praiers and tender teares, they could not prevaille nor boot anie thing with this wretch, turned to call and implore the helpe both of God and man, crying with a loud

loud voice: Out upon such injurious indignity and intolerable villany: whereupon, this barbarous villaine (grown now to be furious and enraged, partly with choler, and in part with drunkenesse) killed this filly poore gile, even as she couched her face in the very lap and bosome of her father: howbeit, for all this and such like wicked pranks plaied, the tyrant was nothing at all moved to pite and compassion, but many citizens he murdered, and more he banished and caused to leave their country; in such sort, that (as the speech went) no fewer than eight hundred fled to the *Aetolians*, craving at their hands to make meanes unto the tyrant, that they might have away their wives and little children also. Not long after, the tyrant of his owne accord caused proclamation to be made by sound of trumpet; that as many women as were willing to go unto their husbands, should make them ready and depart, yea, and cary with them as much of their goods as they would: now when he understood, that they all with great joy of this proclamation thus published, and that they were assembled together with much contentment of minde, to the number of fixe hundred, he commanded that they should depart; and put themselves in their journey all together on a certaine day by him prefixed, making semblant against that time, to provide a good convoy for their better security: when the time appointed was come, they flocked thicke to the gates of the city, having brought with them their trusses and fardles of such goods as they meant to have away with them, carying some of their little babes in their armes, taking order for others for to be brought in waggons; and so they staid there, &c attended one anothers coming: but suddenly, many of the souldiers and those of the tyrants guard, came running toward them, and crying aloud as farre off: Stay, stay: now when they approached nere, all the women they commanded to go backe againe, but the waines and waggons they turned together with the horses full upon them, and drave them amaine thorow the mids of the troupe and throng of the women, not suffering them either to follow, or to stay or succor their poore little infants, whom they saw to die before their faces: for some of them perished with falling out of the chariots to the ground, others were destroyed and trampled under the horse feet; and all this while, these pensioners of the guard, with loud out-cries and with whipping, drave the women before them, like as they had bene for many sheepe, and thronged them so hard, that one tumbled upon another; and thus they chased them, untill such time as they had cast them all into prison: but all their bag and baggage was seized upon, and brought unto *Aristotimus*. Now when the men of *Eli* were herewith mightily offended; the religious women consecrated to the service of *Bacchus*, whom they call the Sixteene (carying in their hands boughs of olive trees, like suppliants, and chaplets of vine branches about their heads, which they tooke from the god whom they served) went to meet with *Aristotimus* about the marketplace of the citie: his squires and pensioners about him for the guard of his bodie, made a lane for them, and seemed (upon some reverence) to give them way that they might come nere: and the women at first kept silence, doing nought els but in most humble and devout maner tender unto him their branches, like suppliants: but after that the tyrant understood that it was for the Eliens wives that they came thus to make supplication, and namely, that hec would take some commiseration of them; being wroth &c displeased with his guard, he cried out upon them for suffering the said women to approach so neere unto his person; and thereupon commanded them to drive some and to beat others, untill they were all chased out of the market-place; and more than all this, he condemned these religious votaries in a fine of two talents a piece. During these occurrences, there was within the citie, one of the burgessees named *Hellanicus*, a man very farrre stept in age, who was the authour of a conspiracie and insurrection against the tyrant; one that of all others he least distrusted, and whom he never thought likely to practise against him, both for that he was very aged, and also because but a litle before he had buried two of his children: and it fortunated at the very same time, that fro *Aetolia* the exiles before named, passed into the territorie of *Eli*, and seized upon a fort called *Anymum* situate in a very commodious place for to mainteine warre; where they received and entertained many other inhabitants of the citie, who immediatly resorted thither, and ran apace: upon these tydings, the tyrant *Aristotimus* much fearing the sequel hereof, went unto their wives in prison; and thinking to compass his desseignes better by feare, than favor and love, he commanded them to send unto their husbands, &c to write unto them, for to abandon their holde and depart out of the country, menacing the poore women, that if they did not so, he would cause their children first to be mangled with whips, and so killed before their face, and then put themselves also to death: all of them were silent a good while, &c notwithstanding he importuned them a long time, and urged them to speake at once whether they would doe it or no? they looked one upon another without say-

ing a word, giving him thereby to understand, that they stood in no feare, and were not affonied for all his threats: at the last, one of them, named *Megisto*, wife to *Timolon*, and a woman whom the rest regarded and held as their captainesse, as well in respect of her husbands honour, as her owne vertue, deigned not to rise up from her seat herselfe, nor suffered any of the rest to stand up; but sitting still in her place, thus said: If thou wert a wise man, thou wouldest not deale thus as thou dost, betwene women and their husbands, but rather send unto them, as to those who have the power and authoritie over their wives, and to deliver unto them better speeches than such, whereby thou hast deceived us; now if (being past hope to perswade them) thou thinkest to circumvent and delude them by the meanes of us, never looke that thou shalt abuse us any more, nor thinke that they will be so ill advised or so base minded, as that for to spare their wives and little children, they will abandon and lose the libertie of their countrey: for surely the losse of us will not be to them so much, considering that they now enjoy us not, as the gaine and benefit, in delivering their countrey and fellow-citizens from such outrageous crueltie. Whiles *Megisto* entertained *Aristotimus* with these speeches, he could no longer endure, but commanded her little sonne to be brought before him, for to murder him before her eyes; and when the pensioners about the tyrant searched for him among other little boies that were playing & wrestling together, his mother called unto him by name, saying: Come hither to me my boy, that thou maiest be delivered from the crueltie of this tyrant, before thou hast any sense or understanding to know what tyranny is: for a greater griefe it would be unto me another day to see thee for to serve like a slave unworthily, than to die here presently: hereat *Aristotimus* through impatience of furious anger, drew his sword upon the woman herselfe, meaning to run her thorough; but one of his familiar friends, named *Cylon* (who made semblant to be true & faithful unto him but hated him secretly in his hart, & indeed was of the complices in that conspiracy of *Hellanicus*) stepped before him, and by his effectuall prayers turned his hand, making remonitance unto him, that it was no generous and manly deed, but a womanish act: neither favoured it of a prince or such a personage as knew how to manage great affaires of State, to deale in that sort, which he forced and pressed so instantly that hardly and with much ado though it were; *Aristotimus* was of a better minde, bethought himselfe and went his way. Now there befell unto him a strange accident, which presaged what mischief was toward him; for about high noone it was, when being in his bed-chamber, & reposing himself with his wife, whiles his dinner was now ready to be served up, those of his household might perceive an eagle soaring round over his house; and the lesser stone directly upon the very place of the roofe of the said chamber where he lay, as if upon deliberate purpose the had aimed and leveled as it were so to doe, himselfe hearing the noise and rap that the stone gave upon the house top over his head, and withall, the outcry beneath of those who beheld the foule, was mightily affrighted, and demanded what the matter might be? when he understood what it was; hee sent presently for the wizard or soothsaier, whom he was wont to use in such cases, and all troubled and perplexed in spirit, asked him what this signe might preface? the soothsaier comforted him, & willed him to be of good cheere, saying unto himselfe: That it was *Jupiter* who wakened him, & shewed how willing he was to assist and succour him; but unto other citizens whom he might trust, he expounded it otherwise, and assured them that it was the vengeance of God, which speedily would light upon the tyrants head: whereupon *Hellanicus* and his adherents were resolved to deferre the execution of their designes no longer, but to set upon the enterprize the next morrow in the night that came betwene, *Hellanicus* as he slept, dreamed, and in that vision he thought, that one of his sons late deceased stood before him & said: Father, what meane you to lie a sleepe, considering that once to morrow you must be captain general and soveraigne governor of this citie: *Hellanicus* wonderfully encouraged by this vision, started up, and went to sollicite the rest of his complices and companions in the said conspiracie. By this time was *Aristotimus* advertized that *Craterus* was comming to aide him with a puissant armie, and lay encamped neere to *Olympia*; in the assurance and confidence whereof, he presently tooke *Cylon* with him, and went forth without any guard about his person: *Hellanicus* seeing the opportunitie now offered, and taking the vantage thereof, gave not the signal and watchword which was agreed upon, with those who first were to set to the execution of their intended enterprize; but stretching forth both his hands with a loud voice cried out: Now, now, my masters and valiant men, what staie you for? can you desire a fairer theater to shew your valour in, than to fight for the defence of your libertie, in the very heart of your native countrey? At which words, *Cylon* drew his sword first, and smote one of them that followed and accompanied *Aristotimus*; but *Thrasibulus* and *Lampis* came

came afront, and ran upon the tyrant himselfe, who preventing the venue of their stroke, fled for refuge and sanctuary into the temple of *Jupiter*, where they slew him out-right, and drew his dead corps into the market place; and then assembled all the citizens thither, for to recover their freedome: but many of the people could not prevent the women; for they ranne out with the first in great alacritie, weeping and crying out for very joy, and envioning their husbands round about, crowned them, and set chaplets of flowers upon their heads: then the multitude of the common people set upon the tyrants house, and assaulted it; his wife having shut herselfe within her chamber, there hung herselfe, and whereas she had two daughters, virgins as yet, but in the prime and flower of their yeeres, ready for marriage; those they tooke, and by force haled them out of the house, with full intent to kill them; in the end after they had abused their bodies first, and then perpetrated all the villanie & shame they could devise unto them; which no doubt they would have put in execution, but that *Megisto* with other honest matrons of the citie, opposed themselves and came betwene, who cried aloud unto them; that in so doing they should commit an indignitie unbeseeming them, if considering, that now being in the verie traine and high way of recovering their libertie, for to live from henceforth in a popular government, they should perpetrate as violent outrages, as the most bloody and cruell tyrants are used to commit: the people in good respect and reverence to the honour and authoritie of this vertuous and honest dame, who spake her minde so frankly unto them with teares gushing out of her eyes, were reclaimed and advised to offer no abuse nor villanie unto their persons; but to put unto their choise what death they would die: and when they had brought them both back againe into the house, and intimated unto them, that there was no other remedie but die: they mult, and that presently; the elder of the twaine named *Myro*, untied her girdle from about her walle, and with a running noose did it about her owne necke in manner of an halter; then kissing and embracing her younger sister, she praised her to marke what she did, and according to her example to doe thereafter: To the end (quoth she) that we may not die basely, unworthily the place from whence we are come and descended: but the younger desired againe, that she might die first, caught hold of the girdle and snatched it from her; then the elder: Well sister (quoth she) I never yet refused to do any thing that you desired at my hands; & even now content I am to doe so much for you as to endure and suffer that, which will be more greivous unto me than death it selfe, namely, to see my most deere and best beloved sister to die before me; which said, she her selfe taught her how to fit the said girdle to her necke, and to knit it for the purpose, and when she perceived once that the life was out of her bodie, she tooke her downe and covered her breathlesse corps; then addressing her speech unto dame *Megisto* her selfe, she besought her, that she would not suffer her bodie after she was dead, to lie shamefully above the ground, and not interred: the sight heereof and the words withall were so pathetically, that there was not one present so hard hearted, or so spightfully and maliciously bent against the tyrant, but deplored their wofull estate, and pitied the generositie and magnanimitie of these two young ladies. Now albeit there be infinit presidents of noble deeds, that in old time, women have done in companies together; yet me thinkes these few examples which I have already delivered, may suffice: from henceforth therefore I will rehearse the particular vertuous acts of severall women by themselves, as they come scattering into my remembrance: for I suppose that such narrations and histories as these, doe not require of necessitie the precise order and consequence of the times.

## PIERIA.

OF those Ionians who were come to dwell in the citie of *Miletum*, some chaunced to be at variance and debate with the children of *Ncleus*; by occasion whereof in the end, they thought the city too hot for them, and constrained they were to remove and retire themselves into the citie *Myus*, where they made their abode & habitation; and yet even there also, much molested they were and troubled by the Milesians, who warred upon them, for their revolt and apostasie: howbeit this warre was not so bloudie and mortall, but that they used to send one unto another, yea and to communicate and negotiate reciprocally in divers things: for even upon certaine solemnne and festivall daies, the wives and women of *Myus* would repaire boldly unto *Miletum*: now among these Myuntines, there was a noble man and of great name, one *Pythes*, who had to wife a ladie called *Jaggia*, by whom he was father of a faire daughter, cleped *Pieria*: when as therefore the great feast unto *Diana* and a solemnne sacrifice called *Ncleus*, was celebrated

celebrated by the Milefians: *Pythes*, sent thither unto this solemnitie, his wife and daughter aforefaid, for they had requested leave of him to be partakers of the feaft. It fortun'd whiles they were there, that one of the fonnes of *Xelem* (a man of moft credit and greateft authority in the citie) named *Phrygius*, caft a fance to *Pieria*; and in courting her after the manner of lovers, defired to know of her what it might be, wherein he might gratifie her moft, and beft content her, unto whom (he answered: If Sir you will fo bring about, that I my felfe with many more may oftentimes refort hither, you fhall doe me the greateft pleasure that you can devife: *Phrygius* (conceiving prefently what her meaning was, namely that there might bee continuall peace and amitie betweene thofe two cities) wrought fo, that he compofed the warre on both fides: in regard herof *Pieria* was highly eftemed and honoured in both cities; in fuch wife, 10 that unto this day the Milefian dames do with ordinarily and pray unto the gods, that they may be as well beloved, as *Pieria* was of *Phrygius*.

## POLYCRITE.

There was in times paff, warre betweene the Naxians and the Milefians, about *Neera* the wife of *Hypferon*, and the fame arofe upon this occafion. This *Neera* was enamoured upon *Promedon*, a Naxian, in fomuch as fhe would embarke, take the fea, and faile with him: for why? an ordinarie gueft he was of *Hypferons*, and used to lodge in his houfe whensoever hee came to *Miletum*: yea and fecretly fhe had him to lie with her, fhe loved him fo well: but 20 in proceffe of time when fhee feared that her husband perceived it, he faire tooke her cleane away with him to *Naxos*, where he ordained, that fhe fhould be a fuppliant of *Peffa*. *Hypferon* fent for her againe; but when the Naxians in favour of *Promedon* refufed to render her, alleging for a colourable pretence of their excufe the privilege and franchifes of fuppliants: hereupon the warre began betweene them; in which quarrell the Erythreans favoured the Milefians verie affectionately and fided with them, in fomuch as it grew to a long and lingering warre, and many miseries and calamities that follow warres, it drew withall, as well to the one part as the other; until at laft the quarrel was finally ended by the vertue of one woman, like as it began firft by the vice and wickedneffe of another. For *Diognetus* the captaine generall of the Erythreans, (unto whom was committed the charge of keeping a fort, feated upon a very commodious place 30 to annoy & endamage the Naxians) made rodes and incursions into their territorie, where with many other huge booties that he drave and carried away, he took and led as his prifoners many maidens and wives of good houfes and parentage; among whom there was one named *Polycrita*, whom himfelfe fancied and fell in love with; her he kept and entertained not like a captive or prifoner, but as if fhe had bene his fpoiled wife: now it fortun'd that the day was come when the Milefians lying in campe, were to folemnize a great feaft; by reafon whereof they fel to drinking freely and making good cheere, inviting one another as the maner was: then *Polycrita* asked captaine *Diognetus*, whether hee would be offended if fhe fhould fend certaine tarts, pies, and cakes, provided for that feaft unto her brethren? who answered: that he not onely permitted, but alfo willed her fo to doe: fhe taking the opportunitie of good occafion, put within 40 one of thefe tarts, a little thinn plate of lead which was written upon, charging him exprefly who had the carriage thereof, to fay unto her brethren, that in any cafe none but they, fhould taft of the faid cakes or tarts: this meffage was done accordingly, and when they came to eate the tarts, they found within one, a writing of their filthirs; whereby fhee advertifed and advifed them not to faile, but that very night to come and affaile their enemies, for that they fhould finde them in great diforder, without fentiell and *corps-de-guard*, without any watch and ward at all, for that they were all drunke by occafion of the good cheere that they had made at that feaft: having this intelligence, they prefently acquainted the captaines generall of the Naxians 50 arme therewith, praying them to enterprife this fervice by their direction and with them: thus were the Erythreans defieized of their ftrong hold, and a great number of them within, put to the fword: but *Polycrita* craved *Diognetus* of her fellow-citizens, and by that meanes faved his life; now when fhe approached neere unto the gates of *Naxos*, feeing all the inhabitants coming forth to meet her with exceeding great joy and mirth, putting garlands of flowers upon her head, and chanting fongs of other praifes, her heart was not able to endure fo great joy; for fhe died at the very gate of the citie, where afterwards fhe was enterred and entombed; and her monument was called, the Sepulcher of Envie, as if there had bene fome envious fortune, which had grudged unto *Polycrita*, the fruition of fo great glorie and honour. Thus the Hiftoriographers

riographers of *Naxos* have delivered this narration: howbeit (*Aristotle* faith) that *Polycrita* was never taken prifoner; but *Diognetus* having had a fight of her by fome other meanes, became enamoured upon her fo farre, that he was ready to give unto her, and to do for the love of her, whatsoever fhe would: alfo that fhe promifed to go with him, in cafe he would agree and graunt one thing, and (as the faid philofopher telleth the tale) thereupon fhe required of him an obligation of his oth; and after he had faithfully fworne unto her, fhe demanded that hee fhould deliver unto her the caftle *Delios*; for that was the name of the fort or piece whereof hee had the charge, otherwife fhe faid that fhe would never come in bed with him; whereupon hee (alwell for the great defire that he had to enjoy her love, as in regard of his aforefaid oath, by 10 which he was bound and obliged) quit the place and rendred it into the hands of *Polycrita*, who prefently delivered it up unto her countrey-men and fellow-citizens; by which meanes they being now able once againe to make their parts good with the Milefians, made an accord and concluded peace, under what conditions they defired themselves.

## LAMPSACE.

In the citie *Phocæa*, there were fometimes two brethren twinned, of the houfe and family of the *Coarida*; the one named *Phobus*, the other *Blepfus*; of which twaine, *Phobus* was the firft that (according as *Chiron* the Chronickler of *Lampfacum* doth record) caft himfelfe from the 20 high rocks and cliffes of *Leuca* into the fea. This *Phobus* being of great puiffance and royall authoritie in his countrey, hapned to have fome private affaire and negotiation of his owne in the ifle of *Paros*, and thither he went; where he contracted amitie, alliance and hofpitalitie with *Mandron* king of the Bebrycians, furnamed *Pityoeffenes*: and by vertue of this new league he aided them, and in their behalfe made warre with them, againft other barbarous people their neighbours, who did them wrong and wrought them much damage: afterwards (when he was upon his departure and returne home) *Mandron* among many other courtesies and tokens of kindeffe which he beftowed upon him, now ready to embarke and take the fea, offered him the one moitie of his country and city, if he would come & dwell in the citie *Pityoeffa*, with fome part of the *Phocæans*, for to people the place: whereupon *Phobus* after he was come home againe to 30 *Phocæa*, propofed this matter unto the *Phocæans* his citizens; & having perfwaded them to accept of the offer, he fent his owne brother, as leader and captaine to conduft this colonie of new inhabitants; who upon their firft arrivall and coming thither, found themselves as well entreated, & as courteoufly entertained as they could wifh or looke for at *Mandron* his hands: but in tract of time, after that they had gotten many advantages at the Barbarians hands, their neighbours & borderers, wan divers booties from them, and gained much pillage & fpoile; they began to be envied firft, and afterwards to be dread and feared of the Bebrycians; who being defirous for to be rid and delivered of fuch guefts, durft not addrefse themselves unto *Mandron*, whom they knew to be an honeft and juft man, for to perfwade him to praftife any difloyaltie or treacherie, againft men of the Greek nation; but elpying a time when he was abfent and out of 40 the countrey; they comploted and prepared to furprize the *Phocæans* by a wile, and fo to difpatch them al at once out of the way: but *Lampface* (the daughter of *Mandron*, a maiden yet unmarried, having fome fore-inkling and intelligence of this forelaied ambuſh) laboured & dealt, firft with her familiar friends to divert them from fo wicked an enterprife, fhewing and proving unto them, that it was a damnable act before God, and abominable among men, to proceed to treacherouſly againft their allies and confederates, who had bene ready at all times to aid and affift them in their need againft their enemies, and befides, were now incorporate with them, and their fellow-citizens: but when fhe faw that there would no good be done, and that fhe could not diffwade them from it: ſhe acquainted the Greeks under-hand with this treafon, which was a warping againft them, & advifed them to look unto themſelves, & ſtand upon their 50 own guard: fo the *Phocæans* made a folemn ſacrifice & a publick feaft, invited the *Pityoeffenes* to come out of the citie into the ſuburbs to take part thereof; & themſelves they divided into two troupes, whereof the one feized the wals of the citie, whiles the inhabitants were at the feaft, meane time the other were buſie in maſſacring the guefts that were bidden to it; and by this meanes they became maſters of the whole citie, and ſent for *Mandron*, whom they defired to participate with them in their counſels and affaires: as for *Lampface* his daughter, who fortun'd to die of fickneffe, they interred magnificently, and in memoriall of that good which ſhe did unto them, called the citie after her name *Lampſacum*: howbeit *Mandron* becauſe he would not

be suspected to have bene a traitour unto his owne people, would not consent to dwell among them, but required to have of them, the wives and children of them who were dead; whom they sent unto him with all speed and diligence, without dooing any harme or displeasure at all unto them; as for *Lamfaca* unto whom before they had ordeined heroick honors; they decreed for ever to sacrifice unto her as unto a goddesse, and even to this day they doe continue and observe the same divine worship unto her.

## ARETAPHILA.

**A**retaphila of Cyrene, was none of them that lived in ancient time, but lately in the daies  
10 of king *Mithridates*; but she shewed vertue, & performed an act comparable to the magnanimous counsels and desseignes of the most antike demi-goddesses that ever were: daughter she was to *Aeglator*, and wife to *Phadimus*, both noble men and great personages; faire & beautifull of visage, of deepe conceit and high reach, and namely in matters of estate, & affaires of government well experienced: the publike calamities of her country did illustrate her name, and caused her to be well knowne and voiced in the world: for *Nicoerates* having usurped the tyrannie of *Cyrene*, put to death many of the chiefe and principall men of the citie, and among the rest, one *Melanippus* the high priest of *Apollo*, whom he slew with his owne hands, for to enjoy his priesthood: he did to death also *Phadimus* the husband of *Aretaphila*, and not content therewith, married her person and against her will: this tyrant over & above an infinit  
20 number of other cruelties which he daily committed, set certaine warders at every gate of the city; who when there was caried forth any dead corps to buriall out of the citie, abused the same, with digging into the soles of their feet, with the points of their daggers and poinards, or else with searing them with red hot irons; for feare that any of the inhabitants should be conveyed alive out of the citie, under colour of being borne to the grave as dead: private and particular crosses, had *Aretaphila* no doubt, which were greivous unto her, and hardly to be endured, although the tyrant was otherwise kinde enough unto her, and led her a faire life, letting her have her owne will, for the love he bare unto her; inasmuch as the tyrant suffered her to enjoy a great part of his puissance and regall power; for love had enthralled and subdued him unto her; and not one there was but she alone who knew how to use and handle him; for to all the  
30 others he was untractable, inflexible, and savage beyond all measure: but it grieved her most of all, to see her native country so miserably abused, and so unworthily intreated by this tyrant; for there was not one day went over his head, but he caused to be executed one citizen or other, neither was there to be seene any hope of revenge or deliverance out of these calamities on any side; for that the exiled persons and such as fled, being weake and feeble every way, and altogether heartlesse and fearefull, were scattered some in this place others in that: *Aretaphila* therefore (building upon her selfe alone, the onely hope of recovering and raising the State of the common-weale, and proposing the magnanimous and renowned acts of *Theba*, the wife of the tyrant *Pheres*, as examples to imitate; but wanting and destitute altogether of faithfull friends and trustie kinsfolke for to helpe and second her in any enterprise, such as the present times and  
40 affaires did afford unto the other) assaied to make away the tyrant by some poison; but as she was about the provision hereof, and assaied to make proove of the forces of many strong poisons, she could not carrie her desseigne so secretly but it came forth, and was discovered: now when the thing was averred & evidently proved; by strong presumptions: *Calbia* the mother of *Nicoerates* (a bloudy woman, and of nature implacable) thought to have her put to many exquisite torments, and then to bring her soone after to her death: but the affection that *Nicoerates* bare unto her wrought some delay in revenge, and dulled the edge of his anger, and withall, *Aretaphila*, (who constantly and resolutely offered her selfe to answer all imputations that were laid unto her charge) gave some colourable excuse unto the passionate affection of the tyrant: but in the end finding that she was convinced by certaine proofes and evidences, which she knew  
50 not how to answer, neither could she denie that she had some drugs in her closet, & did temper certaine medicines; but confessed that indeed she had prepared certaine drugs, yet such as were neither deadly nor dangerous: But my good lord (quoth the unto her husband the tyrant) I am much perplexed and troubled with many things of great consequence, and namely how to preserve the good opinion which you have of me, the kinde affection also which of your gracious favour you beare unto me, by meanes wherof, I have this honour, as to enjoy a good part of your power and authoritie jointly with you; this maketh me to be envied of wicked women, at  
whole

whole hands I (feearing sorceries, charmes, enchantments, and other cunning divellish casts, by which they would goe about to withdraw and distract you from the love that you beare me) resolved at the length with my selfe for to seeke means how to meet, encounter, and prevent their devices; foolish peradventure they may be (as indeed the very inventions of a woman) but in no wise worthy of death; unlesse haply, (in your judgement) it be just and reasonable to put your wife to death, for that she mindeth to give you some love-drinks, and amatorious cups; or deviseth some charmes, as desirous to be more loved of you than haply it is your pleasure for to love her. *Nicoerates* having heard these excuses alledged by *Aretaphila*, thought good, and resolved to put her to torture; whereat *Calbia* her mother was present, who never relented  
10 nor seemed to be touched with her dolorous torments, but remained inexorable: now when she was laid upon the racke, and asked sundrie questions, she yielded not unto the paines that she sustained, but continued invincible, and confessed no fault in the height of all extremities; untill at length *Calbia* herselfe, even against her will was forced to give over tormenting her any longer: and *Nicoerates* let her goe, being not fully perswaded, that the excuses alledged by her were true & to be credited, repenting that he had put her to such paine as he did; and it was not long after (so deeply was the passion of love imprinted in his heart) but he returned to her, and assaied to win her grace and good will againe, by all honours, favours, courtesies and kindness that possibly he could shew unto her; but she, who had the power and strength to resist all torments and yield unto no paines, would not be overcome with all his flatteries; but joining  
20 now unto her former desire of doing some vertuous deed, the animosities for to be revenged and to effect her purpose, assaied other meanes. One daughter she had marriageable, and beautifull she was besides; her she suborned and fet as an alluring bait to entrap and catch the tyrants brother, a yong gentleman, easie to be caught with the pleasures & delight of youth; and many are of opinion, that she used certaine charmes and amatorious potions, aswell as the object of her daughters beautie, whereby the enchanted and bewitched the wits and senses of this yong man, whom they called *Leander*: when he was once enamoured with the love of this yong damosell, he prevailed so much by prayers and entreatie with his brother, that he permitted him to wed her: no sooner was he married, but his fresh spouse (having instructions before-hand from her mother) began to be in hand with him, and to perswade him for to enterprise the recovery  
30 of freedome unto the citie, shewing by good remonstrance, that himselfe enjoyed not libertie, so long as he lived under tyrannie, neither had he power of himselfe, either to wed a wife, or to keepe her when he had her, if it pleased not the tyrant: on the other side, his friends and other of his familiar acquaintance, for to gratifie *Aretaphila* and to doe her pleasure, repaired unto him continually, forging some new matter of quarrels and suspitions against his brother the tyrant: when he perceived that *Aretaphila* was also of the same minde, and had her hand therein, he resolved to execute the enterprise; and thereupon he set one *Daphnis*, a servant of his owne, in hand with the businesse, by whose meanes he killed *Nicoerates*: but after he was thus murdered, *Leander* would no more be advised by *Aretaphila*, nor follow her counsell in the rest; but thewed incontinently by his deportments and carriage in all actions, that a brother indeed hee had  
40 murdered, but not killed a tyrant: for in his owne government, he bare himselfe like a foole, and ruled insolently and furiously: howbeit, unto *Aretaphila* he thewed alwaies some honour and reverence, conferring upon her some part of his authoritie in management of State affaires; for that she made no semblant at all of discontentment, nor directly and in open maner seemed to warre against him, but privily practised, and cunningly disposed all: for first and foremost, she raised warre upon him out of *Lybia*, by the meanes of a prince there, named *Anabus*, betweene whom and her there passed secret intelligence: him shee solicited and perswaded to invade his country, and with a puissant armie to approach the citie *Cyrene*: then he buzzed into *Leanders* head, certaine surmizes and suspitions of disloyaltie in his peeres, his friends and captaines; giving him to understand, that their hearts stood not to this warre, but that they loved  
50 peace and quietnesse rather: Which (quoth she) to say a truth, as things now stand, were better for you & for the establishment of your roial state & dominion, in case you would rule in deed, holde under, and keepe in awe, your subjects and citizens: and for mine owne part, I holde it good policie for you to make meanes for a treatie of peace, which I will labour to effect, and for that purpose bring you and *Anabus* together, to an interview and parle (if you thinke so good) before that you grow to farther tearmes of hostilitie and open warre, which may breed a mischief, that afterwards will admit no cure nor remedie. This motion he handled and followed with such dexteritie, that *Leander* condescended thereto; and shee herselfe in person went to conferre



conferre with the Lybian prince, whom she requested, that so soone as ever they were met together to treat of this pretended accord, he should arrest the tyrant as his prisoner; and to doo this feat, she promised him great gifts and presents, besides a good reward in money: the Lybian soone accorded hereto: now *Leander* made some doubt at first, to go into this parle, and staid a while, but afterwards (for the good respect that he had unto *Aretaphila*, who promised in his behalfe, that he should come to conference) he set forward, naked, without armes and without his guards: when he approached the place appointed for this interview, and had a sight once of *Anabus*, his heart misgave him againe; and being much troubled and perplexed, he would not go on, but said, he would stay for his guard: howbeit, *Aretaphila* who was there present, partly encouraged him, and in part rebuked and checked him, saying: That he would be taken and reputed for a base minded coward, and a disloyall person, who made no account of his word, if he should now flinch and start backe: at the last, when they were at point to meet; she laied holde upon him, plucked him forward by the hand, and with great boldnesse and resolution haled him, untill she had delivered him into the hands of the barbarous prince: then immediatly was hee apprehended, and his bodie attached by the Lybians, who kept him bound as a prisoner, and set a straight guard about him, untill such time as the friends of *Aretaphila* with other citizens of *Chene*, were come to the campe, and brought the money and gifts unto her which she had promised unto *Anabus*. For so soone as it was known in the city that *Leander* was taken prisoner & in sure hold, a number also of the multitude ran forth, to the place appointed of conference; and so soone as they had set an eye on *Aretaphila*, they went within a litle of forgetting all their anger and malice which they bare unto the tyrant, thinking that the revenge and exemplar punishment of him was but accessarie and by-matter; as being now wholly amused upon another thing, and supposing the principall fruition of their libertie consisted in saluting and greeting her most kindly, and with fo great joy, that the teares ran downe their cheeks, inasmuch as they were ready to kneele, yea, and cast themselves downe prostrate at her feet, no lesse than before the sacred image and statue of a goddesse: thus they flocked unto her, by troups out of the citie one after another, all day long, inasmuch as it was wel in the evening before they could adwise with themselves to seize upon the person of *Leander*, and hardly before darke night did they bring him with them into the citie. Now after they were well satisfied with giving all manner of praises, and doing what honour they could devise unto *Aretaphila*, in the end they turned to consultation what was best to be done with the tyrants: so they proceeded to bunc *Calbia* quicke; and as for *Leander*, they put him in a leather poke and fowed it up close, and then cast it into the sea. Then ordeined and decreed it was, that *Aretaphila* should have the charge and administration of the weale publicke, with some other of the principall personages of the citie joined in commission with her: but she (as one who had plaied many and sundry parts already upon the stage so well, that shee had gotten the garland and crowne of victorie) when shee saw that her countrey and citie was now fully free and at libertie, immediatly betooke her selfe to her owne private house, as it were cloistered up with women onely, and would no more intermeddle in the affaires of State abroad; but the rest of her life shee passed in peace and repose with her kinsfolke and friends, without setting her selfe to any businesse, save onely to her wheele, her web, and such womens works.

## C A M M A.

Here were in times past, two most puissant Lords and Tetrarches of *Galatia*, who also were in blood of kinne one to the other, *Sinatux* and *Synorix*. *Sinatux* had espoused a young virgin named *Camma*, and made her his wife; a ladie highly esteemed of as many as knew her, as well for the beautie of her person, as the floure of her age; but admired much more in regard of her vertue and honestie; for shee had not onely a tender respect of her owne good name and honour, carried an affectionate love and true heart unto her; but also, shee was wise, magnanimous, and passing well beloved of all her subjects and tenants, in regard of her gentle nature, and her debonair and bounteous disposition; and that which made her better reputed and more renowned, was this; that shee was both a religious priestresse of *Diana* (a goddesse whom the Galatians most devoutly honour and worship) and also in every solemne proceffion and publicke sacrifice, shee would alwaies be seene abroad most sumptuously set out, and stately adorned. It fortuned so, that *Synorix* was enamoured of this brave dame, but being not able to bring about his purpose and to enjoy her, neither by faire means nor foule, perswade he, or menance what he

he could, so long as her husband lived: the devill put in his head, to commit a most heinous and detestable fact; for he laied waite for *Sinatux*, and treacherously murdered him: he staid not long after, but he fell to wooing of *Camma*, and courting her by way of marriage; she made her abode within the temple at that time, and tooke the infamous act committed by *Synorix*, not piteously, and as one cast downe and dejected therewith, but with a stout heart and a stomacke mooved to anger, and yet considerably, waiting the time and opportunitie of revenge: on the other side, *Synorix* followed his sure verie earnestly, soliciting and intreating importunately; neither seemed he to alledge vaine and frivolous reasons, but such as carried some colourable pretense of honestie; namely, that he had alwaies shewed himselfe a man of more valor & worth than *Sinatux*; and whereas he took away his life, induced he was thereto for the exceeding love that hee bare to *Camma*, and not mooved thereto by any malice otherwise. This young dame at the first seemed to denie him, but yet her denials were not verie churlish, and such, as he might take for his small answer; for daily by litle and litle, she made semblant that shee relented and inclined unto him, for that divers kinsfolke and friends also of hers, joined with him to second his sute, who (for to gratifie and doe pleasure unto *Synorix*, a man of the greatest credit and authoritie in his countrey) perswaded, yea & forced her to yeeld unto this match. To be short, in the end shee gave her consent, & *Synorix* was fent for to come unto her, where she kept her residence, that in the presence of the said goddesse the contract of marriage might passe, & the espousals be solemnized: when he was come, shee received and welcomed him with an amiable and gracious countenance, lead him unto the very altar of *Diana*, where religiously & with great ceremonie shee powred forth before the goddesse, a litle of a potion which shee had prepared, out of a boules; the one part thereof shee drunke herselfe, & the other shee gave unto *Synorix* for to drinke: now this potion was mead mingled with ranke poison: when shee saw that hee had taken his draught, shee fetching a loud and evident groane, doing reverence also unto the goddesse: I protest and call thee to witnesse (quoth shee) the most powerfull and honourable goddesse, that I have not survived *Sinatux*, for any other cause in the world, but onely to see this day, neither have I had any joie of my life all this while that I have lived since, but onely in regard of hope that one day I might be revenged of his death, which seeing that now I have effected, I go most gladly and joyfully unto that sweet husband of mine; and as for thee (most accursed & wicked wretch in the world) give order to thy kinsfolke and friends, in stead of a nuptiall bed, to provide a grave for thy burial: the Galatian (hearing these words, and beginning withal to feelee the operation of the poison, and how it wrought & troubled him within his bowels, and all parts of his body) mounted presently his chariot, hoping that by the jogging and agitation thereof, he might vomit and cast up the poison; but immediatly hee alighted againe, and put himselfe into an easie litter; but did he what he could, dead he was that very evening: as for *Camma*, she continued all the night languishing, and when shee heard for certaintie that he was deceased, shee also with joy and mirth departed out of this world.

## S T R A T O N I C E.

The selfesame province of *Galatia* afforded two other dames woorthy of eternall memorie, to wit, *Stratonice* the wife of king *Deiotarus*, and *Chiomara* the wife of *Ortiagon*: as for *Stratonice*, shee (knowing that the king her husband was desirous to have children lawfully begotten, for to leave to be his successors & inheritors of the crowne, and yet could have none by her) praied and intreated him to trie another woman, and beget a childe of her body, yea and permitted that it should be put unto her, and shee would take it upon her as her owne: *Deiotarus* wondered much at this resolution of hers, and was content to doe all things according to her mind: wherupon shee chose (among other captives taken prisoner in the warres) a proper faire maiden named *Electra*, whom shee brought into *Deiotarus* bed chamber, & shut them in both together: and all the children which this concubine bare unto him, his wife reared and brought up with as kinde an affection and as princelike, as if hee had borne them herselfe.

## C H I O M A R A.

At what time as the Romans, under the conduct of *Cn. Scipio*, defeated the Galatians that inhabit in *Asia*; it befell that *Chiomara* the wife of *Ortiagon*, was taken prisoner with other Galatian women: the captaine whose captive shee was, made use of his fortune, did like a soldier,

dier, and abused her bodie, who as he was a man given unto his fleshly pleasure, so he looked also as much or rather more unto his profit and filthie lucre; but so it fell out, that overtaken he was and entrapped by his owne avarice: for (being promised by the woman a good round quantitie of gold, for to deliver her out of thralldome and set her at libertie;) he brought her to the place which he had appointed for to render her and fet her free; which was at a certaine banke by the river side, where the Galatians should passe over, tender him the said monie, and receive *Chiomara*: but she winked with her eie, & thereby gave a signall to one of her own companie for to kill the said Romane captaine, at what time as he should take his leave of her with a kisse and friendly farewell; which the partie did with his sword, & at one stroke fetched off his head: the head she herselfe tooke up, and wrapped it in the lap of her gowne before, and so gat her away apace homeward: when she was come to her husbands house, downe she cast his head at his feet, whereat he being astonied: Ah my sweet wife (quoth he) it is a good thing to keepe faithfull promise: True (quoth she) but it is better, that but one man alive should have my companie. *Polybius* writeth of the same woman, that himselfe talked with her afterwards in the citie of *Sardis*, and that he found her then to be a woman of an high minde and of wonderfull deepe wit. But since I am fallen to the mention of the Galatians, I will rehearse yet one story more of them.

## A WOMAN OF PERGAMUS.

**K**ing *Mithridates* sent upon a time for threescore of the principall lords of *Galatia*, to repaire unto him upon trust and safe-conduct as friends, into the citie *Pergamus*: whom being come at his request, he entertained with proud & imperious speeches, whereat they all took great scorn and indignation, in so much as one of them named *Toredorix* (a strong & tall man of his hands, & besides wonderfull courageous, Tetrarch of the *Toslepians* country) undertooke this one day enterprize, to set upon *Mithridates*, at what time as he sat in judgement, & gave audience from the tribunall seat in the publicke place of exercise, and both him and seat together to tumble downe headlong into the pit underneath: but it fortune that the king that day came not abroad as his maner was, up into that place of open exercise, but commanded all those Galatian lords, to come and speake with him at his house: *Toredorix* exhorted them to be bold and confident, and when they were altogether in his presence, to runne upon him from everie side, to teare him in pieces and make an end of him: this plot was not projected so closely, but it came to *Mithridates* eares, who caused them all to be apprehended, and sent to chop off all their heads one after another: but immediately after, he called to remembrance that there was one young gentleman among the rest, for the flower of his yeeres, for beautie also, and feature of bodie, the goodliest person that he had set eie on in his daies; whom he tooke pitee of, and repented that he had condemned him to die with his fellowes, shewing evidently in his countenance, that he was mightily grieved and disquieted in his minde, as thinking verily that he was executed already with the first; howbeit, at a very venture he sent in all haste a countermaund, that if he were yet alive, he should be spared and let goe: this young mans name was *Bepolitamus*, and verily his fortune was most strange and woonderfull: for had away hee was to the place of execution in that habit wherein he was attached, and the same was a very faire and rich suite of apparell, which because the butcherly executioner desired to reserve cleane and unsprent with blood, he was somewhat long about the stripping of him out of it; & whiles he was so doing he might perceive the kings men come running apace toward him, and with a loud voice naming *Bepolitamus*. See how covetousnesse, which hath bene the death of many a thousand, was the meanes beyond all expectation, to save the life of this young gentleman: as for *Toredorix*, after he was cruelly mangled with many a chop and hacke, his bodie was cast forth unburied to the dogs; neither durst any of his friends come neere for to enterre it: one woman onely of *Pergamus*, whom this Galatian in his life time had knownen, in regard of her fresh youth and beautie, was so hardie as to hazard the taking of his dead corps away, and to burie it; which when the warders and watchmen perceived they attached her, and brought her to the king: and it is reported that *Mithridates* at the very first sight of her, had compassion, for that she seemed to be a young thing, & a simple harmlesse wench every way; but when he understood withal that love was the very cause thereof, his heart melted so much the rather; whereupon he gave her leave to take up the bodie, and commit it to the earth, allowing her for that purpose funerall clothes, and furnishing her at his owne charges, with all other things meet for comely and decent buriall.

## TIMOCLIA.

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**T**heagines the Theban, carried the like minde and purpose for the defence of his country and the common wealth, as sometimes *Epaminondas*, *Pelopidas*, and the bravest men in the world had done; but his fortune was to fall in that common ruine of *Greece*, when as the Greeks lost that unfortunate battell before *Cheronea*; and yet for his owne part he was a victour, and followed them in chace, whom he had disarmed and purto flight; for he it was who when one of them that fled cried out unto him: How farre wilt thou pursue and follow us; answered: Even as farre as into *Macedonia*: but when he was dead, a sister of his who survived him, gave good testimony, that in regard as well of his auncestors vertue, as his owne naturall disposition, he had bene a worthy personage, and worthy to be reckoned and renowned amongst the most valiant knights in his daies; for some fruit received, and reaped vertue, which helped her to beare and endure patiently as much of the common miseries of her country as touched her; for after that *Alexander the Great* had woon the citie of *Thebes* by assault, & the soldiers ran to and fro into all parts of the towne, pilling and ransacking whatsoever they could come by: it chanced that one seized upon the house of *Timoclia*, a man who knew not what belonged to honour, honestie, or common curtisie and civilitie, but was altogether violent, furious and out of reason; a captaine he was of a coronet of Thracia light horsemen; and caried the name of king *Alexander*: his lord and master, but nothing like he was unto him in conditions: for having filled himselfe with wine after supper, and good cheere, without any respect unto the race and lineage of this noble dame, without regard of her estate and calling; he was in hand with her to be his bedfellow all that night, neither was this all; for he would needs search and know of her, where she had laid up and hoarded any gold or silver, one while threatening to kill her, unless she would bring him to it, another while bearing her in hand that he would make her his wife, if she would yeeld unto him: she taking vantage of this occasion which himselfe offered and presented unto her: It might have pleased the gods (quoth she) that I had died before this night, rather than remaine alive; for though I had lost all besides, yet my bodie had bene undefiled & saved from all violence and villanie; but since it is my fortune, that heere after I must repute you for my lord, my master, and my husband, and seeing it is gods will to give you this puissance and sovereignty over me, I will not deprive and disappoint you of that which is yours, and as for my selfe, I see well, that my condition from henceforth must be such as you will; I was wont indeed to have about me, costly jewels and ornaments for my bodie; I had silver in plate, yea and some gold in good coine and other ready money; but when I saw that the citie was lost, I willed my women and maid-servants about me to get altogether, and so I cast it away, or rather indeed to say a truth, I bestowed it, and reserved it in safetie within a dry pit, wherein no water is, an odde blinde corner I may say to you, that few or none doe know; for that there is a great stone lieth over the mouth of it, and a many of trees grow round about to shade and cover the same; as for you, this treasure will make you a man, yea, and a rich man for ever, when you have it once in your possession; and for my part, it may serve for a good testimony and sufficient proofe, to shew how noble and wealthy our house was before-time. When the Macedonian heard these words, his teeth so watred after this treasure, that he could not stay untill the morrow, and attend the day light; but would needs out of hand be conducted by *Timoclia*, and her maidens to the place; but he commanded her in any wise to shut fast and locke the fore-yard gate after them, that no man might see and know; and so he went downe in his shirt into the foresaid pit: but cursed and hideous *Clotio* was his mistress and guide, who would punish and be revenged of his notorious wickednesse by the hands of *Timoclia*, who standing above; for when she perceived by his voice that he was now at the very bottom, she herselfe threw downe a number of stones upon him, & her women also tumbled downe many others, & those very big ones so and heavy, after him, untill they had brained him, overwhelmed him, and in manner filled the pit up: which when the Macedonians heard of, they made meanes to draw up his dead bodie, and for that there was a proclamation published before by found of trumpet throughout the city, that they should not massacre one Theban more, they apprehended *Timoclia*, & brought her before king *Alexander*, whom they had already acquainted from point to point in particular, with that audacious act which she had committed: the king judging (by her feele & confident countenance, by her staid gate also and portly pace) that she could not chule but be of some great and noble house; demanded of her, first, what she was? and the with rare boldnesse and resolution

tion without shewing any signe that she was daunted and astonied; I had (quoth she) a brother named *Theagines*, who being capitaine generall of the Thebans, against you, in the battell of *Cheronea*, lost his life fighting manfully, in the defence of the libertie of *Greece*, to the end that we might not fall into that wofull misery, into which we are at this present fallen; but seeing it is so, that we have suffered those outrages & indignities which be unworthy the place from whence we are defended, for my selfe I refuse not to die, and peradventure it were not expedient for me to live any longer, and trie such another night as the last was; unless your selfe impeach and debarre such demeanors: at these words, the noblest and most honorable persons who were present, could not forbear but weepe; as for *Alexander*, he thought that the haucie mind and courage of this dame, was greater than to moove pittie and compassion; and therefore highly praising her vertue and commending her speech which he marked, and pondered well enough, gave straight charge and commaundement unto his captaines, to have a good cie; and careful regard, yea, and to take order presently, that there should no more such abuses be offered in any house of honor and nobilitie: and as touching *Timoclia*, he ordeined immediately, that she should be set at full libertie, both herselfe, and also all those who were knowne and found any way to be of her bloud and kintred.

## ERYXO.

**B**attus who was surnamed *Demon*, that is to say, Happie, had a sonne whose name was *Arceflamus*, in nothing at all resembling the maners and conditions of his father; for even during his fathers life (for raising of battlements and pinnacles round about the walles of his owne house,) hee was condemned by his father himselfe in a fine of one whole talent; and after his death, being of a crooked, rough and troublesome spirit, (according as his very name, *Caleps*, implied), and for that he was governed altogether by the counsell of a minion and favourite of his owne, named *Laarchus*, a man of no worth nor respect, he proved a tyrant in stead of a king. And this *Laarchus* aspiring likewise to be tyrant, either chafed and banished out of the citie, or els caused to be put to death, the best and principall citizens of all *Cyrene*; but when he had so done, he derived from himselfe all the blame and imputation upon *Arceflamus*; and in the end gave him to drinke a cup of poison, to wit, a sea-hare, whereupon he fell into a lingering and languishing disease, whereby he pined away, and died at the last; by which meanes himselfe usurped the seignorie and rule of the citie, under a colour of keeping it as Tutor and Lord Protector, for the behoofe and use of *Battus* the sonne of *Arceflamus*; for a very childe he was, and lame withall; so that in regard aswell of his nonage and minoritie, as the defect and imperfection of his body, he was despised of the people; but many there were, who drew and ranged themselves unto his mother, and were willing to obey and honour her, for that she was a wise ladie, and of a milde and courteous nature: besides, most of the mightiest men in those parts were knit to her either in bloud and kindred, or els by bond of friendship: by meanes whereof, *Laarchus* made court to her, yea, and sued unto her for her good will by way of marriage, offering unto her (if she would be affianced and wedded unto him) to adopt *Battus* for his owne sonne, and make him partaker of his seignorie and dominion: but *Eryxo* (for that was the name of this noble ladie) being advised and counselled thereto before-hand by her brethren, willed *Laarchus* to impart the matter unto them, for that upon conference with them (if they thought well of this marriage) she would be content and confesceend thereto: *Laarchus* failed not so to do, but went and brake the thing unto her brethren accordingly; and they (as it was complotted before) drew the matter out in length, and drave him off from day to day; but *Eryxo* sent unto him secretly one of her waiting maidens, to give him notice from her, that her brethren in deed for the present did contradict her minde and crossed her will; but were the knot once knit and consummate in bed together, they would contest and halte no longer, but be willing enough to like and approve thereof as a convenient match: and therefore she advised him (if he thought so good) to repair by night unto her: for if the thing were once wel begun, she rest no doubt would speed accordingly; this message pleased *Laarchus*, and fired his humour passing well: being therefore transported wholly besides himselfe with these lovely and sugred words of this dame, he promised to attend her at what houre soever she would appoint. Now was this device complotted and laid by the counsell of her eldest brother *Polyarchus*; and after that she had set downe the just time when they should meet and company together, against that very instant, she tooke order that the said brother should secretly be conveyed into her chamber, who brought with him

him two luttie tall yong men well appointed with good swords, and who desired nothing more than to revenge their fathers bloud, whom lately *Laarchus* had caused to be put to death: when all things were now in readinesse, she sent for *Laarchus*, willing him to come alone without any of his guard about him: no sooner was he entred into the chamber, but these two yong men charged upon him with their swords, wounded him in many parts of his bodie, that he died in the place: his dead corps they cast over the walles of the house; which done, they brought the yong prince *Battus* abroad into the publicke place, declared and proclaimed him king after the maner and custome of the citie. Thus *Polyarchus* rendered unto the Cyrenians their ancient government which they had from the beginning. Now there happened to be at the same time in *Cyrene* many souldiers of *Amasis* the king of *Aegypt*, in whom *Laarchus* reposed his confidence, and found them fast & trustie unto him; by whose meanes he became dread and terrible to the Cyrenians: these sent in post with all speed unto king *Amasis*, messengers of purpose, to charge & accuse *Eryxo* & *Polyarchus* for this murder; whereat the king was wroth, and in great indignation intended out of hand to make sharpe war upon the Cyrenians; but as he prepared to set forward this expedition, it fortuned that his mother departed this life: whiles therefore he was busie about her funerals, newes came to *Cyrene*, how this king was highly displeased and resolved to levie warre against them: whereupon *Polyarchus* thought good to address himselfe in person to the said king, and to render a reason unto him of this late fact committed upon the bodie of *Laarchus*: neither would his sister *Eryxo* tary behinde, but follow him, and expose her to owne person to the same perill that he entred into: yea, and the mother of them both, named *Critola* (very aged though she was) was right willing to goe, and accompanied her sonne and daughter in this journey: now was she a great ladie, and most highly esteemed in this regard especially, that shee was the sister in the whole bloud to *Battus* the first of that name, surnamed the Happie. When they were arrived in *Aegypt*, all other lords and noble men of the court approved well of that which they had done in this case; and *Amasis* himselfe infinitely commended the pudicitie and magnanimitie of dame *Eryxo*; and after he had honoured them with rich presents, and roially entertained them, he sent them all backe (*Polyarchus* I meane, and the two ladies) with his good grace and favour, to *Cyrene*.

## XENOCRITE.

**X**enocrite a ladie of the citie *Cumes*, deserveth no lesse to be praised and admired, for that which she practised against *Aristodemus* the tyrant, whom some thinke to have bene surnamed *Malacos*, that is to say, Soft and effeminate, in regard of his loose and dissolute carriage: but they are deceived and ignorant in the true originall and occasion of his name; for the Barbarians gave him this addition *Malacos*, which in their language signifieth a Yonker: because being a very youth, with other companions of equall age, as yet wearing their haire long, whom in olde time they tearmed *Coronists*, (of their blacke locks as it should seeme) he above the rest, in the warres against the Barbarians, bare himselfe so bravely: (for he was not only hardy & courageous in spirit, stout also and tall of his hands, but withall full of wit, discretion and foresaite, and so farre excelled all others in singularity) that hee became right famous and renowned; whereupon he grew into such credit and admiration among his countrey men and fellow-citizens, that incontinently promoted he was and advanced by them to the greatest offices of State and highest dignities in common-weale; insomuch as when the Tuskans made warre upon the Romans in the right and quarrell of *Tarquinius Superbus*, and namely, to restore him againe to his crowne and kingdome, from which he was deposed; the Cumans made him capitaine generall of those forces which they sent to aide the Romans: in which expedition and warfare that continued long, he carried himselfe so remissly among his citizens, (which were in the campe under his charge, and gave them so much the head to do what they would, winning their hearts by courtesies and flatterie, rather than commanding them as their generall) that he put into their heads, and perswaded them (upon their returne home) to run upon the Senate, and to joine with him in expelling and banishing the mightiest persons and best men of the citie. By which practice he set up himselfe as an absolute tyrant: and as he seemed wicked and violent otherwise in all kind of oppression and extortion; so most of all he was outrageous and went beyond himselfe in villanie toward wives and maidens, to yong boies also of good houses and free borne: for among other enormities, this is recorded of him: That he forced yong lads to wear their haire long, like lasses, to have also upon their heads, borders, cawles, and attires with spangles of golde;

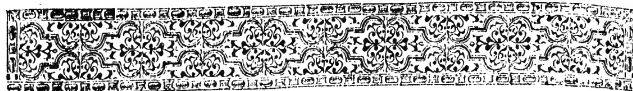
golde; contrariwise, hee compelled yong maidens to be rounded, polled, and notted, and to wear short jackets, coats & mandilions without sleeves, after the fashion of springalds: howbeit, being exceedingly enamored upon *Xenocrita* the daughter of one of those principall citizens who by him were exiled, he kept, not having espoused her lawfully, nor wooed her good will by faire perswasions, supposing that the maiden might thinke her selfe well appealed, and her fortune verie happie, to be entertained (in any fort whatsoever) by him, being by that meanes highly reputed of and esteemed fortunate among all the citizens: but as for her, all these favors did not ravish and transport her found judgement and understanding; for besides that she was mightily discontented to converse and keepe companie with him, not espoused, nor affianced and given in marriage by her friends, she had no lesse desire to recover the liberty of her country, than those who were openly hared of the tyrant. Now it fortuned about the same time, that *Aristodemus* caused a trench to be cast, & a bank to be raised round about his territory, a piece of worke neither necessarie, nor profitable, which he did onely upon a policie, because he would thereby vex, out-toile consume & waste his poore subjects; for he tasked every man, to cast up & cary forth by the day a certaine number of measures full of earth. *Xenocrita* when she saw him at any time comming toward her, would tume aside, and cover her face with the lappet of her gown: but when *Aristodemus* was passed by & gone, yong men her play-feres, by way of mirth and pastime, would aske her why she musted and masked her selfe, as ashamed to see him onely, and was not abashed to see and be seene of other men as well; unto whom she would answer demurely, & that in right good earnest say: I wis I do it of purpose because there is not one man among all the Cumans but *Aristodemus*: this word touched them all very neere; but such as were of any noble spirit and courage, it galled and prickled for very shame, yea, and gave them an edge to set in hand and enterprise some manly act for to recover their freedom: which when *Xenocrita* heard, she said by report, that she would rather herselfe carie earth in a basket upon her owne shoulders as other did, for her father if he were there present, than participate in all delights and pleasures, yea, and enjoy great power and authoritie with *Aristodemus*. These and such like speeches cast out by her, confirmed those who were conspired and ready to rise against the tyrant, of whom the chieftaine and principall leader, was one *Themoteles*: unto these conspiratours *Xenocrita* gave free access and ready entrie unto *Aristodemus*; who finding him alone, unarmed and unguarded, fell many at once upon him, and so quickly dispatched him out of the way. Lo how the cite of *Cumes* was delivered from tyrannie by two vertues of one woman; by the one she first gave the citizens an affection, minde and heart, to begin and enterprise; and by the other she ministred unto them, meanes to execute and performe the same: for which good service of *Xenocrita*, those of the cite offered unto her many honors, prerogatives, and presents; but she refused them all, onely she requested this favour at their hands, that she might enterre the corps of *Aristodemus*, which they graunted, and more than so, they chose her for to be a religious priestresse unto *Ceres*, supposing that this dignitie would be no lesse acceptable and pleasing unto the goddesse, than becoming and fitting the person of this lady.

### THE WIFE OF PYTHES.

IT is reported moreover, that the wife of rich *Pythes*, in the daies of *Xerxes* when he warred upon *Greece*, was a vertuous and wife dame; for this *Pythes* having (as it should seeme) found certaine mines of gold, and setting his minde thereon, not in measure, but excessively, and unsatiably, for the great sweetnesse and infinit gaines that arose thereby; both himselfe in person bestowed his whole time therein, and also he employed all his subjects and citizens indifferently without respect of any person, to digge and delve, to carrie, to purge, and cleanse the said golde oare; not suffering them to follow any other trade, or exercise any occupation else in the world: upon which unmeasurable and incessant toile, many died, and all were wery, and grumbled thereat, in so much as at last, their wives came with olive branches, like humble suppliants to the gate of this lady his wife, for to moove pittie, and beseech her for redresse and succour in this case: she having heard their supplication, sent them away home to their houses with verie good & gracious words, willing them not to distrust and be discomfited: meane while she sent secretly for gold-smiths, goldsmithes, and other worke-men in gold, such as the reposed most confidence in, & that them up close within a certaine place, willing them to make loaves, pies, tarts, cakes, pastrie-works, and junkets of all sorts, sweet meats, fruits, all manner of meats and viands, such as she knew her husband *Pythes* loved best, all of cleane gold; afterwards, when all were

were made, and he returned home to his house (for as then he was abroad in a forren country:) so soone as he called for supper, his wife set before him a table furnished with all kinds of counterfeited viands made of gold, without any thing at all, either good to be eaten or drunken, but all gold, and nothing but gold: great pleasure at the first tooke *Pythes* for to see so rich a sight, and so glorious a banquet, wherein arte had so lively expressed nature; but after he had fed his eyes sufficiently with beholding these goodly golden works, he called unto her in good earnest for somewhat to eat; but she still whatsoever his minde stood to, brought it him in gold; so that in the end he waxed angrie, and cried out, that he was ready to famish: Why sir (quoth she) are not your selfe the cause of all this? for you have given us foison and store of this mettall, but caused extreame want and scarcitie of meat and all things else, for all other trades, occupations, arts, and mysteries are decayed, and their use cleane gone; neither is there anie man that followeth husbandry and tilleth the ground; but laying aside, and casting behind us all thing that should be sown and planted upon the earth for the food and sustentation of man, we doe nothing else but digge and search for such things as will not serve to feed and nourish us, spending and wearing out both our selves and our citizens. These words mooved *Pythes* verie much; howbeit, for all this, he gave not over quite the mines and mettall works, but enjoining the fifth part of his subjects to travell therein by turnes, one after another; he gave the rest leave to husband their lands, and ply their other crafts and misteries. But when *Xerxes* came downe with that puissant armie for to make warre upon the Greeks, this *Pythes* shewed his magnificence in the entertainment of him, with sumptuous furniture, costlie gifts and presents, which he gave unto the king and all his traine: for which he craved this onely grace and favour at his hands againe: that of many children which he had, he would dispend with him for one of them, that he might not goe to the warres, to the end that the said sonne might remaine with him at home in his house, for to tend and looke unto him carefullie in his old age: whereat *Xerxes* was so wroth, that he commanded that one sonne (whom he requested) to be killed presently, and his dead body to be cloven through in the mids, and divided into two parts; and so dislodged and caused his armie to march betwene them both; the rest of his sonnes he led with him to the warres, who died all in the field; whereupon *Pythes* being discomfited, and his heart cleane cast downe, did that which those ordinarily doe, who want courage and wit; for he feared death, and hated life; willing he was not to live, and yet hee had not the power to make an end of his life; what did he then? There was within the cite a great banke or mount of earth, under which there ranne a river, which they called *Pythopolites*; within this mount he caused his tombe to be made, & turned aside the course of the said river, in such sort, that as it passed, the streame might glide upon this monument of his; which being prepared and done accordingly, hee went downe quicke and alive into the same sepulchre, having resigned over unto his wives hands the cite, and the whole seignorie thereof; injoyning her thus much, that she should not approach herselfe unto this tombe or monument but onely every daie once send unto him, his supper in a little punt or boat downe the riveret, and to continue this so long untill she saw, that the said punt went beyond the monument, having in it all his victuals whole and untouched; for then she should not need to send him any more, but take this for an assured signe, that he was dead. Thus lived *Pythes* the rest of his daies; but his wife governed and managed the State prudently, and wrought a great change and alteration in the toilsome life of her people.





# A CONSOLATORIE ORATION SENT UNTO

APOLONIUS UPON THE  
DEATH OF HIS  
SONNE.

The Summarie.

**H**owsoever Plutarch in this treatise hath displayed his eloquence and all the skill and helps that he had by the means of Philosophie, yet we see that the same is not sufficient to set the minde and spirit of man in true repose; and that such consolations are (as they say) but palliative cures & no better: wherein also is discovered the want and defect of light in the reason and wisdom of man: yet notwithstanding, take this with halt that such discourses doe recommend and shew unto us so much the better, the excellencie of celestiall wisdom, which furnissheth us with true and assured remedies; and in stead of leaving the heart afflicted with humane thoughts and considerations, riseth and lifeth it up unto the iustice, wisdom and bountie of the true God and heavenly father; it causeth us to see the estate of eternall life; it assurith of the soules immortalitie, of the resurrection of the bodie, (points of learning, wherein the Pagans were altogether ignorant) and of the permanent and everlasting ioyes above, in the kingdome of heaven. Now albeit as this truth of God (revealed unto us in his sacred word) hath instructed and resolved us sufficiently, it will not be amisse and impertinent, to learne of our neighbour and such others, those things which themselves did not well and thoroughly understand, neither in life nor yet in death; for that the foundation faileth them, and they misse the ground-woke indeed, and in cleaving and leaning unto it not not what fortune and fustall destine, they caused man to rest and stay himselfe upon a vaine shadow of vertue, and willed him (in one word) to seeke for consolation, where there was nothing but desolation, for happinesse in misery, and for life in death. As touching the argument and contents of this treatise; adorned it with notable reasons, similitudes, examples and testimonies, the substance whereof is this: That Apollonius (unto whom it is addressed) ought not to be over-pensive and heavie for the death of his sonne, deceased in the flower of his age. To move and persuade him thereto, Plutarch after he had excused himselfe in that he wrote no sooner unto him, and shewed, that space of time coming betwene, doth better prepare mens hearts, which sorrow and bein anguish, to receive comfort; he condemneth as well blockish and senselesse folke, as also those that be weaklings and over-tender in adversity. Which done, he entreteth into a generall review of the remedies which be appropriate to cure the miseries and afflictions of man; namely, that hee ought to holde a meane, and to continue alwayes like himselfe to cast his eye and have regard upon the divers accidents of our life, and in enjoying the blessings thereof; to thinke upon future crosses and calamities, to be armed with reason for to beare all changes; to remember and carefully to thinke upon the estate of this mortall and transitorie life; to consider the evils and miseries of the same; to endure patiently that which can not be avoided and presented with all the cares and lamentations that be; and to compare our owne adversities with others mens. Then he proceedeth unto the particular consolations of those who are hevie and sorrowfull for the death of their children, kinsfolke or friends; to wit: That there is no harme nor evil in all in death, but rather that it is a good thing, that the houre of it being uncertaine, it is a comfort unto those whom it summoueth, who no doubt would be cast downe and overthrowen with the apprehension of miseries to come, in case they had any foresight thereof. After this, he proveth at large by three inductions and arguments of Sociates, that there is not any evil in death; which he confirmeth by divers examples; and then returning into his consolations, he maineinerth and holdeth: That whosoever die young, are most happy; that the consideration of Gods providence ought to reiteine and stay us; that we are not to mourne and lament for the dead, neither in regard of them nor of our selves; that since we are long heaving

heaving and sorrow maketh a man miserable, it were very good for him to be rid and dispatched of that paine quickly. Having finished this point, he resolveth and assaileth certaine difficulties which are presented in these matters: and then taking in hand his purpose againe, he rulerth and resolveth the afflictions of the living, toward them that are departed; he reclaimeth them from persisting and continuing obstinately in bewailing their absence, willing them rather to bewaile the case of those who are living; and by many reasons doth prove and conclude, that they who die betimes have one unenviellous advantage over those that remaine alive in the world. Then he teacheth a man to mainteine and carry himselfe as he ought in all affaires; refuseth those who can abide no paine and trouble; and knitting up all the premisses in few words, he assigneth certaine necessary and profitable counsels in such accidents; and before that he concludeth the whole treatise, he describeth the felicity of those whom death cutteth off in the prime of their yeeres, having a speciall regard herein, to Apollonius the partie unto whom he writeth, and assuring him by the recitall of the good parts and vertues which were in his sonne lately departed, that he was without all question, in that place of repose and rest which the Poets do imagine. Upon which occasion he treateth of the immortalitie of the soule, according to the doctrine of Plato and his followers, which is the very end and closing up of all that had bene delivered before.

# A CONSOLATORIE ORATION sent unto Apollonius upon the death of his sonne.



**L**It is not newly come upon me now at this present and not before, to pittie your case and lament in your behalfe (O Apollonius) having heard long since (as I did) the heavy newes concerning the untimely death of your sonne, a young gentleman singularly well beloved of us all, as who in that youth and tender yeeres of his, shewed rare examples of wife carriage, staid and modest behaviour, together with precise observance of those devout duties and just offices, which either pertained to the religious service of the gods, or were respective to his parents and friends; for even from that time have I condoled with you, and had a fellow-feeling of your sorrow: but for me to have come then, and visited you immediately upon his decease & departure out of this world, to present you with an exhortation to beare patiently and as becommeth a man, that unfortunate accident, had bene an unseemly part of mine and inconvenient, considering how in that verie instant your minde and bodie both (overcharged with the insupportable burden of so strange and unexpected a calamitie) were brought low and much infeeblid; and my selfe besides, must needs have moaned you, felt part of your griefe, and sorrowed with you for companie: for even the best and most skilfull Physicians, when they meet with violent rheumes and catarrhes, which suddenly surprize any part of the body, doe not proceed at the first to a rough cure by purgative medicines, but permit this rage and hot impression of inflamed humours to grow of it selfe to maturitie by application onely of supple oiles, mild liniments, and gentle fomentations. But now, that since your said misfortune, some time (which useth to ripen all things) is passed betwene, and given good opportunitee, considering also, that the present disposition and state of your person seemeth to require the helpe and comfort of your friends, I thought it meet and requisite to impart unto you certaine reasons and discourses consolatorie, if happily by that means I may ease your anguish, mitigate your pensiveness, and stay your needlesse mourning and bootlesse lamentation: for why?

If minde be sicke, what physicke then?

But reasons fit for each disease?

A wise man knowes the season when

To use those meanes, the heart to ease.

And according as the wise Poet Euripides saith:

Ech griefe of minde, ech maladie

Doth crave a severall remedie:

If restless sorrow the heart torment,

Kind words of friends worke much content.



*Where folly smites in every action,  
Great need there is of sharpe correction.*

For verily among so many passions and infirmities incident to the soule of man, dolor and heaviness be most irkefome and goe neereft into it. By occasion of anguish many a one (they say) hath run mad and fallen into maladies incurable; yea, and for thought and hearts-griefe, some have bene driven to make away themselves. Now to sorow and be touched to the quicke for the losse of a sonne, is a passion that ariseth from a naturall cause, and it is not in our power to avoid; which being so, I cannot (for my part) holde with them, who so highly praise and extoll, I wot not what brutish, hard, and blockish indolence and stupiditie, which if it were possible for a man to entertaine, is not any way commodious and available. Certes, the same would bereave vs of that mutuall benevolence and sweet comfort which we finde in the reciprocall interchange of loving others and being loved againe; which (of all earthly blessings) we had most need to preserve and mainteine. Yet do I not allow that a man should suffer himselfe to be transported and caried away beyond all compasse & measure, making no end of sorow; for even that also is likewise unnaturall, and proceedeth from a corrupt and eronious opinion that we have: and therefore, as we ought to abandon this excesse as simply naught, hurtfull, and not becomming vertuous and honest minded men; so in no wise must we disallow that meane and moderation in our passions, following in this point sage *Cranor* the Academick Philosopher: I could wish (quoth he) that we might be never sicke; howbeit, if we chance to fall into some disease, God send us yet some sense and feeling, in case any part of our bodie be either cut, plucked away, or dismembered in the cure. And I assure you, that senselesse impassibilitie is never incident unto a man, without some great mischief and inconvenience ensuing; for lightly it falleth out, that when the bodie is in this case without feeling, the soule soone after will become as insensible: reason would therefore, that wise men in these and such like crosses, cary themselves, neither void of affections altogether, nor yet out of measure passionate; for as the one bewraith a fell and hard heart, resembling a cruell beast; so the other discovereth a soft and effeminate nature, becomming a tender woman: but best advised is he, who knoweth to keepe a meane, and being guided by the rule of reason, hath the gift to beare wisely and indifferently, as well the flattering favours, as the scowling frownes of fortune, which are so ordinarily occurrent in this life; having this forecast with himselfe: That like as in a free State, and popular government of a common wealth, where the election of soveraigne magistrates passeth by lots; the one whose hap is to be chosen, must be a ruler and commander; but the other who misseth, ought patiently to take his fortune, and beare the repulse; even so in the disposition and course of all our worldly affaires, we are to be content with our portion allotted unto us, and without grudging and complaint, gently to yeeld our selves obedient: for surely they that can not so doe, would never be able with wisdom and moderation to weld any great prosperitie: for of many wise speeches and well said sawes, this sentenace may goe for one:

*How ever fortune smile and looke full faire,  
Be thou not proud nor beare a losse mind;  
Ne yet cast downe and plung'd in deepe aspaire,  
If that she frowne or shew herselfe unkind;  
But alwaies one and same let men thee find.  
Constant and firme receive thy nature still,  
As gold in fire, which alter never will.*

For this is the propertie of a wise man and wel brought up, both for any apparent shew of prosperitie to be no changling, but to beare himselfe alwaies in one sort; & also in adversitie, with a generous and noble mind, to mainteine that which is decent & becomming his own person: for the office of true wisdom & considerate discretion is, either to prevent & avoid a mischief coming, or to correct and reduce it to the least & narrowest compasse when it is once come, or els to be prepared and ready to beare the same manfully, and with all magnanimitie. As touching that which we call good, is scarce and employed foure maner of waies; to wit, in getting, in keeping, in augmenting, or in well and right using the same: these be the rules as well of prudence, as of other vertues, which we are to make use and benefit of in both fortunes, as well the one as the other: for according to the old proverb:

*No man there is on earth alive,  
In every thing who ay doth thrive.  
And verily*

By

*By course of nature, unmet it wrought may be,  
That ought should check far all nece sitie.*

And as it falleth out in trees and other plants, that some yeeres they beare their burden, and yeeld great store of frute, whereas in others they bring forth none at all; also living creatures one whiles be frutefull and breed many yooing, otherwhiles againe, they be as barren for it; and in the sea it is now tempest, and then calme: semblably in this life there happen many circumstances and accidents, which winde and turne us into the chaunces of contrarie fortunes; in regard of which varietie, a man may by good right and reason, say thus:

*O Agamemnon, thy father Atreus hee,  
Alwaies to prosper hath not begotten thee:  
For in this life thou must have one day joy,  
Another, griefe and wealth, mixt with annoy.  
And why? thou art by mortall nature fraile,  
Thy will against this course cannot prevail:  
For so it is the pleasure of the gods,  
To make this change, and worke in man such odds.*

As also that which to the same effect the poet *Menander* wrote in this wise:

*Sir Trophimus, if you the onely night  
Of women borne, were brought into this light  
With privilege, to have the world at will,  
To taste no woe, but prosper alwaies still?  
Or if some god had made you such behest,  
To live in joy, in solace and in rest?  
You had just cause to fare thus as you doe,  
And chafe, for that he from his word doth goe,  
And hath done what he can not justifie:  
But if so be, as truth will resistie:  
Under one law this publike wit all live,  
You draw with us, your breath for to repaire;  
I say to you (gravely in tragick stile)  
You ought to be more patient the while;  
To take all this in better woorth (I say)  
Let reason rule, and stand for small pay.  
And to knit up in few words, Trophimus  
Of this discourse the summe; I reason thus:  
A man you are, (that is as much to say)  
A creature, more prompt and subject ay  
To sudden change, and from the pitch of blis,  
To lie in pit, where bale and sorow is,  
Than others all: and not unwort hily:  
For why, most weake by his owne nature, he  
Will needs himselfe in his best matters wrap,  
Above his reach, secure of after-clap:  
And then anon, he falling from on high,  
Beares downe with him all good things that were nigh:  
But as for you, the goods which here so fore  
O Trophimus you lost, exceeded not, no more  
Than those mishaps which you this day susteine  
Excesive be, but keepe with in a meane:*

*Hence forth therefore, you ought to beare the rest  
Indifferently, and you shall finde it best.*

Howbeit, although the condition and estate of mens affaires stand in these tearmes, yet some there be, who for want of sound judgement and good discretion, are grown to that blockish stupiditie, or vaine overweening of themselves, that after they be once a little raised up, and advanced, either in regard of excessive wealth, and store of gold and silver under their hands, or by reason of some great offer, or for other preidence and preeminence of high place which they hold in the common-weale; or else by occasion of honours and glorious titles which they have

have acquired, doe menace, wrong and insult over their inferiors, never considering the uncertainty and inconstance of mutable fortune, nor how quickly that which was aloft may be flung downe; and contrariwise, how soone that which lieth below on the ground, may be extolled and lifted up on high by the sudden mutations and changes of fortune: to seeke for any certaintie therefore in that which is by nature uncertaine and variable, is the part of those that judge not aright of things:

*For as the wheele doth turne, one part we see  
Of folly high and low in course to bee.*

But to attaine unto this tranquillitie of spirit, void of all griefe and anguish, the most soveraigne powerfull, and effectuall medicine, is reason, and by the meanes thereof, a prepared estate and resolution against all the changes and alterations of this life: neither is it sufficient for a man onely to acknowledge himselfe to be by nature borne mortall; but also that he is allotted unto a mortall and transitorie life, and tied as it were unto such affaires as soone doe change from their present estate unto the contrarie: for this also is most certaine, that as mens bodies be mortall and fraile, so their fortunes also, their passions and affections be fitting and momentanic; yea, and in one word, all that belongeth unto them is transitorie; which it is not possible for him to avoid and escape, who is himselfe by nature mortall: but as *Pindarus* said:

*With masie weights of strong necessitye,  
Of hell so darke to bottome forced are we.*

Verie well therefore said *Demetrius Phalerus*, whereas *Euripides* the Poet wrote thus:

*No worldly wealth is firme and sure,  
But for a day it doth endure.*

Also:

*How small things may our state quite overthrow!  
It fallett out (as every man doth know)  
That even one day is able downe to cast  
Some things from height, and others raise as fast.*

All the rest (quoth he) was excellently by him written, but farre better it had bene, if he had named, not one day, but the minute, moment, and very point of an houre:

*For earthly fruits and mortall mens estate  
Turne round about in one and selfe same rate,  
Some live, waxe strong and prosper day by day,  
Whiles others are cast downe and fade away.*

And *Pindarus* in another place

*What is it for to be but one?  
Nay what is it to be just none?  
And verily a man is made  
To be the dreame even of a shade.*

nath declared the vanitie of mans life, by using an Hyperbole or excessive maner of an over-reaching speech, both passing wittily, and also to the purpose most significantly. For what is there more weake & feeble than a shadow? but to come in with the fantastickall dreame of a shadow; surely it is not possible that any other man should expresse the thing that he meant, more lively & in fitter termes. And verily, *Cranior* in good correspondence hereunto, when he comforteth *Hippocles* for the untimely death of his children, useth these words among the rest: These are the rules (quoth he) that all the schoole thorowout of ancient Philosophie doth deliver and teach; wherein, if there be any point besides, that we can not admit and approve, yet this at leastwise is most undoubted true, that mans life is exceeding laborious and painfull: for say that in the owne nature it be not such; so it is, that by our owne selves it is brought to that corruption: besides, this uncerteine fortune haunteth and attendeth upon us as farre off, and even from our very cradle and swaddling bands, yea, and ever since our first entrance into this life accompanieth us, for no good in the world.

To say nothing, how in all things whatsoever that breed and budde, there is evermore some portion more or lesse of naughtinesse inbred and mingled therewith; for the very naturall seed (which at the first, when it is at best, is mortall) doth participate this primitive cause, whereupon proceed the untoward inclination and disposition of the minde, maladies, cares and sorrows; and from thence there creepe and grow upon us, all those farall calamities that befall to mortall men. But what is the reason that we are digressed hitherto? forsooth, to this end, that we

we may know that it is no newes for any man to taste of miseries and calamities, but rather that we are all subject to the same: for (as *Theophrastus* saith) fortune never aimeth or levelleth at any certeine marke, but shooteth at random; taking much pleasure, and being very powerfull to turne a man out of that which he hath painfully gotten before, and to overthrow a supposed and reputed felicity, with all regard of any fore-set and prefixed time to worke this feat. These reasons, and many other such like, every one of us may easily consider and ponder within himselfe; yea & besides, lay thereto the sage speeches (which he is ay to heare and learne) of ancient and wife men: among whom, the chiefe and principall is that heavenly and divine Poet *Homer*, who saith thus:

*More weake than man; there is no creature*

*That from the earth reserveth nourture:  
So long as limmes with strength he can advance,  
And whilst the gods do lend him puissance,  
He thinks no harme will ever him befall,  
He casts no doubt, but hopes to outgoe all:  
But let them once from heaven some sorrowes send,  
Maugre the smart, he beares unto the end.*

Also:

*Such minds have men, who here on earth do live.  
As Jupiter from heaven doth daily give.*

And in another place:

*Why aske you of my blood and parentage?  
Sir Tydeus sonne, a knight magnanimous.  
To leaves of trees much like is mans lineage:  
Leaves some blown downe by minde outrageous  
Lie shed on ground, and others, numerous,  
Bud fresh in wood, when pleasant spring doth call:  
Mens houses so, some rise and others fall.*

Now that this similitude or comparison of tree-leaves fitly expressed and represented the transitorie vanitie of mans life, it appeareth evidently by those verses which he wrote in another place:

*You would not say that I were wise, if I did armour take  
To fight with you, in wretched mens behalfe and for their sake,  
Who much resemble leaves at first, faire in their fresh verdure,  
So long as they of earthly fruits do feed for nourture;  
And afterward be like to them, withered and dead againe,  
When humour radicall is spent, and no strength doth remaine.*

*Simonides* the Lyricall Poet, when as *Pausanias* king of *Lacedaemon* (bearing himselfe high, and vaunting of his brave exploits) bad him (upon a time, by way of mockery) to give unto him some sage precept & good advertisement; (knowing full well the pride & over-weening spirit of the said prince) counselled him onely to call to minde, and remember: That he was but a man. *Philip* likewise, king of *Macedon*, hearing newes in one and the same day, of three severall happy successles: the first: That he had won the prize, at the great running of chariots drawn with horses, in the solemnitie of the Olympicke games: the second: How his lieutenant generally, *Parmenio*, had defeated the *Dardaniens* in battell: and the third: That his wife *Olympias* was delivered safe of a jolly sonne: lifted up his hands toward heaven, and said: O fortune, I beseech thee to send unto me in counterchange, some moderate adversitie: as knowing full well, that the bare spight and envie alwaies to great felicities. Semblably, *Theramenes* one of the thirty tyrants of *Athens*, at what time as the house wherein he supped with many others fell downe, and he alone escaped safe out of that dangerous ruine, when all others reputed him an happy man, cried out with a loud voice: O fortune, for what occasion of misfortune reservest thou me? and verily within few daies after, it hapned that his owne companions in government cast him in prison, and after much torture, put him to death. Moreover, it seemeth unto me, that the poet *Homer* delivereth singular praise in this matter of consolation, when hee bringeth in *Achilles* speaking of king *Priamus* (being come unto him for to ransom and redeeme the corps of his sonne *Heclor*) in this wise;

Come

*A consolatorie oration sent to Apollonius*

Come on therefore and heere sit downe, by me upon this throne,  
Let be all plaints; for beare wet thus to weepe, so sigh and grone,  
And though our griefe of heart be much, let us the same repressse,  
For why? no teares will ought prevayle nor helpe us in distresse.  
To live in paines and sorowes great men are predestinate  
By gods above, and they alone dwell ay in blessed state,  
Exempt from cares and discomforts, for in the entrie still  
Of Jove his house in heaven aloft, two turnes are standing still,  
Wherout he doth among men deale such gifts as they containe,  
In one good blessings are bestowed, in the other curse and paine:  
Now he to whom great Jupiter vouchsafes of both to give,  
Sometime in joy, and otherwhiles in heaviness shall live:  
But if a man be onely from that cursed vessel freed,  
With shame, with want, and penurie he is full liest bed,  
He shall be sure upon the earth to wander and to stray,  
In much disgrace with God and man untill his dying day.

The poet who came after him both in order of time, and also in credit and reputation, *Hesiodus*, although he taketh upon himselfe the honour to have beene a disciple of the Muses, having as well as the other included the miseries and calamities of mankind within one tun; writeth that *Pandora* in opening it, set them abroad in great quantitie, and spread them over all lands and seas, 20 saying in this manner:

No sooner then this woman tooke, the great lid from the tun,  
With both her hands, but all abroad she scattered anon,  
A world of plagues and miseries, thus mischiefs manifold  
She wrought thereby to mortall men on earth both young and old:  
Hope onely did remaine behind, and flew not all abroad,  
But underneath the upmost brim and edge it still abode,  
For why, before it could get forth, the lid she clapt to fast:  
When other evils infinite were shoven from first to last:  
Full was the earth of sundrie plagues, full was the feallike wife,  
Diseases then and maladies from day to day did rise  
Among mankind, and those by night doe walke and creepe by stealth,  
All secretly without cause knowne, and doe impeach mans health,  
Uncala they come, in silence deepe they make not any noise,  
For Jupiter in wisdom great, bereft them all of voice.

To these sayings and sentences the comicall poet according well, as touching those who torment themselves by occasion of such misfortunes when they happen, writeth thus,

If teares could cure and heale all our disease,  
Or weeping stay at once our paine and griefe,  
We would our gold exchange for teares, so ease  
Our maladies, and so procure reliefe:  
But (Master) now teares with them beare no sway,  
Nor ought prevayle, for weepe we, or weepe not,  
They hold their course, and still keepe on their way,  
So that we see by plaints nothing is got;  
What gaine we then? nought, for yet give me ease,  
Griefe brings forth teares, as trees their fruite doe beare.

And *Dyctis* when he comforted *Danaë*, who sorrowed overmuch for the death of her sonne, spake unto her in this manner;

Thinke you that Pluto doth your teares regard,  
And will for sighes and grones your sonne back send?  
No, no, cease you to sob and weepe so hard,  
Your neighbours ease marke rather and intend:  
Harts ease will come, if that you call to minde,  
How many men have died in dungeon deepe?  
Or waxen old, bereft of children kind,

*for the death of his sonne.*

Or princely state and port who could nor keepe,  
But fell to base degree; consider this,  
And make right use, it will you helpe in this.

He giveth her counsell to consider the examples of those who have beene more or lesse unfortunate then herselfe, as if the comparing of their condition might serve her turne very well, the better to endure her owne calamitie. And heere to may a man very pertinently draw and applie the saying of *Socrates*, who was of opinion; that if we laid foorth all our adversities and misfortunes in one common heape, with this condition, that each one should carrie out of it an equal portion; most men would wish and be glad to take up their owne and goe away with all. The poet *Antimachus* also used the like induction, after that his wife whom he loved so entirely, was departed; for whereas her name was *Lyde*, he for his owne consolation in that sorrow of his, composed an Elegie or lamentable dittie, which he called *Lyde*: wherein he collected all the calamities and misfortunes which hapned in old time to great princes and kings, making his owne colour and griefe the lesse, by comparing it with other miseries more greivous: whereby it is apparent, that he who comforteth another, whose heart is afflicted with sorrow and anguish, (giving him to understand that his infortunie is common to more besides him, by laying before his face the semblable accidents which have befallen to others,) changeth in him the sense and opinion of his owne greivance, and imprinteth in him a certeine settled perswasion, that his infortune is nothing so great as he deemed it to be before.

20 *Aeschylus* likewise seemeth with very great reason to reprove those who imagine that death is naught, saying in this wise:

How wrongfully have men death in disdaine,  
Of many evils the remedie soveraigne.

For in imitation of him, right well said he whosoever was the authour of this sentence:

Come death to cure my painfull malady,  
The onely leech that bringeth remedy;  
For hell is th' haven for worlds calamity,  
And harbour sure in all extremity.

And verily, a great matter it is, to be able for to say boldly and with confidence:

How can he be a slave justlie,  
Who careth not at all to die?

As also:

If death me helpe in my hard plighe,  
No spirits nor ghosts shall me affright.

For what hurt is there in death? and what is it that should so trouble and molest us when we die? A strange case this is, & I can not see how it cometh to passe, that being so well knowne, so ordinarily, familiar & naturall unto us as it is, yet it should seeme so painfull & dolorous unto us. For what wonder is it, if that be slit or cut, which naturally is given to cleave? if that melt, which is apt to be molten? if that burne, which is subject to take fire? or if that perish & rot, which by nature is corruptible? and when is it that death is not in our selves? for (according as *Heraclitus* saith) quicke and dead is all one; to awake and to sleepe, is the same; in yong and olde, there is no difference; considering that these things turne one into another, and as one passeth, the other cometh in place: much after the maner of an imager or potter, who of one masse of clay, is able to give the forme and shape of living creatures, and to turne the same into a rude lump, as it was before; he can fashion it againe at his pleasure, and confound all together, as he list: thus it lieth in his power, to do and undoe, to make and marre, as often as he will, one after another, unceasingly; semblably, nature of the selfe-same matter, framed in times past our ancestors and grandsires, and consequently, afterwards brought forth our fathers; then she made us; and in proesse of time, will of us ingender others; and so proceed still to farther posterities; in such sort, that as the current (as it were) of our generation will never stay, so the streame also of our corruption will run on still, and be perpetuall; whether it be the river *Acheron* or *Cocytus*, as the Poets call them; whereof, the one signifyeth, privation of joy, & the other betokeneth lamentation. And even so, that first and principall cause which made us to live and see the light of the sunne, the same bringeth us to death and to the darkenesse of hell. And hereof we may see an evident demonstration and resemblance, by the very aire that compasseth us round about, which in alternative course and by turnes, representeth unto us the day, and afterwards the night; it induceth us to a similitude of life and death, of waking and sleeping: and therefore, by

good

good right is life called, a fatall debt, which we must duely satisfie, and be acquit of: for our forefathers entred into it first; and we are to repay it willingly, without grumbling, sighing and groaning, whensoever the creditor calleth for it; unless we would be reputed unthankfull and unjust. And verily, I beleeve that nature seeing the uncertainty and shortnesse of our life, would that the end thereof and the prefixed houre of death should be hidden from us, for that shee knew it good & expedient for us so to be; for if it had bene fore-knownen of us, some (no doubt) would have languished and fallen away before, with griefe and sorrow; dead they would have bene before their death came. Consider now the troubles and sorrowes of this life; how many cares and crosses it is subject unto: certes, if wee went about to reckon and number them, wee would condemne it as most unliappie, yea, we would verifie and approvee that strong opinion 10 which some have held: That it were farre better for a man to die than to live; and therefore said the Poet *Simonides*:

*Full feeble is all humane puissance:  
Vaine is our care and painfull vigilance:  
Mans life is even a short passage,  
Paine upon paine is his arrivage:  
And then comes death that spareth none,  
So fierce, so cruel, without pardone:  
Over our heads is doth depend,  
And threats alikethose that doe spend  
Their yeeres in vertue and goodnesse,  
As in all sinne and wickednesse.*

Likewise *Pindarus*:

*For blessing one which men obtaine,  
The gods ordaine them curses twaine.  
And those they can not wisely beare,  
Foolles as they be, and will not beare.*

Or thus:

*They can not reach to life immortal,  
Nor yet endure that which is mortall.*

And *Sophocles*:

*Of mortall men when one is dead,  
Doth thine heart groane, and eie reares head;  
Not knowing once what future gaine  
May come to him, devoid of paine?*

As for *Euripides*, thus he saith:

*In all thy knowledge, canst thou find  
The true condition of mankind?  
I thinke well, No: For whence should come  
Such knowledge deepe, to all or some?  
Give eare, and thou shalt learne of me  
The skill thereof, in veritie:  
All men ordain'd are once to die,  
The debt is due, and paid must be:  
But no man know's if morrow next,  
Unto his daies shall be annex:  
And whither fortune bend's her way,  
Who can fore-see, and justly say?*

If it be so then, that the condition of mans life is such indeed as these great clearks have delivered and described unto us; is it not more reason to repute them blessed and happy, who are freed 50 from that servitude which they were subject to therein, than to deplore and lament their estate, as the most part of men doe, through follie and ignorance? *Wise Socrates* said, that death resembled for all the world, either a most deepe and sound sleepe, or a voyage farre remote into forraigne parts, in which a man is long absent from his native countrey; or else thirdly, an utter abolition and finall dissolution both of soule and bodie. Now take which of these three you will, according to him, there is no harme at all in death: for thus he discoursed through them well, and beginning at the first, in this wise he reasoneth: If death (quoth he) be a kinde of sleepe, and

those that sleepe feele no ill; we must needs confesse likewise, that the dead have no sence at all of harme: neither is it necessarie to goe in hand to proove, that the deepest sleepe is also the sweetest, and most pleasant; for the thing it selfe is plaine and evident to all the world. To saie nothing of *Homer's* testimony, who speaking of sleepe writeth thus:

*Most sweetly doth a man sleepe in his bed,  
When least he wakes, and seemes most to be dead.*

The same he iterateth in many places; and namely once in this wise:

*With pleasant sleepe she there did meet,  
Deaths brother germain, you may meet.*

And againe:

10 *Death and sleepe are sister and brother,  
Both twines resembling one another.*

Where by the way, he lively declareth their similitude, and calling them twins; for that brothers and sisters twines, for the most part be very like: and in another place besides, he calleth death a brazen sleepe; giving us thereby to understand, how senselesse death is: neither seemeth he unelegantly and besides the purpose, whosoever he was, to have expressed as much in this verse when he said:

*That sleeper (who doth them well advise)  
Of death are pettie mysteries.*

20 And in very deed, sleepe doth represent (as it were) a preamble, inducement, or first profession toward death: in like manner also the cynick philosopher *Diogenes* said very wisely to this point, for being surprised and overtaken with a dead sleepe, a little before he yeelded up the ghost, when the physician wakened him, and demanded what extraordinary symptome or grievous accident was befallen unto him? None (quoth he) onely one brother is come before another, to wit, sleepe before death: and thus much of the first resemblance.

Now if death be like unto a farre journey or long pilgrimage, yet even so, there is no evil at all therein, but rather good, which is cleane contrary: for to be in servitude no longer unto the flesh, nor enthrall'd to the passions thereof; which seizing upon the soule, doe impeach the same, and fill it with all follies and mortall vanities, is no doubt a great blessednesse and felicitie: for as *Plato* saith: The body bringeth upon us an infinit number of troubles and hindrances about the necessarie maintenance of it selfe; and in case there be any maladies besides, they divert and turne us cleane away from the inquisition and contemplation of the truth; and in stead thereof, pester and stuffe us full of wanton loves, of lusts, feares, foolish fantasies, imaginations and vanities of all sorts; insomuch, as it is most true which is commonly saide: That from the bodie there commeth no goodnesse nor wisedome at all. For what else bringeth upon us warres, seditions, battels and fights, but the bodie and the greedie appetites and lusts proceeding from it; for to say a truth, from whence arise all warres, but from the covetous desire of money, and having more goods? neither are we driven to purchase and gather still; but onely for to entertaine the bodie, and serve the turne thereof; and whiles we are amused & 30 ploied thereabout, we have no time to studie Philosophie: finally (which is the worst and very extremitie of all) in case we find some leisure to follow our booke, and enter into the studie and contemplation of things, this body of ours at all times & in every place is ready to interrupt and put us out; it troubleth, it impeacheth and so disquieteth us, that impossible it is to attaine unto the perfect fight and knowledge of the truth; whereby it is apparent and manifest, that if ever we would cleerely and purely know any thing, we ought to be sequestred and delivered from this bodie; and by the eyes onely of the mind, contemplate & view things as they besten shall we have that which we desire and wish; then shall we attaine to that which we say we love, to wit, wisedome, even when we are dead, as reason teacheth us, and not so long as we remaine alive: for if it cannot be, that together with the bodie we should know any thing purely; one of these 50 two things must of necessitie ensue, that either never at all, or else after death we should attaine unto that knowledge; for then and not before, the soule shall be apart, and separate from the bodie; and during our life time, so much neerer shall we be unto this knowledge, by how much lesse we participate with the body, and have little or nothing to doe therewith, no more than very necessitie doth require; nor be filled with the corrupt nature thereof, but pure and neat from all such contagion, untill such time as God himselfe free us quite from it; and then being fully cleered and delivered from all fleshly and bodily follies, we shall converse with them and such like pure intelligences, seeing evidently of our selves all that which is pure and sincere, to wit,

X x

truth





As also this:

Now dead are they who neuer thought,  
That life or death were simply ought:  
But all their care was for to dy  
And live, as they should, honestly.

Right excellent also are those verses of Euripides, as touching them who endure long maladies:

I hate all those by meat and drink,  
Who to prolong their daies doe think:  
By Magick arte and sorcery,  
The course of death who turne awry.  
Where as they should be glad and faine,  
When as they see it is but vaine  
Of earth to live upon the face,  
For younger then to quit the place.

As for Merope in pronouncing these manlike and magnanimous words, she mooveth the whole theater to this consideration of her speeches, when she saith;

I am not th'only mother left,  
Who of faire children am bereft;  
Nor yet a widow am I alone,  
Who my deere husband have for gone:  
For others infinite there bee,  
Who have felt like calamitee.

Unto this, a man may very aptly adjoine these verses also:

What is become of that magnificence?  
Where is king Cræsus with his opulence?  
Or Xerxes, he whose monstrous worke it was,  
By bridge, the firth of Hellespont to pass?  
To Pluto now they are for ever gon,  
To howles of most deepe oblivion.

Their goods, and their wealth, together with their bodies are perished; howbeit, beleeve me, some will say; many are mooved perforce to weepe and lament, when they see a young person die before due time; and yet I assure you, this hastie and untimely death admitteth so readie consolation, that even the meanest and most vulgar comicall poets have seene into the thing, and devised good meanes, and effectfull reasons of comfort: for consider what one of them saith in this case, to him that mourned and lamented for the unripe and unseasonable death of a friend of his, in these words:

If thou hadst knowne for certaine, that thy friend  
Who now is dead, should have bene blessed ay,  
Throughout that course of life which was behind,  
In case the gods had said his dying day:  
His death had bene untimely, I would say,  
But if long life, should bring him griefes incurable,  
To him haply was death, than now more favorable.

Seeing then uncertaine it is whether the issue and end of this life will be expedient unto a mans and whether he shall be delivered and excused thereby from greater evils, or no; we ought not to take ones death so heavilie, as if we had utterly lost all those things which we hoped for, and promised our selves by his life to enjoy; and therefore me thinks that Amphiaras in a certaine tragedy of a poet, did not impertinently and without good purpose, comfort the mother of Archemorus, who took it to the heart, and grieved excessively, that her sonne a young infant died so long before the ordinarie time: for thus he saith unto her:

No man there is of womans body born,  
But in his daies much travell he doth beare:  
Children some die the parents long before,  
And are by them enterred: then they reare  
And get young babes, for those that buried were:  
Lastly, themselves into the graves doe fall,  
This is the course, this is the end of all.

Yet men for them doe weepe and sorrow make,  
Whose bodies they on biers to earth doe send,  
Although in truth a way direct they take,  
As eares of corne full ripe, which downward bend,  
As some begin, so others make an end.  
Why should men grieve and sigh at natures lore?  
What must, shall be, thinke it not hard therefore.

In summe, every man ought both in meditation within himselfe, and in earnest discourse also with others, to hold this for certaine; that the longest life is not best, but rather the most vertuous: for neither he that plaith most upon a lute or citterne, is commended for the cunningest musician; no more than he who pleadeth longest, is held the most eloquent orator; nor he that fitteth continually at the helme, is praised for the best pilot; but they that doe best, deserve the greatest commendation: for we are not to measure goodnesse by the length of time, but by vertue, by convenient proportion and measure of all words and deeds: for this is that amiable beauntie which is esteemed happie in this world, and pleasing to the gods: which is the reason that the poets have left unto us in writing, that the most excellent worthies or demie gods, and such (as by their saying) were begotten by gods, changed this their mortal life, and departed before they were old: for even \* he

\* Amphiaras.

Who was of mightie Jupiter, and Phæbus loved best,  
Permitted was not long to live, and in old age to rest.

For this we alwaies see, that ordinarily the maturitie of yeeres, and the same well employed, is preferred before old age and long life: for thus we repute those trees and plants best, which in least time beare most fruit; as also those living creatures which in little space yeeld greatest profit and commodity to mans life: furthermore, little difference you shall finde betweene short time and long, in comparison of eternitie; for that a thousand, yea and ten thousand yeeres according to *monides*, are no more than a very prick, or rather the smallest indivisible portion of a prick, in respect of that which is infinit. We reade in histories that there be certaine living creatures about the land of *Pontus*, whose life is comprised within the compasse of one day; for in the morning they are bred, by noone they are in their vigor and at best, and in the evening they be old, and end their lives: would not these creatures thinke you, if they had the soule of man, and that use of reason which we have, feele the very same passions that we doe, if the like accidents befell unto them? certes, those that died before noone, would minister occasion of mourning and weeping; but such as continued all day long, should be reputed happy. Well, our life should be measured by vertue, and not by continuance of time; so that we are to esteem such exclamations as these, foolish and full of vanitie: Oh, great pittie, that he was taken waie so young; it ought not to have bene that he should die yet: and who is he that dare say? This or that ought? But many things else have bene, are, and shall be done hereafter, which some man might say, ought not to have beene done: howbeit, come we are not into this life for to prescribe lawes, but rather to obey those lawes which are decreed and set down already by the gods, who governe the world, and the ordinances of destinie and divine providence.

But to proceed, those who so much deplore & lament the dead, do they it for love of themselves, or for their sake who are departed? if in regard of their own selves, for that they find how they are deprived of some pleasure or profit, or els disappointed of support in their old age, which they hoped to receive by those who are departed: surely this were but a small occasion, & no honest pretence of lamentation; for that it seemeth they bewaile not the dead persons, but the losse of those commodities which they expected from them: but in case they grieve in the behalf of those that be gone out of this world, soone wil they shake off their sorrow, if they be perfwaded and beleeve, that after death they feele no ill; & obey they wil that ancient & wise sentence, which reacheth us to extend as much as we can all good things, but to draw in and restraîne those that be so ill: now if sorrow is to be counted good, we ought to augment and encrease the same as much as possibly we can; but if we acknowledge it (as it is indeed) to be naught, we are to thorten & diminish it, as much as we may, yea, & to abolish it quite, if it lie in our power: and that this may be easily effected, it appeereth by the precedent, of such a consolation as this: We reade that a certaine ancient Philosopher went upon a time to visit queene *Atthis*, who mourned & lamented much for a sonne of hers lately departed this life; & to her he used these or such like words: Madam, at what time as *Jupiter* dealt among the petie gods, goddes, & other heavenly wights, certaine honors and dignities, it chanced that dame *Sorrow*, was not present among the rest: but

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after that the distribution and dole was made, she also came in place and presented her selfe, craving of *Jupiter*, her part of honor as well as the other: *Jupiter* being thus driven to his shifts, for that he had divided and given away all before, not having any thing else to bestow, gave unto her the honor which is done unto those that be departed this life, to wit, teares, plaints, and lamentations: as other petie gods and goddesses therefore, love those who honor them and none else; even so (good lady). *Sorrow* (if you make not much of her, and give her divine honor) will not come neere unto you; but in case you worship and honor her dutifully with those prerogatives which be allotted unto her, to wit, weeping, wailing, and lamentations, she will affect and love you, she will haunt you, yea, she will alway minister matter unto you, that she may be continually honored by you. This device of the Philosopher, wonderfully wrought with the woman, and persuaded her in such sort, as she staid her plaints, gave over her weeping, and cast off all her sorrow.

In one word, a man may deale in this wife with one that is in sorrow, and demand of him: Whether art thou minded one day to cease this mourning, and make an end of piteous lamentation? or to persist still in afflicting and tormenting thy selfe as long as thou livest? for if thou continue all thy lifetime in this dolorous anguish, thou wilt procure and bring upon thy selfe perfect miserie & infelicitie in the highest degree, through thy effeminate softnesse and feebleness of heart; but if thou meanest at the length to change this fit, and to lay all mourning aside, why dost not thou beginne betimes, and resolve out of hand, to be delivered from this miserie at once? for looke what reasons and meanes thou art to use hereafter, for to be freed from these paines and perplexities; by the helpe of the same thou maiest presently be quit of this unhappy plight and state wherein thou art. And as it fareth in our bodies, the sooner that wee ridde away the crasse indispositions and malaises thereof, the better it is for us; even so it is in the difficulties and passions of the soule: that therefore, which thou art minded and disposed to yeeld unto long time, give forthwith unto reason, unto literature and knowledge; discharge thy selfe (I say, and that with speed) of these calamities which now environ and compass thee round about. But haply you will say, I never thought that this would have befallen unto me, neither did I so much as doubt any such thing: yea, but you ought to cast doubts afore-hand; you should long time before have considered and meditated of the vanitie, weakenesse and instability of mans affaires; by which meanes you had not bene surpris'd as you are, nor taken so unprovoked, as by some sudden incursion of enemies. Very well and wisely therefore it seemeth, that noble *Theſeus* in *Euripides*, was prepared and armed against all such accidents of fortune, when he thus said:

*According as a wife man once me taught,  
I did in minde all wiferies forecast;  
And namely, how I might be overcaught  
With bitter spight; and not to sit so fast  
In native soile, but forc't to lie at last:  
Untimely death of wife, of child, of friend,  
How soone might hap, full crasse unto my minde.  
In summe, I did misfortunes manifolde  
Esiſsoones propoſe and set before mine eyes,  
To th' end that I acquainted thus of olde  
With such fore-casts, might soone learne to deſpiſe,  
And ſet nought by aduerſe calamities:  
For no miſchance, or fortune overt'hwart,  
Could now be ſtrange, and nip me to the hart.*

But those who are effeminate, bale-minded, and not exercised before-hand in such premeditations, never plucke up their spirits, nor let their mindes to deliberate and consult as touching any honest or profitable course; but suffer themselves to breake out into extremities and miseries remediless, afflicting and punishing their harmelesse bodies, and as *Alcena* was wont to say, forcing them to be sicke with them for companie, which ailed nought before. And therefore *Plato* (in my conceit) gave a very wise admonition: That in such casualties and mischances as these, we should be quiet; aswell, for that it is uncerteine whether it be good or ill for them whose death we seeme to lament; as also, because there can no good ensue unto us by such pensiveness and sorrow: for this is certeine: That as sage consultation in a mans selfe (as touching that which is hapned already) doth remove sorrow; so griefe impeacheth wise counsell, which would

would have a man to employ and accommodate all his affaires and occurrences the best way he can; like as in playing at the tables, to dispose so of his cast and chance whatsoever, as may most serve to win the game.

If the our hap therefore, to stumble and catch a fall, by the crooked aspect of aduerse fortune, we must not doe as little children, who laying their hands upon that part which is hurt, fall a pulling or setting up a crie; but apply our minds presently to seeke for remedie; to set that upright, which is fallen; to rectifie that which is out of frame, by helpe of good medicines; and in one word, to put away all moanes and lamentations.

Certes, it is reported, that he (whosoever he was) that set downe lawes and statutes to the Egyptians, ordeined expressly: That whensoever they were disposed to mourne and lament, they should be araid in womans apparell; as giving them thereby to understand, that to weepe and waile, was but a feminine and servile passion, nothing at all befitting grave persons, well descended, or honestly brought up: for (to say a trueth) to weepe and waile thus, is meete womanish, and bewaith a base and abject minde: and like as women ordinarily be more prone and forward thereto than men; so Barbarians rather than Greeks; and the woofe sort of people are given thereto more than the better: also, if you goe thorow all barbarous nations, you shall not finde those who are most haughtie-minded and magnanimous, or cary any generositie of spirit in them, such as be the Almans or Gaules addicted hereunto; but Aegyptians, Syrians, Lydians, and such other; for some of these (by report) use to go downe into hollow caves within the ground, and there hide themselves for many daies together, and not so much as see the light of the sunne, because (forsooth) the dead partie whom they mourne for, is deprived thereof. In which regard, *Ion* the Tragicall Poet having (as it should seeme) heard of such fooleries, bringeth in upon the stage, a woman speaking in this wise:

*Come forth am I, now at the last,  
Your nurse and childrens governeſſe,  
Out of deepe caves, where some daies paſt,  
I kept in balefull heavineſſe.*

Others there be also of these Barbarians, who cut away some parts, and dismember themselves, lit their owne noses, crop their eares, misuse & disfigure the rest of their bodies, thinking to gratifie the dead in doing thus, if they seeme to exceed all measure, & that moderation which is according to nature. There are besides, who reply upon us and say: That they thinke we ought not to waile and lament for every kind of death, but onely in regard of those that die before their time; for that they have not as yet tasted of those things which are esteemed blessings in this life, to wit, the joys of marriage, the benefit of literature and learning, the perfection of yeeres, the management of common weale, honors and dignities; for these be the points that they stand upon, and grieve most who lose their friends or children by untimely death, for that they be disappointed and frustrate of their hopes before the time; ignorant altogether that this hastie and over speedie death, in regard of humane nature, differeth nothing at all from others: for like as in the returne to our common native country, which is necessarily imposed upon all, and from which no man is exempted, some march before, others follow after, and all at length meet at one and the same place; even so in traveling this journey of fatall destinie, those that arrive late thither, gaine no more advantage than they who are thither come betime: now if any untimely or hastie death were naught simply, that of little babes and infants that sucke the breast, and cannot speake, or rather such as be newly borne were woofe; and yet their death we beare verie well and patiently, whereas we take their departure more heavily, and to the heart, who are grown to some good yeeres, and all through the vanitie of our foolish hopes; where-by we imagine and promise to our selves assuredly, that those who have proceeded thus farre, be past the woofe, and are like to continue thus, in a good and certaine estate. If then the prefixed terme of mans life were the end of twentie yeeres, certes, him that came to be fiftene yeeres old we would not judge unripe for death, but thinke that he had attained to a competent age; and as for him who had accomplished the full time of twentie yeeres, or approached neere thereto we would account him absolute happy, as having performed a most blessed and perfect life: but if the course of our life reached out to two hundred yeeres, he who chanced to die at one hundred yeeres end, would be thought by us to have died too soone; and no doubt his untimely death we would bewaile and lament. By these reasons therefore, and those which heretofore we have alledged, it is apparent, that even the death which we call untimely, soone admitteth consolation, and a man may beare it patiently; for this is certaine, that *Trullus* would have wept

lesse; yea even Priamus himselfe, shed fewer teares, in case he had died sooner; at what time as the kingdome of Troy flourished, or whiles himselfe was in that wealthy estate; for which he lamented so much; which a man may evidently gather by the words which he gave to his sonne Hector, when he admonished and exhorted him to retire from the combat which he had with Achilles in these verses:

Returne my sonne within these wals that thou from death maist save  
The Trojan men and women both, let not Achilles have  
Of thee that honour, as thy life so sweet to take away,  
By victorie in single fight, and hast thy dying day:  
Have pittie yet my sonne of me, thy wofull aged sire,  
Ever that my wits and senses faile, whom Jupiter in ire  
Will else one day at the end of this my old and wretched yeeres,  
Consume with miserable death, out-worne and spent with teeres.  
As having many objects seene, of sorrow and hearts grieve;  
My sonnes cut short by edge of sword, who should be my reliefe;  
My daughters trait d'by haire of head, and ravisht in my sight;  
My pallace rae'd, their chambers sacket, wherein I tooke delight:  
And sucking babes from mothers breasts pluckt, and their braines dislit out  
Against the stones of pavment hard, lie sprawling all about:  
When enemy with sword in hand, in heat of bloody heart  
Shall hurvocke make: and then my selfe at last must play my part:  
Whom when some one by dint of sword, or lance of dart from farr,  
Hath quite bereft of vitall breath, the hungry dogs shall erre  
About my corpes, and at my gates hale it and drag along,  
Gnawing the flesh of hoarie head, and gristled chin among,  
Mingling besides the privie parts of me a man so old,  
Unkindly laine, a spectacle most pitious to behold.  
Thou shalt be aged father too, and pluckt from head above  
His haire milke-white, but all these words, did Hector nothing move.

Seeing then, so many examples of this matter presented unto your eyes, you are to thinke and consider with your selfe, that death doth deliver and preserve many men from great & grievous calamities, into which without all doubt they should have fallen, if they had lived longer: But for to avoid prolixitie, I will omit the rest, & my selfe, with those that are related already, as being sufficient to proove & shew, that we ought not to breake out beside nature, and beyond measure into vaine sorrowes and needlesse lamentations, which bewray nothing else but base and feeble minds. Crantor the philosopher was wont to say: That to suffer adversitie causelesse, was no small easement to all sinister accidents of fortune: but I would rather say: That innocencie is the greatest and most soveraigne medicine to take away the sense of all dolour in adversitie: moreover, the love and affection that we beare unto one who is departed, consisteth not in afflicting and punishing our selves; but in doing good unto him so beloved of us: now the profit and pleasure that we are able to performe for them who are gone out of this world, is the honour that we give unto them by celebrating their good memorials; for no good man deserveth to be mourned and bewailed; but rather to be celebrated with praise and commendation: He is not woorthy of sorrow and lamentation, but of an honorable and glorious remembrance; he requirerh not teares as testimonials of griefe and dolour; but honest offerings, and civill oblations: if it be true, that he who is gone out of this world, doth partake a more divine and heavenly condition of life, as being delivered from the servitude of this bodie, and the infinit cares perplexities, and calamities which they must needs endure, who abide in this mortall life, untill such time as they have runne their race, and performed the prefixed course of this life, which nature hath not granted unto us for to be perpetual, but according to the lawes of fatall destiny hath given to every one in severall proportion. Such therefore as be wise and well minded, ought not in sorrow and griefe for their friends departed, to passe beyond the bounds and limits of nature, and in vaine plaints and barbarous lamentations forget a meane, and never know to make an end; expecting that which hath befallen to many before them, who have bene so far gone in heaviness and melancholie, that before they had done lamenting, they have finished their daies, and ere they could lay off the mourning habit for the funerals of others, they have bene ready themselves to be carried forth to their unhappy sepulture: in so much as the sorrowes which they

they entertained for the death of another, and the calamities proceeding from their owne folly, have bene buried together with them; so as a man might very well and truly say of them as Homer did:

While they their plaints and sorrowes made,  
Darke night over-spread them with her shade.

And therefore in such case we are estoones thus to speake unto our selves, and reason in this manner: What? shall we make an end once? or rather never cease so long as we live? but still keepe a weeping and wailing as we do? for I assure you, to thinke that sorrow should never end, were a point of extreame folly, considering that often times we see even those, who of all others take on and fare most impatiently in their fits of griefe and heaviness, become (in proceesse of time) so well appeased, that even at those tombs and monuments where they piteously cried out and knocke their breasts, they meet afterwards solemnly to make magnificent feasts, with musick, minstrellie, and all the meanes of mirth that might be devised. It is the propertie therefore of a mad man and one bereft of his wits, to resolve and set downe with himselfe to dwell evermore in sorrow, and not to give it over: but if men thinke and reckon, that it will cease at length and passe away, by occasion of some thing that may occurre, let them call this withall, that space of time, will (after a sort) doe it: for that which once is done, can not by God himselfe be undone: and therefore that which now is hapned contrary to our hope and expectation, is a sufficient prooffe & demonstration of that which is wont to befall unto many others by the same meanes.

How then? is not this a thing that we are able to comprehend by learning and discourse of reason in nature? to wit:

The earth is full, and sea likewise,  
Of sundrie evils and miseries.

As also:

Such mischiefs ay, and strange calamities,  
Are daily one after another sent  
To mortall men by fatall destinies;  
The skie is selfe is not thereof exempt.

For not onely in these daies, but time out of minde, many men (and those of the wiser sort) have deplored the miseries of mankind, reputed life it selfe to be nothing els but punishment; and the verie beginning of mans birth and nativitie, to be no better than woe and miserie. And Aristotle saith: That even Silenus, when he was caught and taken captive, pronounced as much unto king Midas. But forasmuch as this matter maketh so well to our purpose, it were best to set downe the very words of the said Philosopher; for in his booke entituled *Eudemus* or *Of the soule*, thus he saith: Therefore (quoth he) O right excellent and of all men most fortunate, as we esteeme the dead to be blessed and happy, so we thinke that to make a lie or speake evil of them, is meer impietie, and an intolerable abuse offered unto them, as being now translated into a far better and more excellent condition than before: which opinion and custome in our countrey is so ancient and of such antiquitie, that no man living knoweth either the time when it first began, or the first authour thereof, who brought it in: but from all eternitie this custome hath bene among us observed for a law. Moreover, you know full well the old said law, that from time to time hath run currant in every mans mouth: And what is that? quoth he: then the other presently inferred this answer, and said: That simple it was best, not to be borne at all, and to die better than to live: and hereto have accorded and given testimonie, the very gods themselves, and namely, unto king Midas, who having in chase and hunting (upon a time) taken Silenus, demanded of him what was best for man? and what it was that a man should wish for and chuse above all things in the world? at the first he would make no answer, but kept silence, and gave not so much as a word, untill such time as Midas importuned and urged him by all means; so as at length (seeing himselfe compelled even against his will) he brake out into this speech, and said unto him: O generation of finall continuance! O feed of laborious and painfull destinie! O issue of fortune, wretched and miserable! why force you me to say that unto you, which it were better for you to be ignorant of? for that your life is lesse dolorous and irkelome, when it hath no knowledge at all of her owne calamities; but so it is, that men by no meanes can have that which simply is best, nor be partakers of that which is most excellent: for best it had bene for all men and women both, never to have bene borne at all; the next to it, and indeed the principall and chiefe of all those things that may be effected, (how ever in order it falleth out to be second) as to die immediately after one is borne. So that it appeareth plainly, that Silenus judged

and pronounced the condition of the dead to be better than of the living. For the proofe of which conclusion, ten thousand sentences and examples there be, and ten thousand more upon the head of them, which may be alledged: but needlesse it were, to discourse farther of this point, and make more words thereof. Well then: we ought not to lament the death of yong folke, in this regard, that they be deprived of those blessings and benefites which men doe enjoy by long life: for uncereme it is (as we have shewed often times before) whether they be deprived of good things or delivered from bad; considering that in mans life there be faire more sorrowes than joies; and those (as few as they be) we get with much paines, great travell, and many cares; whereas calamities and evils come easily unto us; inso much (as some men say) they be round and united close, and following aptly one upon another; whereas good things be separate and disjointed, inso much as hardly they meet together at the very end of mans life: and therefore it seemeth that we forget our selves; for as Euripides saith:

*Not onely worldly goods are not*

*Preper to us when they are got,*

but not any thing els whatsoever; and therefore of all such things we are thus to say:

*The gods have all in rightfull propertie,*

*And under them, as will we tenants be,*

*To hold ana use the faine, some more some lesse,*

*Untill they please us quite to dispossesse.*

We ought not therefore to be grieved and discontented, if they redemand of us that which they have lent and put into our hands, onely for a little while; for even the banquers themselves (as we were wont oftentimes to say) are not displeased or offended when they be called unto or constrained to render and give up those stocks of money that have bene committed unto them, if they be honest men, and well minded: for a man may by good right say unto those who are unwilling to redeliver the same: Hast thou forgotten that thou didst receive these monies to repay againe? And the very same may be applied unto all mortall men: for we have our life at Gods hands, who upon a fatal necessity, have lent and left the same unto us; neither is there any time fore-set or prefixed, within which we ought to yeeld the same; no more than the foresaid banquers are limited to some appointed day, on which they are bound to deliver up those stocks of money which be put into their hands; but unknownen and uncerteine it is when they shall be called unto, for to render the same to the owners. He therefore who is exceeding much displeased, & angrie, when he perceiveth himselfe readie to die; or when his children have changed this life; is it not evident that he hath forgotten, both that himselfe is a man, and also that he begot children mortall? for surely it is no part of a man whose understanding is cleere and entire, to be ignorant in this point, namely that man is a mortall creature, or that he is borne upon this condition, once to die: and therefore if dame *Niope*, according as fables recount unto us, had bene alwaies furnished with this opinion and letled resolution; That

*The floure of age she should not ate*

*Enjoy, nor children see alive;*

*About her fresh in number many,*

*To keepe her ever company:*

*Nor sweet sun-shine continuallie*

*Behold, untill that she must die.*

she would never have fared so, and fallen into such despair, as to desire to be out of the world, for the unsupportable burden of her calamitie, and even to conjure the gods for to fetch her away, and plunge her into most horrible destructions. Two rules and precepts there are written in the temple of *Apollo*, at *Delfos*, which of all others be most necessarie for mans life: the one is; Know thy selfe; and the other; Too much of nothing: for of these twaine depend all other lessons, and these two accord and found very well together; for it seemeth that the one doth declare the other, and containe the force and efficacie one of the other; for in this rule; Know thy selfe, is comprised; Nothing too much: likewise in this, a man doth comprehend the knowledge of himselfe: and therefore *Ten* the poet speaking of these sentences, saith thus;

*Know thy selfe; a word but short,*

*Implics a worke not quickly done,*

*Of all the gods and heavenly fort*

*None skils thereof but heavenly Jove alone.*

And *Pindarus* writeth in this wise:

*This sentence brieve: Nothing excessively,  
Wise men have prints & alwaies exceedingly.*

Whoever therefore setteth alwaies before the eyes of his minde these two precepts, and holdeth them in such reverence as the oracles of *Apollo* deserve, he shall be able to apply them easily unto all the affaires and occurrents of humane life, and to beare all things modestly as it becometh, both having a regard to his owne nature, and also endeavouring neither to mount up too high with pride and vain-glorie, for any happy fortune that may befall, nor yet be dejected and cast downe beyond measure, to mourning and lamentation upon infirmities of fortune, or rather of the minde, or by reason of that inbred feare of death imprinted deeply in our hearts for want of knowledge and good consideration of that which is ordinary, and customably hapneth in mans life, either through necessity, or according to the decree of fatall destinie. No-table is that precept of the Pythagoreans:

*What part thou hast of griefe and woe, which unto man is sent,*

*By hand of God, take well in woorth, and shew no discontent.*

And the tragicall poet *Aeschylus* said very well:

*Wise men and vertuous in all woe and distresse,*

*Against God will not murmur more or lesse.*

As also *Euripides*:

*The man who yeelds unto necessity,*

*Well skilled is in true divinitie:*

*And such we count, and not unworthily*

*To beare themselves among men most wisely.*

And in another place:

*Who knows the way, what ever doth befall*

*With patience meekely to suffer all;*

*In my conceit, he may be thought right well,*

*In vertue and wisdom all men to excell.*

But contrariwise, most men in the world complaine and grumble at every thing; and whatsoever falleth out crosse and contrary to their hope and expectation, they imagine the same to proceed alwaies from the malignitie of fortune and the gods; which is the reason that in all accidents they weepe, waile, and lament; yea, and they blame their owne froward and adverse fortune: unto whom we may very well and with great reason reply in this manner:

*No God it is, nor heavenly wight,*

*That works thy woe, and all this plight.*

but even thine owne selfe, thy folly and error proceeding from ignorance: and upon this false persuasion and erroneous opinion it is, that these men complaine of all sorts of death; for if any of their friends chaunce to die in a forreine country, they fetch a deepe sigh in his behalfe, and cry out saying:

*Alas poore wretch, woe's me for thee, that neither father shine,*

*Nor mother deere shall present be, to close thy sight-lesse eien.*

Dieth he in his owne native soile, and in the presence of father and mother? they mourne and lament, for that being taken out of their hands, he hath left unto them nothing else behind, but a deepe impression of griefe, in seeing him die before their eyes: Is it his hap to depart out of this world in silence, and without giving any charge of ought concerning him or them? then they cry out againe, and breake forth into these words; as he did in *Homer*:

*Alas the while, that no wise speech and lesson thoume gave,*

*Which while my breath and life doth last, I should remember have.*

Again, if he delivered any words unto them at the houre of his death, they will evermore have the same in their mouthes to kindle anew and refresh their sorow: went he suddenly, and never bad his friends farewell, when he departed? they lament and say: That he was ravished away and forcibly taken from them: if he languished, and was long in dying, then they fall a complaining, and give out, that he consumed and pined away, enduring much paine before hee died: to be short, every occasion & circumstance whatsoever, is enough to stirre up their griefe, and minister matter to mainteine sorrowfull plaints. And who be they who have mooved and brought in all these querries and lamentations, but Poets, and even *Homer* himselfe, most of all other, who is the chiefe and prince of the rest, who in this manner writeth:

*Like as a father, in the fire of wofull funerals,*

*Burning*

*Burning the bones of his young sonne, soone after his espousals,  
Sheds many teares for griefe of minde, and weepeth bitterly:  
The mother likewise (tender heart) bewailes him piteously.  
Thus he by his untimely death, both parents miserable,  
Afflicts with sorrowes manifold, and woes inexplicable:*

But all this while it is not certaine whether it be well and rightly done, to make this sorrow; for see what followeth afterwards:

*He was their only sonne, and borne to them in their olde age,  
Sole heire of all, and so to enjoy a goodly herit age.*

And who knoweth, or is able to say, whether God in his heavenly providence and fatherly care of mankind, hath taken some out of the world by untimely death, foreseeing the calamities and miseries which otherwise would have happened unto them? and therefore we ought to thinke that nothing is befallen them which may be supposed odious or abominable:

*For nothing grievous thought may be,  
Which cometh by necessity.*

Nothing (I say) that hapneth to man, either by primitive cause immediately, or by consequence, as well in this regard, that often times most kinds of death preserve men from more grievous adversities, and excuse them for greater miseries; as also for that it is expedient for some, never to have bene borne, and for others, to die in their very birth; for some, a little after they be entered into this life, and for others againe, when they are in their flower, and grown to the verie height and vigor of their age: all which sorts of death, in what manner soever they come, men are to take in good part, knowing that whatsoever proceedeth from fatall destinie, can not possibly be avoided; and besides, reason would, that being well taught and instructed, they should consider and premeditate with themselves, how those whom we thinke to have bene deprived of their life before their full maturitie, go before us but a little while; for even the longest life that is, can be esteemed but short, and no more than the very minute and point of time, in comparison of infinit eternitie: also, that many of them who mourned and lamented most, within a while have gone after those whom they bewailed, and gained nothing by their long sorrow; onely they have in vaine afflicted and tormented themselves: whereas, seeing the time of our pilgrimage here in this life is so exceeding short, we should not consume our selves with heavinesse and sadnesse, nor in most unhappie sorrow and miserable paines, even to the punishing of our poore bodies with injurious misusage; but endeavour and strive to take a better and more humane course of life, in conversing civilly with those persons who are not ready to be pensive with us, and fit to stirre up our sorrow and griefe after a flattering sort; but rather with such as are willing & meet to take away or diminish our heavinesse, with some generous and grave kinde of consolation: and we ought to have ever in minde these verses in *Homer*, which *Heſtor* by way of comfort delivered unto his wife *Andromache*, in this wise:

*Unhappy wight, do not my heart vexe and sollicit still,  
For no man shorten shall my daies, before the heavenly will:  
And this (I say) Andromache, that farall destinie,  
No person good or bad, once borne, avoid can possibly.*

And of this fatall destinie the same Poet speaketh thus in another place:

*No sooner out of mothers wombe, are babes brought forth to light,  
But destinie hath spun the thread for every mortall wight.*

These and such like reasons, if we would conceive and imprint before-hand in our mindes, we should be free from this foolish heavinesse, and delivered from all melancholy; and namely, considering how short is the terme of our life betwene birth and death, which we ought therefore to spare and make much of, that we may passe the same in tranquillitie, and not interrupt it with carking cares and dolefull dumps, but laying aside the marks and habits of heavinesse, have a regard both to cheerish our owne bodies, and also to procure and promote the welfare and good of those who live with us. Moreover, it will not be amisse to call to minde and remember those arguments and reasons, which by great likelihood wee have sometime used to our kinnefolke and friends, when they were afflicted with like calamities, when as by way of consolation we exhorted and perswaded them to beare the common accidents of this life with a common course of patience, and humane cases, humanely. Neither must we shew our selves so far short and faultie, as to have bene sufficiently furnished for to appeale the sorrow of others, and not be able by the remembrance of such comforts, to do our selves good: we ought therefore presently

ly to cure the anguish of our heart with the soveraign remedies and medicinable drogues (as it were) of reason; and so much the sooner, by how much better we may admit delay in any thing els than in discharging the heart of griefe and melancholie: for whereas the common proverbe and by-word in every mans mouth, pronounceth thus much:

*Who loves delays, and his time for to slacke,  
Lives by the losse, and shall no sorrowes lacke.*

Much more damage (I suppose) he shall receive, who deferreth and putteth off from day to day to be discharged of the grievous and adverse passions of the minde. A man therefore is to turne his eies toward those worthy personages who have shewed themselves magnanimous and 10 of great generosities in bearing the death of their children: as for example, *Anaxagoras* the Clazomenian, *Pericles* and *Demosthenes* of *Athens*, *Dion* the Syracusan, and king *Antigonus*, besides many others, both in these daies and also in times past: of whom, *Anaxagoras* (as we read in historie) having heard of his sonnes death by one who brought him newes thereof, even at what time as he was disputing in naturall philosophie, and discoursing among his scholars and disciples, paused a while, and staied the course of his speech, and said no more but thus unto those who were about him: Well I wist that I begat my sonne to be a mortall man. And *Pericles* who for his passing eloquence and excellent wisdom, was furnamed *Olympius*, that is to say, divine and heavenly; when tidings came to him that his two sonnes *Paralus* and *Xanthippus* had both changed this life, behaved himselfe in this manner as *Protagoras* reporteth of him in these words: When his two sonnes (quoth he) both young and beautifull, died within eight 20 daies, one after the other; he never shewed any sad countenance or heavie cheere, but tooke their death most patiently: for in truth he was a man at all times furnished with tranquillitie of spirit, whereby he daily received great frute and commoditie; not onely in respect of this happinesse, that he never tasted of hearts griefe; but also in that he was better reputed among the people; for every man seeing him thus stoutly to take this losse and other the like crosses, esteemed him valiant, magnanimous, and of better courage than himselfe; the one being privie to his owne heart, how he was wont to be troubled and afflicted in such accidents: As for *Pericles* I say, immediately after the report of both his sons departure out of this world, he ware a chaplet of *Floures* nevertheless upon his head, after the manner of his country, put on a white 30 robe, made a solemne oration to the people, propounded good and sage counsels to the Athenians, & incited them to war. Semblably *Xenophon* one of the followers & familiars of *Socrates*; when he offered sacrifice one day unto the gods, being advertised by certaine messengers returned from the battell, that his sonne *Gryllus* was slaine in fight; presently put off the garland which was upon his head, and demanded of them the manner of his death; and when they related unto him that he bare himselfe valiantly in the field, and fighting manfully lost his life, after he had the killing of many enemies; he tooke no longer pause for to repress the passion of his mind by the discourse of reason, but after a little while, set the coronet of flowers againe upon his head, and performed the solemnitie of sacrifice; saying unto those who had brought those tidings; I never praied unto the gods that my sonne should be either immortal, or long lived, 40 for who knoweth whether this might be expedient or no? but this rather was my praier, that they would vouchsafe him the grace to be a good man, and to love and serve his countrey well, the which is now come to passe accordingly. *Dion* likewise the Syracusan, when he was set one day in consultation, and devising with his friends, hearing a great noise within his house, and a loud outcry, demanded what it was? and when he heard the mischaunce that hapned; to wit, that a sonne of his was fallen from the top of the house, and dead with the fall; without any shew or signe at all of astonishment or trouble of mind, he commanded that the breathlesse corps should be delivered unto women, for to be interred according to the manner of the countrey; and as for himselfe, he held on and continued the speech that hee had begun unto his friends. *Demosthenes* also the orator is reported to have followed his steps; after he had buried 50 his onely and entirely beloved daughter, concerning whom, *Aeschines* thinking in reprochfull wise to challenge her father, said thus: This man within a seven night after his daughter was departed, before that he had mourned or performed the due obsequies according to the accustomed manner; being crowned with a chaplet of flowers, and putting on white robes, sacrificed an ox unto the gods, and thus unnaturally he made no reckoning of her that was dead, his onely daughter, and the that first called him father, wicked wretch that he is: this Rhetorician thus intending to accuse and reproch *Demosthenes*, used this manner of speech, never thinking that in blaming him after this manner he praised him, namely, in that hee rejected and cast behind

Y y him



him all mourning, and shewed that he regarded the love unto his native countrey, more than the naturall affection and compassion to those of his owne blood. As for king *Anrigonus*, when he heard of the death of his sonne *Alcyonem*, who was slaine in a battell, he beheld the messengers of these wofull tidings, with a constant and undaunted countenance; but after he had mused a while with silence, and held down his head, he uttered these words: O *Alcyonem*, thou hast lost thy life later than I looked for, ventring thy selfe to resolutely as thou hast done among thine enemies, without any care of thine owne safetie, or respect of my admonitions. These noble personages, there is no man but doth admire and highly regard for their constance & magnanimitie; but when it cometh to the point and trial indeed, they cannot imitate them through the weakenesse and imbecillitie of mind, which proceedeth of ignorance, and want of good instructions: howbeit, there be many examples of those who have right nobly and virtuously caried themselves in the death and losse of their friends and neere kinsmen which we may reade in histories, as well Greeke as Latin; but those that I have rehearsed already may suffice (I suppose) to moove you for to lay away this most irksome mourning, and vaine sorrow that you take, which booteth not, nor can serve to any good: for that young men of excellent vertue, who die in their youth, are in the grace and favour of the gods, for being taken away in their best time, I have already shewed heerebefore, and now also will I addressse my selfe in this place as briefly, as possibly I can to discourse, giving testimonie of the truth to this notable wise sentence of *Menander*:

*To whom the gods vouchsafe their love and grace,  
He lives not long but soone hath runne his race.*

But peradventure (my most loving and right deere friend) you may reply in this manner upon me: Namely, that young *Apollonius* your sonne, enjoied the world at will, and had all things to his hearts desire; yea, and more besittng it was, that you should have departed out of this life, and bene entered by him, who was now in the flower of his age, which had bene more answerable to our nature, and according to the course of humanitie. True it is I confesse, but haply not agreeable to that heavenly providence and government of this universall world: and verily in regard of him who is now in a blessed estate, it was not naturall for him to remaine in this life longer than the terme prefixed and limited unto him; but after he had honestly performed the course of his time, it was new full and requisite for him to take the way for to returne unto his destinie that called for him to come unto her: but you will say, that he died an untimely death; true, and so much the happier he is, in that he hath felt no more miseries of this life: for as *Empidius* said very well:

*That which by name of life we call,  
Indeed is travell continuall.*

Certes, this sonne of yours (I must needs say) is soone gone, and in the very best of his yeeres and flower of his age, a young man in all points entire and perfect, a fresh bachelor, affected, esteemed and well reputed of all those who kept him companie, loving to his father, kinde to his mother, affectionate to his kinsfolke and friends, studious of good literature, and (to say all in a word) a lover of all men; respecting with reverence (no lesse than fathers) those friends, who were elder than himselfe, making much of his equals and familiars, honoring those who were his teachers; to strangers as well as to citizens most civill and courteous; gracious and pleasant to all; generally beloved, as well for his sweet attractive countenance, as his lovely affabilitie. All this (I confesse) is most true; but you ought to consider and take this withall: That he is translated before us in very good time out of this mortall and transitorie life into everlasting eternitie, carrying with him the generall praise and blessed acclamation of all men for his pietie and observance toward you, as also for your fatherly regard of him; and departed he is as from some banquet, before he is fallen into drunkenesse and follie, which hee could not have eschewed, but it would have ensued upon olde age: and if the saying of ancient Poets and Philosophers be true, as it seemeth verily to be, namely: That good men and those that devoutly serve God, whensoever they die, have honour and preferment in the other world, and a place allotted them apart, where their soules abide and converse; surely you are greatly to hope very well, that your sonne is canonized and placed in the number of those blessed saints; concerning the state of which happie wights deceased, *Pindarus* the Lyricke Poet, writeth in his canticles after this manner:

*When we have here the shade night,  
The shining sunne to them gives light:  
The meadowes by their citie side*

*With*

*With roses red are beautified,  
Shaded with trees which please the sense,  
With golden fruits and sweet incense:  
Some, horses ride for exercise,  
Disporting in most comely wise;  
Others delight in harmonic,  
In musike and in symphonie.  
They live where plenty everie houre  
Of all delights doth freshly flowe;  
Where altars of the gods do smoke  
In every coast with sweet perfume,  
Of odors all most redolent,  
Burning in fire faire resplendent,  
Which is mainteind continually:  
Thus they converse right pleasantly.*

And a little after he proceedeth to another lamentable dittie, wherein speaking of the soule, he uttereth these words:

*Happie is their condition,  
Whom death from all vexation  
Exempted hath: all bodies die  
Perforce, there is no remedie:  
The soule, of perperitie  
The image, from divinitie  
Onely deriv'd, doth live alway,  
And is not knowne for to decay:  
Whiles limmes to wake and worke are prest,  
She takes her sleepe and quiet rest,  
And doth by many dreames present  
To those who sleepe, \* her owne judgement,  
As well of things which her displease,  
As of such as do her well please.*

Or thus:

*\* the due judgement,  
As well for vertuous deeds well done,  
As for foule facts which be misdone.*

And as for that divine Philosopher *Plato*, he hath disputed much, and alledged many reasons in his \* treatise of the soule, as touching the immortalitie thereof, like as in his books of policie, in the dialogue intituled *Menon*, in that also which beareth the name of *Gorgias*, and in divers places of many others: But as concerning those discourses which he hath expressly made in his dialogue, I will give you an extract thereof apart by it selfe, according to your request; and for this present I will deliver those points which are to the purpose, and expedient to the matter in hand, to wit, what *Socrates* said to *Callicles* the Athenian, a familiar friend and scholar of *Gorgias* the Rhetorician. Thus therefore saith *Socrates* in *Plato*: Give care then, and listen unto a most elegant speech, which you (I suppose) will thinke to be a meere fable or tale, but I esteeme an undoubted truth, and as a true report I will relate it unto you: So it was, that (according to the narration of *Homer*) *Jupiter*, *Neptune* and *Pluto*, parted betweene themselves, the empire which fell unto them from their father: now this law there was concerning men, during the reigne of *Saturne* (which also stood in force time out of minde, and remaineth even at this day among the gods) That looke what man soever lead a just & holy life, after his death he should take his way directly to certain fortunate islands, there to remain in blisse & happinesse, freed from all misery and infelicitie; but contrariwise, he that lived unjustly, without feare and reverence of the gods, should goe to a certaine prison of justice and punishment, named *Tartarus*, that is to say, Hell: now the judges who sat judiciously, and gave their doome of such persons, as well in *Saturnes* daies, as in the beginning also of the reigne of *Jupiter*, were those men alive, who gave sentence and judgement of other men living, even upon that very day wherein they were to depart this life: by reason whereof there passed many judgements, not good, until such time as *Plato* & other procurators or superintendents of those fortunate Isles came and made report unto *Jupiter*, that

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there were thither sent such persons as were not worthy. Unto whom *Jupiter* made this answer: I will take order from henceforth, and provide that it shall be so no more: for the cause of this disorder and abuse in judgement is this; that they who are to be tried, come clad and arrayed unto the barre, for to receive their doome, whiles they are yet living; yea, & many of them haply having sithie soules, are apparelled (as it were) with faire and beautifull bodies, with nobilitie of birth and parentage, yea, and adorned with riches; and whiles they stand before the tribunal to be judged, many there be who come to depose and give testimonie in their behalfe, that they lived well: the judges therefore (being dazzeled and amazed with these witnesss and depositions, being themselves also likewise arrayed) do give sentence, having before, their minds, their eyes, eares, teeth, and whole bodie covered; no marvell therefore if these be impediments to impeach sound and sincere judgement, to wit, as well their owne vesture, as the raiment of the judges. First and foremost therefore, good heed would be had, that men may know no more before hand the houre of their death; for now they foresee the terme and end of life: whereupon let *Promethus* have first in charge, that from henceforth men may have no fore-knowledge of their dying day; and then all judgements hereafter shall passe indifferently of them that be all naked. For which purpose it were requisite that they be all first dead, as well the parties in question, as the judges themselves; so that they come to heare causes and sit in judgement with their soules onely, upon the soules likewise of those who are departed; even so soone as they are separated from the bodies, being destitute now and forlorne of all kinsfolke and friends to assist them, as having left behind them upon earth, all the vesture and ornaments which they were wont to have; by which meanes, the judgement of them may passe more just and right: which I knowing well enough, before you were acquainted therewith, have ordained mine owne founes to be judges; namely for *Asia* two, *Minos* and *Rhadamanthus*; and one for *Europe*, to wit, *Æacus*: These therefore after they be dead, shall sit in judgement within a meadow, at a quarefour or crosse-way, whereof the one leadeth to the fortunate isles, the other to hell: *Rhadamanthus* shall determine of them in *Asia*; *Æacus* of those in *Europe*; and as for *Minos* I will grant unto him a preeminence in judgement above the rest; in case there happen some matter unknowne to one of the other two, and escape their censure, he may upon weighing and examining their opinions, give his definitive sentence, and so it shall be determined by a most sincere and just doome, whether way each one shall goe. This is that *O Calicles* which I have heard, and beleeve to be most true; whereout I gather this conclusion in the end; that death is no other thing than the separation of the soule from the body. Thus you see (*o Apollonius* my most deere friend) what I have collected with great care and diligence, to compose for you sake a consolatorie oration or discourse, which I take to be most necessarie for you, as well to assuage and rid away your present griefe, to appeale likewise, and cause to cease this heavinesse and mourning that you make, which of all things is most unpleasant and troublesome; as also to comptre within it that praise and honour which (me thought) I owed as due unto the memoriall of your sonne *Apollonius*, of all others exceedingly beloved of the gods: which honour in my conceit is a thing most convenient and acceptable unto those, who by happie memorie, and everlasting glorie are consecrated to immortalitie. You shall doe your part therefore, and verie wisely, if you obey those reasons which are therein contained; you shall gratifie your sonne likewise, and doe him a great pleasure, in case you take up in time and returne from this vaine affliction (wherewith you punish and undoe both bodie and mind) unto your accustomed, ordinarie and naturall course of life: for like as whiles he lived with us he was nothing well appaied, and tooke no contentment to see either father or mother sadde and desolate; even so now, when he converseth and solaceth himselfe in all joy with the gods, doubtlesse he cannot like well of this state wherein you are. Therefore plucke up your heart, and take courage like a man of worth, and magnanimitie, and one that loveth his children well: releafe your selfe first, and then the mother of the young gentleman together with his kinsfolke and friends from this kind of miserie, and take to a more quiet & peaceable manner of life, which will be both to your sonne departed, and to all of us (who have regard of your person, as it becometh us) more agreeable.



## A CONSOLATORIE LETTER, OR DISCOURSE SENT UNTO HIS OWNE WIFE, AS TOUCHING THE DEATH OF HER AND HIS DAUGHTER.

### The Summarie.

**P**lutarck being from home, and farre absent, received newes concerning the death of a little daughter of his, a girle about two yeeres old, named Timoxene, a childe of a gentle nature, and of great hope: but fearing that his wife would apprehend such a losse, too neere unto her heart; he comforteth her in this letter, and by giving testimonie unto her of vertue and constancie sheweth at the death of other children, of hers more forward in age than she was; he exhorteth her likewise to patience and moderation in this newe occurrence and trial of hers; condemning by sundry reasons the excessive sorrow, and unjoynt by fasson of many fond mothers, perceiving withall, the inconveniences, that such excessive heavinesse doth wrought after it. Then continuing his consolation of her, he declareth with what care we ought to regard infants and children as well before, as during and after life; how happily they be, who can content themselves and rest in the will and pleasure of God, that the blessings past, ought to dulce and mitigate the calamities present, to stay us also that we proceed not to that degree and height of importunite, as to make account onely of the misadventures and discommodities hapning in this our life. Which done, he answereth to certaine objections which his wife might propound and set on foot; and therewith delivereth his owne advice as touching the incorruption and immortalitye of mans soule (after he had made a medley of divers opinions which the ancient Philosophers held, as touching that point); and in the end concludeth: That it is better and more expedient to die betimes, than late: which position of his, he confirmeth by an ordinance precisely observed in his owne country, which expressly forbiddeth to mourne and lament for those who departed this life in their childhood.

## A CONSOLATORIE LETTER or Discourse, sent unto his owne wife, as touching the death of her and his daughter.

### PLUTARCH unto his wife; Greeting.

**T**he messenger whom you sent of purpose, to bring me word as touching the death of our little daughter, went out of his way (as I suppose) and so missed of me, as he journeyed toward *Athens*; howbeit, when I was arrived at *Tenagra*, I heard that he had changed this life. Now, as concerning the funerals and enterring of her, I am verily perswaded, that you have already taken sufficient order, so as that the thing is not to doe; and I pray God, that you have performed that dutie in such sort, that neither for the present, nor the time to come, it worke you any grievance & displeasure: but if haply you have put off any such complements (which you were willing enough of your selfe to accomplish) untill you knew my minde and pleasure, thinking that in so doing, you should with better will and more patiently beare this adverse accident; then I pray you let the same be performed without all curiositie and superstition; and yet I must needs say, you are as little given that way as any woman that I know: this onely I would admonish you,

deare heart, that in this case, you shew (both in regard of your selfe and also of me) a constancie and tranquillitie of minde: for mine owne part, I conceive and measure in mine owne heart, this losse, according to the nature and greatnesse thereof, and so I esteeme of it accordingly; but if I should finde, that you tooke it impatiently, this would be much more grievous unto me, and wound my heart more, than the calamitie it selfe that causeth it; and yet am not I begotten and borne either of an oake or a rocke; whereof you can beare me good witnesse, knowing that wee both together have reared many of our children at home in house, even with our owne hands; and how I loved this girle most tenderly, both for that you were very desirous (after foure sonnes, one after another in a row) to beare a daughter, as also for that in regard of that fancie, I tooke occasion to give her your name: now, besides that naturall fatherly affection, which men commonly have toward little babes, there was one particular propertie that gave an edge thereto, and caused me to love her above the rest; and that was a speciall grace that she had, to make joy and pleasure, and the same without any mixture at all of curstnesse or forwardnesse, and nothing given to whining and complaint; for the was of a wonderfull kinde and gentle nature, loving she was againe to those that loved her, and marvellous desirous to gratifie and pleasure others; in which regards, she both delighted me, and also yeelded no small testimonie of rare debonairetie that nature had endued her withall; for shee would make pretie meanes to her nourise, and seeme (as it were) to intreat her to give the breast or papp, not onely to other infants, like her selfe, her play feres, but also to little babies and puppets, and such like gauds as little ones take joy in, and wherewith they use to play; as if upon a singular courtesie and humanitie shee could finde in her heart to communicate and distribute from her owne table, even the best things that shee had, among them that did her any pleasure. But I see no reason (sweet wife) why these lovely qualities and such like, wherein we tooke contentment and joy in her life time, should disquiet and trouble us now, after her death, when we either thinke or make relation of them: and I feare againe, lest by our dolour and griefe, we abandon and put cleane away all the remembrance thereof, like as *Clymene* desired to do, when she said:

*I hate the bowe's sight of Corneli tree:*

*All exercise abroad, farewell for me.*

as avoiding alwaies and trembling at the remembrance and commemoration of her sonne, which did no other good but renew her griefe and dolour; for naturally we seeke to flee all that troubleth and offendeth us. We ought therefore so to demean our selves, that as whiles she lived, we had nothing in the world more sweet to embrace, more pleasant to see, or delectable to heare than our daughter; so the cogitation of her, may still abide and live with us all our life time, having by many degrees our joy multiplied more than our heavinesse augmented: if it be meet and fit that the reasons and arguments which wee have often times delivered to others, should profit us when time and occasion requireth, and not lie still and idle for any good wee have by them, nor challenge and accuse us, for that in stead of joies past, we bring upon our selves many more griefs by farre. They that have come unto us, report thus much of you, and that with great admiration of your vertue, that you never put on mourning weed, nor so much as changed your robe, & that by no meanes you could be brought to disfigure your selfe or any of your waiting maidens and women about you, nor offer any outrage or injurie to them in this behalfe; neither did you set out her funerals with any sumptuous panegyricall pompe, as if it had bene some solemne feast, but performed every thing soberly and civilly, after a still manner, accompanied onely with our kinsfolke and friends. But my selfe verily made no great wonder (that you who never tooke pride and pleasure to be seene, either in theater or in publike procession, but rather alwaies esteemed all such magnificence so vaine, and sumptuousness superfluous, even in those things that tended to delight) have observed the most safe way of plainnesse and simplicitie, in these occasions of sorrow and sadnesse. For a vertuous and chaste matrone ought not onely to keepe herselfe pure and inviolate in Bacchanall feasts; but also to thinke thus with herselfe, that the turbulent stormes of sorrow, and passionate motions of anguish had no lesse need of continencie to resist and withstand, nor the naturall love and affection of mothers to their children, as many thinke, but the intemperance of the mind. For we allow and grant unto this naturall kindnesse, a certaine affection to bewaile, to reverence, to wish for, so long after, and to beare in minde those that are departed; but the excessive and insatiable desire of lamentations, which forceth men and women to loud out-cries, to knocke, beat, and mangle their owne bodies, is no lesse unseemely and shamefull, than incontinence in pleasures: howbeit, it seemeth by good right to deserve excuse and pardon, for that in this undecencie, there is griefe

griefe and bitternesse of sorrow adjoined, whereas in the other, pleasure and delight: for what is more absurd and senselesse, than to seeme for to take away excesse of laughter and mirth; but contrariwise to give head unto streames of teares which proceed from one fountain, and to suffer folke to give themselves over to weeping and lamentation as much as they will; as also that which some use to doe, namely, to chide and rebuke their wives for some sweet perfumes, odoriferous pomanders, or purple garments, which they are desirous to have; and in the meane while permit them, to teare their haire in time of mourning, to shave their heads, to put on blacke, to sit unseemely upon the bare ground, or in ashes, and in most painfull manner to crie out upon God and man; yea and that which of all others is worst, when their wives chastise excessively, or punish unjustly their servants, to come betwene and staie their hands; but when they rigorously and cruelly torment themselves, to let them alone and neglect them in those crosse accidents, which contrariwise had need of facilitie and humanitie? But betwene us twaine, sweet heart, there was never any need of such fraie or combat, and I suppose there will never be. For to speake of that frugalitie which is seene in plaine and simple apparell, or of sobrietie in ordinary diet, and tending of the bodie; never was there any philosopher yet conversing with us in our house, whom you put not downe and stricke into an extraordinary amaze, nor so much as a citizen whom you caused not to admire (as a strange and wonderfull sight, whether it were in publicke sacrifices, or in frequent theaters, and solemne processions) your rare simplicitie: seemably, heerefore you shewed great constancie upon the like commotion and accident at the death of your eldest sonne; and againe when that gentle and beautiful *Chiron* departed from us untimely, in the prime of his yeeres; and I remember very well that certaine strangers who journeyed with me along from the sea side, (at what time as word was brought of my sonnes death) came home with others to my house, who seeing all things there settled, nothing out of order, but all silent and quiet (as they themselves afterward made report) began to thinke that the said newes was false, and no such calamitie had hapned; so wisely had you composed all matters within house, when as it was, there was good occasion given that might have excited some disorder and confusion; and yet this sonne you were nuse unto your selfe, and gave it suck at your owne pappes; yea, and endured the painfull incision of your breast, by reason of a cancerous hard tumour that came by a contusion. Oh, the generosities of a vertuous dame, and behold the kindnesse of a mother toward her children! whereas you shall see many other mothers to receive their young babes at the hands of their nurses, to dandle & play withall forsooth, in mirth & pastime; but afterwards the same women (if their infants chance to die) give themselves over to al vain mourning, & bootlesse sorrow, which proceedeth not doubtlesse from good will indeed; (for surely heartie affection is reasonable, honest and considerate) but rather from a foolish opinion mingled with a little naturall kindnesse; and this is it that engendreth savage, furious, & implacable sorrows. And verily *Aelope* (as it should seeme) was not ignorant hereof, for he reporteth this narration: That when *Jupiter* made a dole or distribution of honors among the gods and goddes; *Sorrow* came afterwards and made sute likewise to be honored, and so he bestowed upon her, teares, plaints, and lamentations; but for them onely who are willing thereto, and ready to give her intertainment. And I assure you, this they commonly doe at the very beginning; for everie one of his owne accord bringeth in and admitteth sorrow unto him, who (after she is once entertained, and in processe of time well settled, so that she is become domestickall and familiar) will not be driven out of dores nor be gone, if a man would never so faine; and therefore resistance must be made against her, even at the verie gate, neither ought we to abandon our hold, and quit the fort, renting our garments, tearing or shearing our haire, or doing other such things, as ordinarily happen every day; causing a man to be confused, shamefull, and discouraged, making his heart bale, abject and shut up, that he cannot enlarge it, but remaine poore and timorous; bringing him to this passe, that he dare not be merrie, supposing it altogether unlawfull to laugh, to come abroad and see the sunne light, so to converse with men, or to eat or drinke in companie; into such a captivitie is he brought, through sorrow and melancholie: upon this inconvenience after it hath once gotten head, there followeth the neglect of the bodie, no care of annointing or bathing, and generally a restlesse and contempt of all things belonging to this life; whereas contrariwise and by good reason, when the mind is sicke or amisse, it should be helped and sustained by the strength of an able and cheerefull body: for a great part of the soules griefe is allaid, and the edge thereof as it were dulled, when the bodie is fresh and disposed to alacritie, like as the waves of the sea be laid even, during a calme and faire weather: but contrariwise, if by reason that the bodie be

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evill entreated, and not regarded with good diet and choisekeeping, it become dried, rough, and hard, in such sort, as from it there breathe no sweet and comfortable exhalations unto the soule, but all smokie and bitter vapors of dolour, griefe, and sadnesse annoy her; then is it no easie matter for men (be they never so willing and desirous) to recover themselves, but that their soules being thus seized upon by so grievous passions, will be afflicted and tormented still. But that which is most dangerous and dreadfull in this case, I never feared in your behalfe, (so wut) That foolish women should come & visit you, and then fall a weeping, lamenting, and crying with you; a thing (I may say to you) that is enough to whet sorrow, and awaken it if it were asleepe, not suffering it either by it selfe, or by meanes of helpe and succour from another; to passe, slide, & vanish away; for I know verie well what adoe you had, & into what a conflict you entred about the sister of *Theon*, when you would have assisted her & resisted other women who came into her with great cries & loud lamentations, as if they brought fire with them, in al haste to maintaine & encrease that which was kindled already. True it is indeed, that when a friends or neighbors house is seene on fire, every man runneth as fast as he can to helpe for to quench the same; but when they see their soules burning in griefe and sorrow, they contrariwise bring more fewel & matter still to augment or keepe the said fire: also if a man be diseased in his eies, he is not permitted to handle or touch them with his hands, especially if they be bloud-moorten, and possessed with any inflammation; whereas he who sits mourning and sorrowing at home in his house, offereth and presenteth himselfe to the first commor, and to every one that is willing to irritate, flite, and provoke his passion, (as it were a flood or streame that is let out and set a running) in so much as where before the grievance did but itch or smart a little, it now begins to shoot, to ake, to be fell and angrie, so that it becometh a great and dangerous maladic in the end: but I am verily perswaded (I say) that you know how to preserve your selfe from these extremities. Now over and besides, endeavour to reduce and call againe to mind the time when as we had not this daughter, namely, when she was as yet unborn; how we had no cause then to complaine of fortune; then, see you joine (as it were with one tenon) this present, with that which is past, setting the case as if we were returned againe to the same state wherein we were before: for it will appeere (my good wife) that we are discontented that ever she was borne, in case we make thew that we were in better condition before her birth, than afterwards; nor that I wish we should abolish out of our remembrance the two yeeres space between her nativite and decease, but rather count and reckon it among other our pleasures and blessings, as during which time, we had the fruition of joy, mirth, and pastime, and not to esteeme that good which was but little and endured a small while, our great infortunitie; nor yet seeme unthankfull to fortune, for the favour which she hath done unto us, because she added not thereto that length of life which we hoped and expected. Certes to rest contented alwaies with the gods; to thinke and speake of them reverently as it becometh; not to complaine of fortune, but to take in good woorth whatsoever it pleaseth her to send, bringeth evermore a faire and pleasant fruite: but he who in these cases, putteth out of his remembrance the good things that he hath, transporting and turning his thoughts and cogitations from obscure and troublesome occurrents, unto those which be cleere and replendent; if he doe not by this meanes utterly extinguish his sorrow, yet at leastwise by mingling and tempering it with the contrary, he shall be able to diminish or else make it more feeble: for like as a sweet odor and fragrant ointment delighteth and refresheth alwaies the sense of smelling, and besides is a remedie against stinking favours; even so the cogitation of these benefits which men have otherwise received, serveth as a most necessarie and present succour in time of adversitie unto as many as refuse not to remember and call to minde their joies passed, and who never at all for any accident whatsoever complaine of fortune; which we ought not to doe in reason and honestie, unless we would seeme to accuse and blame this life which we enjoy, for some crosse or accident; as if we cast away a booke if it have but one blot or blot in it, being otherwise written throughout most cleane and faire; for you have heard it oftentimes said; that the beatitude of those who are departed, dependeth upon the right and found discourses of our understanding, and the same tending to one constant disposition; as also; that the changes and alterations of fortune beare no great sway, to inferre much declination or casualitie in our life: but if we also as the common sort, must be ruled and governed by externall things without us, if we reckon and count the chaunces and casualties of fortune, and admit for judges of our felicitie our miserie, the base and vulgar sort of people; yet take you no heed to those teares, plaints, and moanes that men or women make who come to visit you at this present, who also (upon a foolish custome & as it were of course) have them ready at command for every

every one; but rather consider this with your selfe; how happie you are reputed, even by those who come unto you, who would gladly and with all their hearts be like unto you, in regard of those children whom you have, the house and family which you keepe, & the life that you leade; for it were an evill thing to see others desire to be in your estate and condition for all the sorrow which now afflicteth us, and your selfe in the meane time complaining and taking in ill part the same, and not to be so happy and blessed, as to find and feele (even by this crosse that now pincheth you, for the losse of one infant) what joy you should take, and how thankfull you ought to be for those who remaine alive with you: for heerein you should resemble very well, those Criticks, who collect and gather together all the lame and defective verses of *Homer*, which are 10 but few in number; and in the meane time, passe over an infinite sort of others, which were by him most excellently made. In this maner (I say) you did, if you would search narrowly, and examine every particular mishap in this life, and finde fault therewith; but all good blessings in grose, let go by, and never once respect the same; which to doe, were much like unto the practise of those covetous misers, worldlings and peni-fathers, who cake and care, punish both bodie and minde, until they have gathered a great deale of good together, and then enjoy no benefit or use thereof; but if they chance to forgo any of it, they keepe a piteous wailing and wofull lamentation.

Now if haply you have compassion and pitie of the poore girle, in that she went out of this world a maiden unmarried, and before that the bare any children; you ought rather on the contrarye side, to reioice and take delight in your selfe above others, for that you have not failed of these blessings, nor bene disappointed either of the one or the other: for who would holde and mainteine; that these things should be great to those who be deprived of them; and but small to them, who have and enjoy the same? As for the childe, who doubtlesse is gone into a place where the feeleth no paine, surely she requireth not at our hands that we should afflict & grieve our selves for her sake: for what harme is there befallen unto us by her, if she her selfe now feele no hurt? And as for the losses of great things indeed, surely they yeeld no sence at all of dolor, when they are come once to this point, that there is no more need of them, or care made for the. But verily, thy daughter *Timoxena* is bereft, not of great matters, but of small things; for in truth, she had no knowledge at all, but of such, neither delighted she in any, but in such: seeing 30 then, that she had no perceivance nor thought of those things, how can she properly and truly be said to be deprived thereof?

Moreover, as touching that which you heard of others, who are wont to perswade many of the vulgar sort, saying: That the soule once separate from the bodie, is dissolved, and feeleth no paine or dolor at all: I am assured, that you yeeld no credit and beliefe to such positions; as well in regard of those reasons and instructions which you have received by tradition from our ancestors, as also of those sacred and symbolical mysteries of *Bacchus*, which we know wel enough, who are of that religious confraternitie, and professed therein. Being grounded therefore in this principle, and holding it firmly for an undoubted truth: That our soule is incorruptible and immortal; you are to thinke, that it fareth with it, as it doth with little birds that are caught 40 by the fowler alive, and came into mens hands: for if it have bene kept and nourished daintily a long time within the bodie, so that it be inured to be gentle and familiar unto this life, to wit, by the management of sundry affaires and long custome, it returneth thither againe, and reentreteth a second time (after many generations) into the bodie; it never taketh rest nor ceaseth, but is in-wrapped within the affections of the flesh, and entangled with the adventures of the world, and calamities incident to our nature: for I would not have you to thinke that olde age is to be blamed and reproched for riuels and wrinkles, nor in regard of hoarie white haies, ne yet for the imbecillitie and feeblenesse of the body; but the worst and most odious thing in it is this: That it cauleth the soule to take corruption by the remembrance of those things whereof it had experience whiles it staid therein, and was too much addicted and affectionate unto it, whereby 50 it bendeth and boweth, yea, and reteineth that forme or figure which it tooke of the bodie, by being so long devoted thereto; whereas that which is taken away in youth, pretendeth a better estate and condition, as being framed to a gentler habit, more soft, tractable and lesse compact, putting on now a naturall rectitude, much like as fire, which being quenched, if it be kindled againe, burneth out, and recovereth vigor incontinently: which is the cause that it is faire better

Be times to yeeld up vitall breath,

And come to passe the gates of death,

before that the soule have taken too deepe an imbibition or liking of terrene things here below;

and

and ere it be made soft and tender with the love of the bodie, and (as it were) by certeine medicines and forcible charmes united and incorporate into it. The truth hereof may appeare yet better, by the fashions and ancient customes of this countrey; for our citizens (when their children die yong) neither offer mortuaries, nor performe any sacrifices & ceremonies for them, as others are wont to do for the dead: the reason is, because they have no part of earth nor earthly ly affections; neither doe they keepe about their tombs and sepulchres, nor lay forth the dead corps abroad to be seene of men, nor sit neere unto their bodies: for our lawes and statutes doe not permit and suffer any mourning at all for those that so depart in their minoritie, as being a custome not holy and religious; for that wee are to thinke they passe into a better place and happier condition. Which ordinances and customes, since it is more dangerous not to give credit unto, than beleue, let us carie and demaie ourselues according as they command, for outward order; as for within, all ought to be more pure, wile and uncorrupt.



## HOW IT COMMETH, 20 THAT THE DIVINE IUSTICE DEFERRETH OTHER-WHILES THE PUNISHMENT OF WICKED PERSONS,

### The Summarie.



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quickly and continually their misdeeds. In the second part, they debate a certeine question depending of the precedent objection, to wit, Wherefore children be chastised for the sinnes of their fathers and ancestors? and there was a certeine Philosopher named Timon, who handled this matter taxing after an oblique manner, the iustice of God, which Plutarch maintaineth and defendeth, shewing by diuers reasons, that whatsoeuer Timon had alledged, was meere false; and that God did so inuie at all unto those children, in withdrawing his grace and fauour from them, and chastising them so, together with their parents, finding them likewise culpable for their part. But in this place, our author answereth not sufficiently and to the purpose; as being ignorant of originall sinne, and the vniversal corruption of Adams children, which enwrappeth them all in the same condemnation, although some are farther gone in sinfull life, according as they be grown to more yeeres, and so augment their punishment; so much as we may well marvell at this, that a poore Pagan hath so farre proceeded in this point of Theologie; and Christians haue so much greater occasion to looke unto themselves, in the mid of this light which directeth them, considering how thin man could see so cleere in darkenisse, which appeareth sufficiently in the end of this discourse; where he intermedleth certaine fables as touching the state of our soules after they be parted from the bodies.

## HOW IT COMMETH, THAT the diuine iustice deferreth otherwhiles the punishment of wicked persons.



After that Epicurus had made this speech (ô Cynius) and before that any one of us had answered him, by that time that we were come to the end of the gallerie or walking place, he went his way out of our sight, and so departed; and we wondering much at this strange fashion of the man, stood still a pretie while in silence, looking one upon another, and so we betooke our selves to our walking againe, as before: then Patrocleas began first to mooue speech and conference, saying in this manner: How now my masters! if you thinke so good, let us discusse this question, and make answer in his absence, to those reasons which he hath alledged, as well as if he were present in place: hereupon Timon tooke occasion to speake, and said: Certes it were not well done of us, to let him escape so without revenge, who hath left his dart sticking in us; for captain Brasidas (as it appeareth in the Chronicles) being wounded with the shot of a javelin, drew it out of his bodie his owne selfe, and therewith smote his enemy who had hurt him, so as he killed him outright: as for us, we need not so greatly to be revenged of those who have let sic among us, some rash, foolish and false speeches; for it will be sufficient, to shake the same off, and send them backe againe, before our opinion take holde thereof. And what was it, I pray you (quoth I) of all that which he delivered, that moved you most? for the man handled many things confusedly together, and nothing at all in good order, but kept a prating and babling against the providence of God, facing and inveighing most bitterly and in reprochfull teames, as if he had bene in a fit of anger and rage. Then Patrocleas: That which he uttered as touching the long delay and slacknesse of diuine iustice in punishing the wicked, in my conceit was a great objection and troubled me much, and to say a truth, their reasons and words which he delivered have imprinted in me a new opinion, so as now I am become a novice, and to begin againe to learne. True it is that long since I was discontented in my heart to heare Euripides speake in this wise;

He putteth off from day to day,  
Gods nature is, thus to delay.

For it were not meet and decent, that God should be slow in any action whatsoever, and least of all in punishing sinners; who are themselves nothing loathfull, nor make delay in perpetrating wicked deeds, but are caried most speedily and with exceeding violence of their passions, pickt forward to do wrong and mischief. And verily when punishment ensueth hard after injury and violence committed; there is nothing as (Theoclydes saith) that so soone stoppeth up the passage against those who are most prone and ready to runne into all kinde of wickednesse; for there is no delay of payment that so much enfeebleth the hope, and breaketh the heart of a man wronged and offended, nor causeth him to be so insolent and audacious, who is disposed



dispos'd to mischief, as the deferring of justice and punishment: whereas contrariwise the corrections, & chastisements, that follow immediately upon leud acts, and mee with the malefactours betimes, are a meanes both to repress all future outrage in offenders, and also to comfort and pacifie the heart of those who are wronged. For mine owne part the saying of *Bias* troubleth me many times, as often as I thinke upon it, for thus he spake unto a notorious wicked man: I doubt not but thou shalt one day smart for this geere, and pay for thy leudnesse; but I feare I shall never live to see it. For what good unto the Messenians being slaine before, did the punishment of *Aristocrates*, who having betray'd them in the battell of *Cypres*, was not detected and discovered for his treason in twentie yeeres after, during which time, he was alwaies king of *Arcadia*, and being at the last convicted for the said treacherie, suffred punishment for his delicts? meane while, those whom he had caused to be massacred, were not in the world to see it. Or what comfort and consolation received the Orchomenians, who lost their children, kinsfolke, and friends, through the treason of *Lyciscus*, by the maladic which long after seized upon him, eating & consuming all his bodie? who ever as he dipped and bathed his feet in theriver water, kept a weeping and cursing, that he thus rotted and was eaten away, for the treachery which most wickedly he had committed? And at *Athens* the childrens children of those poore wretches who were killed within the privileged place of sanctuarie, could never see the vengeance of the gods which afterwards fell upon those bloudie and sacrilegious caittifes, whose dead bodies and bones being excommunicate, were banished, and cast out beyond the confines of their native country. And therefore me thinks *Euripides* is very absurd, when to divert men from wickednesse he useth such words as these:

*Justice (feare not) will not thee overtake,  
To pierce thy heart, or deepe wound ever make  
In liuer thine; nor any mortall might  
Besides, though leud he be, and doe no right.  
But slow she goes, and slent to impeach  
And chastise such, if ever them she reach.*

For I assure you, it is not like, that wicked & ungracious persons use any other perswasions, but even the very same to incite, move and encourage themselves to enterprise any leud and wicked acts, as making this account and reckoning, that iniustice will quickly yeeld her frute ripe in due time, and the same evermore certaine: whereas punishment commeth late and long after the pleasure and fruition of the said wickednesse. When *Parocleus* has discoursed in this wise, *Olympicus* tooke the matter in hand and said unto him: Marke moreover (o *Parocleus*) what inconvenience and absurditie followeth upon this slownesse of diuine justice, and prolonging the punishment of malefactours? for it causeth unbeliefe in men, and namely, that they are not perswaded that it is by the providence of God that such be punished; & the calamitie that cometh upon wicked ones, not presently upon every sinful act that they have committed, but long time after, is reputed by them infelicitie, and they call it their fortune, and not their punishments; whereupon it commeth to passe, that they have no benefit thereby, nor be any whit better, for howsoever they grieve and be discontented at the accidents which befall unto them, yet they never repent for the leud acts they have before committed. And like as in punishment among us, a little pinch, stripe, or lash given unto one for a fault or error, presently upon the doing thereof, doth correct the partie, and reduce him to his dutie; whereas the wrings, scourgings, knocks, and foudning thumps, which come a good while after, seeme to be given upon some occasion beside, and for another cause rather than to teach; and therefore well may they put him to paine and griefe, but instruction they yeeld none; even so naughtinesse rebuked and repressed, by some present chastisement, every time that it trespasseth and transgresseth, howsoever it be painfull at first, yet in the end it bethinketh it selfe, learneth to be humbled, and to feare God as a severe iusticier, who hath an eie upon the deeds and passions of men, for to punish them incontinently, and without delay; whereas this justice and revenge which commeth so slowly, and with a soft pace (as *Euripides* saith) upon the wicked and ungodly persons, by reason of the long intermission, the inconstant and wandering incertitude, and the confused disorder resembling chance and adventure more than the desseigne of any providence: in so much as I cannot conceive or see what profit can be in these grindstones (as they call them) of the gods, which are so long a grinding; especially, seeing that the judgement and punishment of sinners is thereby oblcured, and the feare of sinne made slight, and of no reckoning, upon the delivertie of these words, I began to studie and muse with my selfe: then *Timon*: Would you (quoth he)

he) that I should cleere this doubt once for all, and so make an end of this disputation? or permit him first to dispute and reason against these oppositions? And what need is there (answered I) to come in with a third wave for to overflow and drowne at once our speech and discourse, if he be not able to refute the former objections, nor to escape and avoid the chalenges already made. First and foremost therefore to begin at the head, and (as the manner is, to say) at the goddesse *Vesta*, (for the reverent regard and religious that the Academick philosophers profess to have unto God, as an heavenly father) we utterly disclaime, and refuse to speake of the Deitie, as if we knew for certaintie what it is: for it were a greater presumption in us who are but mortall men, to enterprise any set speech or discourse as touching gods or demi-gods, than for one who is altogether ignorant in long, to dispute of musick, or for them who never were in campe, nor saw so much as a battell fought, to put themselves forward to discourse of armes and warfare; taking upon us, (unskilfull as we are, and void of art) a fantastickall knowledge, grounded onely upon some light opinion, and conjecture of our owne, as if we were right cunning workemen and artificers: for it is not his part, who is not studied in the arte of Physick, to gesse at the reason and consideration that the physician or chirurgian had, why he made incision no sooner in his patient, but staid long ere he proceeded thereto? or wherefore he bathed him not yesterday, but to day? semblably, it is neither easie nor safe for a mortall man to speake otherwise of the gods, than of those who knew well enough the due time and opportunitie to minister a meeter and convenient medicine, unto vice and sinne; and exhibit punishment to every trespassse, as an appropriate drouge, or confection to cure and heale ech maladic; notwithstanding that the same measure and quantitie be not common to all delinquents, nor one onely time and the same, is alwaies meet therefore. Now that the physicke or medicine of the soule, which is called Right and Justice, is one of the greatest sciences that are; *Pindarus* himselfe besides an infinit number of others, beareth witness; when he calleth the Lord and governour of the world, to wit, God, a most excellent and perfect artificer, as being the author and creator of justice, unto whom it appertaineth to define and determine, when, in what manner, and how far forth, it is meet and reasonable to chastise and punish each offender. *Plato* likewise saith: That *Amos* the sonne of *Jupiter* (was in this science) the disciple of his father; giving us heereby to understand, that it is not possible for one to carie himselfe well in the execution of justice, nor to judge a right of him that doth as he ought; unless he have before learned that science, and be thoroughly skilfull therein. Furthermore, the positive lawes which men have established, seeme not alwaies to be grounded upon reason, or to found and accord in all respects with absolute equitie and justice; but some of their ordinances be such, as in outward appearance may be thought ridiculous, and worthy of mockerie; as for example. At *Lacedaemon* the high controllers called *Ephori*, so soone as they be entalled in their magistracie, cause proclamation to be published by sound of trumper, that no man should weare mynstaches, or nourish the haire on their upper lips; also that willingly every man should obey the lawes, to the end that they might not be hard or grievous unto them. The Romans also, when they enfranchise any slave, and make him free; cast upon their bodies a little small rodde or wand: likewise when they draw their last wils or testaments, institute some for their heires, whom it pleaseth them, but to others they leaveth their goods to sell; a thing that carrieth no sense nor reason with it. But yet more absurd and unreasonable is that statute of *Solons* making, wherein it was provided: That what citizen soever, in a civil sedition, ranged not himselfe to a side, nor tooke part with one or other faction, should be noted with infamie, and disabled for being capable of any honorable dignitie. In one word, a man may alledge an infinit number of absurdities besides, contained in the civil lawes; who neither knoweth the reason of the lawgiver that wrot them, nor the cause why they were set downe. If then it be so difficult to conceive and understand the reasons which have mooved men thus to doe, is it any marvell that we are ignorant of the cause, why God chastiseth one man sooner and another later? howbeit, this that I have said, is not for any pretence of starting backe and running away, but rather for to crave leave and pardon, to the end that our speech having an eie thereto, (as unto an haven and place of refuge) might be the more hardie, with boldnesse to range forth still in probabilities, to the matter in doubt and question: But I would have you to consider first, that (according to the saying of *Plato*) God having set himselfe before the eies of the whole world, as a perfect pattern and example of all goodnesse, doth unto as many as can follow and imitate his divinitie, infuse humane vertue, which is in some sort conformable and like unto him; for the generall nature of this universall world, being at the first a confused and disordered *Chaos*, obtained this principle



with ranke weeds; wherein also there be many wilde beasts, many rivers, and by consequence, great store of muddie and mire: but contrariwise, an expert husband, and one who hath good judgement, and can discern the difference of things, knoweth these and all such signes, to be token a fertile and plentiful soile; even so great wits and haucie spirits, doe produce and put forth at the first, many strange, absurd, and leud pranks, which we not able to endure, thinke, that the roughnesse & offensive prick thereof, ought immediately to be cropt off and cut away: but he who can judge better (considering what proceedeth from thence good and generous) attendeth and expecteth with patience, the age and season, which is cooperative with vertue and reason, against which time, the strong nature in such, is for to bring forth and yeeld her proper and peculiar fruite. And thus much may suffice of this matter.

But to proceed forward: Thinke you not that some of the Greeks have done well and wisely, to make a transcript of a law in *Egypt*, which commaundeth; that in case a woman who is arraigned and convicted of a capital crime, for which in justice she ought to die, be with child, she should be kept in prison untill she were delivered? Yes verily, they all answered? Well then (quoth I) Set case there be some one who hath no children conceived in his wombe to bring forth, but breedeth some good counsell in his head, or conceiveth a great enterprise in his minde, which he is to bring to light, and effect in time, either by discovering an hidden mischief, or setting abroad an expedient and profitable counsell, or inventing some matter of necessarie consequence: Thinke you not that he did better, who deferred the execution of such an ones punishment & stay untill the utilitie that might grow by him were seene, than he who inconsiderately & in all haste proceeded to take revenge, & prevent the opportunitie of such a benefit? Certes, for mine owne part, I am full y of that minde: and even we no lesse, answered *Patrocleus*. Well then (quoth I) it must needs be so; for marke thus much: If *Dionysius* had beene punished for his usurped rule, in the beginning of his tyrannie; there should not one Grecian have remained inhabitant in *Sicilie*, for the Carthaginians would have held the same and driven them out outlike as it must needs have befallen to the citie *Apollonia*, to *Anactonium*, and the *Cherfonsie* or *ordemic* island *Lenaxia*, if *Pericles* had suffered punishment at first, and not a long time after, as he did. And I suppose verily that the punishment and revenge of *Cassander* was put off and prolonged of purpose, untill by that meanes the citie of *Thebes* was fully reedified and peopled againe. And many of those mercenary soldiers and strangers, who seized and held this temple wherein we are, during the time of the sacred warre, passed under the conduct of *Timoleon* into *Sicilie*, who after they had defeated in battell, the Carthaginians, and withall suppressed & abolished sundrie tyrannies, they came to a wretched end, wicked wretches as they were. For God in great wisdom and providence, otherwhiles maketh use of some wicked persons, as of butchers and common executioners, to torment and punish others, as wicked as they or worse, whom afterwards he destroyeth; and thus in mine opinion he dealeth with most part of tyrants. For like as the gall of the wild beast *Hyana*, and the rendles or rennet of the Sea-calf, as also other parts of venomous beasts and serpents, have one medicinable propertie or other, good to heale sundry maladies of men; even so God seeing some people to have need of birte and bridle, and to be chastised for their enormities, sendeth unto them some inhumane tyrant, or a rigorous and inexorable lord to whip and scourge them, and never giveth over to afflict and vex them, untill he have purged and cleered them of that maladic wherewith they were infected. Thus was *Phalaris* the tyrant a medicine to the Agrigentines: thus *Marium* was sent as a remedie to cure the Romanes: as for the Sicyonians, even god himselfe *Apollo* foretold them by oracle: That their citie had need of certaine officers to whippe and scourge them, at what time as they would perforce take from the Cleoneans, a certain yong boy named *Teletus*, who was crowned in the solemnities of the Pythian games, pretending that he was their citizen, and borne among them, whom they haled and pulled in such sort, as they dismembered him: But these Sicyonians met afterwards with *Orthogoras* that tyrannized over them; and when he was gone, they were plagued also with *Myron* and *Clithenes*, and their favorites, who held them in so short, that they kept them from all outrages, and staid their insolent follies: whereas the Cleoneans, who had not the like purgative medicine to cure them, were subverted and through their misdeameanor come to nothing. Marke well therefore that which *Homer* in one place saith:

*It is sonne he was, and in all kind of valour did surmount*

*His father farre, who was (to say a truth) of base account.*

And yet this sonne of *Copreus* never performed (in all his life) any memorable act, beseeeming a

man

man of woorth and honour: whereas the offspring of *Sisyphus*, the race of *Antolycus*, and the posteritie of *Phlegyas* flourished in glorie, and all maner of vertue among great kings and princes. At *Athenes* likewise, *Pericles* descended from an house excommunicate and accursed: And so at *Rome Pompeius* surnamed *Magnus*, that is, the Great, had for his father one *Strabo*, a man whom the people of *Rome* so hated, that when he was dead, they threw his corps out of the biere wherein it was caried forth to buriall, and trampled it under their feet. What absurditie then were it, if as the husbandman never cutteth up or stocketh the thorne or bush, before he hath gathered the tender sprouts and buds thereof: nor they of *Libya* burne the boughes of the plant *Ledrom*, untill they have gotten the aromaticall gumme or liquor out of it called *Ladanum*; even so God never plucketh up by the roote, the race of any noble and roiall familie (wicked and wretched though they be) before it hath yeelded some good and profitable fruite: for it had bene farre better and more expedient for the men of *Phocis*, that ten thousand beefs and as many horses of *Spitus* had died; that the Delphians likewise had lost much more gold and silver by farre, than that either *Ulysses* or *Aesculapius* should not have bene borne; or others in like case, whose parents being wicked and vicious, were themselves honest and very profitable to the commonwealth. Are we not then to thinke, that it were far better to punish in due time and maner convenient, than to proceed unto revenge hastily and out of hand? Like as that was of *Callippus* the Athenian, who making semblance or friendship unto *Dion*, stabbed him at once with his dagger, and was himselfe afterwards killed with the same, by his friends? as also that other of *Mitius* the Argive, who was murdered in a certaine commotion and civill broile: for it hapned so, that in a frequent assembly of the people, gathered together in the market place, for to beholde a follenne shew, a statue of brasse fell upon the murderer of *Mitius*, and killed him outright. And you have heard (I am sure) of *Patrocleus* (have you not?) what befell unto *Bessus* the Pconian, and *Ariston* the Oetecian, two colonels of mercenary and forren souldiers? No verily (quoth he) but I would gladly know: This *Ariston* (quoth I) having stollen and caried away out of this temple, certaine jewels and costly furniture of queene *Eriphyle*, which of long time had there bene kept safe, by the grant and permission of the tyrants who ruled this citie, caried them as a present to his wife; but his sonne being on a time (upon some occasion) displeased and angrie with his mother, set fire on the house, and burnt it with all that was within it. As for *Bessus*, who had murdered his owne father, he continued a good while not detected, untill such time, as being one day at supper with certaine of his friends that were strangers, with the head of his speare he pierced and cast downe a swallowe neast, and so killed the yong birds within it: and when those that stood by, seemed (as good reason there was) to say unto him: How cometh this to passe, good sir? and what aile you, that you have committed so leud and horrible an act? Why (quoth he againe) doe these birds crie aloud and beare false witnesse against me, testifying that I have murdered mine owne father? hee had no sooner let fall this word, but those who were present tooke holde thereof, and wondering much thereat, went directly to the king, and gave information of him; who made so diligent inquisition, that the thing upon examination was discovered, and *Bessus* (for his part) punished accordingly for a parricide. Thus much (I say) have we related, that it may be held as a confessed truth and supposition, that wicked men otherwhiles have some delay of their punishment: as for the rest, you are to thinke that you ought to hearken unto *Hesiodus* the Poet, who saith not as *Plato* did, that the punishment of sinne doth follow sinne hard at the heeles, but is of the same time and age, as borne and bred in one place with it, and springing out of the very same roote and stocke: for these be his words in one place:

*Bad counsell who deviseth first,  
Unto himselfe shall finde it worst.*

And in another:

*Who doth for others mischief frame,  
To his owne heart contrives the same.*

The venomous flies Cantharides are said to containe in themselves a certaine remedie, made and compounded by a contrarietie or antipathie in nature, which serveth for their owne counterpoison; but wickednesse ingendering within it selfe (I wot not what) displeasure and punishment, not after a sinfull act is committed, but even at the very instant of committing, it beginneth to suffer the paine due to the offence: neither is there a malefactor, but when he seeth others like himselfe punished in their bodies, beareth forth his owne crosse; whereas mischiefous wickednesse frameth of her selfe, the engines of her owne torment, as being a wonderfull artisan of a miserable life, which (together with shame and reproch) hath in it lamentable calamities,

many terrible frights, fearefull perturbations and passions of the spirit, remorse of conscience, desperate repentance, and continuall troubles and unquietnesse. But some men there be, who for all the world resemble little children, that beholding many times in the theater, leaud and naughtie persons arraid in cloth of golde, rich mantles, and robes of purple, adorned also with crownes upon their heads, when they either dance or play their parts upon the stage, have them in great admiration, as reputing them right happie, untill such time as they see them how they be either pricked and pierced with goads, or sending flames of fire out of those gorgeous, costly and sumptuous vestments. For to say a truth, many wicked persons, who dwell in stately houses, are descended from noble parentage, sit in high places of authoritie, beare great dignities and glorious titles, are not knownen (for the most part) what plagues and punishments they suffer, before they be seene to have their throats cut, or their necks broken, by being cast downe headlong from on high; which a man is not to reame punishments simply, but rather the small end and accomplishment thereof. For like as *Herodicus* of *Selymbria*, being fallen into an incurable phthisicke or consumption, by the ulcer of his lungs, was the first man (as *Plato* saith) who in the cure of the said disease, joined with other Physicke, bodily exercise, and in so doing, drew out and prolonged death, both to himselfe and to all others who were likewise infected with that maladie; even so may we say, that wicked persons (as many as seeme to have escaped a present plague, and the stroke of punishment out of hand) suffer in truth, the paine due for their sinfull acts, not in the end onely and a great time after, but susteine the same a longer time: so that the vengeance taken for their sinfull life is nothing slower, but much more produced and drawn out to the length; neither be they punished at the last in their olde age, but they waxe olde rather in punishment, which they have endured all their life. Now when I speake of long time, I meane it in regard of our selves; for in respect of the gods, the whole race of mans life (how long soever it be thought) is a matter of nothing, or no more than the very moment and point of the instant. For say, that a malefactor should suffer the space of thirtie yeres for some hainous fact that he hath committed, it is all one, as if a man should stretch him upon the racke, or hang him upon a gibbet in the evening toward night, and not in the morning betimes; especially, seeing that such an one (all the while that he lieth) remaineth close and fast shut up (as it were) in a strong prison or cage, out of which he hath no meanes to make an escape and get away. Now if in the meane while they make many fealts, manage sundry matters, and enterprife diuers things; if they give presents and largesses abroad; and say they give themselves to their disports and pleasures; it is even as much, and all one, as when malefactours (during the time they be in prison) should play at dice or cockall game, having continually over head the rope hanging, which must strangle them: for otherwise, we might as well say, that prisoners condemned to die, suffer no punishment all the whiles they lie in hard and colde yrons, nor untill the executioner come and strike the head from the shoulders; or that he who by sentence of the judges hath drunke the deadly potion of hemlocke, is not punished, because he walketh still, and goeth up and downe alive, waiting untill his legs become heauie, before the generall colde and congelation surprise him, and extinguish both sense and vitall spirits, in case it were so, that we esteeme and call by the name of punishment, nothing but the last point and extremity thereof; letting passe and making no reckoning at all of the passions, feares, painfull pangues, expectation of death, pricks and sorrowes of a penitent conscience, wherewith every wicked person is troubled and tormented: for this were as much as to say, that the fish which hath swallowed downe the hooke, is not caught, untill we see the said fish cut in pieces, or broiled, roasted and sodden by the cooke. Certes every naughty person is presently become prisoner unto iustice, so soone as he hath once committed a sinfull act, and swallowed the hooke together with the bait of sweetnesse and pleasure, which he taketh in leaudnesse and wrongfull doing; but when remorse of conscience imprinted in him, doth pricke, he feeleth the very torments of hell, and can not rest;

*But as in case the Tunny fish doth swiftly crosse the waves,*

*And trauerses still while tempest lasts, so be with anguish raves.*

For this audacious rashnesse and violent insolence (proper unto vice) is verie puissant, forward, and readie at hand, to the effecting and execution of sinfull acts; but afterwards, when the passion (like unto a winde) is laied, and begins to faile, it becommeth weake, base and feeble, subject to an infinite number of feares and superstitions; in such sort, as that *Strophorus* the Poet seemeth to have deuised the dreame of queene *Chytemnestra*, very conformable to the truth, and answerable to our daily experience, when he bringeth her in, speaking in this manner:

*Me*

*Me thought I saw a dragon come apace,  
Whose creft aloft on head with bloud was stein'd;  
With that anon there did appeare in place  
Plithenides: he king, who that time reignd.*

For the visions by night in dreames, the fantastical apparitions in the day time, the answers of oracles, the prodigious signes from heaven, and in one word, whatsoever men think to be done immediately by the will and finger of God, are wont to strike great troubles and horrors into such persons so affected, and whose consciences are burdened with the guilt and priuie of sinne. Thus the report goeth of *Apollodorus*, that he dreamed upon a time, how he saw himselfe first slayed by the Scythians, then cut as small as flesh to the pot, and so boiled; he thought also that his heart spake softly fro out of the cauldron, and uttered these words: I am the cause of all these thy evils; and againe, he imagined in his sleepe, that his own daughters, all burning on a light flaming fire, ran round about him in a circle. Semblably *Hipparchus* the sonne of *Pisistratus*, a little before his death, dreamed that *Peneus* out of a certaine viall sprinkled bloud upon his face. The familiar friends likewise of king *Ptolomaeus*, surnamed *Ceramus*, that is to say, Lightning, thought verily in a dreame that they saw *Seleucus* accuse and indite him judicially before wilde wolves, and greedie geires that were his judges, where he dealt and distributed a great quantitie of flesh among his enemies. *Pausanias* also at *Bizantium*, sent for *Cleonice*, a virgin and gentlewoman free borne, of a worshipfull house; intending perforce to lie with her all night, and abuse her body; but being halfe a sleepe when she came to his bed, he awakened in a fright, and suspecting that some enemies were about to surprise him, killed her outright; wherupon ever after he dreamt ordinarily, that he saw her, and heard her pronounce this speech:

*To judgement seat, approach thou neere I say,  
Wrong dealing is to men most hurtfull ay.*

Now when this vision as it should seeme ceased not to appeere unto him night by night; he embarked and sailed into *Heracles*, to a place where the spirits and ghosts of those that are departed be raised and called up, where after he had offered certaine propitiatorie sacrifices, and powdered forth funerall effusions, which they use to call upon the tombes of the dead; he wrought so effectually, that the ghost of *Cleonice* appeared; and then the said unto him, that so soone as he was arrived at *Lacedaemon*, he should have repole and an end of all his troubles: and so in very truth, no sooner was he thither come, but he ended his life and died. If therefore the soule had no sense after it is departed out of the bodie, but commeth to nothing; and that death were the final end and expiration aswell of thankfull recompenses, as of painfull punishments, a man might say of wicked persons who are quickly punished, and die soone after that they have committed any misdeeds; that God dealeth very gently and mildly with them: For if continuance of time, and long life bringeth to wicked persons no other harme; yet a man may at leastwise say thus much of them, that having knowne by prooffe, and found by experience, that iniustice is an unfruitfull, barren, and thanklesse thing, bringing forth no good thing at all, nor ought that deserueth to be esteemed after many travels and much paines taken with it; yet the verie feeling and remorse of conscience for their sinnes, disquieteth and troubleth the mind, and turneth it upside downe. Thus we reade of king *Lysimachus*, that being forced through extreme thirst, he delivered his owne person, and his whole armie into the hands of the *Getes*; and when being their prisoner, hee had drunke and quenched his thirst, he said thus: O what a miserie is this, and wretched case of mine, that for so short and transitorie a pleasure, I have deprived my selfe of so great a kingdom, and all my roiall estate. True it is, that of all things it is an exceeding hard matter to resist the necessitie of a naturall passion; but when as a man for covetousnesse of money, or desire of glorie, authoritie, & credit among his countymen and fellow-citizens, or for fleshly pleasures, falleth to commit a foule, wicked, and execrable fact, and then afterwards in time, when as the ardent thirst and furious heat of his passion is past, seeing that there so abide and continue with him, the filthy, shamefull, and perilous perturbations onely of iniustice and sinfulness; but nothing at all that is profitable, necessarie, or delightfull; is it not very likely and probable, that he shall eiesoones, and oftentimes recall into this thought, and consideration? how being seduced and caried away by the meanes of vain-glory, or dishonest pleasures, (things base, vile, and illiberal) he hath perverted and overthrowen the most beautiful and excellent gifts that men have, to wit, right, equitie, iustice, and pietie; and in stead thereof, hath siled and polluted his life, with shame, trouble, and danger? For like as *Simonides* was wont to say in mirth: That he found one coffer of silver and money alwaies full; but that other

of

of favors, thanks, and benefits, evermore empty; even so wicked men, when they come to examine and peruse aright the vice that is in themselves, they finde it presently (for one pleasure which is accompanied with a little vaine and glosing delight) void altogether and destitute of hope; but fully replenished with feares, cares, anxieties, the unpleasant remembrance of misdemeanors past, suspicion of future events, and distrust for the present: much after the manner as we do heare *Iso* in the theaters, repenting of those foule facts which she had committed, and speaking these words upon the stage:

*How should I now, my friends and ladies deere  
Begin to keepe the house of Athamas,  
Since that all whiles that I have lived here,  
Nought hath bene done by me that decent was?*

Or thus:

*How may I keepe, ô ladies deere alas;  
The house againe of my lord Athamas,  
As who therein had not committed ought  
Of those leud parts which I have done and wrought.*

For semblably it is meet that the minde and soule of every sinfull and wicked person should imitate and discourse of this point in it selfe after this maner: After what sort should I forget and put out of remembrance the unjust and leud parts which I have committed? how should I cast off the remorse of conscience from me? and from henceforth begin to turne over a new leafe, & lead another life: for surely with those in whom wickednesse beareth sway, & is predominant, there is nothing assured, nothing firme & constant, nothing sincere and sound; unless haply we will say and maintaine that wicked persons and unjust, were some Sages and wise philosophers. But we are to thinke, that where avarice reigneth & excessive concupiscence, and love of pleasure, or where extreme envie dwelleth, accompanied with spight and malice; there if you mark and looke well about, you shall finde superstition lying hidden among, sloth and unwillingnesse to labour, feare of death, lightnesse and quicke mutabilitie in changing of minde and affection, together with vaine glory proceeding of arrogance: those who blame them, they feare, such as praise them, they dread and suspect; as knowing well how they are injured and wronged by their deceitfull semblance, and yet be the greatest enemies of the wicked, for that they commend so readily, and with affection, those whom they suppose, and take to be honest: for in vice and sinne (like as in bad iron) the hardnesse is but weak and rotten, & the stiffnesse also brittle & easie to be broken: and therefore wicked men (learning in proceesse of time, better to know themselves what they are) after they come once to the full consideration thereof, are displeased, and discontented, they hate themselves, and detest their owne leud life: for it is not likely that if a naughty person otherwise (though not in the highest degree, who hath regard to deliver again a pawne or piece of money left in his hands to keepe; who is ready to be suretie for his familiar friend, & upon a braverie and glorious minde, hath given largesses, and is prest to maintaine & defend his countrey, yea, and to augment and advance the good estate thereof) soone repent and immediately be grieved for that which he hath done, by reason that his mind is so mutable, or his will so apt to be seduced by an opinion or conceit of his: considering that even some of those who have had the honor to be received by the whole bodie of the people in open theater, with great applause and clapping of hands, incontinently fall to sigh to themselves, and groane againe, so soone as avarice returneth secretly, in place of glorious ambition: those that kill and sacrifice men to usurpe and set up their tyrannies, or to maintaine and compass some conspiracies, as *Apollodorus* did; circumvent and defraud their friends of their goods and monies, which was the practise of *Glaucus*, the sonne of *Epicydes*, should never repent their misdeeds, nor grow into a detestation of themselves, nor yet be displeased with that they have done: For mine owne part, I am of this opinion (if it be lawfull so to say) That all those who commit such impieties and misdemeanors, have no need either of God or man to punish them; for their owne life onely being so corrupt, and wholly depraved and troubled with all kind of wickednesse, is sufficient unto plague and torment them to the full: But consider (quoth I) whether this discourse seeme not already to proceed farther, and be drawn out longer than the time will permit. Then *Timon* answered: It may well so be, if peradventure we regard the length and prolixitie of that which followeth and remaineth to be discussed; as for my selfe, I am now ready to rise as it were out of an ambush, and to come as a fresh and new champion with my last doubt and question, forasmuch as me thinks, we have debated enough already upon the former: for this would I have

have you to thinke, that although we are silent and say nothing, yet we complaine as *Empidius* did, who boldly challenged and reproched the gods, for that

*The parents sinne, and their iniquitie,  
They turne on children and posteritie.*

For say that themselves, who have committed a fault, were punished, then is there no more need to chastise others, who have not offended, considering it were no reason at all to punish twise for one fault the delinquents themselves: or be it so, that through negligence they having omitted the punishment of wicked persons and offenders, they would long after make them to pay for it who are innocent; surely they doe not well, by this injustice to make amends for the said negligence. Like as it is reported of *Aesope*, who in times past came hither to this city, being sent from king *Croesus* with a great summe of golde, for to sacrifice unto god *Apollo* in magnificent wife, yea, and to distribute among all the citizens of *Delphus*, \* some pounds a piece: but it was fustined so, that he fell out with the inhabitants of the city upon some occasion, and was exceedingly angry with them, inasmuch as he performed in deed the sacrifice accordingly, but the rest of the money which he should have dealt among the people, he sent backe againe to the city of *Sardis*, as if the Delphians had not bene worthy to enjoy the kings liberality; whereupon they taking great indignation, laied sacriledge to his charge, for detaining (in such sort) that sacred money; and in truth, after they had condemned him thereof, they pitched him downe headlong from that high rocke, which they call *Hyampia*: for which act of theirs, god *Apollo* was so highly displeased, that he sent upon their land sterility and barrennesse, besides many and sundry strange and unknown diseases among them, so as they were constrained in the end, to goe about in all the publicke feasts and generall assemblies of the Greeks, of purpose, to make proclamation by sound of trumpet: That whosoever hee was (kinsman or friend of *Aesope*) that would require satisfaction for his death, should come forth, and exact what penaltie he would desire: and thus they ceased not continually to call upon them; untill at length, and namely, in the third generation after, there presented himselfe a certaine Samian, named *Idmon*, who was nothing at all of kin to *Aesope*, but onely one of their posteritie, who at the first had bought him for a slave in open market, within the isle of *Samos*; and the Delphians having in some measure made satisfaction and recompense unto him, were immediately delivered from their calamities: and it is said, that from that time forward, the execution of sacrilegious persons, was translated from the foresaid rocke *Hyampia*, unto the cliffe of *Nauplia*. And verily, even those, who of all others most admire *Alexander the Great* & celebrate his memorial, of which nuber we also confesse our selves to be, can in no wise approve that which he did unto the Branchides, when he rased their citie to the very ground, & put all the inhabitants thereof to the sword, without respect either of age or of sex, for that their ancestours in olde time had betrayed and delivered up by treason, the temple of *Miletum*. And *Agathocles* the tyrant of *Syracusa*, who laughed and scoffed at the men of *Corphu*: for when they demanded of him the occasion why hee forraied their isle, made them this answer: Because (quoth hee) your forefathers in times past, received and entertained *Ulysses*. Semblably, when the islanders of *Ithaca* made complaint unto him of his souldiers, for driving away their sheepe: Why? (quoth he) your king, when he came one time into our island, not onely tooke away our sheepe, but also put out the eie even of our shepheard. Thinke you not then that *Apollo* dealt more absurdly and unjustly than all these, in destroying the Phenecotes at this day, in stopping up the mouth of that bottomlesse pit that was wont to receive and soake up all the waters which now doe overflow their whole countrey; because that a thousand yeeres agoe (by report) *Hercules* having taken away from the Delphians, that sacred trefect, from which the oracles were delivered, brought the fame to the citie *Pheneum*? And as for the Sybarites, he answered them directly: That their miseries should then cease, when they had appeased the ire of *Juno Lencadia*, by three lundry mortalities. Certes, long agoe it is not, since that the Locrians desisted and gave oversending every yere their daughters, virgins, unto *Troie*,

*Who there went bare-foot, and did serve  
all day from morne to night,  
In habit of poore wretched slaves,  
In no apparell dight;  
No coife, no cule, nor honest veile,  
were they allow'd to weare  
In decent wise for womanhood,*



though aged now they were:  
 Resembling such as neuer rest,  
 but Pallas temple sweepe,  
 And sacred altar daily cleanse,  
 where they do alway keepe.

and all for the lasciuious wantonnesse and incontinence of *Ajax*. How can this be either just or reasonable, considering that we blame the very Thracians, for that (as the report goes) they use still (even at this day) to beat their wives in revenge of *Orpheus* death? Neither do we commend the barbarous people, inhabiting along the river *Po*, who (as it is said) do yet mourne and weare blacke, for *Phaeton* his fall. Yet (in my conceit) it is a thing rather sottish and ridiculous, that whereas the men who lived in *Phaeton* his time, made no regard of his ruine: those that came five (yea, and ten) ages after his wofull calamitie, should begin to change their raiment for his sake, and bewaile his death: for surely, herein there is nothing at all to be noted, but meere folly, no harme, no danger or absurditie (otherwise) doth it containe. But what reason is it, that the wrath and judgement of the gods, hidden (upon a sudden) at the very time of some hainous fact committed (as the proprietie is of some rivers) should breake out, and shew it selfe afterwards, upon others, yea, and end with some extreame calamities? He had no sooner paused awhile, and staid the current of his speech: but I doubting whereto his words would tend, and fearing lest he should proceed to utter more absurdities and greater follies, presently made this reply upon him: And thinke you, sir, indeed, that all is true that you have said? What if all (quoth he) be not true, but some part thereof only, thinke you not yet, that the same difficultie in the question still remaineth? Even so peradventure (quoth I) it fareth with those who are in an extreame burning fever, who whether they have more or lesse clothes upon them, feelee euermore within them the same excessive heat of the ague; yet for to comfort and refresh them a little, and to give them some ease, it is thought good to diminish their clothes, and take off some of them. But if you are not so disposed, let it alone, you may do your pleasure; howbeit, this one thing I will say unto you, that the most part of these examples resemble fables and fictions, devised for pleasure: Call to mind therefore and remembrance, the feast celebrated of late in their honour, who sometime received the gods into their houses, and gave them intertainment; also that beautiful & honorable portion set by apart, which by the voice of an herald was published expressly to be for the posterity descended from *Pindarus*, and record with your selfe how honorable and pleasant a thing this seemeth unto you, And who is there (quoth he) that would not take pleasure to see this preeminence and preference of honour so naturall, so plaine, and so ancient, after the maner of the old Greeks, unless he be such an one, as (according to the same *Pindarus*)

Whole heart all black of metall forgiu  
 And by cold flame, made stiffe and hardened is.

I omit (quoth I) to speake of the like solemne commendation published in *Sparta*, which ensued ordinarily after the Lesbian song, or canticle in the honor and memoriall of that ancient *Terpander*: for it seemeth, that there is the same reason of them both: But you who are of the race of *Opulites*, and thinke your selfe woorthy to be preferred before all others, nor *Bacotians* onely, but *Phocæans* also; and that in regard of your stock-father *Daiphantus*, have assisted and seconded me, when I maintained before the *Lycormians* and *Satilaions* (who claimed the priuledge and honor of wearing coronets due by our lawes and statutes unto the progenie of *Hercules*) That such dignities and prerogatives ought inuolably to be preserved and kept for those indeed who descend in right line from *Hercules*, in regard of his beneficiall demerites which in times past he heaped upon the Greeks, and yet during his life, was not thought woorthy of reward and recompence: You have (quoth he) revived the memorie of a most pleasant question to be debated, and the same marvelous well beleeving the profession of Philosophie: But I pray you my very good friend (quoth I unto him,) forbear this vehemence and acculatorie humour of yours, and be not angry, if haply you seee that some because they be borne of leud and wicked parents, are punished; or else doe not reioyce so much, nor be ready to praise, in case you see nobilitie also of birth to be so highly honored: for if we stand upon this point, and dare avow, that recompence of vertue ought by right and reason to continue in the line and posteritie; we are by good consequence to make this account, that punishment likewise should not stay and cease together with misdeeds committed, but reciprocally fall upon those that are descended of misdoers and malefactors: for he who willingly seeth the progenie of *Cimon*, ho-

noured at *Athens*, and contrariwise is offended and displeased in his heart, to see the race of *Lachares*, or *Ariston* banished & driven out of the cities (he I say) seemeth to be too soft, tender, and passing effeminate, or rather to speake more properly, over-contentious and quarrelsome, even against the gods, complaining and murmuring of the one side; if the children, & childrens children of an impious & wicked person do prosper in the world: and contrariwise is no lesse given to blame and find fault, if he doe see the posterity of wicked and ungracious men to be held under, plagued, or altogether destroyed from the face of the earth; accusing the gods if the children of a naughtie man be afflicted even as much as if they had honest persons to their parents: But as for these reasons alledged, make you this reckoning, that they be bulwarks and rampars for you, opposed against such bitter & sharpe accusers as these be. But now taking in hand again the end (as it were) of a clew of thread, or a bottom of yeare, to direct us as in a darke place, and where there be many cranks, turnings and windings to and fro (I meane the matter of gods secret judgements) let us conduct and guide our selves gently and warily, according to that which is most likely & probable, considering that even of those things which we daily manage, and doe our selves, we are not able to set downe an undoubted certaintie: as for example; who can yeeld a found reason, wherefore we cause and bid the children of those parents who died either of the phthisick and consumption of the lungs, or of the drop sicke, to sit with their feet drenched in water, until the dead corps be fully burned in the funeral fire? For an opinion there is, that by this meanes the said maladies shall not passe unto them as hereditarie, nor take hold of their bodies: as also, what the cause should be, that if a goat hold in her mouth the herbe called *Fryngites*, that is to say, Sea-holly, the whole flocke will stand still, untill such time as the goat-herd come and take the said herbe out of her mouth: Other hidden properties there be, which by secret influences and passages from one to another, worke strange effects, and incredible, as well speedily, as in longer tract of time: and in very truth, we wonder more at the intermission and stay of time betwene, than we doe of the distance of place, and yet there is greater occasion to marvell thereat: as namely, that a pestilent maladic which began in *Aethiopia*, should raigne in the citie of *Athens*, and fill every street and corner thereof, in such sort, as *Pericles* died, and *Thucydides* was sicke thereof, than that when the *Phocæans* and *Sybarits* had committed some hainous sins, the punishment therefore should fall upon their children, & go through their posteritie? For surely these powers and hidden properties have certaine relations and correspondences from the last to the first; the cause whereof, although it be unknowne to us, yet it ceaseth not secretly to bring forth her proper effects. But there seemeth to be verie apparent reason of justice, that publicke vengeance from above should fall upon cities many a yeere after; for that a citie is one entire thing, and a continued body as it were, like unto a living creature, which goeth not beside or out of it selfe for any mutations of ages, nor in tract and continuance of time, changing first into one, and then into another by succession, but is alwaies uniforme and like it selfe, receiving euermore, and taking upon it, all the thanks for well doing, or the blame for misdeeds, of whatsoever it doth or hath done in common, so long as the societie that linketh & holdeth it together maintaineth her unitie: for to make many, yea & innumerable cities of one, by dividing it according to space of time, were as much as to go about to make of one man many, because he is now become old, who before was a yong youth, & in times past also a very stripling or springall: or else to speake more properly, this resembleth the devices of *Epicharmus*, wherupon was invented that maner of Sophisters arguing, which they call the *Croissant* argument; for thus they reason: He that long since borrowed or tooke up money, now oweth it not, because he is no more himselfe, but become another: & he that yesterday was invited to a feast, cometh this day as an unbidden guest, considering that he is now another man. And verily, diuers ages make greater difference in each one of us, than they do commonly in cities and States: for he that had seene the citie of *Athens* thirtie yeeres agoe, and came to visit it at this day, would know it to be altogether the very same that then it was; inasmuch as the manners, customes, motions, games, pastimes, serious affaires, favours of the people, their pleasures, displeasures and anger at this present, resemble wholly those in ancient time: whereas if a man be any long time out of sight, hardly his very familiar friend shall be able to know him, his countenance will be so much changed; and as touching his maners and behaviour, which alter and change so soone upon every occasion, by reason of all sorts of labour, travell, accidents and lawes, there is such varietie and so great alteration, that even he who is ordinarily acquainted and conversant with him, would marvell to see the strangeness and novelty thereof; and yet the man is held and reputed still the same, from his nativitie unto his dying day: and in like case, a

citie remaineth alwaies one and the selfe same; in which respect we deeme it great reason, that it should participate aswell the blame and reproch of ancestours, as enjoy their glorie and punishment, unlesse we make no care to cast all things in the river of *Heracitus*, into which (by report) no one thing entreteth twise, for that it hath a propertie to alter all things and change their nature. Now it be so, that a citie is an united and continued thing in it selfe, we are to thinke no lesse of a race and progenie, which dependeth upon one and the same stocke, producing and bringing forth a certaine power and communication of qualities, and the same doth reach and extend to all those who descend from it: neither is the thing ingendred of the same nature that a piece of worke is, wrought by art, which incontinently is separate from the workeman, for that it is made by him, and not of him; whereas contrariwise, that which is naturally engendred, is formed of the very substance of that which ingendred it, in such sort as it doth carie about it some part thereof, which by good right deserueth either to be punished or to be honoured even in it selfe. And were it not, that I might be thought to jest & speake in game and not in good earnest, I would aue and pronounce assuredly, that the Athenians offered more wrong and abuse unto the brazen statue of *Cassander*, which they caused to be defaced and melted; and likewise the dead corps of *Dionysius* suffered more iniurie at the hands of the Syracusians, which after his death they caused to be carried out of their confines, than if they had proceeded in rigor of justice against their offspring and posterity; for the said image of *Cassander* did not participate one whit of his nature; and the soule of *Dionysius* was departed a good while before out of his bodie: whereas *Nisem*, *Apollocrates*, *Anipater*, *Philip* & all such other, descended from vicious & wicked parents, retained still the chiefe and principall part which is in them inbred, and remained not quiet, idle and doing nothing, but such as whereby they live and are nourished, whereby they negotiate, reason and discourse: neither ought it to seeme strange and incredible, that being of their issue, they should likewise retein their qualities and inclinations. In summe, I say and asseuer, that like as in Physicke, whatsoever is helofome and profitable, the same is also iust; and worthy were he to be laughed at and mocked, that calleth him unjust, who for the *Satiara* or disease of the huckle-bone, would cauterize the thumbe; or when the liver is impolluted, scarifie the bellie; and if kine or oxen be tender and soft in the clees, anoint the extremities and tips of their hornes; even so he deserueth to be scorned and reprov'd as a man of a shallow conceit, who in chastisement of vice, esteemeth any other thing iust, than that which may cure and heale the same; or who is offended and angry, if a medicine be applied, or a course of Physicke used into some parts for curing others; as they do who open a veine for to heale the inflammation of the eies: such an one (I say) seemeth to see and perceive no further than his owne outward senses leade him, and remembereth not well, that a schoolemaster often times in whipping one of his scholars, keepeth all the rest in awe and good order; and a great captaine and generall of the field, in pitting to death for exemplarie justice, one souldier in every ten, reformeth all besides, and reduceth them to their dutie; and even so there happen not onely to one part by another, but also to one soule by another, certaine dispositions, aswell to worke and impairing, as to better and amendment, yea, and much more than to one body by the meanes of another; for that there, to wit, in a bodie, there must (by all likelihood) be one impression and the same alteration; but here, the soule (which often times is led and caried away by imagination, either to be confident, or distrustfull and timorous) fareth better or worse accordingly. And as I was going forward to speake, *Olympicus* interrupting my speech: By these words of yours (quoth he) you seeme to set downe as a supposall, a subject matter of great consequence and discourse, to wit, the immortallitie of the soule, as if it remained still after the separation from the body: Yea mary (quoth he) & even this have I inferred by that which you do now grant, or rather have granted heretofore; for our discourse hath bene from the beginning profecuted to this presupposed point: That God dealeth & distributeth to every of us according as we have deserved. And how (quoth he) doth this follow necessarily, that in case God doth behold all humane affaires, & dispose of every particular thing here upon earth, the soules therefore should become either immortal & incorruptible, or els continue in their entire estate long after death? O good sir (quoth I) be content; is God (thinke you) so base minded, or imploied in so small & trifling matters, and having so little to do, that (when we have no diuine thing in us, nor ought that in any sort resembleth him, or is firme and durable, but that we continually decay, fade and perith like unto the leaves of trees (as *Homer* saith) and that in a small time) he should all on a sudden make so great account of us (like to those women, who cherish and keepe the gardens (as they say) of *Adonis* within brittle pots and pannes of earth) as to make our soules, for one day to flourish and looke greene

greene within our fleshly body, which is not capable of any strong root of life, and then within a while after, suffer them to be extinguished and to die upon the least occasion in the world? But if you please, let us passe other gods, and consider wee a little this our God onely, him I meane, who is honoured and invocated in this place, namely, whether hee (knowing that the soules of the dead are presently exhale and vanished away to nothing, like unto a vapour or smoake, breathing forth of our bodies) doth ordeine incontinently oblations to be offered, and propitiatorie sacrifices to be made for the departed? and whether he demand not great honors, worship and veneration in the memoriall of the dead? or whether hee doth it to abuse and deceive those that beleve accordingly? For I assure you, for my part I will never graunt that the soule dieth, but remaineth still after death, unlesse some one or other (as by report *Hercules* did in old time) come first and take away the propheticall stooke or resect of *Pythius*, and destroy the oracle for ever rendering any more answers, as it hath delivered even unto these our daies, such as by report was given in old time to *Corax* the Naxian in these words:

*Impieie great it is for to belevee,*

*That soules doe die, and not for ever live.*

Then *Patroclus*: What prophetic (quoth he) was this? and who was that *Corax*? for surely the thing it selfe, & that very name, be both of them strange and unknown to me: That cannot be (quoth I) but thinke better of the matter; for it is long of me who have used his surname in Read of his proper name; for I mean him who slew *Archilochus* in battel, whose name indeed was *Calondas*, but men surnamed him *Corax*: This man was at the first rejected by the prophetesse *Pythia*, as a murderer who had killed a worthy personage consecrated & devoted unto the Muses; but afterwards having used certaine humble prayers & requests, together with divers allegations of excuse, pretending to justify his fact, in the end he was enjoined by the oracle, to go to the house & habitation of *Tettix*, & there by certaine expiatorie sacrifices & oblations, to appeale & pacifie the ghost of *Archilochus*; now this house of *Tettix* was the cape or promontory *Tenarus*; for it is said, that *Tettix* the Cadian, arriving with his fleet in times past, at the head of *Tenarus* there built a citie, & inhabited it, nere unto the place where the manner was to conjure spirits, & raise the ghosts of those that were departed: The semblable answer being made to those of *Sparta*, namely, that they should make meanes to pacifie the soule of *Paufanias*, they sent as farre as into *Italy* for sacrificers exorcists, who had the skill to conjure spirits, & they with their sacrifices chased his ghost out of the temple: This is one reason therefore (quoth I) that doth confirme and prove, that both the world is governed by the providence of God, and also, that the soules of men do continue after death: neither is it possible that we should admit the one, & denie the other: If it be so then that the soule of man hath a subsistence & being after death; it is more probable & foundeth to greater reason, that it should then either taste of paine for punishment, or enjoy honor for reward: for during this life here upon earth, it is in continuall combat in manner of a champion; but after all combats performed & finished, then she receiveth according to her deserts. Now as touching those honors or punishments which it receiveth in that other world, lone by her selfe, and separate from the bodie, the same concern and touch us nothing, who remaine alive; for either we know them not, or give no beleife thereto; but such as be either conferred or inflicted upon their children or posteritie, for that they be apparant and evident to the world, those doe containe and curbe wicked men, that they doe not execute their malicious desseignes: And considering that there is no punishment more ignominious, or that commeth neerer to the quicke, and toucheth the heart more, than for men to see their offspring, or those that depend upon them, afflicted for their sake & punished for their faults; & that the soule of a wicked person, enemy to God and to all good lawes, seeth after his death, not his images & statues, or any ensignes of honor overthrowne, but his owne children, his friends & kinsfolk ruinate, undone & persecuted with great miseries & tribulations, suffering grievous punishment for it; there is no man I thinke, but would chuse rather to forgoe all the honors of *Jupiter*, if he might have them, than to become againe either unjust or intemperate & lascivious. And for the better testimonie & truth hereof, I could relate unto you a narration which was delivered unto me not long since, but that I am afraid you will take it for a fabuolous tale, devised to make sport: In regard whereof I hold it better to alledge unto you nothing but substantiall reasons, and arguments grounded upon very good likelihood and probability. Not so (quoth *Olympicus*) in any case; but rehearse unto us the narration which you speake of: And when others also requested the same at my hands: Suffer me yet first (quoth I) to set abroad those reasons which carie some good shew of truth, and then afterwards, if you thinke well of it, I will recite the fa-

ble also, if so be it is a fable: As for *Bion* when he saith, that God in punishing the children of wicked men and sinners for their fathers, is much more ridiculous than the physician, who for the maladie of father or grandfire, goeth about to minister medicine unto the child or nephew; surely this comparison faultereth herein, that things be partly semblable, and in part diuers and unlike; for if one be cured of a disease by medicinable means, this doth not by and by heale the maladie or indisposition of another: For neuer was there man yet being sicke of a fever, or troubled with bleered and impostumate eyes, became cured by seeing an ointment applied, or a salve laid unto another: But contrariwise, the punishment or execution of justice upon malefactors, is for this cause done publicly before all the world, that justice being ministered with reason and discretion, should effect thus much, namely to keepe in, and retaine some by the chastisement and correction of others: But that point wherein the foresaid comparison of *Bion* answereth to our matter in question, himselfe neuer understood; for many times it falleth out, that a man being fallen sicke of a dangerous disease, howbeit not incurable, yet through his intemperance and disorder afterwards, suffereth his bodie to grow into greater weaknesse and decay, untill at last he dieth: whereupon his sonne after him being not actually surprised with the same disease, but onely disposed thereto, a learned physician, some trustie friend, or an expert annointer, and master of exercises, perceiving so much, or rather indeed a kind friend and gentle master & governor, who hath a careful eye over him, taketh him in hand, bringeth him to an exquisite maner of austere diet, cutteth off all superfluity of viands, deintie cares, & bancketing dishes, debaureth him of unseasonable drinkings, and the company of women, purgeth him continually with soveraigne medicines, keepeth his bodie downe by ordinarie labour and exercise, and so doth dissipate and dispatch the first beginning and small inclination to a dangerous disease, in not permitting it to have head & to grow forward to any greatnesse: And is not this an usual practise among us to admonish those who are borne of sickly and diseased parents, to take good heed unto themselves, and not to neglect their indisposition, but betimes and even at the very first to endeavor for to remoove and rid away the root of such inbred maladies, which they bring with them into the world? for surely it is an easie matter to expell and drive out, yea and to conquer and overcome the same, by prevention in due time: Yes verily answered they all. Well then (quoth I) we commit too absurditie, nor doe any ridiculous thing, but that which is right, necessarie and profitable, when we ordeine and prescribe for the children of those who are subject to the falling sicknesse, to madnesse, phrenesie and the gout, exercises of the bodie, diets, regiments of life, and medicines appropriate for those maladies, not when they are sicke thereof, but by way of precaution, to prevent that they should not fall into them: for the bodie ingendred of a corrupt and diseased bodie, neither needeth nor deserveth any punishment, but physicke rather by good medicines and careful attendance; which diligence and heedfull regard, if any one upon wantonnesse, nicetie and delicacie doe call chastisement, because it depriveth a man of pleasures and delights, or haply inferreth some pricke of dolour and paine, let him goe as he is, we passe not for him. Now if it be expedient to cure and medicine carefully one bodie issued and descended from another that is corrupt, is it meete and convenient to let go the resemblance of an hereditarie vice, which beginneth to bud and sprout in a young man, to stay and suffer it (I say) to grow on still, burgen and spread into all affections, untill it appeare in the view of the whole world? for as *Pindarus* saith:

*The foolish heart doth bring forth from within,  
Her hidden fruit, corrupt and full of sin.*

And thinke you not that in this point God is wiser than the Poet *Hesiodus*, who admonisheth us and giveth counsell in this wise:

*No child'en get, if thou be newly come  
From dolefull grave or heavey funeral:  
But spare not when thou art returned home  
From solemne feast of Gods celestiall.*

as if he would induce men to beget their children, when they be jocund, fresh and merry, for that the generation of them received the impression, not of vertue and vice onely, but also of joy, sadness, & all other qualities: howbeit, this is not a worke of humane wisdom (as *Hesiodus* supposeth) but of God himselfe, to discern & foreknow perfectly either the conformities or the diversities of mens natures, drawn from their progenitors, before such time as they breake forth into some great enormities, whereby their passions & affections be discovered what they are: for the young whelps of beares, wolves, apes & such like creatures, shew presently their natural inclination,

on, even whilst they be very young, because it is not disguised or masked with any thing; but the nature of man casting it selfe, and setting upon maners, customes, opinions & lawes, concealeth often times the ill that it hath, but doth imitate & counterfeit that which is good and honest; in such sort as it may be thought either to have done away cleane all the staine, blemish & imperfection of vices inbred with it, or els to have hidden it a long time, being covered with the vail of craft & subtiltie, so as we are not able, or at leastwise have much adoe to perceive their malice, by the sting, bit & pricke of every several vice. And to say a truth, herein are we mightily deceived; that we thinke men are become unjust then only and not before; when they do injurie; or disloyalty, when they play some insolent and loose part; cowardly minded, when they run out of the field; as if a man should have the coeurt, that the sting in a scorpion was then bred & not before, when he gave the first pricke; or the poison in vipers was ingendred then only, when they bit or stung; which surely were great simplicitie and meere childishnesse: for a wicked person becometh not then such an one, even when he appeareth so, and not before; but hee hath the rudiments and beginnings of vice and naughtinesse imprinted in himselfe, but hee sheweth and utteth the same, when he hath meanes, fit occasion, good opportunitie, and might answerable to his minde; like as the thiefe spieth his time to robbe, and the tyrant to violate and breake the lawes. But God, who is not ignorant of the nature and inclination of every one, as who searcheth more into the secrets of the heart and minde than into the body, never waiteth and staileth untill violence be performed by strength of hand; impudencie bewrayed by malepart speech; or intemperance and wantonnesse perpetrated by the naturall members and privie parts, ere he punish: for he is not revenged of an unrighteous man, for any harme and wrong that he hath received by him; nor angry with a thiefe or robber, for any forcible violence which he hath done unto him; neyer hateth an adulterer, because he hath suffered abuse or injurie by his meanes; but many times he chastiseth by way of medicine, a person that committeth adulterie; a covetous wretch and a breaker of the lawes; whereby otherwhiles he riddeth them of their vice, and preventeth in them (as it were) the falling sicknesse before the fit surpriseth them. Wee were ere while offended and displeased, that wicked persons were over-late and too slowly punished; and now discontented we are, & complaine, for that God doth repress & chastise the evill habit and vicious disposition of some, before the act committed; never considering and knowing, that full often a future mischiefe is worse and more to be feared, than the present; and that which is secret and hidden, more dangerous than that which is open and apparent. Neither are we able to comprehend and conceive by reason, the causes wherefore it is better otherwhiles to tolerate and suffer some persons to be quiet, who have offended and transgressed already; and to prevent or stay others, before they have executed that which they intend: like as (in very truth) wee know not the reason, why medicines and physickal drogues (being not meet for some who are sicke) be good and holmes for others, though they are not actually diseased; yet haply in a more dangerous estate than the former. Hereupon it is, that the gods turne not upon the children and posterity, all the faults of their fathers and ancestours: for if it happen, that of a bad father there descend a good sonne, like as a sickly and crasse man may beget a sound, strong and healthfull childe, such an one is exempt from the paine and punishment of the whole house and race, as being translated out of a vicious familie, and adopted into another: but, that a young sonne (who shall conform himselfe to the hereditarie vice of his parents) is liable to the punishment of their sinfull life, as well as he his bound to pay their debts by right of succession and inheritance. For *Antigonus* was not punished for the finnes of his father *Demetrius*; nor (to speake of laud persons) *Philem* for *Angas*; ne yet *Neslor* for *Nilem* his fake; who albeit they were descended from most wicked fathers, yet they proved themselves right honest: but all such, as whose nature loved, embraced and practised that which came unto them by descent and parentage; in those (I say) diuine justice is wont to persecute and punish that which resembleth vice and sinne: for like as the werts, blacke moales, spots and freckles of fathers, not appearing as at all upon their owne childrens skinn, begin afterwards to put forth and shew themselves in their nephews, to wit, the children of their sonnes and daughters: And there was a *Grecian* woman, who having brought forth a blacke infant, and being troubled therefore, and judicially accused for adultrie, as if shee had bene conceived by a blacke-moore, shee pleaded and was found to have bene herselfe descended from an *Aethiopian*, in the fourth degree removed: As also it is known for certaine, that of the children of *Pytho* the *Nisibian* who was descended from the race and line of those old Spartans, who were the first lords and founders of *Thebes*, the youngest, and he that died not long since, had upon his body the print and forme of a

speare, the very true and naturall marke of that ancient line; so long and after the revolution of so many yeeres; there sprang and came up againe as it were out of the deepe, this resemblance of the stocke and kinred: even so it falleth out many times, that the first generations and descent, doe hide and after a sort drowne those qualities and affections of the minde which are affected and appropriate to some kinred; but afterwards, at one time or other, put them forth, and drive them outward to appeare in those that follow, and the same doe represent that which is proper to each race, as well in vertue as vice. Now when I had finished this speech, I held my peace; and with that *Olympicus* smiled and said: Wee would not haue you to thinke (quoth he) that we commend you, as having sufficiently proved your discourse by demonstration, lest we might seeme to have forgotten or to neglect the tale or narration which you promised to relate unto us: Mary then will we give our sentence and opinion thereof, when we shall likewise have heard the same. Thus therefore I began againe to enter into speech, and follow my intended purpose. There was one *Thebesius*, of the city of *Soli* in *Cilicia*, a great friend and familiar of *Protagenes*, who sometime here conuerſed with us, who having led his youthful daies very loosely, within a small time had wasted and consumed all his goods, whereby he was fallen for a certain space to extreme want and necessitie, which brought him also to a leud life, in so much as he proved a very badde man; and repenting his former follies and dispense, began to make shifts, and seeke all meanes to recover his state againe; much like unto those loose and lasciuious persons, who making no account of their lawfull and espoused wives, nor caring at all for them whiles they haue them; afterwards, when they haue cast them off, and put them away, seeing them wedded unto others, sollicite them to yeeld their bodies, & give the attempt to force and corrupt them most wickedly: Thus he forbore no leud, indirect, and shamefull practises, so they turned to his gaine and profit, and within a little while, he gat together not great store of goods, but procured to himselfe a bad name of wicked dealing, much shame, and infamie: But the thing that made him famous, and so much spoken of; was the answer delivered unto him from the oracle of *Amphilocheus*, for thither had he sent, as it should seeme, to know whether he should live the rest of his life better than he had done before: Now the oracle returned this answer: That it would be better with him after he was dead; which in some sort hapned unto him not long after: For being fallen from an high place with his head forward, without any limme broken, or wound made; onely with the fall, the breath went out of his body, and there he lay for dead; and three daies after, preparation being made for his funerals, caried forth he was to be buried; but behold all on a sudden, he revived, and quickly came to himselfe againe; whereupon there ensued such a change and alteration in his life, that it was wonderfull; for by the report and testimony of all the people of *Cilicia*, they never knew man of a better confidence in all his affaires and dealings, whiles he did negotiate and dwell among them; none more devout and religious to God-ward, none more fast and sure to his friends, none bitterer to his enemies, in so much, as they who were most inward with him, and had kept his company familiarly a long time, were very desirous & earnest with him, to know the cause of so strange and sudden alteration; as being perfected that so great amendment of life (so loose & dissolute as it was before) could not come by meere chance and casualtie, (as in truth it did,) according as himselfe made relation unto the said *Protagenes*, and other such familiar friends of his; men of good worth & reputation; for thus he reported unto them & said: That when the spirit was out of his bodie, he fared at the first (as he thought himselfe) like unto a pilot, flung out of his ship, and plunged into the bottome of the sea; so wonderfully was he astonished at this change; but afterwards when as by little & little he was raised up againe and recovered, so that he was ware that he drew his breath fully, and at libertie, he looked round about him, for his soule seemed as if it had bene one eie fully open; but he beheld nothing that he was wont to view, onely he thought that he saw planets and other starres of an huge bignesse, distant an infinit way a funder, and yet for multitude innumerable, casting from them a wonderfull light, with a colour admirable, and the same glittering and shining most resplendent, with a power and force incredible, in so such sort, as the said soule being gently and easily caried, as in a chariot, with this splendor and radiant light, as it were upon the sea in a calme, went quickly whether fover the world; but letting passe a great number of things woorthy there to be scene; he said that he beheld how the soules of those that were departed this life, as they rose up and ascended, resembled certaine small fire bubbles, and the aire gave way and place unto them as they mounted on high; but anon when these bubbles by little and little brast in funder, the soules came forth of them, and appeared in the forme and shape of men and women, very light and nimble, as discharged from

from all poise to beare them downe: howbeit, they did not move and bestir themselves all alike and after one sort; for some leaped with a wonderful agilitie, and mounted directly and plumb upright; others turned round about together like unto bobbins or spindles, one while up and another while downe, so as their motion was mixt and confused, and so linked together, that uneth for a good while and with much ado, they could be staid and severed afunder. As for these soules and spirits, many of them he knew not (as hee said) who they were; but taking knowledge of two or three among them who had bene of his olde acquaintance, he pressed forward to approach neere and to speake unto them: but they neither heard him speake, nor in deed were in their right senses; but being after a sort astonished and beside themselves, refused once to be either scene or felt, wandering and flying to and fro apart at the first; but afterwards, encountering and meeting with a number of others disposed like unto themselves, they closed and clung unto them, and thus linked and coupled together, they mooved here and there disorderly without discretion, and were caried every way to no purpose, uttering I wot not what voices, after a manner of yelling or a blacke-sanctus, not significant nor distinct, but as if they were cries mingled with lamentable plaints and dreadfull feare. Yet there were others to be scene aloft in the upmost region of the aire, jocund, gay and pleasant, so kinde also an courteous, that often times they would seeme to approach neere one unto another, turning away from those other that were tumultuous and disorderly; and as it should seeme, they shewed some discontentment, when they were thronged and huddled close together; but well appaied and much pleased, when they were enlarged and severed at their liberty. Among these (by his owne saying) he had a sight of a soule belonging to a kinsman and familiar friend of his, & yet he knew him not certainly, for that he died whiles himselfe was a very child; howbeit, the said soule comming toward him, saluted him in these termes: God save you *Thebesius*: whereat he marvelled much, and said unto him: I am not *Thebesius*, but my name is *Ardeus*: True in deed (quoth the other) before-time you were so called, but from henceforth \* *Thebesius* shall be your name; for dead you are not yet, but by the providence of God and permission of Destinie, you are hither come, with the intellectuall part of the soule; and as for all the rest, you have left it behinde, sticking fast as an anchor to your bodie: and that you may now know this and evermore hereafter, take this for a certaine rule and token: That the spirits of those who are departed and dead indeed, yeeld no shadow from them; they neither wincke nor yet open their eies. *Thebesius* hearing these words, began to plucke up his spirits so much the more, for to consider and discourse with himselfe: looking therefore every way about him, he might perceive that there accompanied him a certaine shadowy and darke lineature, whereas the other soules shone round about, and were cleere and transparent within forth, howbeit, not all alike; for some yeelded from them pure colour, uniforme and equall, as doth the full moone when she is at the clearest; others had (as it were) scales or cicatrices, dispersed here and there by certaine distant spaces betwene; some againe, were wonderfull hideous and strange to see unto, all to be specked with blacke spots, like to serpents skinned; and others had light scarifications and obscure risings upon their visage. Now this kinsman of *Thebesius* (for 40 there is no danger at all to tearme soules by the names which men had whiles they were living) discoursed severally of each thing, saying: That *Adrastia* the daughter of *Jupiter* and *Zeusire*, was placed highest and above the rest, to punish and to be revenged of all sorts of crimes and heinous finnes; and that of wicked and finfull wretches, there was not one (great or small) who either by force or cunning could ever save himselfe and escape punishment: but one kinde of paine and punishment (for three sorts there be in all) belonged to this gaoler or executioner, and another to that; for there is one which is quicke and speedie, called *pena*: that is, Penaltie, and this taketh in hand the execution and chastisement of those, who immediately in this life (whiles they are in their bodies) be punished by the bodie, after a milde and gentle manner, leaving unpunished many light faults, which require onely some petie purgation; but such as require more ado to have their vices and finnes cured, God committeth them to be punished after death to a second tormentresse, named *Dice*, that is to say, Revenge; many those who are so laden with finnes, that they be altogether incurable, when *Dice* hath given over and thrust them from her, the third ministresse of *Adrastia*, which of all other is most cruell, and named *Erimys* runneth after, chasing and pursuing them as they wander and runne up and downe; these (I say) she courseth and hunteth with great miserie and much dolor, untill such time as she have overtaken them all and plunged them into a bottomlesse pit of darkenesse inenarrable and invisible. Now of these three sorts of punishments, the first which is executed by *Pena*, in this life resembleth

bleth that which is used in some barbarous nations : for in *Perſia*, when any are by order of law and judicially to be punished, they take from them their copped caps or high pointed turbans, and other robes, which they plucke and pull haire by haire, yea, and whip them before their faces, and they themselves shedding teares and weeping, crie out piteously and beseech the officers to cease and give over; seembably, the punishments inflicted in this life in bodie or goods, are not exceeding sharpe nor come very nere to the quick, neither do they pierce & reach unto the vice and sinne it selfe, but the most part of them are imposed according to a bare opinion onely, and the judgement of outward naturall sense. But if it chance (quoth he) that any one escape hither unpunished, and who hath not bene well purged there before, him *Dice* taketh in hand all bare and naked as he is, with his soule discovered and open, as having nothing to hide, to palliate and maske his wickednesse, but lying bare and exposed to the view thoroughout, and on every side, she presenteth and sheweth him first to his parents, good and honest persons (if haply they were such) declaring how abominable he is, how dextenerate and unworthy of his parentage; but if they also were wicked, both he and they susteine so much more grievous punishment, whiles he is tormented in seeing them, and they likewise in beholding him how he is punished a long time, even untill every one of his crimes and finnes be dispatched and rid away with most dolorous and painful torments, surpassing in sharpnesse and greatnesse, all corporall griefs, by how much a true vision indeed is more powerfull and effectuell than a vaine dreame or fantastick illusion: whereupon, the wales, marks, scarres and cicatrices of sinne and vice remaine to be seene, in some more, in others lesse. But observe well (quoth he) and consider the diuers colours of these soules of all sorts; for this blackish and soule dusky hew, is properly the tincture of avarice and niggardie; that which is deepe red and fierie, betokeneth cruelty and malice; whereas, if it stand much upon blew, it is a signe that there, intemperance and loosenesse in the use of pleasures, hath remained a long time, and will be hardly scowred off, for that it is a vile vice: but the violet colour and sweetish withall, proceedeth from envie, a venomous and poisoned colour, resembling the inke that commeth from the cuttle fish, for in life, vice when the saile is altered and changed by passions, and withall doth turne the body, putteth forth sundry colours: but heere it is a signe that the purification of the soule is fully finished, when as all these tinctures are done away quite, whereby the soule may appear in her native hew, all fresh, neat, cleare and lightsome: for so long as any one of these colours remaineth, there will be evermore some recidivation and returne of passions and affections, bringing certaine tremblings, beatings as it were of the pulse, and a panting in some but weak and feeble, which quickly faileth, and is soone extinguished; and in other more strong, quick, and vehement: Now of these soules, some there be which after they have bene well and thoroughly chastised, and that sundry times, recover in the end a decent habitude and disposition; but others againe are such, as the vehemence of their ignorance, and the flattering shew of pleasures and lustfull desire, transporteth them into the bodies of brute beasts; for the feeblenesse and defect of their understanding, and their sloth and slacknesse to contemplate and discourse by reason, maketh them to incline and creepe to the active part of generation; but then they find and perceive themselves destitute of a lascivious organ or instrument, whereby they may be able to execute and have the fruition of their appetite, and therefore desire by the meanes of the bodie to enjoy the same: for as much as, here there is nothing at all but a bare shadow, and as one would say, a vaine dreame of pleasure, which never commeth to perfection and fullnesse. When hee had thus said, he brought and lead me away, most swiftly, an infinit way; howbeit, with ease and gently, upon the raies of the light, as if they had bene wings, unto a certaine place, where there was a huge wide chinke, tending downward still, and thither being come, he perceived that he was forlorne and forsaken of that powerfull spirit that conducted and brought him thither; where he saw that other soules also were in the same case; for being gathered and flocked together like a sort of birds, they flic downward round about this gaping chawne, but enter into it directly they durst not; now the said chinke resembled for all the world within, the caves of *Bacchus*, so so capissid and adorned they were with the verdure of great leaves and branches, together with all varietie of gaie flowers, from whence arose and breathed forth a sweet and milde exhalation, which yielded a delectable and pleasant favour, woonderfull odoriferous, with a most temperate aire, which no lesse affected them that smelled thereof, than the sent of wine contenteth those who love to drinke: in such sort as the soules feeding and feasting themselves with these fragrant odors, were very cheerefull, jocund, and merrie; so as round about the said place, there was nothing but pastime, joy, solace, mirth, laughing and singing, much after the manner of men

men that reioice one with another, and take all the pleasure and delight that possibly they can. And he said moreover, that *Bacchus* by that way mounted up into the societie of the gods, and afterwards conducted *Semele*; and withall, that it was called, the place of *Lethé*, that is to saie, Oblivion: Whereupon he would not let *Thespesius*, though he were exceeding desirous to stay there, but drew him away perforce; instructing him thus much; and giving him to understand, that reason and the intelligible part of the minde is dissolved, and as it were melted and moistened by this pleasure; but the unreasonable part which favoureth of the bodie, being watered and incarnate therewith, reviveth the memorie of the bodie; and upon this remembrance, the growth and ariseth a lust and concupiscence, which haleth and draweth unto generation (for so he called it) to wit, a consent of the soule thereto, weighed downe and aggravated with overmuch moisture: Having therefore traversed another way as long as the other, he was ware that he saw a mightie standing boll, into which divers rivers seemed to fall and discharge themselves, whereof one was whiter than the some of the sea, or driven snow, another of purple hue or scarlet colour, like to that which appeereth in the raine bow; as for others, they seemed a farr off to have every one of them their distinct lustre, and several tincture: But when they approached neere unto them, the foresaid boll, after that the aire about was disuffled and vanished awaie, and the different colours of those rivers no more seene, left the more flourishing colour, except onely the white: Then he saw there three *Dæmons* or *Angels*, sitting together in triangular forme, medling and mixing the rivers together, with certaine measures. And this guid of *Thespesius* soule said moreover, that *Orpheus* came so farr when he went after his wife; but for that he kept not well in minde, that which he there saw, he had sowne one false tale among men; to wit: That the oracle at *Delphi* was common to *Apollo*, and the Night, (for there was no commerce or fellowship at all betwene the night and *Apollo*) But this oracle (quoth he) is common to the moone and the night, which hath no determinate and certaine place upon the earth, but is alwaies errant and wandering among men, by dreames and apparitions; which is the reason that dreames compounded and mingled as you see, of fallshood and truth, of varietie and simplicity, are spread and scattered over the world. But as touching the oracle of *Apollo*, neither have you seene it (quoth he) nor ever shalbe able to see; for the terrene substance or earthly part of the soule, is not permitted to arise & mount up on high, but bendeth downward, being fastened unto the bodie: And with that he approached at once neerer, endeavoring to shew him the shining light of the threefeet or three-footed stoole, which (as he said) from the bosome of the goddess *Thetis*, reached as farr as to the mount *Parnissus*: And having a great desire to see the same, yet he could not, his eies were so dazzled with the brightnesse thereof; howbeit, as he passed by, a loud and shrill voice he heard of a woman, who, among other things delivered in metre, uttered also as it should seeme by way of prophesie, the very time of his death: And the *Dæmon* said, it was the voice of *Sibylla*; for she being caried round in the globe and face of the moone, did foretell and sing what was to come; but being desirous to heare more, he was repelled and driven by the violence of the moone as it were with certaine whirle puffs, cleane a contrarie way; so he could heare and understand but few things, and those very short; namely the accident about the hill \* *Vesuvius*, and how *Dicæarchia* should be consumed and burnt by casual fire, as also a clause or peece of a verse, as touching the emperor who then reigned, to this effect:

*A gracious prince he is, but yet must die,  
And empire leave by force of maladie.*

After this they passed on forward to see the paines and torments of those who were punished; and there at first they beheld all things most piteous and horrible to see to; for *Thespesius* who doubted nothing lesse, mette in that place with many of his friends, kinsfolke, and familiar companions, who were in torment, and suffering dolorous paines, and infamous punishment, they moved themselves, lamenting, calling and crying unto him; at the last he had a sight of his owne father, rising out of a deepe pit, full he was of pricks, gashes, and wounds, and stretching forth his hands unto him, was (mauger his heart) forced to breake silence, yea and compelled by those who had the charge and superintendence of the said punishments, to confesse with a loud and audible voice, that he had bene a wicked murderer of certaine strangers, and guests whom he had lodged in his house; for perceiving that they had silver and gold about them, he had wrought their death by the meanes of poison: and albeit he had not bene detected thereof in his life time, whiles he was upon the earth, yet here was he convicted and had fastened already part of his punishment, and expected to endure the rest afterwards. Now *Thespesius*

\* Or *Urbis*.



sin durst not make sute nor intercede for his father, so afflicted he was and astonished; but desirous to withdraw himselfe and be gone, he lost the sight of that courteous and kind guide of his, which all this while had conducted him, and he saw him no more: but hee might perceive other horrible and hideous spirits, who enforced and constrained him to passe farther, as if it were necessarie that he should trauele still more ground: so he saw those who were notorious malefactours, in the view of every man (or who in this world had bene chastised) how their shadow was here tormented with lesse paine, and nothing like to others, as having bene feeble and imperfect in the reasonlesse part of the soule, and therefore subject to passions and affections; but such as were disguised and cloaked with an outward appearance and reputation of vertue abroad, and yet had lived covertly and secretly at home in wickednesse, certaine that were about to them, forced some of them to turne the inside outward, and with much paine and griefe to lay themselves open, to bend and bow, and discover their hypocritical hearts within, even against their owne nature, like unto the scolopenders of the sea, when they have swallowed downe an hooke, are wont to turne themselves outward: but others they flaid and displaid, discovering plainly and openly, how faulty, perverse and vicious they had bene within, as whose principall part of the reasonable soule, vice had possessed. He said moreover, that he saw other souls wound and enterlaced one within another, two, three and more together, like to vipers and other serpents, and these not forgetting their olde grudge and malicious ranker one against another, or upon remembrance of losses and wrongs susteined by others, fell to gnawing and deuouring each other. Also, that there were three parallel lakes ranged in equall distance one from the other; the one seething and boiling with golde, another of lead exceeding cold, and a third, most rough, consisting of yron: and that there were certaine spirits called Demons, which had the overlooking and charge of them; and these, like unto metall-founders or smithes, with certaine instruments either plunged in, or els drew out, soules. As for those who were given to filthy lucre, and by reason of insatiable avarice, committed wicked parts, those they let downe into the lake of melted golde, and when they were once set on a light fire, and made transparent by the strength of those flames within the said lake, then plunged they were into the other of lead; where after they were congealed and hardened in maner of haile, they transported them anew into the third lake of yron, where they became exceeding blacke and horrible, and being crackt and broken, by reason of their drinnesse and hardnesse, they changed their forme, and then at last (by his saying) they were thrown againe into the foresaid lake of gold, suffering by the meanes of these changes and mutations, intolerable paines. But those foules (quoth he) who made the greatest moane unto him, and seemed most miserably (of all others) to be tormented, were they, who thinking they were escaped and past their punishment, as who had suffered sufficiently for their deserts at the hands of vengeance, were taken againe, and put to fresh torments; and those they were, for whose finnes their children and others of their posteritie suffered punishment: for whensoever one of the foules of these children or nephewes in lineall descent, either met with them, or were brought unto them, the same fell into a fit of anger, crying out upon them, shewing the marks of the torments and paines that it susteined, reproching and hitting them in the teeth therefore; but the other making haste to flee and hide themselves, yet were not able so to doe; for incontinently the tormentors followed after and pursued them, who brought them backe againe to their punishment, crying out, and lamenting for nothing so much, as that they did foresee the torment which they were to suffer, as having experience thereof alreadye. Furthermore, he said that he saw some, and those in number many, either children or nephewes, hanging together fast, like bees or bats, murmuring and grumbling for anger, when they remembered and called to minde what sorowes and calamities they susteined for their sake. But the last thing that he saw, were the foules of such as entred into a second life and new natiuite, as being turned and transformed forcibly into other creatures of all sorts, by certaine workemen appointed therefore, who with tooles for the purpose and many a stroke, forged and framed some of their parts new, bent and wrestled others, tooke away and abolished a third sort; and all, that they might fort and be fuitable to other conditions and liues: among which he espied the soule of *Nero* afflicted already grievously enough otherwise, with many calamities, pierced thorow every part with spikes and nailes red hote with fire: and when the artificers afore said tooke it in hand to transforme it into the shape of a viper, of which kind (as *Pindarus* saith) the yong ones gnaweth thorow the bowels of the dam to come into the world, and to deuoure it, he said that all on a sudden there shone forth a great light, out of which there was heard a voice giving commandement that they should metamorphoze and transfigure it into the

the forme of another kinde of beast, more tame and gentle, forging a water creature of it, chanting about standing lakes and marishes; for that he had bene in some sort punished already for the finnes which hee had committed, and besides, some good time is due unto him from the gods, in that of all his subjects, he had exempted from taxe, tallage and tribute, the best nation and most beloved of the gods, to wit, the Greeks. Thus farre fourth, he said, he was once a spectator of these matters; but when he was upon his returne, he abid all the paines in the world, for very feare that he had; for there was a certaine woman, for vilage and starchy bignesse, admirable, who tooke holde on him, and said: Come hither, that thou maiest keepe in memorie all that thou hast seene, the better: wherewith she put forth unto him a little rod or wand all tierie, 10 such as painters or enamellers use, but there was another that staied her; and then he might perceive himselfe to be blown by a strong and violent winde with a trunke or pipe, so that in the turning of an hand he was within his owne bodie againe, and to began to looke up with his eyes in maner, out of his grave and sepulchre,



## 20 THAT BRUTE BEASTES HAVE USE OF REASON;

A discourse in maner of a dialogue,  
named *GRYLLUS*.

### The Summarie.

30

**T**hey who have given out that man is a living creature endued with reason, have in few words expressed that which every one of wrought principally to consider in him: But for want of declaring what this word reason doth import, themselves for the most part have not well understood this definition, but as much as in them is, reduced the condition of men to a woofe estate, than that of brute beasts: For altho their bodies moved and governed by his immortall soule, hath many excellent advantages above beasts; yet if reason the guide of the soule have no other helpe than of her selfe, cries, it may be well and truly said, that man is the most miserable creature in the world: And heerein it is, that Philosophers destitute of the light of gods word, are become and so remaine farre short, as being ignorant of Adams fall, originall sinne, and the hereditarie source and spring of so many defects and imperfections which proceed from the understanding and the will, so much deprecate and corrupt in us by sinne, that when we are to range and reduce reason, to her true deuior and dutie in deed; namely, to know and serve God, according as he commandeth, she is stark blind, yea and a very enemy herselfe to this good grace which is offered unto her. By reason therefore, which maketh the difference betwene us and brute beasts, we are to understand the true knowledge of God, for to serve and glorifie him according to the tenour of his word all the daies of our life; this is called true religion, of which if man be destitute, according to the sentence of our Saviour: it becometh not him to have gained the whole world, if he lose his owne soule: as also; That it were better for a scandle to a man, and him by whom offence 40 committed, never to have bene borne, or at least wise soone exterminate and rooted out: Likewise, that whosoever is proud of himselfe, and forgetteth his God, is no more a man, but resembleth brute beasts, whose soule periseth together with the bodie. But to enter no farther into this Theologicall discourse we see in this present dialogue somewhat thereof: & that the intention of Plutarch was to shew that the intelligence and cogitation of God, is the onely true privilege prerogative and advantage which men have above beasts: howbeit, lest he hath this worke imperfect, even in that very point, which of all other is hardest, and impossible to be proved by him or his like: for what sound understanding, apprehension, or conceit could they have of God, who knew not at all the true God? So then, it may be said

said that this parcell or remnant of the disputation, containeth a forme of proceffe against all Pagans and Atheists, to proove that brute beasts excell them, and be in more happie estate than they. As touching the discourse it selfe, to the end that it might not be odious, in case he had handled it as his owne invention, he helpeth himselfe with the fabulous tale of Circe, who transformed into beasts the companions of Ulysses. By which allegorie, the Philosophers and Poets implice and teach thus much, that worldly pleasure doth make all persons brutish, save onely the wise, who use & enjoy goods, honors, & delight: with a staied mind & spirit settled, & which never misseeth nor cometh short or wide of the mark that it shooteth at: He bringeth in therefore Ulysses, conferring by the leave and permission of Circe, with a Greeke named Gryllus, transmuted and turned into a swine: and the chiefe point of their disputation is this: Whether the life of man is better so be esteemed than that of beasts? Gryllus for to uphold and maintaine his cause, treateth of severall points principally: First of the vertue in generall; secondly of the valor and fortitude; in the third place of the temperance; and last of all, the wisdom of beasts; proving against Ulysses, and that by divers arguments set out and marked in order, that beasts have the start and vantage of men in all these points; and leaving the Reader to make the conclusion; he sheweth sufficiently, that if men have no other approach to rest upon, than a naturall habitude of an earthly vertue, and can assure the repose of their consciences upon nothing but upon humane valiance, temperance, and wisdom, they doe but goe in the companie of beasts, or rather come behind them. Thus you see why our author maketh Ulysses to enter into a discourse as touching the knowledge of God: But whether it were that his other affaires and occupations or the iniquitie of time hath deprived us of the rest, this treatise or dialogue hath bene cut off in that very place, where it deserved and required to be more thoroughly and lively prosecuted: And this which remaineth and is come unto our hands, may serve all men in good stead for their instruction and learning, not to glory and vaunt themselves, but in the mercy of him, who calleth them to a better life, wherein brute beasts, (created onely for our use, and for the present life, with which they perishe for ever) have no part nor portion at all.

## THAT BRUTE BEASTES have use of reason.

### The personages that discourse in this Dialogue,

ULYSSES, CIRCE, GRILLUS.

ULYSSES.



E thinks dame Circe that I have sufficiently conceived, and firmly imprinted these matters in my memorie. Now would I gladly aske the question, and know of you, whether among those men which be transformed into wolves and lions, you have any Greeks or no?

CIRCE.

Yes many have I, and those very many, deere heart Ulysses; but wherefore demand you this question?

ULYSSES.

Because I am perswaded, it will be greatly for mine honour among the Greeks, if by your gracious favour I may obtaine thus much, as at your hands to receive them men againe, and save them, strangers though they be, as well as my companions; nor so neglect their state, as to suffer them against nature to age & waxe old in the bodies of wilde beasts, leading a life so miserable, ignominious, and infamous.

CIRCE.

See the simplicitie of this man; he would through his folly, that his ambitious minde should procure damage and calamity not to himselfe onely and his friends, but also to those who are mere aliens, and nothing belonging to him?

ULYSSES.

I perceive very well (ô Circe) that you are about the tempering and brewing of another cup and potion of words, to bewitch me; for certainly you should make a very beast of me in deed, if I would suffer my selfe to be perswaded, that it were a detriment or losse to become a man againe of a brute beast.

CIRCE.

CIRCE.

Why? have you not already done woofe for your selfe than so, and committed greater absurdities? considering that letting goe a life immortall, and not subject to old age, which you might enjoy if you would make your abode and dwell with me; you will needs goe in all the halte to a woman mortall, and (as I dare well say) very aged by this time, and that through ten thousand dangers, which yet you must endure, promising your selfe, that you shall thereby be better regarded, more honored and renowned from hence forth, than now you are; and in the meane while you consider not that you seeke after a vaine felicitie, and the image or shadow onely for the thing indeed.

ULYSSES.

Well Circe, I am content that it be so as you say; for why should we so often contest and debate thus about the same still? But I pray you of all loves, unbinde and let loose these poore men for my sake, and give them me.

CIRCE.

Nay, that I will not, I sweare by *Hecate*: You shall not come so easily by them; for I tell you they be no meane persons, and of the common sort: But you were best to aske them first if they themselves be willing thereto or no? And if they answer nay? then, like a noble valiant gentleman as you are, deale with them effectually, and induce them thereto: But in case you cannot with all your reasons bring them to it, and that they be able to convince you by force of argument, let it suffice you that you have advised your selfe and your friends but badly.

ULYSSES.

Is it so indeed good lady? and are you about to mocke and make a foole of me? For how can they either yeeld or receive reason in conference, so long as they be asses, swine and lions, as they are.

CIRCE.

Goe to sir, most ambitious man that you are; let that never trouble you; for I will uphold them sufficient both to heare and understand whatsoever you shall alledge unto them, yea, and able to reason and discourse with you: Or rather, I passe not much if one of them for all his fellows shall both demand and answer: Lo heare is one, deale with him as it pleaseth you.

ULYSSES.

And by what name shall we call him, Circe? or who might he be, when he was a man?

CIRCE.

What matters that? and what maketh it to the disputation and question in hand? Howbeit, name him if you thinke good, *Gryllus*: And to the end that you should not thinke, that for to gratifie or doe me a pleasure, he may seeme to reason crosse and against your minde, I will for the time retire my selfe out of the place.

GRILLUS.

God save you *Ulysses*.

ULYSSES.

And you also gentle *Gryllus*.

GRILLUS.

What is your will with me, and what would you demand of me?

ULYSSES.

I wot well that you and the rest were sometimes men, and therefore I have great ruth and pite to see you all in this estate, but as good reason is, it grieveth me most for the Greeks, that they are fallen into this calamity: But so it is, that even now I requested *Circe*, to loosen as many of you as be willing thereto, and after she hath restored them to their auncient shape, to give them leave to goe with me.

GRILLUS.

Peace *Ulysses*, and say not a word more I beseech you; for we all have you in contempt now, seeing that you have bene taken and named all this whiles for a singular man, and seemed far to surpass all others in wisdom, whereas there is little or no cause thereof; in that you have bene afraid even of this, to change from the woofe to the better; and never considered, that as children abhorre the medicines and drogues that Physicians ordeine, and refuse to learne those sciences and disciplines, which of sickly, diseased and foolish, might make them more healthie, sound, & wife; even so you have rejected & cast behind you this oportunitie to be transformed and changed from one to another; and even still you tremble and dare not venture to keepe company

companie and lie with *Circe*, for dread and feare, lest ere you be aware, she should make of you either a swine, or a wolfe; and you would persuade us, that whereas we live now in abundance, and enjoy the affluence of all good things, we should quit the same, and withall, abandon and forsake her who hath procured us this happinesse, and all to goe away with you, when we are become men againe; that is to say, the most wretched creatures in the world.

U L Y S S E S.

It seemeth *Gryllus* that the potion which you dranke at *Circes* hands, hath not onely matted the forme and fashion of your bodie, but also spoiled your wit and understanding; having intoxicated your braine, and filled your head with corrupt, strange, and monstrous opinions for ever; or els some pleasure that you have taken by the acquaintance of this body so long, hath so cleane bewitched you.

G R Y L L U S.

Nay iwis, good sir, it is neither so nor so, if it please you o king of the Cephallenians; but if you be disposed to argue with reason, rather than to wrangle with opprobrious termes, we will soone bring you to another opinion, and proove by sound arguments, upon the experience which we have of the one life and the other, that there is great reason why we should love and embrace this present state above the former.

U L Y S S E S.

For mine owne part I am readie to give you the hearing.

G R Y L L U S.

And I as willing likewise to deliver my minde: But first and foremost, begin I will to speake of virtues, upon which I see you stand so much, and in regard whereof, you woondrously please your selves, as who would be thought in justice, in wisdom, in magnanimitie and other virtues, to excell and farre surpass all brute beasts: Answer me therefore I beseech you, the wisest man of all other, to this point: For I have heard say, that upon a time you made relation unto *Circe* of the Cyclopes country, how the soile there is naturally so good and fertile, that without plowing, sowing, or planting at all, it bringeth forth of it selfe all sorts of fruit: Tell me I say, whether you esteeme better of it (so fruitfull as it is) or of *Ithaca* a rough and mountaine region, good onely for to breed goats in, and which hardly and with great labour yeeldeth unto those that till it, (small store (God wot) of poore and leane frutes, which will not quit for the cost and paines? But take heed it grieve you not to answer contrarie to your minde, for the love that you beare unto your native country.

U L Y S S E S.

I love verily (for I must not lie) yea, and I embrace and holde most deare, mine owne country and place of nativitie: howbeit, I praise and admire that other region of theirs.

G R Y L L U S.

Why then belike, the case stands thus, and this we are to say, that the wisest man is of opinion, that there be some things which are to praise and commend, and other things to chuse and love: and verily, I thinke that your judgement is the same of the soule; for the like reason there is of it and a land or plot of ground, namely, that the soule is better, which without any travell or labour, bringeth forth vertue, as a fruit springing and growing of it selfe.

U L Y S S E S.

Well: be it so as you say.

G R Y L L U S.

You grant then and confesse already, That the soule of brute beasts is by nature more kinde, more perfect and better disposed to yeeld vertue, considering that without compulsion, without commandement, or any teaching, which is as much to say, as without tillage and sowing it bringeth forth and nourisheth that vertue which is meet and convenient for every one.

U L Y S S E S.

And what vertue is that (my good friend *Gryllus*) whereof beasts be capable?

G R Y L L U S.

Nay, what vertue are they not capable of? yea, and more than the wisest man that is. But first, consider we (if you please) valour and fortitude, whereupon you beare your selfe and vaunt so highly, neither are you abashed and hide your selfe for feare, but are very well pleased when as men surname you, Hardie, Bolde, and a Winner of cities; whereas you have (most wicked wretch that you are) circumvented and deceived men, who know no other way of making war, but that which is plaine and generous, and who were altogether unskilfull of fraud, guile and leasing,

leading, by your wily shifts and subtill pranks, attributing the name of vertue unto cunning casts, the which in deed knoweth not what deceit and fraud meaneth. But you see the combats of beasts as well against men as when they fight one against another, how they are performed without any craftinesse or sleight, onely by plaine hardinesse and cleane strength, and as it were upon a native magnanimitie, they defend themselves, and be revenged of their enemies: and neither by enforcement of lawes, nor for feare to be judicially reprovved and punished for cowardise, but onely through instinct of nature avoiding the shame and disgrace to be conquered, they endure and holde out fight to the very extremitie, and all to keepe themselves invincible: for say they be in body the weaker, yet they yeeld not for all that, nor are faint-hearted and give over, but chuse to die in fight: and many of them there be, whose courage and generositie, even when they are readie to die, being retired into some one corner of their bodie, and there gathering it selfe, resisteth the killer, it leapeth and fretteth still, untill such time as, like a flame of fire, it be quenched and put out once for all: they can not skill of praying and intreating their enemies, they crave no pardon and mercy; and it were strange in any of them, to confesse that they are overcome; neither was it ever seene that a lion became a slave unto a lion, or one horse unto another in regard of fortitude, like as one man to another, contenting himselfe and willingly embracing servitude as next cousin and a surname appropriate unto cowardise. And as for those beasts which men have surpris'd and caught by snares, traps, subtill sleights and devices of engines, such if they be come to their growth and perfect age, reject all food, refuse nourishment, yea, and endure thirst, to such extremitie, that they chuse to die and seeke to procure their owne death, rather than to live in servitude; but to their young ones and whelps, which for their tender age be tractable, pliable, and easie to be led which way one will, they offer so many deceitfull baits to entice and allure them with their sweetnesse, that they have no sooner tasted thereof, but they become enchanted and bewitched therewith: for these pleasures, and this delicate life, contrary to their nature, in tract of time causeth them to be soft and weake, receiving that degeneration (as it were) and effeminate habit of their courage, which folke call tamenesse, and in deed but basenesse and defect of their naturall generositie: whereby it appeareth, that beasts by nature are bred and passing well disposed to be audacious and hardie; whereas contrariwise, it is not kindly for men to be so much as bolde of speech and resolute in speaking their mindes. And this you may (good *Ulysses*) learne and know especially by this one argument: for in all brute beasts, nature Iwaith indifferently and equally of either side, as touching courage and boldnesse, neither is the female in that point inferior to the male, whether it be in sustaining paine and travell for getting of their living, or in fight for defence of their little ones. And I am sure you heard of a certaine Cromyonian swine, what foule worke she made, being a beast of the female sex, for *Theseus*, & how she troubled him; as also of that monstrous Sphinx, which kept upon the rocke *Phicion*, and held in awe all that tract underneath and about it: for surely all her craft and subtilty in devising riddles, and proposing darke questions, had bootied her nothing, in case she had not bene withall, of greater force and courage than all the Cadmeians. In the very same quarter was (by report) the fox of *Telmessus*, a wily and craftie beast. And it is given out, that nere unto the said place, was also the fell dragon which fought in single fight hand to hand with *Apollo*, for the Seignorie of the oracle at *Delphi*. And even your great king *Agamemnon* tooke that brave mare *Aethre*, as a gift, of an inhabitant of *Syeon*, for his dispensation and immunity, that he might not be prest to the warres: wherein he did well and wisely in mine opinion, to preferre a good and couragious beast, before a coward and dastardly man: and you your own selfe (*Ulysses*) have seene many times lionesses and the libbards, how they give no place at all to their males in courage and hardinesse, as your lady *Penelope* doth, who gives you leave to be abroad in warfarre, whiles she sits at home close by the herth, and by the fire side, and dares not doe so much as the very swallowes, in repelling those back who come to destroy her and her house, for all she is a Laconian woman borne: What should I tell you of the Carian or Maconian women? for by this that hath bene said already, it is plaine and evident, that men naturally are not endued with prowesse, for if they were, then should women likewise have their part with them in vertue and valour: And thereupon I inferre and conclude that you and such as you are, exercise a kind of valiance (I must needs say) which is not voluntarie nor naturall, but constrained by force of lawes, subject and servile to (I wot not what) customes reprehensions; and you meditate I say and practise for vain-glorious opinion, fortitude, gaily set out with trim words; you sustaine travells and perils, not for that you set light by them, nor for any hardinesse and confidence in your selves, but because you are afraid lest others should goe

before you, and be esteemed greater than you. And like as heere among your mates at sea, he that first riseth to his businesse of rowing, laith hand and seizeth upon the lightest oare that he can meet with, doth it not, for that he despiseth it, but because he avoideth and is affraid to handle one that is heavier: and he that endureth the knocke of a balton or cudgel, because he would not receive any wound by the sword: as also, he that resisteth an enemy, for to avoid some ignominious infamie of death, is not to be said valiant in respect of the one, but coward in regard of the other: even so the valour in you, is nothing els but a wife and warie cowardise, and your prowesse and boldnesse, is no better than timorousnesse, accompanied with skill and knowledge how to decline one danger by another. To be brieue, if you thinke your selves to be more hardie and valiant than beasts, how commeth it, that your Poets tearme those who fight manfully to against their enemies, *λύσιππος*, that is, wolves for courage; *λεωνόκαρτος*, that is, lion-hearted: and *οὐ βίβλος ἀνδρῶν*, that is, resembling the wilde boare in animosities and force: but never doth any of them call a lion, *ἀνδρῶν τιμωρ*, that is, as valiant as a man: or a wilde boare, *ἀνδρῶν ἐχθρὸς*, that is, comparable to a man in courage and strength. Yet I wot well, when they would speake excessively in comparison, their manner is, to call men that are swift in running, *πολλύπους*, that is, light-footed like the winde: and those who be faire ad beautifull, *θεοειδῆς*, that is, angelicall, or to see to, like unto angels: and even so, they compare and resemble brave warriours in the highest degree, unto beasts, who in that case are much more excellent than men: the reason is this, for that choler and heat of courage is (as it were) the steele, the file, yea, the very whetstone that giveth the edge unto fortitude; and this doe brute beasts bring with them pure and simple unto 20 fight; whereas in you, it being alway mingled and tempered with some discourse of reason, as if wine were delaied with a little water, it is gone and to seeke in the greatest dangers, and faileth at the very point of opportunity, when it is most to be used. And some of you are of opinion, and sticke not to say, that in battell and fight there is no need at all of anger, but that laying aside all choler, we are to employ sober and staied reason; wherein they speake not amisse, and I holde well with them, when the question is of defence onely, and the securing of a mans owne life: but surely, if the case be so, that we are to offend, to annoy and defeat our enemy, they talke most shamefully. Is it not a very absurd thing, that ye should reprove and blame nature, for that she hath not set unto your bodies any stings or pricks, nor given you tusks and teeth to revenge your selves with, ne yet armed you with hooked claws and talions to offend your enemies; and 30 in the meane while your owne selves take, spoile, and bereave the foule of that naturall weapon which is inbred with it, or at leastwise cut the same short and disable it?

## U L Y S S E S.

What *Gryllus*! you seeme (as farre as I gesse) to have beene heerebefore some wittie and great oratour; who now grunting out of your stie or frank, have so pithily argued the case, and discouered of the matter in hand: but why have you not in the same traine disputed likewise of temperance?

## G R Y L L U S.

Because forsooth I thought that you would first have refuted that which hath already beene spoken; but I see well you desire to heare me speake of temperance, because you are the husband 40 band of a most chaste wife, and you thinke besides, that your selfe have shewed good prooffe of your own continencie, in that you have rejected the love & wanton company of *Circē*; but even heerein you are not more perfect, I meane in continence, than any one beast, for even they also lust not at all to companie or engender with those that are of a more excellent kind than their owne, but take their pleasure with those, and make love to such as be of the same sort, and therefore no marvell, that as the Mendesian buck-goat in *Aegypt*, when he was shut up with many faire and beautifull women, never for all that made to any of them, but abhorred to meddle with them; whereas he was raging wood in heat of lust after the does or female goats: So you taking delight in your ordinary love, have no desire at all, being a man, to sleepe or deale carnally with an immortal goddesse: And as for the chastitie and continence of your owne lady *Penelope*, I tell you there be ten thousand crows in the world, that after their manner, cawing and coking as they doe, will make a meere mocke of it, and shew that it is no such matter to be accounted of; for there is not one of them, but if the male or cock chance to die, remaineth a widow without seeking after a mate, not for a litle while, but even for the space of nine ages & lives of a man; so that in this respect, your faire *Penelope* cometh behind the poorest crow or raven that is, and deserveth not the ninth part of her honour for chastitie: But seeing you are ware that I am so eloquent an oratour, I care not much if I observe a methodicall order in this discourse

course of mine; and like a cleark indeed, beginne first with the definition of temperance, and then proceed to the division of appetites and lusts, according to their severall distinct kinds right formally. Temperance therefore is a certaine restraint, abridgement, or regularitie of lusts, and desires, a restraint I say, and abating of such as are forren, strange, and superfluous, to wit, unnecessary, and a regularitie which by election and choise of time and temperature of a meane, doth moderate those that be naturall and necessarie; for you see that in lusts and desires, there be infinit differences: As for example, the appetite to drinke, besides that it is naturall, is also necessarie; But the lust of the flesh, or concupiscence, although nature hath given the beginning thereof; yet so it is, that we may live commodiously without it; so as well it may be called 10 naturall, but in no wise necessarie. Now there is another sort of desires, that be neither naturall nor necessarie, but accidentall, and infused from without by a vaine opinion, and upon ignorance of that which is good, and there be such a number of them, that they goe verie neere to chafe away and thrust out, all your naturall appetites, much like as when the aliens and strangers that swarme in a citie, drive out and expell the naturall inhabitants; whereas brute beasts give no entrance nor any communication and fellowship to forren affections for to settle in their soules, but in their whole life, & all their actions be farre remote from vain-glory, selfe-conceit, & fond opinions, as if they abode within the mediterranean parts, distant from the sea: True it is that in their port and carriage, they be not so elegant, so fine & curious as men: howbeit otherwise, for temperance & good government of their affections, which be not many in number, 20 ther domestical, or strange & forren, they are more precise & woonderfull exact in the observing of them than they; for the prooffe and truth heereof, the time was once, when I my selfe no lesse doated and was besotted upon gold than you are now, thinking verily that there was no good nor possession in the world comparable to it; I was in love allo of silver and ivory, and he that had most store heereof, me thought was a right happie man, and most highlie in grace and favour with the gods, whether he were Phrygian or Carian it skilled not, more base minded than *Dolon*, or unfortunate otherwise than *Præmuis*; inso much as being linked fast and tied to these desires, I reaped and received no pleasure nor any contentment at all from al other blessings; for notwithstanding I was sufficiently furnished with them, yet I tooke my selfe left needie and destitute of those which I accounted the greatest; and therefore I well remember, when I saw you upon a time stately arraid, with a rich robe in *Camde*, I wished not to have your 30 wisedome and vertue, but your beautifull cassock so decently and finely wrought, your mantell I say of purple, so delicate & soft, the beautie whereof I beheld with such admiration, that I was even ravished and transported with the sight thereof, as for the button or clasp, al of pure gold, belonging thereto, it had in it a singularity by it selfe, and an excellent workman hee was no doubt, who tooke delight in the turning and graving thereof; and verily for mine owne part, I followed after you for to see it, as if I had bene enchanted or bewitched; as women that bee amorous of their lovers: But now being delivered from these vaine and foolish opinions, and having my braine purged from such fantastical conceits, I passe over gold and silver, and make no more account of them, than I doe of other ordinarie stones; your goodly habiliments, 40 your fine embroidered garments of needle worke and tapistrie, I set so light by, that I make more reckoning I assure you, of a good deepe puddle of soft mire and dirt to walter and wallow in at mine ease, and for to sleepe when my belly is full, than of them: neither is there any of these appetites coming from without, that hath place in our soule, but our life for the most part we passe it desires and pleasures necessarie; and even those which are meere naturall onely, and not altogether so necessarie, wee use them neither disorderly, nor yet unmeasurably: And of them let us first discourse: As for that familiar pleasure which proceedeth from sweet odours, and such things, as by their sense doe affect the smelling, over and besides the simple delight that it yeeldeth, which costeth nought, it bringeth therewith a certaine profit and commodity, for to discernie nourishment; and make choise of food; for the tongue is named, 50 as it is indeede, the judge of sweet, of sharpe, eager and sower sapours, namely, when as the juices of those things which are tasted, come to be mingled and conconcorate with the discretive facultie; and not before: But our sense of smelling, before wee once taste those juices or sapours, judgeth of the force and qualitie of every thing, yea, and senteth them much more exquisitely than all the tasters that give essaie before kings and princes: As for that which is familiar and agreeable unto us, it receiveth inwardly, but whatsoever is strange and offensive, it rejecteth and sendeth forth, neither will it suffer the same once to touch us, or to offend our taste; but it bewarieth, accuseth, and condemneth the evill and noi-

before you, and be esteemed greater than you. And like as heere among your mates at sea, he that first riseth to his businesse of rowing, laicth hand and seizeth upon the lightest oare that he can meet with, doth it not, for that he despiseth it, but because he avoideth and is afraid to handle one that is heavier: and he that endureth the knocke of a balston or cudgel, because he would not receive any wound by the sword: as also, he that resisteth an enemy, for to avoid some ignominious infamie of death, is not to be said valiant in respect of the one, but coward in regard of the other: even so the valour in you, is nothing els but a wife and warie cowardise, and your prowesse and boldnesse, is no better than timorousnesse, accompanied with skill and knowledge how to decline one danger by another. To be brieve, if you thinke your selves to be more hardie and valiant than beasts, how commeth it, that your Poets tearme those who fight manfully 10 against their enemies, *λύκοειδεις*, that is, wolves for courage; *λεωνόκαρμος*, that is, lion-hearted; and *οὐκ ἴσους ἀνάλω*, that is, resembling the wilde boare in animositie and force: but never doth any of them call a lion, *ἀνδρὸς ὅμοιον*, that is, as valiant as a man: or a wild boare, *ἀφ' ἑσέως ἀνάλω*, that is, comparable to a man in courage and strength. Yet I wot well, when they would speake excessively in comparifon, their manner is, to call men that are swift in running, *ποταμίου*, that is, light-footed like the winde: and those who be faire ad beautifull, *θεωδότης*, that is, angelically, or to see to, like unto angels: and even so, they compare and resemble brave warriors in the highest degree, unto beasts, who in that case are much more excellent than men: the reason is this, for that choler and heat of courage is (as it were) the steele, the file, yea, the very whetstone that giveth the edge unto fortitude; and this doe brute beasts bring with them pure and simple unto 20 fight; whereas in you, it being alway mingled and tempered with some discource of reason, as if wine were delaied with a little water, it is gone and to seeke in the greatest dangers, and faileth at the very point of opportunity, when it is most to be used. And some of you are of opinion, and stick not to say, that in battell and fight there is no need at all of anger, but that laying aside all choler, we are to employ sober and staid reason; wherein they speake not amisse, and I holde well with them, when the question is of defence onely, and the securing of a mans owne life: but surely, if the case be so, that we are to offend, to annoy and defeat our enemy, they talke most shamefully. Is it not a very absurd thing, that ye should reprove and blame nature, for that she hath not set unto your bodies any stings or pricks, nor given you tusks and teeth to revenge your selves with, ne yet armed you with hooked claws and talions to offend your enemies; and 30 in the meane while your owne selves rake, spoile, and bereave the soule of that naturall weapon which is inbred with it, or at leastwise cut the same short and disable it?

## U L Y S S E S.

What *Gryllus*! you seeme (as farre as I gesse) to have beene heeretofore some wittie and great oratour; who now grunting out of your stie or frank, have so pithily argued the case, and discouered of the matter in hand: but why have you not in the same traine disputed likewise of temperance?

## G R Y L L U S.

Because forthwith I thought that you would first have refuted that which hath already beene spoken; but I see well you desire to heare me speake of temperance, because you are the husband 40 of a most chaste wife, and you thinke besides, that your selfe have shewed good prooffe of your own continencie, in that you have rejected the love & wanton company of *Circē*; but even herein you are not more perfect, I meane in continence, than any one beast, for even they also lust not at all to companie or engender with those that are of a more excellent kind than their owne, but take their pleasure with those, and make love to such as be of the same sort, and therefore no marvell, that as the Mendesian buck-goat in *Aegypt*, when he was shut up with many faire and beautifull women, never for all that made to any of them, but abhorred to meddle with them; whereas he was raging wood in heat of lust after the does or female goats: So you taking delight in your ordinary love, have no desire at all, being a man, to sleepe or deale carnally with an immortall goddess: And as for the chastitie and continence of your owne lady *Pe- 50 nelope*, I tell you there be ten thousand crows in the world, that after their manner, cawing and croaking as they doe, will make a meete mocke of it, and shew that it is no such matter to be accounted of; for there is not one of them, but if the male or cock chance to die, remaineth a widow without seeking after a make, not for a litle while, but even for the space of nine ages & lives of a man; so that in this respect, your faire *Penelope* commeth behind the poorest crow or raven that is, and deserveth not the ninth part of her honour for chastitie: But seeing you are ware that I am so eloquent an oratour, I care not much if I observe a methodicall order in this discou- 60

course of mine; and like a clearke indeed, beginne first with the definition of temperance, and then proceed to the division of appetites and lusts, according to their severall distinct kinds right formally. Temperance therefore is a certaine restraint, abridgement, or regularitie of lusts, and desires, a restraint I say, and abating of such as are forren, strange, and superfluous, to wit, unnecessary, and a regularitie which by election and choise of time and temperature of a meane, doth moderate those that be naturall and necessarie; for you see that in lusts and desires, there be infinit differences: As for example, the appetite to drinke, besides that it is naturall, is also necessarie; But the lust of the flesh, or concupiscence, although nature hath given the beginning thereof; yet so it is, that we may live commodiously without it; so as well it may be called 10 naturall, but in no wise necessarie. Now there is another sort of desires, that be neither naturall nor necessarie, but accidental, and infused from without by a vaine opinion, and upon ignorance of that which is good, and there be such a number of them, that they goe verie neere to chafe away and thrust out, all your naturall appetites, much like as when the aliens and strangers that swarme in a citie, drive out and expell the naturall inhabitants; whereas brute beasts give no entrance nor any communication and fellowship to forren affections for to settle in their soules, but in their whole life, & all their actions be farre remote from vaine-glory, selfe-conceit, & fond opinions, as if they abode within the mediterranean parts, distant from the sea: True it is that in their port and carriage, they be not so elegant, so fine & curious as men: howbeit otherwise, for temperance & good government of their affections, which be not many in number, ei- 20 ther domestically, or strange & forren, they are more precise & wonderfull exact in the observing of them than they; for the prooffe and truth heereof, the time was once, when I my selfe no lesse doated and was besotted upon gold than you are now, thinking verily that there was no good nor possession in the world comparable to it; I was in love also of silver and ivory, and he that had most store heereof, me thought was a right happie man, and most highlie in grace and favour with the gods, whether he were Phrygian or Carian it skilled not, more base minded than *Dolon*, or unfortunate otherwise than *Primus*; inso much as being linked fast and tied to these desires, I reaped and received no pleasure nor any contentment at all from al other blessings; for notwithstanding I was sufficiently furnished with them, yet I tooke my selfe left needie and destitute of those which I accounted the greatest; and therefore I well remember, when I saw you upon a time stately arraid, with a rich robe in *Candie*, I wished not to have your 30 wiledome and vertue, but your beautifull cassock so decently and finely wrought, your mantell I say of purple, so delicate & soft, the beautie whereof I beheld with such admiration, that I was even ravished and transported with the sight thereof, as for the button or claspe, al of pure gold, belonging thereto, it had in it a singularity by it selfe, and an excellent workman hee was no doubt, who tooke delight in the turning and graving thereof; and verily for mine owne part, I followed after you for to see it, as if I had beene enchanted or bewitched; as women that bee amorous of their lovers: But now being delivered from these vaine and foolish opinions, and having my braine purged from such fantasticall conceits, I passe over gold and silver, and make no more account of them, than I doe of other ordinarie stones; your goodly habiliments, 40 your fine embroidered garments of needle worke and tapistrie, I set so light by, that I make more reckoning I assure you, of a good deepe puddle of soft mire and dirt to walter and wallow in at mine ease, and for to sleepe when my belly is full, than of them: neither is there any of these appetites comming from without, that hath place in our soule, but our life for the most part we passeth in desires and pleasures necessarie; and even those which are meere naturall onely, and not altogether so necessarie, wee use them neither disorderly, nor yet unmeasurably: And of them let us first discourtse: As for that familiar pleasure which proceedeth from sweet odours, and such things, as by their sense doe affect the smelling, over and besides the simple delight that it yeeldeth, which costeth nought, it bringeth therewith a certaine profit and commoditie, for to discourtse nourishment, and make choise of food; for the tongue is named, 50 as it is indeede, the judge of sweet, of sharpe, eager and fowre sapours, namely, when as the juices of those things which are tasted, come to be mingled and incorporate with the discretive facultie; and not before: But our sense of smelling, before wee once taste those juices or sapours, judgeth of the force and qualitie of every thing, yea, and senteth them much more exquisitely than all the tasters that give eiaie before kings and princes: As for that which is familiar and agreeable unto us, it receiveth inwardly, but whatsoever is strange and offensive, it rejecteth and sendeth forth, neither will it suffer the same once to touch us, or to offend our taste; but it bewraeth, accuteth, and condemneth the evil and noi-



some qualitie thereof, before it doth us any harme, and otherwife it troubleth not us at all, as it doth you, whom it forceth to mixe and compound together for perfumes, cinamon, nard, spike, lavender camell, the sweet leafe malabathum, and the aromaticall calamus, or cane of *Arabis*, medling and incorporating one within another, by the exquisit skillling and cunning of the apothecarie and perfumer, forcing drogues and spices of divers natures to be blended and confected together, and buying for great summes of money one pleasure, which is not becoming men, but rather fit for fine wenches and daintie damosels, and nothing at all profitable: And yet being thus corrupt as it is, it mareth not onely all women, but also the most part of you that are men, in so much as you will not otherwhiles, lie with your owne espoused wives, unlessse they be perfumed and besmeared all over with sweet oiles and ointments, or els bestrewed with odoriferous powders, when they come to companie with you: Whereas contrariwise among us, the fow allureth the bore, the doe or she goat draweth unto her the buck, & other females the males of their kinde, by their owne sent and smell, casting from them the pure and neat favour of the meadowes, and the verdure of the fields, and so comming together as in marriage for generation, with a kinde of mutuall love and reciprocall pleasure; neither doe the females hold off and make it daintie, disguising and covering (as it were) their owne lust as harlots doe, with looking strange and coie at the matter, pretending colourable excuses, or making semblance of refusal, and all to enchant, entice, and draw on the rather; nor the males when they come unto them, being pricked with the furious instinct of lust to generation, doe buie either for money or for great paine and travell, or for long subjection and servitude, the act of generation; but they performe the same unfeignedly, and without deceit in due time and season, without any cost, when as nature in the spring flureth up and provoketh the generative concupiscence of all living creatures, even as it putteth forth the buds and sprouts of plants, and anon delaith as it were and quencheth the same; for neither the female after she is once sped and hath conceived, seeketh after the male, nor the male woetheth her any more, nor followeth after her; of fo little regard and small price is this pleasure among us; but nature is all in all, and nothing doe wee against it: Heereof also it is, that there hath not bene knowne unto this day, any lust so farre to transpote brute beasts, as that males should joine in this act with males, or females with females; whereas among you, there be many such examples, even of such as otherwise were accounted great and woorthie personages, for I let those passe who were of no woorth or note; to speake of: Even *Agamemnon* went through all *Baotia*, chasing and hunting after \* *Argemnon*, who fledde secretly from him; meane while he pretended colourable, yet false excuses of his abode there, to wit, the sea and the windes, and afterwards this faire and goodly knight, bathed himselfe gently in the poole of *Copais*, as it were there to quench the heat of his love, and to deliver himselfe from this furious lust. Semblable *Hercules* pursuing after a yooing bearded Genymade whom he loved, was left behind the other gallants and brave knights that enterprised the voiage for the golden fleece, and so not imbarquing with them, betrayed the fleet. Likewise upon a scutchian of the lower or valted route of *Apollos* temple, furnamed *Proneus*, there was one of you, who secretly wrote this inscription; *Achilles* the faire; even after that *Achilles* himselfe had begotten a sonne; and I heare say, that these letters remaine there to be seene even at this day: Now if it chauce that a dunghill cocke tread another cocke, when there is no hennie at hand; he is burnt quicke, for that some wizard, soothsaier, or interpreter of such straunge prodigies, will pronounce that it is omenous, and presageth some evil lucke: Thus you see, how men themselves are forced to confesse, that beasts are more continent than they, & that to satisfie & fulfill their lusts, they never violate nor abuse nature; whereas in you it is otherwise: for nature (albeit she have the helpe and aide of the law) is not able to keepe your intemperance within the limits and bounds of reason; but like unto a violent streame which runneth forcibly, often times and in many places it worketh much outrage, causing great disorder, scandall and confusion against nature, in this point of carnall love and fleshly lust: for there have bene men who attempted to meddle and deale with shee goats, with sows and mares; as also women who have bene as wood and raging mad after certeine beasts of the male kinde; and verily, of such copulations as these, are come your *Minotaur*es and *Acgipanes*; yea, and as I verily thinke, those *Sphinxes* and *Centaures* in time past, have bene bred by the same meanes. True it is (I confesse) that otherwhiles, upon necessity and extreame famine, a dogge hath bene knownen to have devoured a man or a woman, yea, and some fowle hath tasted of their flesh, and begun to eat it; but there was never found yet any brute beast to have lust after man or woman, to engender with them; whereas men both in this lust and in many other pleasures, have

often

often times perpetrated outrage upon beasts. Now if they be so unbridled, so disordinate and incontinent in these appetites, much more dissolute they are knownen to be than beasts in other desires and lusts that be necessarie, to wit, in meats and drinks, whereof we never take pleasure, but it is with some profit; but you seeking after the tickling pleasure and delight in drinking and eating, rather than the needfull nourishment to content and satisfie nature, are afterwards well punished for it by many grievous and long maladies, which proceed all from one source, to wit, surfeit and repletion, namely, when you stuffe and fill your bodies with all sorts of stutulent humors & ventosities, which hardly are purged & excluded forth: for first & formost, ech sort of beasts hath a severall food and peculiar kinde of nourishment; some feed upon grasse, others upon roots, and some there be againe which live by fruits: as for those that devoure flesh, they never touch any other kinde of pasture, neither come they to take from the weaker and more feeble kind, their proper nouriture, but suffer them to graze & feed quietly. Thus we see that the lion permiteth the stag and hinde to graze; and the wolfe likewise the sheepe, according to natures ordinance and appointment: but man (being through his disordinate appetite of pleasures, and by his gluttonie, provoked to all things, tasting and assaying whatsoever he can meet with or heare of, as knowing indeed no proper and naturall food of his owne) is of all creatures living, he alone that eateth and devoureth all things; for first, he feedeth upon flesh, without any need or necessitie enforcing him thereto, considering that he may alwaies gather, presse, cut and reape from plants, vines and seeds, all sort of fruits, one after another in due and convenient seasons, until he be weary againe, for the great quantity thereof; and yet for to content his delicate tooth, and upon a lothsome fulnesse of necessarie sustenance, he seeketh after other victuals, neither needfull nor meet for him, ne yet pure and cleane, in killing living creatures, much more cruelly than those savage beasts that live of ravin: for blood and carnage of murdered carcases is the proper and familiar food for a kite, a wolfe, or a dragon; but unto man it serveth in stead of his daintie dish: and more than so, man in the use of all sorts of beasts, doth not like other creatures that live of prey, which abstaine from the most part, and warre with some small number, even for very necessity of food; for there is neither fowle flying in the aire, nor (in maner) any fish swimming in the sea, nor (to speake in one word) any beast feeding upon the face of the earth, that can escape those tables of yours, which you call gentle, kinde and hospitall. But you will say, that all this standeth in stead of sauce to season your food: be it so: why then doe you kill the same for that purpose, and for to furnish those your milde and courteous tables?

\* But the wisdom of beasts, farre different; for it giveth place to no arte whatsoever, that is vaine and needlesse; and as for those that be necessarie, it entermeth them not as comming from others, nor as taught by mercenarie masters for hire and money; neither is it required, that it should have any exercise to glue (as it were, and joine after a slender maner) ech rule, principle and proposition, one to another; but all at once of it selfe, it yeeldeth them all as native and inbred therewith. We heare say, that all the *Aegyptians* be Physicians; but surely every beast hath in it selfe not onely the art and skill to cure and heale it selfe when it is sicke, but also is sufficiently instructed how to feed and nourish it selfe, how to use her owne strength, how to fight, how to hunt, how to stand at defence, yea, and in very musick they are skillfull, ech one in that measure as is requirit and befitting the owne nature: for of whom have we learned, finding our selves ill at ease, to goe into the rivers for to seeke for crabbes and crafishes? who hath taught the tortoisies, when they have eaten a viper, to seeke out the herbe *Organ* for to feed upon? who hath shewed unto the goats of *Candia*, when they be shot into the bodie with arrows, to finde out the herbe *Distammus*, for to feed on it, and thereby to cause the arrow head to come forth and fall from them? For if you say (as the truth is) that nature is the schoole-mistresse, teaching them all this, you referre and reduce the wisdom and intelligence of dumbe beasts unto the sagest and most perfect cause or principle that is: which if you thinke you may not call reason, nor prudence, ye ought then to seeke out some other name for it, that is better and more honourable: and to say a trueth, by effects shee sheweth her puissance to be greater and more admirable, as being neither ignorant nor ill taught, but having learned rather of it self, not by imbecillitie and feeblenesse of nature, but contrariwise, through the force and perfection of naturall vertue, letting go, and nothing at all esteeming that beggerly prudence which is gotten from other by way of apprentissage. Nevertheless, all those things which men either for delicacie or in mirth and pastime, do present unto them for to learne and to exercise their conceit and wit withall, howsoever they be against the naturall inclination of their bodies: yet such is their capacitie and the excellencie of their spirit, that they will reach thereto and compasse the

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fame thorowly. I say nothing how whelps follow and trace beasts by the foot, or how colts practise to set their feet forward in their pace by measures: but how crows and ravens will talke and prattle, how dogs will leape and dance upon wheelles as they turne round about: also howes and oxen we see in the theaters, how they being taught to couch and lie downe, to daunce, to stand upright on their hinder feet, so woonderfully, that men themselves have much ado to performe the like dangerous gestures, and yet this they doe after they have once learned it from others, yea, and remember the feat thereof, onely for a prooffe, if there were nothing else, that docible they be and apt to learne whatsoever a man would have them, since that all this serveth for nothing else in the whole world. Now if you bee hard of beliefe, and will not be perswaded that we learne the arts, I will say more than so; namely, that we can teach the same: for the old rowen partridges teach their yong ones how to runne awaie from before the fowler, and to escape by lying upon their backs, and holding up with their feet a clod of earth to hide themselves under it; and see we not daily upon the tops of our houses, how the old storks standing by their little ones, traine and teach them how to flie; semblable the nightingales instruct their yong birds in song, in so much as those which be taken unfledge out of the nest, and are nourished by mans hand, never afterwards sing so well, because they be had away before their time from schoole, and want their master of musick. For mine owne part after that I was entred into this bodie, I marvelled much at those reasons and discourses of sophisters, who maintained and perswaded me before time, that all living creatures besides man were without reason and understanding.

U L Y S S E S.

You are indeed *Gryllus* now much changed, and you can shew unto us by sound demonstrations, that a sheepe is reasonable, and an asse hath wit, can you not?

G R Y L L U S.

Yes iwis, good *Ulysses*, for even by these very arguments, a man may principally collect and gather, that the nature of beasts is not altogether void of the use of reason and intelligence: Like as therefore among trees, there is not one more or lesse destitute of soule, (I mean that which is sensitive) than another, but they be all indifferently & equally void thereof, and not one of them is one jot endued therewith; even so in sensible beasts, there would not be one found more flow and unapt to learne things of wit and understanding than another, if they were not all partakers of reason and intelligence, although some have the same in more or lesse measure than others; and say there be some very blockish and exceeding dull of conceit, consider with all, how the wily sleights and craftie conceits of others may be put in balance against the same, namely, when you shall compare the fox, the wolfe, or the bees with the sheepe and the asse; it is all one as if you should set *Polyphemus* to your selfe; or that *Homer of Corinth* to your grandfather *Antolycus*: And yet I thinke verily, that there is not so great difference and distance betwene beast and beast, as there is odds in the matter of wisdom, discourse of reason, and use of memorie betwene man and man.

U L Y S S E S.

But take heed of one thing *Gryllus*, that it be not a strange and absurd position, founding of no probability at all, to attribute any use of reason unto those who have no sense or knowledge at all of God.

G R Y L L U S.

What *Ulysses*, shall we not say that you being so wise and excellent as you are, were defended from the race of *Sisyphus*, &c.



WHETHER



# WHETHER IT BE LAWFULL TO EAT FLESH OR NO.

The former Oration or Treatise.

The Summarie.



**B**eloquence was highly esteemed in times past among Greeks and Romans, and therefore their children were trained and framed betimes in the schooles to discourse well, in good rearmes, and proper phrases, yea, and with pregnant and sound reasons of divers matters; to the end that when they were come to more yeeres, they might make prooffe of their sufficiency in courts and publicke assemblies of cities, in private consultations and familiar conferences, as it appeareth very plainly by the histories of all ages: Now after that yong children had learned of their schoole-masters the rules and precepts named Progymnasmata, or the first exercises, they were brought into the audiorie of some great professor in Rhetorick; where there were proposed unto them certaine themes, gathered out of poets, historians, or philosophers, upon which they exercised their stile to write pro & contra, in the defence or confutation of this or that opinion, according to the measure of their spirit and capacitie more or lesse: Those who were more forward, and further proceeded than the rest, could by heart that which they had penned, and pronounced the same after ward in the presence of those that came to hear them: Some of them who were grown to a greater measure of knowledge, and as it were in the highest forme of such exercises, were wont to stand forth and answer to all questions propounded, disputing and discoursing in the praise or dispraise of one and the same thing, as Gorgias, Carneades, and an infinit number of others, are able to make good and verifie. This manner of exercise, named Declamations, was practised in Plutarch's time, as may be collected out of divers places of his works: and as these two treatises immediately following do sufficiently declare, the which are marred and imperfect at the very beginning, in the midst and toward the end, especially the second: for it may be easily scene that they are fragments of certaine declamations which he wrote for his owne exercise when he was a yong man. Now albeit they be so corrupt and defective in manner all thoroughout, yet the remnant which is left unto us, doth sufficiently discover the honest occupation and employment of learned men in those daies, and that he carefull industrie that they had to examine & discourse all things thorowly, to the end that by a diligent conference thereof, the truth might the better appeare and be knownen. And if otherwhiles they maintained certaine paradoxes and strange opinions, it was not upon any croffe and litigious spirit to defend obliquely all that came into their fantasticall braine, but for to augment and increase in themselves an earnest desire to apprehend and understand things better: And howsoever our author seemeth to be of minde for to defend the opinion of Pythagoras, as touching the transmigration of soules, and the prohibition to eate flesh; yet by other treatises written with more deliberate, mature and staide judgement, he giveth us to understand, that he is of a contrary opinion; but his principall scope is that he should teach that, to wit, to be a cutting off and abridging of the great excess and superfluitie in purveying, buying, and spending of viands, which in his time began to grow out of all measure; a disorder and inordinate which afterwards increased much more. For to gaine and compass this point, hee would seeme to perswade men to the opinion of Pythagoras, which mightily cutteth the wings of all riot and wastfull dissolution. Moreover, this ought not to be taken so, as if it favoured and seconded the error of certaine fantasticall persons, who have condemned the use of Gods good creatures: for in the schoole of Christ wee are taught good lessons, which refuse sufficiently the dreames of the Pythagoreans, and resolve assuredly the good conscience of all those that make use of all creatures (meets for the sustentation of this life) soberly and with thanksgiving, as knowing them to be good, and their use cleane and pure unto those

whom

whom the spirit of regeneration hath sanctified, for to make them partakers of that realme which is not shut up and inclosed in meats and drinks. As touching this present tract for the maintenance of Pythagoras his paradox, he alledgeth five reasons: to wit, That the eating of flesh, is a testimonie and signe of inhumanitie; That we ought to forebeare it, considering we are not driven upon necessity to feed there upon; That it is an unnatural thing; That it hurteth soule and body: and for a conclusion, That men will never come themselves and conuerse modefly together, if they learne not first to be pitifull and kinde even to the very dumbe beasts.

## WHETHER IT BE LAW full to eat flesh or no.

### The former Oration or Treatise.



Ut you demand of mee, for what cause Pythagoras abstained from eating flesh? And I againe do marvell, what affection, what manner of courage, or what motive and reason had that man, who first approached with his mouth unto a flaine creature, who durst with his lips once touch the flesh of a beast either killed or dead; or how he could finde in his heart to be served at his table with dead bodies, and as a man may say, very idols, to make his food and nourishment of those parts and members which a little before did blea, low, bellow, walke and see. How could his eyes endure to behold such murder and slaughter, whiles the poore beasts were either flicked or had the throats cut, were flayed and difmembered? how could his nose abide the smell and sent that came from them? how came it that his taste was not cleane marred and overthrown with horror, when he came to handle those uncouth sores and ulcers, or receive the blood and humours, issuing out of the deadly wounds.

*The skinner now flayed, upon the ground did fraule,  
The flesh on spits did bellow fill and low:  
Roast, sod and raw, did crye as well as crule,  
And yeeld a voice of braying oxe or cow.*

But this, you will say, is a loud lie, and a meere poetically fiction; howbeit, this was certainly a strange and monstrous supper, that any man should hunger after those beasts, and desire to eat them whiles they still kept a lowing; to prescribe also, and teach men how they should feed of those creatures which live and crye still; to ordeine likewise, how they ought to be dressed, boiled, roasted, and served up to the board.

But he who first invented these monstrosities, ought to be inquired after, and not hee who last gave over and rejected the same. Or a man may well say, that those who at the first began to eat flesh, had all just causes to do, in regard of their want and necessitie: for surely, it was not by reason of disordinate and enormous appetite which they used a long time, nor upon plenty and abundance of necessarie things, that they grew to this insolencie, to seeke after strange pleasures, & those contrarie to nature. But verily, if they could recover their senses and speech againe, they might well say now, Oh how happie and well beloved of the gods are you, who live in these daies! in what a world and age are you borne! what affluence of all sorts of good things do you enjoy! what harvests, what store of fruits yeeldeth the earth unto you! how commodious are the vineyards! and what riches do the fields bring unto you! what a number of trees and plants do furnish you with delights and pleasures, which you may gather and receive, when you thinke good! you may live (if you list) in all manner of delicacie, without once fouling your hands for the matter; whereas our hap was to be borne in the hardest time and most terrible age of the world, when as we could not chuse but incur (by reason of the new creation of all things) a great want and streight indigence of many necessaries: the face of the heaven and skie was still covered with the aire; the starres were dusked with troubled and instable humors, together with fire and tempestuous windes: the sunne was not yet settled and established, having a constant and certaine race to holde his course in,

From

*From East to West, to make both even and morne  
Distinct por by retorne from Tropiques maine;  
The seasons chang'd from those that were before,  
Delight with leaves, with flowers, with fruits and graine.*

The earth suffered wrong by the inordinate streames and inundations of rivers, which had neither certaine chanelles nor banks: much of it lay waste and deformed, with loughs, marishes, and deepe bogges; much also remained savage, being over-spread with wild woods and fruitlesse forests: it brought forth no fruits ripe and pleasant; neither were there any tooles and instruments belonging to any arte; nor so much as any invention of a witty head. Hunger never gave us ease or time of repose; neither was there any expectation or waiting for the yearly seasons of seednesse, for there was no sowing at all. No marvell therefore, if we did eat the flesh of beasts and living creatures even contrary to nature, considering that then the very mosses and barke of trees served for food; & well was he who could find any greene grasse or quicke coich, or so much as the root of the herbe \* Phleas: but whensoever men could meet with acornes and mast to taste and feed upon, they would dance and hop for joy about an oake or beech tree; and in their rusticall songs call the earth their bountifull mother, and their kinde nourise: and such a day as that onely, they accounted festivall: all their life besides was full of vexation, sorrow and heaviness. But now, what rage, what furie and madnesse inciteth you to commit such murders and carnage? seeing you have such store and plenty of all things necessarie for your life: why belie you the earth, and most unthankfully dishonour her, as if shee could not suffice and nourish you? why doe you violate the divine power of Ceres the inventresse of sacred lawes, and shame sweet and gracious Bacchus, as if these two deities gave you not sufficient whereupon you might live? what! are you not abashed to mingle at your tables pleasant frutes with bloudie murder? You call lions and libards savage beasts; meane while your selves are stained with bloudshed, giving no place to them in crueltie, for where as they doe worke and kill other beasts, it is for verie necessitie and need of food; but you doe it for daintie fare, for when wee have slaine either lions or wolves in defence of our selves, we eat them not but let them lie: But they be the innocent, the harmlesse, the gentle and tame creatures, which have neither teeth to bite, nor pricke to sting withall, which we take and kill, although nature seemeth to have created them, onely for beautie and delight: [ Much like as if a man seeing Nilus overflowing his banks, and filling all the countrey about with running water, which is generative and fruitful, would not praise with admiration the propertie of that river, causing to spring and grow many faire and goodly fruits, and the same so necessarie for mans life; but if he chance to espie a crocodill swimming, or an aspick creeping and gliding downe, or some venomous flie, hurtfull and noisome beastes all, blameth the said river upon that occasion, and saith that they be causes sufficient, that of necessitie he must complaine of the thing: Or verily, when one seeing this land and champion countrey overspread with good and beautifull frutes, charged also and replenished with eares of corne, should perceive casting his eye over those pleasant corne fields, here & there an eare of danel, choke-crill, or some such unhappie weed among, should thereupon forbear to reape and carie in the said corne, and forgoe the benefit of a plentiful harvest, & find fault therewith: Semblably standeth the case when one seeth the plea of an orator in anie cause or action, who with a full and forcible streame of eloquence, endeavoureth to save his client out of the danger of death, or otherwise to proove and verifie the charges and imputations of certaine crimes; this oration (I say) or eloquent speech of his, running not simply and nakedly, but carrying with it many and sundrie affections of all sorts, which he imprinteth in the minds and hearts of the hearers or judges, which being many also, and those divers and different, he is to turne, to bend and change, or otherwise, to dulce, appease and staies: if he I say should anon passe over and not consider the principall issue, and maine point of the cause, and busie himselfe in gathering out some by-speeches besides the purpose, or happily some phrases improper and impertinent, which the oration of some advocate with the flowing course thereof, hath carried downe with it, lighting thereupon, and falling with the rest of his speech. ] But we are nothing mooved either with the faire and beautifull colour, or the sweet and tunable voice, or the quicknesse and subtiltie of spirit, or the neat and cleane life, or the vivacitie of wit and understanding, of these poore seely creatures; and for a little peece of flesh we take away their life, we bereave them of the sunne and of light, cutting short that race of life which nature had limited and prefixed for them; and more than so, those lamentable and trembling voices which they utter for feare, we suppose to be inarticulate or insignificant sounds, and nothing lesse than pitiful

\* This is not  
Phleas, which  
is the banks,  
& who would  
say, the root  
of a banke, but  
Phleas is the  
herbe growing  
in the lake  
Arctonous in  
Persia, and  
therefore well  
enough knowne  
to Plutarch.  
I take it to be  
Red-mace or  
Cats-tail.

I fee not  
how this that  
is included  
within these  
marks [ ]  
agreeth with  
this place, or  
matter in  
hand. I suppose  
therefore it  
is inserted  
here without  
judgement, &  
taken out of  
some other  
booke.

full

full praier, supplications, pleas & justifications of these poore innocent creatures, who in their language, euerie one of them cry in this manner: If thou be forced upon necessitie, I beseech thee not to save my life: but if disordinate lust moove thee thereto, spare me: in case thou hast a mind simply to eat on my flesh, kill me; but if it be for that thou wouldest feed more delicately, hold thy hand and let me live. O monstrous crueltie! It is a horrible sight to see the table of rich men onely, stand served and furnished with viands, set out by cooks and victuallers that dresse the flesh of dead bodies; but most horrible it is to see the same taken up, for that the reliques and broken meats remaining, be farre more than that which is eaten: To what purpose then were those filly beasts slaine? Now there be others, who making spare of the viands served to the table, will in no hand that they should be cut or sliced; sparing them when as they be nothing els but bare flesh; whereas they spared them not whiles they were living beasts: But for-asmuch as we have heard that the same men hold and say: That nature hath directed them to the eating of flesh; it is plaine and evident, that this cannot accord with mans nature: And first and formost this appeereth by the very fabrick and composition of his bodie; for it resembleth none of those creatures whom nature hath made for to feed on flesh, considering they have neither hooked bil, no hauke-pointed tallans, they have no sharpe and rough teeth, nor stomack so strong, or so hot breath and spirit, as to be able to concoct and digest the heany masse of raw flesh: And if there were naught else to be alleged, nature her-selfe by the broadnesse and united equality of our teeth, by our small mouth, our soft tooing, the imbecillitie of naturall heat, and spirits serving for concoction, sheweth sufficiently that the approoveh not of mans usage to eat flesh, but disfavoreth and disclaimeth the same: And if you obstinately maintaine and defend, that nature hath made you for to eat such viands; then, that which you munde to eat first kill your selfe, even your owne selfe (I say) without using any blade, knife, bar, club, axe, or hatchet: And even as beares, lions, and wolves, slay a beast according as they meane to eat it; even so kill thou a beele, by the bit of thy teeth; slay me a swine with the helpe of thy mouth and iawes; teare in peeces a lambe or an hare with thy nailes; and when thou hast so done, eat it up while it is alive, like as beasts doe; but if thou stairst untill they be dead ere thou eate them, and art abashed to chafe with thy teeth the life that presently is in the flesh which thou eatest; why dost thou against nature eat that which had life? and yet, when it is deprived of life, and fully dead, there is no man hath the heart to eat the same as it is; but they cause it to be boiled, & to be roasted; they alter it with fire, and many drogues and spices, changing, disguising, and quenching (as it were) the horror of the murder, with a thousand devices of seasoning; to the end that the sense of tasting being beguiled and deceived by a number of sweet saucies and pleasant conditure, might admit and receive that which it abhorreth, and is contrary unto it. Certes it was a pretie conceit which was reported by a Laconian, who having bought in his Inne or hostelrie, a little fish, gave it, as it should seeme, to the Inkeeper for to be dressed; but when hee called unto him for vinegar, cheefe, and oyle to doe it withall: If (quoth the Laconian) I had that which thou demandest of me, I would never have bought this fish. But we contrarie, for to please our delicate tooth, are so delighted in slaughter and carnage, that flesh we call our viand; and yet then we have need of other viands for the very dressing of flesh it selfe, mixing and adding thereto, oile, wine, honie, the pickle or sauce *garum* and vinegar, embalming (as it were) and burying a dead corps with Syriake spices and Arabicke saucies. And verily, when our flesh meats after this maner be mortified, made tender, and in some sort putrified, our naturall heat hath much adoe to concoct the same, and being not able in deed to digest them perfectly, it engendereth in us dangerous heavinesse and crudities apt to breed diseases. *Diogenes* upon a time was so rash, that he durst eat a polype or pourecuttle fish all raw, because he would have taken away the use and helpe of fire in dressing such meats: and there being certeine priests and many other men standing about him, when he covered his head with his cloake, and put the flesh of the said poule to his mouth, he said unto them all; For your sake it is that I hazard my selfe thus as I doe, and adventure this jeopardie. Now by *Jupiter*, this was a proper pe-  
rill in deed, and a doutie danger, was it not? for this Philosopher heere exposed not himselfe to any perillous hazard, as *Pelopidas* did, for recovery of the Thebans libertie; nor as *Amoedium* and *Aristogiton*, for the freedome of *Athens*: who thus wrestled with a raw poule fish in his stomacke, and all to make the life of man more beastlelike and savage. Well then, plaine it is that the eating of flesh is not onely unnaturall in regard of the bodie, but also by repletion, fulnesse and satietie, it maketh the soule fat and grosse: for the drinking of wine and feeding upon flesh meats to the full, howsoever it may seeme to cause the bodie to be more able and strong, yet

surely

surely the minde it doth enfeeble and weaken. And lest I should be thought a professed enemy to those who practise the exercise of the bodie named *Athletike*, I will use the domestick examples of mine owne countrey: for the inhabitants of *Attica* do teame us of *Beotia*, fat backs, grosse and senselesse, yea, and blockish fots, principally for our ranke and large feeding; like as one said:

*Oftruneth these men, in judgement mine,  
Benothing els but franked swine.*

And as *Menander* wrote in one place:

*With fat their cheeks be puffed and swolne:*

See, see their chaps how they be bolue.

As also *Pindarus*:

*They plie their jawes, they feed amaine,  
That even their cheeks do shine againe.*

But according to *Heraclitus*, the drie soule seemeth to be the wisest: for know thus much moreover; that emptie, tunnes, pipes, or barrels, resound when they be knocked upon; whereas as if they be full, they answer not againe to the knocks or stroaks given them: brasse pannes or coppers which be thin & slender, render sounds, and ring all about untill such time as one come and with his hand seeme to stop and dull the stroke that otherwise went round about: The eie filled with superfluous humiditie, becommeth dim and darke; neither hath it the full strength and power to performe his office. When we behold the sunne through a moist aire, and a number of thick mists, and grosse undigested vapors, we see him not in his owne nature pure, cleere, and bright; but as it were in the bottome of a cloud, all dusky, and casting forth thicke wandering and disperfed beames: And even so through a bodie troubled with vapors, full fedde overcharged with nutriments, of unkind and strange viands, it cannot chuse but all the light and shining brightnesse of the soule which is naturall, should become dusked and troubled, having no radiant settled splendour, able to pierce thoroughly to the ends and extremities of subtle and fine objects, hardly to be discerned, but the same is wandering, unsteadie and disperfed.

But setting all these matters aside, is it not, thinke you, a right commendable thing to be acquainted and accustomed to humanitie? for who would ever finde in his heart to abuse & wrong a man, who is affectionate, gentle, and milde, to the very beasts which are of a strange kind from us, and have no communication of reason with us? Three daies agoe, I alledged and cited in my disputation a testimonie of *Xenocrates* to this purpose; and namely: How the Athenians condemned him to pay a round fine, who had slaine a quick ramme: And in very truth, he that tormenteth and putteth to paine one that is living, is not in my conceit worfe than he that taketh the life away and killeth him: Howbeit, as farre as I can see, more sense and feeling we have of such things as be unusuall and against custome, than unnaturall and contrarie unto kinde: But those reasons which I then delivered, smell haply of some grossenesse, and were too triviall; for I feare and am loth to touch and set abroch in these my discourfes, that great and high principle, that deepe and mysticall cause of this our position: That we ought not to eat flesh; for that I say the hidden secret and original thereof is so incredible to bafe and timorous persons, as *Plato* saith, and to such as favour of nothing but of earthly and mortall matters; and heerein I fare much like unto the pilot and master of the ship, who in a tempest is afraid to put his ship to sea; or unto a poet, who dareth not set up his fabrick or engin in the theater, all while the stage or pageant is turned and caried round about: And yet peradventure it were not amisse in this place to resound and pronounce aloud those verses of *Empedocles*, \* \* \*. For under covert tearmes he doth allegorize and give us to understand; that the soules heere, are tied and fastened to mortall bodies, by way of punishment, for that they have bene murderers, have eaten flesh, devoured one another, and bene fed by mutuall slaughter and carnage: And yet this seemeth to be an opinion more ancient than *Empedocles*: for those fictions of Poets as touching the dismembred of *Bacchus*, and the outrageous attempts of the Tyrans against him, and how they tasted of flesh murdered, as also of their punishment, and how they were smitten with lightning, they be mere fables: the hidden mythologie whereof, tendeth to that renovation of birth or resurrection: for surely that brutish and reasonlesse part of our soule which is violent, disordered, and not divine, but devilish and daemoniac, the ancient philosophers called Titans; and this is that which is tormented, and suffereth judicial punishment.

OF



# OF EATING FLESH.

## The second Declamation.

### The Summarie.



*Our author pursuing in this second Treatise his matter and proposition, which he broched and began in the former declamation; and acknowledging how gourmandise, gluttony, and evil custome be dangerous counsellors; yet granteth and agreeth in the end, that a man may eat flesh, upon certaine conditions which he doth specify, condemning withall, the cruell excesse and riot of many in their fare. After this, having given the example of Lycurgus, that we ought to cut off the first occasions of all superfluities, he conferreth the opinions of Pythagoras and Empedocles, with those of other philosophers, and therewith setteth downe his owne conceits and advice. Afterwards when he had in one word touched from whence, and whereupon men become so bold and hardie to eat flesh; he declareth a flesh and brooeth, that this manner of feeding doth wonderfully prejudice both bodie and soule. And in conclusion, he confuteth the Stoicks, opposite enemies to the doctrine of Pythagoras; leaving their fustion unperfect, were it that himselfe never finished it, or that the malice and iniquitie of the time hath deprived us thereof: Like as many other fragments missing in these works.*

# OF EATING FLESH.

## The second Declamation.



Reason would, that we should be flesh disposed, and readie in will, in mind and thought, to heare the discourse against this mutlie and unfavoiur custome of eating flesh: For hard it is, as *Cato* was wont to say, to preach unto the belly that hath no eares; and besides we have all drunke of the cup of custome, resembling that of *Circus* which

*Compoundeth is of dolor, griefes and paines,  
Of sorrowes, woes, and of deceitfull traines*

Neither is it an easie matter for them to cast up againe the hooke of the appetite to eat flesh, who have swallowed it downe into their centrals, and are transported and tull of the love of pleasures and delights: But well and happy it were for us, if, as the manner is of the Egyptians, so soone as men are dead, to paunch them, and when their belly and bowels be taken forth, to mangle, cut and slice the same against the sunne, and then to fling them away, as being the cause of all finnes that they have committed: so we would first cut away from ourselves all our gourmandise, gluttonie, and murdering of innocent creatures, that we might afterwards lead the rest of our life pure and holy; considering that it is not the belly it selfe that by murder defileth us; but polluted it is by our intemperance. But say, it is not in our power to effect this much, or be it, that upon an inveterate custome, we are ashamed in this point to be innocent and faultlesse; yet let us at leastwise commit sinne in measure, and transgress with reason: Let us I say eat flesh, but so, as we be driven thereto for verie hunger, and not drawn to it by a licorous tooth, to satise our necessitie, and not to feed our greedie and delicate humour: kill we a beast, howbeit with some griefe of heart, with some commiseration and pittie; and not of a proud and insolent spirit, ne yet of a murderous minde;

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as men doe now adaeis, after many and divers sorts: For some in killing of swine or porkets, thrust them in with red-hot spits; to the end that the blood being shed and quenched as it were by the tincture of the fire iron, running through the body, might cause the flesh forthwith to be more tender and delicate: ye shall have others leape upon the udders and paps of the poore fowes ready to farrow, and trample upon their bellies and teats with their feet, that the blood, the milke, and the congealed bag of the young pigges, knit within the dammes wombe, being all jumbled, confused and blended together, even amidst the painfull pangs of farrowing (O *Jupiter Piscularis*) they might make (I would not els) a most deintie dish of meat, and devoure the most corrupt and putrified part of the poore beast: many there are who have a device to stich and sowe up the eies of cranes and swannes, and when they have so done, to mew them up in a darke place, and to feed them, cramming them with strange compositions and pastes made of dried figges; but wot you why? because their flesh should be more deintie and pleasant: whereby it appeareth evidently, that it is not for need of nourishment, nor for want and necessitie; but even for facietie, wantonnesse, sumptuous curiositie, and superfluous excesse, that of horrible injustice and wickednesse, they make their pleasure and delight: and like as the filthy lecherous person, who is unsatiabie in the pleasure of women, after he hath assiaied many, runneth on headlong still, roving and ranging every way, and yet his unbridled and untamed lust is not yet satisfied, but hee falleth to perpetrate such horrible villanies as are not once to be named; even so intemperance in meats, when it hath passed once the bounds of nature, and limits of necessitie, proceedeth to outrage and crueltye, fearing all meanes how to varie and change the disordinate appetite; for the organs and instruments of our senses, by a fellow feeling and contagion of maladies, are affected one by another, yea, and runne into disorder and Sinne together, through intemperance, when they rest not contented with the measure assigned them by nature: Thus the hearing being out of frame and sicke, or not guided by reason, marreth musicke; the feeling when it is degenerate into an effeminate delicacie, seeketh filthily after wanton ticklings, touchings, and frictions handling of women: the same vice of intemperance hath taught the eieight not to be contented with beholding morisks, pyrrhick, or warlike dances, nor other lawdable and decent gestures, ne yet to see and view faire pictures and goodly statues, but to esteeme the death and murder of men, their mortall wounds, bloudie fights, and deadly combats, to be the best sights and spectacles that can be devised. And heereupon it is, that upon such excessive fare & superfluity at the table, there ensue ordinarily wanton loves; upon lecherie and filthy venerie, there followeth beastly talke; these bawdie ballads and stinking tales, be accompanied commonly with hideous fights, & monstrous shewes: lastly, these horrible spectacles have attending upon them, crueltie and inhumane impassibilitie, even in the cases of verie mankind. Heereupon it was that *Lycurgus* the divine law-giver, in those three ordinances of his which he called *Rhetra*, commanded that the dores, routes & finials of houses, should be made with the saw & the ax onely, & no other instrument besides thereto employed; which he did not, I assure you, for any hatred at all that he conceived against augers, wimbles, twibils, or other tooles for joyners or carvers worke; but he knew well enough, that a man would never bring among such simple frames a gilded bedstead, nor venture to carrie into an house so plainly built, silver tables, hangings, carpets and coverings of rich tapestrie dyed with purple, or any precious stones; and he wist full well, that with such an house, with such bedsteads, tables and cups, a frugall supper and a simple dinner would agree and fort best. For to say a truth, upon the beginning and foundation of a disordinate diet, and superfluous kind of life; all manner of delicacie and costly curiositie useth to follow

*Like as the sucking foale, alway*

*Runnes with the damme, and doth not stay.*

What supper then, is not to be counted sumptuous, for which there is evermore killed some living creature or other: for doe we thinke little of the dispense of a soule? and suppose we, that the losse of life is not costly? I do not now say, that it was peradventure the soule of a mother, a father, some friend, or a sonne, as *Empedocles* gave it out; but surely a soule endued with sense, with seeing, hearing, apprehension, understanding, witte and discretion, such as nature hath given to each living creature, sufficient to seeke and get that which is good for it, and likewise to avoid and shun whatsoever is hurtfull and contrary unto it. Consider now a little, whether those philosophers that teach and will us to eat our children, our friends, our fathers and wives when they are dead, doe make us more gentle and fuller of humanitie, than *Pythagoras*;

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*ras* and *Empedocles*, who accustom and acquaint us to be kind and just, even to other creatures. Well, you mock and laugh at him that maketh conscience to eat of a mutton; and shall not we (say they) laugh a good and make sport when we see one cutting and chopping pieces of his father or mother being dead, and sending away some thereof to his friends who are absent, and inviting such as be present and neere at hand, to come and make merrie with the rest, causing such joints and pieces of flesh to be served up to the table, without any spare at all? But it may be, that we offend now, and commit some fault in handling these books, having not before hand cleansed our hands, mundified our eyes, purified our feet, and purged our eares; unlesse perhaps this be their cleansing and expiation, to devise & discourse of such things with sweet & pleasant words, which as *Plato* saith, wash away all salt & brackish hearing; but if a man should set these books & arguments in parallell opposition or comparison one with another, he would judge that some of them were the Philosophie of the Scythians, Tartarians, Sagidians, and Melanchlanians, of whom when *Herodotus* writeth, he is taken for a liar; and as for the sentences and opinions of *Pythagoras* and *Empedocles*, they were the very lawes, ordinances, statutes, and judgements of the auncient Greeks, according to which they framed their lives, to wit: That there were betwene us and brute beasts certaine common rights: who were they then, that afterwards otherwise ordained?

*Even they who first of iron and Steele,  
mischievous swords did forge:  
And of poore labouring ox at plough,  
began to cut the gorge.*

For even thus also began tyrants to commit murders; like as at the first in old time, they killed at *Athens* one notorious and most wicked scyophant, named *Epiridius*; so they did by accident, and likewise a third: now the Athenians being thus acquainted to see men put to death; saw afterwards *Niceratus* the sonne of *Nicias* murdered; *Theramenes* also the great commander and captaine generall; yea and *Polemarchus* the philosopher. Semblably, men began at first to eat the flesh of some savage and hurtfull beast, then some fowles and fish were flayed and caught with nets, and consequently, crueltye (being fleshed as it were, exercised and inured in these and such like slaughters) proceeded even to the poore labouring ox, to the silly sheepe that doth clad and trimme our bodies, yea, and to the house-cocke: and thus men by little and little augmenting their insatiable greedinesse, never staid untill they came to man-slaughter, to murder, yea, and to bloodie battels. But if a man can not proove nor make demonstration by sound reasons, that soules in their resurrections and new natiuities meet with common bodies; so as that which now is reasonable, becommeth afterwards reasonlesse, and likewise that which at this present is wild and savage, commeth to be by another birth and regeneration, tame and gentle againe; and that nature transmuteth and translateth all bodies, dislodging and replacing the soule of one in another,

*And cladding them with robes unknowne,  
Of other flesh, as with their owne.*

Are not these reasons yet at leastwise sufficient to reclaim and divert men from this unbridled intemperance of murdering dumb beasts? namely, that it breedeth maladies, crudities, heaviness and indigestion in the bodie, that it marreth and corrupteth the soule, which naturally is given to the contemplation of high and heavenly things? to wit, when we have taken up a wont and custome, not to feast a friend or stranger who commeth to visit us, unlesse we shed blood; and cannot celebrate a marriage dinner, or make merrie with our neighbours and friends without committing murder? And albeit the said prooffe and argument of the transmigration of soules into sundrie bodies, be not sufficiently declared, so as it may deserve to be credited and beleeved; yet surely the conceit and opinion thereof, ought to work some scruple and feare in our hearts, and in some sort hold us in & stay our hands. For like as when two armies encounter one another in a night battell; if one chauce to light upon a man fallen upon the ground, whose bodie is all covered and hidden with armour, and present his sword to cut his throat, or runne him through, and therewith heare another crying unto him, that he knoweth not certainly, but thinketh and suppoiseth that the partie lying along is his brother, his sonne, his father, or tent-fellow; whether were it better, that he giving eare and credit to this conjecture and suspicion (false though it be) should spare and forbear an enemy for a friend, or rejecting that which had no sure and evident prooffe, kill one of his friends in stead of an enemy? I suppose there

there is not one of you all but will say, that the later of these were a most grosse and leud part, Behold moreover *Merope* in the tragedy when she listeth up her ax for to strike her own sonne, taking him to be the murderer of her sonne, and saying with all:

*Have at thy head, for now I traw,  
I shall thee give a deadly blow.*

what a stirre and trouble she maketh over all the theater? how she causeth the haire to stand upright upon the heads of the spectators, for feare lest she should prevent the old man who was about to take hold of her arme, and so wound the guiltlesse yoong man her sonne? But if peradventure in this case there should have stood another aged man fast by, crying unto her: Strike hardly, for it is your enemy, and a third contrariwise, saying: Strike not in any wise, it is your owne sonne; whether had beene the greater and more grievous sinne, to let goe the revengement of her enemy for doubt that he was her sonne, or to commit filicide and murder her sonne indeed, for the anger she bare unto her enemy? When as therefore there is neither hatred nor anger that driveth us to doe a murder; when neither revenge, nor feare of our owne safetie and life mooveth us, but even for our pleasure we have a poore sheepe lying under our hand with the throat turned upward, a philosopher of the one side should say: Cut the throat, for it is a brute beast, and another admonish us on the other side, saying: Stay your hand and take heed what you doe; for what know you to the contrary, whether in that sheepe be the soule lodged of some kinsman of yours, or peradventure of some God? Is the danger (before God) all one and the same, whether I refuse to eat of the flesh, or beleeve not that I kill my child or some one of my kinsfolke?

But surely the Stoicks are not equally matched in this fight for the defence of eating flesh: For what is the reason that they so band themselves, and be so open mouthed in the maintenance of the belly and the kitchen? what is the cause that condemning pleasure as they doe, for an effeminate thing, and not to be held either good or indifferent, no nor so much as familiar and agreeable to nature, they stand so much in the parronage of those things that make to the pleasure and delight of feeding? And yet by all consequence, reason would, that considering they chase and banish from the table, all sweet perfumes and odoriferous ointments, yea, and all pastrie worke, and banketing junkets, they should be rather offended at the sight of bloud and flesh. But now, as if by their precise philosophical rules, they would controule our day-books and journals of our ordinarie expences, they cut off all the cost bestowed upon our table in things needlesse and superfluous; meane while they finde no fault with that which savoureth of bloudshed and crueltye in this superfluitie of table furniture: We doe not indeed, (say they) because there is no communication of rights betwene beasts and us; but a man might answer them againe verie well: No more is there betwene us and perfumes or other forraime and exoticall sauces, and yet you would have us to abstaine from them, rejecting and blaming on all sides, that which in any pleasure is neither profitable nor needfull. But let us I pray you consider upon this point a little neerer, to wit, whether there be any communication in right and justice, betwene us and unreasonable creatures or no? and let us doe it not subtilly and artificially, as the captious manner is of these sophisters in their disputations;

but rather after a gentle and familiar sort, having an eye unto our owne passions and affections, let us reason and decide the matter with our selves.

\* \* \* \* \*



Aaa 2

THAT



# THAT A MAN CANNOT LIVE PLEASANTLY ACCOR- DING TO THE DOCTRINE OF EPICURUS.

## The Summarie.

**G**reat disputations there have bene holden among the Philosophers and Sages of the world, as touching the sovereign good of man, as it may appeere even as this day by the books that are extant among us; and yet neither one nor other, have hit the true marke whereat they shot, to wit: The right knowledge of God: Howbeit, some of them are a great deale further out of the way than others; and namely the Epicureans, whom our author doth perswinge in many places, as holding a doctrine cleave contrary unto theirs, according as his writings doe testifie. And forasmuch as Epicurus and his disciples placed and established this sovereign good, in pleasure of the bodie: this their opinion is heere examined and confuted at large: for in forme of a dialogue Plutarch rehearseth the communication or conference which he had with Arilodemus, Zeuxippus, and Theon, as they walked together immediately after one lecture of his upon this matter, who having shewed in generall termes the absurdities of this Epicurian doctrine, maintaineth in one word: That it is no life at all for to live according to the same. Then he explaneth and sheweth what the Epicureans meane by this word To live: and from thence proceedeth forward to refute their imagination, and whatsoever dependeth thereupon, and that by sound and weighty arguments, intermingling many pretie conceits and pleasant jests, together with certaine proper similitudes for the purpose: After he had proved that they were deceived themselves, and seduced their disciples; he holdeth moreover this point: That even they deprive themselves of the true good, which consisteth in the repose and contentment of the mind, rejecting (as they doe) all Histories, Mathematicall arts and liberall sciences, and among the rest, Poetrie and Musicks, shewing throughout all this discourse that such persons are deprived of common sense. Passing forward, he holdeth and maintaineth that the soule taketh joy in a contentment proper to it selfe: and afterwards in discoursing of the pleasure that active life doth bring; he refuteth more and more his aduersarie, addressing to this purpose, a certaine conference and comparison betwene the pleasures of bodie and soule; whereby a man may see the miserie of the one, and the excellencie of the other. This point he enricheth with divers examples; the end whereof sheweth: That there is nothing as all to be counted great or profitable in the schoole of Epicurus, whose scholars never durst approve his opinion, especially in death: also: That vertuous men have without all comparison much more pleasure in this world, than the Epicureans, who in their afflictions know not how to receive any joy or comfort by remembrance of their pleasures past. And this is the very summe of the dialogue during the time that the above named persons did walke; who after they were set, began the disputation a fresh, and spake in the first place of Gods providence, condemning by divers reasons the atheisme of the Epicureans, who are altogether inexcusable, even in comparison of the common sort given to superstition: continuing and holding on this discourse, he depicteth very lively the nature of the Epicureans, and cometh to represent and let down the contentment that men of honor have in their religions; where also he holdeth this point: That God is not the author of evil; and that the Epicureans are sufficiently punished for their impietie, in depriving themselves of that pleasure which cometh unto us by meditation of the divine wisdom, in the conduct and management of all things. Consequently he sheweth that this their prophane philosophie overthroweth and confoundeth all persons, as well in their death, as during their life: Whereupon he proceedeth to treat of the immortality of the soule, and of the life to come; describing at large the misery of the Epicureans: and for a final conclusion, he compriseth in fower or five lines the summarie of all their error, and so butteth up and concludeth the whole disputation.

THAT

# THAT A MAN CANNOT live pleasantly according to the do- ctrine of Epicurus.



**C**olotes one of the disciples, and familiar followers of Epicurus, wrote and published a booke, wherein he endeavoured to proove and declare: That there was no life at all to speake of, according to the opinions and sentences of other Philosophers. Now as touching that which readily came into my minde for the answer of his challenge and the discourse against his reasons in the defence of other Philosophers, I have before time put downe in writing: but forasmuch as after the lecture and disputation of this matter ended, there passed many speeches in our walke against that sect; I thought it good to collect and gather the same, yea, and to reduce them into a written treatise; if for nothing els, yet for this cause, to give them at leastwise to understand who are so ready to note, censure and correct others, that a man ought to have heard and read with great heed and diligence (and not superficially) the works and writings of those whom he taketh upon him to reprove and refute, and not to strike out one word here & another there, or to take hold of his words delivered by way of talke & conference, and not couched and set down precisely in writing, thereby to repell and drive away the ignorant and such as have no knowledge of those things. For when as we walked forth, after the lecture (as our man was) out of the schoole into the common place of exercise, Zeuxippus moving speech, began in this wise: Me thinks (quoth he) that this discourse hath bene delivered much more mildly and gently, than becometh franknesse and libertie of speech betwixt the schooles; which is the reason that *Heraclides* and his followers be departed from us, as discontented and displeased, yea, and much more bitterly nipping and checking us (without any cause given on our part) than either *Epicurus* or *Metrodorus*. Then *Theon*: Why said you so, quoth he) that *Colotes* (in comparison of them) is the most modest and fairest spoken man in the world? For the most foule and reprochfull tearmes that can be devised for to raile and slander withall, to wit, of sacrileges, scurrilities, vanities of speech, talkative, babbling, glorious and vinting arrogancie, whoremonging, murders, counterfeited hypocrites, confiners, curled creatures, heavie-headed, brainicke, tedious and making their braines ake who readeth them: these (I say) they have raked up together, and discharged as it were haile-shot upon *Aristotle*, *Socrates*, *Pythagoras*, *Protagoras*, *Theophrastus*, *Heraclides*, *Hipparchus*, and whom not of all the most renowned and principall Philosophers? in such sort, that how well and wisely soever they have carried themselves otherwise, yet in regard of their foule mouthes, slanderous speeches, and beastly backbitings, they deserve to be sequestered farre off, and put out of the range and number of wise men and Philosophers: for envie, emulation and jealousie ought not to enter into this divine dance and heavenly quire, being to weak and impotent, that they can not dissemble and hide their griefe and discontent. Heereat *Aristodemus*: *Heraclides* (quoth hee) who by profession is a Grammarian, in the behalfe of all the poetical rabble (for so it pleaseth the Epicureans to blason them) and for all the foolish and fabulous vanities of *Homer*, hath well required *Epicurus*; or because *Metrodorus* in so many places of his writings hath reviled and abused that prince of poets: but as for them (*o Zeuxippus*) let them goe as they are: and whereas it was objected in the beginning of the speech against those men: That there was no living at all after their precepts and rules, why doe not we our selves, alone by our selves, taking unto us *Theon* for our associat (because this man here was weary) go in hand to prosecute the same thorowly? Then *Theon* made him this answer:

*This combat hath before us, bene*

*Performed by others, well I weene.*

And therefore propounding to our selves (if it please you) another marke and scope to aime at, let us (for to be revenged of the injurie done unto other philosophers) proceed after this forme of proceffe, and assay to proove and shew (if it be possible) that according to the doctrine even of these Epicureans, men can not live in joy and pleasure. Say you so? (quoth I then, and laughed heartily withall) now surely, me thinks you are leapt upon their bellies, and be readie to

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trample

trample them with both your feet: certes, you will enforce these men to fight for their verie owne flesh if you bereave them of pleasure, who doe nothing els but crie out and sing this note:

*We are in deed no champions brave,  
In fight with fists no grace we have,*

neither are we eloquent oratours, wise magistrates or prudent governours and rulers of cities or States,

*But for to scalt and make good chere,  
To eat and drinke, we have no peere.*

We love (I say) to banquet alwaies and make merie, to give our selves contentment and all the delightfull motions and pricks of the flesh, if haply any pleasure and joy thereby may be transmitted and sent into the soule: so as you seeme to me not to deprive these men of joy and solace onely, but also of their very life, in case you doe not leave them a pleasant and iocund life. How then? (quoth *Theon*) if you thinke so well of this subiect matter, why do not you set in hand to it at this present. For mine owne part (said he again) content I will be to heare you, and answer againe, if you request so much; but begin you first to set us in the traine thereof, for I will yeeld unto you the superioritie and preidence of this disputation. Now when *Theon* seemed to pretend some small excuse, *Aristodemus*: O what a compendious, ready, faire & plaine way (quoth he) have you cut us of, for to come unto this point, in not permitting us first to make inquisition unto this Epicurean sect, and to put them to their triall as touching vertue and honestie: for it is no easie matter, nay it is impossible to drive these men from a pleasant and voluptuous life, so long as they suppose and set downe this: That the supreme end of all humane felicitie lieth in pleasure; whereas, if we could once have brought this about: That they lived not honestly; presently and withall, they had bene put by their pleasant life; for they themselves confesse, and say: That a man can not live in joy, unlesse he be honest; for that the one may not stand without the other. As touching that point (quoth *Theon*) we will not sticke in the progresse of our discourse, to handle it, but for the present, we will take that which they grant, and make our use of it; this therefore they holde: That the soveraigne good whereof we speake, consisteth in the bellie and the parts thereof, as also in those other passages and conduits of the bodie, thorow which pleasure entred into it; & no pain at all: and they are of opinion that all the fine devices, subtill and wittie inventions in the world were put in triall and practised, for to please and content the bellie, or at leastwise, for the good hope that the should enjoy contentment, according as the wise Philosopher *Metrodorus* hath said and written. And verily, by this their first supposition, without going any farther, it is easie to be knowne and scene (my good friend) what a slender, poore, rotten and unsteadie foundation they have laied, to ground upon it their soveraigne good; considering that even those pores & conduits abovesaid (by which they bring in their pleasures) lie as well open to admit grievous paines; or to say more truly, there be very few waies in the bodie of man, by which, pleasure entred; whereas there is no part or member thereof, but receiveth dolor and paine. For be it granted, that all pleasures have their seat in the naturall parts, about joints, sinewes, feet and hands; why, even in these very places are bedded and seated also the most cruell and grievous passions that be; to wit, of goutie fluxes and rheumaticke ulcers, of gangrenes, tetters, wolves, cancerous sores, which corrode, eat, mortifie and putrifie the parts that they possesse. If you present unto the bodie the sweetest odours and the most pleasant favours that be, you shall finde but few places therein (and seeke thorowout) affected therewith mildly and gently to their contentment; whereas all the rest often times are grieved and offended thereby: nay there is no part at all of the body, but subiect it is to feele and suffer the smart dolors inflicted by fire, by sword, by sting, biting, scourging and whipping; the ardour of heat, the rigor of colde entereth and pierceth into all parts, like also as doth the fever: but pleasures verily are much like unto pretie puffs and gentle gales of winde, blowing after a smiling manner, some upon one extremitie that beareth out of the bodie, and some upon other, as if it were upon the rocks lying forth in the sea, they passe away, blow over and vanish incontinently, their time and continuance is so short: much like unto those meteors or fire-lights in the night, which represent the shooting of stars as if they fell from heaven, or traversed the skie from one side to the other; soone are the pleasures on a light fire, and as soone againe gone out and quenched at one instant in our flesh; but contrariwise, how long paines and dolors do endure, we cannot alledge a better testimony than that of *Philostates* in *Aeschylus*, who speaking of the paine of his ulcer, saith thus:

*That*

*That dragon fell, doth never leave his holde,  
By day or night, since first my foot he caught:  
The stinging smart goes to my heart full colde,  
By poisoned tooth which from his mouth it rought.*

Neither doth the anguish of paine lightly runne over and glide, after a tickling manner, upon other superficial parts and extremities of the bodie; but contrariwise, like as the graine or seed of the Sea-claver or Trefoile *Medica*, is writthen and full of points and angles, whereby it taketh hold of the earth and sticketh fast, and there (by reason of those points so rough and rugged) continueth a long time; even so dolor and paine, having many crotchets and hooked spines of roots, which it putteth forth and spreadeth here and there, inserteth and interlatheth it selfe within the flesh, and there abideth, not onely for a night and a day, but also for certaine seasons of whole yeeres, yea, and some revolutions of Olympiades, so that hardly and with much adoe at the last departeth, being thrust out by other paines, like as one nail is driven forth by another stronger than it. For what man was ever known to have drunke or eaten for long a time, as they endure thirst who are sicke of an ague, or abide hunger who are besieged? and where is that solace and pleasure in the companie and conversation of friends, that lasteth so long as tyrants cause them to abide torture and punishment, who fall into their hands? and all this proceedeth from nought els but the inability and untowardnesse of the body, to leade a voluptuous life; for that in truth, made it is more apt to abide paine and travell, than to joy in delights and pleasures; to endure laborious dolors, it hath strength and power sufficient; whereas to enjoy pleasures and delights, it sheweth presently how feeble and impotent it is, in that so soone it hath enough and is wearie thereof: by occasion whereof, when they see that wee are minded to discourse much as touching a voluptuous life, they interrupt and breake incontinently our purpose, confessing themselves; that bodily and fleshly pleasure is very small and feeble, or (to say a truth) transitorie, and such as passeth away in a moment; unlesse haply they are disposed to lie and speake otherwise than they thinke; like as *Metrodorus* did, when he said: That often times we sit against the pleasures of the bodie; and *Epicurus*, when he writeth: That a wise man being sicke and diseased, laugheth and rejoiceth in the middes of the greatest and most excessive paines of his corporall malady. How is it possible then, that they who so lightly and easily beare the anguish of bodily paines, should make any account of pleasures? for admit that they give no place to paines, either in greatnesse or continuance of time, yet they have at leastwise some reference and correspondence unto them, in that *Epicurus* hath given this generall limitation and common definition to them all; to wit, Indolence or a subtraction of all that which might cause and move paine; as if nature extended joy to the easement onely of dolor, and suffered it not to proceed further in augmentation of pleasure; but when it came once to this point, namely, to feele no more paine, it admitted onely certaine needlesse varieties. But the way to come with an appetite and desire to this estate, being indeed the full measure of joy and pleasure, is exceeding briebe and short; whereupon these Epicureans perceiving well, that this place is verie leane and hard, do translate and remove their soveraigne good, which is the pleasure of the bodie, as it were out of a barren soile, into a more fruitfull and fertile ground, and namely, to the soule, as if therein we should have alwaies orchards, gardens and meddowes covered over with pleasures and delights, whereas according to the saying of *Telemachus* in *Homer*:

*In Ithaca there is no spacious place,  
Affording plaine as large to runne a race.*

And even so in this poore fleshly body of ours, there is no fruition of pleasure united, plaine and smooth, but altogether rugged and rough, intermingled and delayed for the most part, with many agitations that be feverous and contrary to nature. Hereat *Zenippus* taking occasion to speake: Thinke you not then (quoth he) that these men doe very wel in this, that they begin with the body; wherein it seemeth that pleasure engendred first, & afterwards end in the soule, as in so that which is more constant & firme, reposing therein all absolute perfection? Yes I wis (quoth I) and my thinks I assure you that they doe passing well, and according to the direction of nature, in case they still search after and find that which is more perfect, and accomplished like as those persons do, who give themselves to contemplation and politicke life; but if afterwards you heare them protest and crie with open mouth, that the soule joiet in no worldly thing, nor findeth content and repose, but onely in corporall pleasure, either present and actual, or els in mere expectation thereof, and that therein alone consisteth their soveraigne good: thinke you not that they use the soule as a receptorie for the bodie, and in thus translating the pleasure

of

of the body into it, they doe as those who powre and fill wine out of one vessell that leaketh and is naught, into another that is more compact and will hold better, for to preserve and keepe it longer, as supposing thereby, to make the thing farre better, and more honourable; and verily time doth keepe well and mend the wine that is thus powred out of one vessell into another. But of pleasure, the soule receiving the remembrance onely, as the odour and smell thereof, retaineth nothing else; for that so soone as pleasure hath wrought or boyled as it were one waime in the flesh, it is soone quenched and extinguished, and that remembrance remaining thereof passeth soone away as a shadow, smoke, or tuning vapour; much like as if a man should gather and heape together a number of fantasies and cogitations of whatsoever he had eat or drunke before time, and so make his repast and food thereof, for default of other wines and viands fresh and present in place: yet see how much more modestly the Cyrenaick philosophers are affected, although they have drunke out of the same bottle with *Epicurus*; for they are of opinion, that the wanton sports of *Venus* should not be exercised openly, and in the day light, but would have the same to be hidden and covered with the darkness of the night; for feare lest our cogitation receiving cleerely by the eie sight the representations of this laid act, might estfoones inflame and stirre up the lust and appetite thereto: whereas these men contrariwise doe hold, that herein consisteth the perfection of a wise mans felicitie, for that he remembereth certainly, and retaineth surely all the evident figures, gestures, and motions of pleasures past. Now whether such precepts and rules as these, be unworthy; the name of those who make profession of wisdom, namely thus to suffer such scourings and filthy ordures of their pleasures to remain in the soule, as it were in the smoke and draught of the bodie, I purpose not to discourse at this time. But surely that unpossible it is for such matters to make a man happie, or to live a joyous life, may hereby appeere most evidently: For the pleasure of remembering delights past, cannot be very great unto those, who had but a small fruition thereof when they were present; and unto those likewise, who find it expedient for them, to have the same presented in a measure, & soone to retire & withdraw themselves from them, it cannot be profitable to think thereupon long after, considering that even with those persons who of al other be most sensual & given to fleshly pleasures, the joy & contentment abideth not at al after they have once performed the action; only there remaineth with them a certaine shadow, and the illusion (as it were in a dreame) of the pleasure that is flown away, continueth a while in their minde, for to mainteine and kindle still the fire of their concupiscence: much like unto those who in their sleepe dreame that they are drinking, or enjoying their loves; and verily such imperfect pleasures and imaginarie joys doe nothing els but more egerly whet and provoke lascivious life: neither (I assure you) is the remembrance of those pleasures which these men have enjoined in times past, delectable; but only out of the small reliques remaining of their pleasure, which are but weake, slender and feeble, the same remembrance doth renew and stirre up againe a furious appetite, which pricketh and provoketh them evidently, and giveth them no rest. Again, no likelihood there is, that even those who otherwise be sober, honest, and continently given, doe amuse themselves and busie their heads in calling to minde such matters, and to reade and count them out of a journal register or day-booke and Kalender, according as the ridiculous yeast goes of one *Carneades* who was wont to do so, namely: How often have I lien with *Hedra* or with *Leontium*? In what and how many places have I drunke Thasian wine? At how many let feasts at three weeks or twentie daies end, have I bene merie and made great and sumptuous chere? For this passionate affection of the minde, and disordinate forwardnesse, thus to call to remembrance and represent delights past, doth argue and bewray most evidently an outrageous appetite and beastly furious heat after pleasures either present, or expected and looked for: and therefore my conceit is this: That even these men themselves perceiving what absurdities doe follow hereupon, have had recourse to indolence and the good state and disposition of the body; as if to live in joy and happinesse, were to thinke and imagine upon such a complexion, that either shall be or hath bene in some persons. For this firme habit and compact constitution of the flesh (say they) and the assured hope that it will continue, bringeth an exceeding contentment, and a most sound permanent joy unto as many as can discourse and thinke thereupon in their minds: For the better proove thereof, consider first and foremost their behaviour, and what they do, namely, how they remove, tosse and transport up and downe this pleasure, indolency, or firme disposition of the flesh, (call it what you will) transferring it out of the bodie into the soule, and againe from the soule to the bodie, for that they cannot holde and stay it, being apt to slide and run from them; whereupon they are forced to tie and fasten it to some chiefe head and principle; and thus they

do stay and susteine the pleasure of the bodie with the joy of the minde, and reciprocally determine and accomplish the joy of the minde in the hope and expectation of bodily pleasure. But how is it possible, that the foundation being thus moveable and inconstant, the rest of the building upon it, should not likewise be unstedfast? or how can the hope be fast, and the joy assured, being founded upon a ground-work exposed so much unto wavering and to so many mutations as these be, which compasse and environ ordinarily the bodie, subject to a number of necessitie injuries, hurts and wounds from without, and having within the very bowels thereof, the sources and springs of many evils and maladies, which the discourse of reason is not able to avert and turne away? For otherwise it could not be, that these men (prudent and wise as they are) should have bene afflicted and tormented with the diseases of painfull strangurie or pissing drop-meale, the suppression and difficultie of urine, bloody fluxes, dysenteries and dolorous wrings in the guts, phthisicks, and consumptions of the lungs or dropries; of which maladies *Epicurus* himselfe was plagued with some, *Polyemus* with others, *Nicoles* also and *Agathobulus* had their part and were much troubled therewith, which I speake not by way of reproch unto them; for I know very well, that *Pherceides* and *Heracitus*, two singular personages, were likewise incumbered with grievous maladies: but wee would gladly require and request of them (if they will acknowledge their owne passions and accidents which they endure, and not, upon a vaine bravery of words, to win a popular favour and applause of the people, incur the crime of insolent arrogance, and be convict of leasing) either not to admit the firme and strong constitution of the flesh, for the element and principle of all joy; or els not to beare us in hand and affirm, that those who be fallen into painfull anguish and dolorous disease, doe laugh, disport, and be wantonly merie: for well it may be, that the body and flesh may be many times in good plight and in a firme disposition; but that the hope should be assured and certaine that the same will so continue, never yet could enter into a man of staid minde and sound judgement. But like as in the sea, according to the Poet *Aeschylus*,

*The night alwayes, even to a pilot wife,  
Breeds woe, for feare lest tempests should arise.  
So doth a calme*

For why? who knows what will ensue? and future time is ever uncertaine. Impossible it is therefore, that a soule which placeth and reposeth her sovereign good in the sound disposition of the bodie, and in the hope of continuance therein, should hold long without feare and trouble; for that the bodie is not onely subject to stormes and tempests without, as the sea is; but the greatest part of troublesome passions, and those which are most violent, the breedeth in herselfe, and more reason there is for a man to hope for faire weather in Winter, than to promise himselfe a constitution of bodie exempt from paine and harme, to persevere and remaine so long; for what els hath given Poets occasion and induced them to call the life of man a day-flower, unstable, unconstant and uncerteine; or to compare it unto the leaves of trees, which put out in the Spring season, fade and fall againe in Autumne; but the imbecillitie and feeblenesse of the flesh, subject to infinit infirmities, casualties, hurts and dangers? the best plight whereof, and 40 highest point of perfection, physicians themselves are wont to admonish us for to suspect, feare, diminish, and take downe. For according to the Aphorisme of *Hippocrates*: The good constitution of a body when it is at the height, is dangerous and slippery: and as *Euripides* the poet said verie well:

*Whose body strong, whose fast and brawny flesh,  
Did shew ere while a colour gaye and fresh,  
Soone gone he was, and extinct sodainly,  
As farr as that seemes to shoot and fall from sky.*

Nay, that which more is; a common received opinion it is, that those persons who are most faire and in the flowre of their beautie, if they be eie-bitten, or looked wistly upon by a witching or envious eie, sustaine much hurt and damage thereby; because the perfection and highest degree of vigour in the bodie, is most subject to a sudden alteration, by reason of very weaknesse and frailtie; and that there is small or no assurance at all that a man should leade his life without paine and sorrow, may evidently appeere by that which they themselves doe saie unto others; for they affirme: That whosoever commit wickednesse and transgresse the lawes, live all their daies in miserie and feare; for howsoever they may perhaps live undetected, yet impossible it is that they should promise themselves assured securitie, never to be discovered; in so much as the doubt and feare of future punishment, will not give them leave to take joy, or assuredly to

use the benefit of present impunity; in delivering these speeches to other, they perceive not how they speake against themselves: For seemably well it may be, that oftentimes they may have their health, and carrie able bodies about them; but to be assured that they shall continue so alwaies, or a long time, is a thing that cannot be performed; for needs they must evermore stand in doubt and distrust of their bodie for the time to come; like as women great with child, are ever grunting and groning against the time of their travell: otherwise, let them say, why they attend still a sure and confident hope of that which hetherto they never could attaine unto. Moreover, it is not sufficient to worke assured confidence, for a man to forbear sinne and wrong-doing, or not at all to offend the lawes, considering that to be afflicted justly, and for desert, is not the thing to be feared, but simply to endure paine, is fearefull and terrible. For if it be a grieft and trouble to be touched and vexed with a mans owne finnes and trespasses; he cannot chuse but be molested and disquieted also with the enormities and transgressions of others: And verily if the outrageous violence and crueltie of *Laehares* was not more offensive and troublesome to the Athenians; and likewise the tyrannie of *Dionysius* to the Syracusanes; yet I am sure at leastwise it was full as much as to their owne selves; for whiles they vexed them, tormented they were and molested themselves, and they looked to suffer punishment one time or other for their wrongs and outrages, for that they offered the same before unto their citizens and subjects who fell into their hands. What should a man alledge to this purpose, the furious rage of the multitude, the horrible and bloudie crueltie of thieves and rovers, the mischievous pranks of proud and presumptuous inheritors, plague and pestilence by contagion and corruption of the aire, as also the fell outrage of the angry sea, in a gulf whereof *Epicurus* himselfe writeth, he had like to have beene swallowed up as he failed to the citie *Lampacum*? It may suffice to relate in this place the nature onely of our body and fraile flesh, which hath within it selfe the matter of all maladies, cutting (as we say merrily in the common proverb) out of the verie ox, leather thongs; that is to say, taking paines and torments from it selfe, thereby to make life full of anguish, fearefull, and dangerous, as well to good persons as to bad; in case they have learned to rejoice, and to found the confidence and surety of their joy upon nothing else but the flesh and the hope thereof, according as *Epicurus* himselfe hath left written, as in many other of his books, so in those especially which hee entituled, *Of the soveraigne end of all good things*. We may therefore directly conclude, that these men doe hold for the foundation of a joyfull & pleasant life, not a principle that is not onely unsteadie, tottering, and not to be trusted upon, but also base, vile, and every way contemptible; if so be that to avoid evils, be their onely joy and the soveraigne felicitie that they seeke for; and in case they say: That they respect and regard naught else; and in one word: That nature herselfe knoweth not where else to lodge and bestow the said happinesse, but onely there, from whence is chased and driven away, that which might annoy and offend her; and thus hath *Metrodorus* written in his treatise against fopphiters: so that according to their doctrine, we are to make this definition of soveraigne good, even the avoidance of evil; for how can one lodge any joy, or place the said good, but onely there, from whence paine and evil hath beene dislodged & removed: To the same effect writeth *Epicurus* also, to wit: That the nature of a good thing is ingendred and ariseth from the eschuing & shunning of evil; as also that it proceedeth from the remembrance, cogitation, and joy which one conceiveth, in that such a thing happed unto him. For surely it is an inestimable and incomparable pleasure (by his saying) to wit, the knowledge alone that one hath escaped some notable hurt or great danger: And this (quoth he) is certainly the nature and essence of the soveraigne good; if thou wilt directly apply thy selfe thereto, as it is meet, and then anon rest and stay therein, without wandering to and fro, heere and there, prating and babbling I wot not what concerning the definition of the said soveraigne good. O the great felicitie and goodly pleasure which these men enjoy, rejoicing as they doe in this, that they endure none evil, feelee no paine, nor suffer sorrow! Have they not (thinke you) great cause to glorie, & to say as they doe, calling themselves immortal, and gods fellows? Have they not reason for these their grandeurs, and exceeding sublimites of their blessings, to cry out with open mouth, & as if they were possessed with the franticke furie of *Bacchus* priests, to breake forth into lowd exclamation for joy, that surpassing all other men in wisdom and quicknesse of wit, they onely have found out the soveraigne, celestially, and divine good, and that which hath no mixture at all of evil? So that now their beatitude and felicitie is nothing inferior to that of swine and sheepe, in that they repose true happinesse in the good and sufficient estate of the flesh principally, and of the soule likewise in regard of the flesh; of hogges I say and sheepe; for to speake of other beasts which are

of a more civill, gentle, and gallant nature; the height and perfection of their good, standeth not upon the avoiding of evil, considering that when they are full, and have stored their craves, some fall to singing and crowing, others to swimming; some give themselves to sleepe, others to counterfeite all kinds of notes and sounds, disposing for joy of heart and the pleasure that they take; they use to plaie together, they make pastime, they hoppe, leape, skippe, and daunce one with another, shewing thereby, that after they have escaped some evil, nature inciteth and stirreth them to fecke forward, and looke after that which is good, or rather indeed that they reject and cast from them, all that which is dolorous and contrary to their nature, as if it stood in their way, and hindered them in the pursute of that which is better, more proper & natural unto them: 10 forthat which is necessarie is not straightwaies simple good; but surely the thing that in truth is desirable and woorthie to be chosen above the rest, is situate farther, and reacheth beyond the avoidance of evil; I meane that which is indeed pleasant, and familiar to nature, as *Plato* said; who forbade expressly to call or once to esteeme the deliverance of paine and sorrow, either pleasure or joy, but to take them as it were for the rude Sciographie or first draught of a painter, or a mixture of that which is proper and strange, familiar and unnaturally, like as of blacke and white. But some there be, who mounting from the bottom to the mids, for want of knowledge, what is the lowest and the middelt, take the middle for the top and the highest pitch, as *Epicurus* & *Metrodorus* have done, who defined the essential nature and substance of the soveraigne good, to be the deliverance and riddance from evil, contenting themselves with the joy of slaves and 20 captives, who are enlarged and delivered out of prison, or eased of their irons, who take it to be a great pleasure done unto them in case they be gently washed, bathed, and annointed after their whipping-cheere, and when their flesh hath beene torne with scouges; meane-while they have no taste at all or knowledge of pure, true, and liberal joyes indeed, such as be sincere, cleane and not blemished with any feares or cicatrices, for those they never saw, nor came where they grew; for say that the scurie, scabbe, and mange of the flesh, say that the bleedrednesse or gummy watering of theumaticke eies, be troublesome infirmities, and such as nature cannot away withall, it followeth not hereupon that the scraping and scratching of the skinne, or the rubbing and clensing of the eies should bee such woonderfull matters, as to bee counted felicities: neither if we admit, that the superstitious feare of the gods, and the grievous 30 anguish and trouble arising from that which is reported of the divels in hell be evil; we are not to inferre by and by that to be exempt and delivered there fro, is happinesse, felicitie, and that which is to be so greatly wished and desired: certes, the assigne a very straight roome and narrow place for their joy, wherein to turne, to walke, too rone and tumble at ease, so farre forth onely, as not to be terrified or dismayed by the apprehension of the paines and torments described in hell, the onely thing that they desire. Lo, how their opinion which so farre passeth the common sort of people, setteth downe for the finall end of their singular wisdom, a thing, which it seemeth the very brute beasts have even of themselves: for as touching that firme constitution and indolence of the body, it makes no matter, whether of it selfe or by nature, it be void of paine and sicknesse; no more in the tranquillitie and repose of the soule, skilleth it 40 much, whether by the owne industrie or benefit of nature, it be delivered from feare and terror: and yet verily a man may well say, and with great reason, that the disposition is more firme and strong, which naturally admitteth nothing to trouble and torment it; than that which with judgement and by the light and guidance of learning doth avoid it: But set the case, that the one were as effectually and powerfull as the other; then verily it will appeere at leastwise, that in this behalte, they have no advantage and preeminence above brute beasts; to wit, in that they feelee no anguish nor trouble of spirit, for those things which are reported either of the divels in hell, or the gods in heaven; nor feare at all paines and torments, expecting when they shall have an end. That this is true, *Epicurus* verily himselfe hath put downe in writing: If (quoth he) the suspitions and imaginations of the meteoeres and impressions which both are and doe appeare 50 in the aire and skie above, did not trouble us; nor yet those of death and the pangs thereof; we should have no need at all to have recourse unto the naturall causes of all those things, no more than those dumbe beasts who entertaine no evil suspitions or fumes of the gods, nor any opinions to torment them, as touching that which shall befall unto them after death: for they neither beleve and know, nor so much as once think of any harme at all in such things. Furthermore, if in the opinion that they holde of the gods, they had reserved and left a place for divine providence, beleiving that thereby the world was governed, they might have beene thought



thought wife men as they are, to have gone beyond brute beasts for the attaining of a pleasant and joyfull life, in regard of their good hopes; but seeing all their doctrine as touching the gods tendeth to this end, namely, to feare no god, and otherwise to be searelesse and carelesse altogether, I am perswaded verily, that this is more firmly settled in those, having no sense and knowledge at all of God, than in those who say they know God; but have not learned to acknowledge him for a punishing God, and one that can punish and doe harme: for those are not delivered from superstition; and why? they never fell into it, neither have they laid away that fearefull conceit and opinion of the gods; and no marvell, for they never had any such: the same may be said as touching hell and the infernall spirits; for neither the one nor the other have any hope to receive good from thence; marie, suspect, feare and doubt what shall betide them after death those must needs, lesse, who have no fore-conceit at all of death, than they in whom this persuasion is imprinted beforehand, that death concerneth us not: and yet thus farre forth it toucheth them, in that they discourse, dispute, and consider thereupon; whereas brute beasts are altogether freed from the thought and care of such things as doe nothing pertaine unto them: true it is, that they thinne stroaks, wounds and slaughter; and thus much (I say) of death they feare, which also even to these men is dreadfull and terrible. Thus you see what good things wildome (by their owne saying) hath furnished them withall: but let us now take a sight and survey of those which they exclude themselves fro and are deprived of. As touching those diffusions of the soule, when it dilareth and spreadeth it selfe over the flesh, and for the pleasure that the flesh feeleth, if the same be small or meane, there is no great matter therein, nor that which is of any consequence to speake of; but if they passe mediocritie, then (besides that they be vaine, deceitfull and uncerteine) they are found to be comberfome and odious, such as a man ought rather to tearme, not spiritual joies and delights of the soule, but rather sensuall and grosse pleasures of the bodie, fawning, flattering and smiling upon the soule, to draw and entice her to the participation of such vanities: as for such contentments of the minde which deserve indeed and are woorthy to be called joies and delights, they be purified cleane from the contrarie, they have no mixture at all of troublefome motions, no sting that pricketh them, nor repentance that followeth them; but their pleasure is spirituall, proper and naturall to the soule; neither is the good therein borrowed abroad, and brought in from without, nor absurd and void of reason, but most agreeable and fitting thereto, proceeding from that part of the mind which is given unto contemplation of the truth, and desirous of knowledge, or at leastwise from that, which applieth it selfe to doe and execute great and honourable things: now the delights and joies adwell of the one as the other, hee that went about to number, and would straine and force himselfe to discourse how great and excellent they be, he were never able to make an end: but in briebe and few words, to helpe our memorie a little as touching this point: Histories minister an infinit number of goodly and notable examples, which yeeld unto us a singular delight and recreation to passe the time away, never breeding in us a tedious fatietie, but leaving alwaies the appetite that our soule hath to the truth, insatiable and desirous still of more pleasure and contentment; in regard whereof, untruths and very lies therein delivered, are not without their grace; for even in fables and fictions poetically, although we give no credit unto them, there is some effectuall force to delight and perswade: for thinke (I pray you) with your selfe, with what heat of delight and affection we reade the booke of *Plato* entituled *Atlantick*, or the last booke of *Homer's Iliad*? consider also with what griefe of heart we misse and want the residue of the tale behind, as if we were kept out of some beautifull temples, or faire theaters, shut fast against us? for surely the knowledge of truth in all things, is so lovely and amiable, that it seemeth, our life and very being, dependeth most upon knowledge and learning; whereas the most unpleasant, odious and horrible things in death, be oblivion, ignorance and darknesse; which is the reason (I assure you) that all men in a manner fight and warre against those who would bereave the dead of all sense, giving us thereby to understand, that they do measure the whole life, the being also, and joy of man, by the sense onely and knowledge of his minde; in such sort, that even those very things that are odious and offensive otherwise, we heare otherwhiles with pleasure; and often times it falleth out, that though men be troubled with the thing they heare, so as the water standeth in their eyes, and they be ready to weepe and cry out for griefe, yet they desire those that relate the same to say on and speake all: as for example, *Oedipus* in *Sophocles*.

THE MESSENGER.

Alas, my lord, I see that now I shall

relate

Relate the thing which is the worst of all.

OR D I P U S.

Woe is me likewise: to heare it I am preft,  
There is no helpe; say on, and tell thereof.

But peradventure this may be a current and streame of intemperate pleasure and delight, proceeding from a curiositie of the minde and will, too forward to heare and know all things, yea, and to offer violence unto the judgement and discourse of reason: howbeit, when as a narration or historie containing in it no hurtfull and offensive matter, besides the subject argument, which consisteth of brave adventures and worthy exploits, is penned and couched in a sweet stile, with a grace and powerfull force of eloquence; such as is the historie of *Herodotus* as touching the Greeke affaires, or of *Xenophon* concerning the Persian acts, as also that which *Homer* with an heavenly spirit hath endued and delivered in his verses, or *Eudoxus* in his peregrinations and description of the world, or *Aristotle* in his treatise of the founding of cities and governments of State, or *Aristoxenus* who hath left in writing, the lives of famous and renowned persons; in such (I say) there is not onely much delight and contentment, but also there ensueth thereupon no displeasure nor repentance. And what man is he, who being hungry, would more willingly eat the good and delicate meats? or athirst, desire and chuse to drinke the daintie and pleasant wines of the Phocacians, rather than reade that fiction and discourse of the voiage and pilgrimage of *Ulysses*? and who would take more pleasure to lie with a most faire and beautiful woman, than to sit up all night, reading either that which *Xenophon* hath written of *Ladice Panthea*, or *Aristobulus* of dame *Timoclea*, or *Theopompus* of faire *Thisbe*? These be the pleasures and joies indeed of the minde: but our Epicureans reject likewise, all those delights which proceed from the fine inventions of the Mathematicall sciences: and to say a trueth, a historie runneth plaine, even, simple and uniforme; whereas the delectation that we have in Geometric, Astronomie and Musicke, have besides (I wot not what) forcible bait of varietie so attractive, that it seemeth men are charmed and enchanted by them; so forcibly they allure, and so mightily they holde men with their delineations and descriptions, as if they were to many forceries, spells and incantations: so that whosoever hath once tasted thereof, so he be practised and exercised therein, he may go all about well enough, chanting these verses of *Sophocles*:

30 The furious love of *Misfess* mine  
Hath heart and minde possessed mine:  
Thus ravished, fast I me lie  
To crest and cape of mountaine hie:  
Melodious songs, and sound withall  
Opleasant harpe, me forth doth call.

Certes, *Thamyas* exercised his poetical head about nothing els; no more verily did *Eudoxus*, *Aristarchus* and *Archimides*. For seeing that studious and industrious painters tooke so great pleasure in the excellency of their works, that *Nicias* when he was painting *Homer's Neevia* (that is to say, the calling forth and raising the ghosts of folke departed) being so affectionate to it, 40 forgot himselfe and asked his servitours estoones about him, whether he had dined or no: and when *Ptolomus* king of *Aegypt* sent unto him threecore talents for the said picture after it was finished, he refused the same, and would never sell, or part with his handy-work. What pleasure reaped (thinke you) and how great delight tooke *Euclides* in Geometrie and Astrologie, when he wrote the propositions of Perspective; and *Philip* when he composed the demonstrations of the divers formes and shapes appearing in the Moone? *Archimedes* also, when by the angle called *Gonia*, he found out, that the Diameter of the Sun is just so bigge a part of the greatest circle, as the angle is of foure right lines; *Apollonius* likewise and *Aristarchus*, who were the inventours of the like propositions; the contemplation and knowledge whereof, even at this day, bringeth exceeding pleasure and wonderfull generosity & magnanimity unto those who 50 can intend to study upon them. And verily those base and abject pleasures of the kitchen and brothell-house, we ought not so much as to compare with these, and thereby to contaminate and disgrace the sacred Muses and their mountaine *Helicon*,

Where shepheard none durst tend his flocks,  
On hill above or vale below:  
Nor edged tooke was known to shoake  
Or cut one tree that there did grow.

But these pleasures are indeed the intemperate & undefiled pastures of the gentle bees; whereas

D d d

those

those other resemble properly, the itching lusts of swine and goats, which over and besides the bodie, fill with their filthie ordure the sensuall part of the soule, subject to all passions and perturbations. True it is, that lust and desire to enjoy pleasures, is a passion adventurous and hardie enough to enterprize many and sundrie matters; yet was there never any man found so amorous, who for joy that he had embraced his paramour, sacrificed a beete; nor ever was there knowne so notorious a glutton, who withed in his heart and desired, so he might first fill his bellie with delicate viands and princely banquetting dishes, to die presently: and yet *Endoxus* made this praiser, that he might stand nere unto the sunne, for to learne the forme, the magnitude and the beauty of that planet, upon condition to be burnt presently, as *Phaëron* was, with the beames thereof. *Pythagoras* for the prooffe of one proposition or figure which he had invented, sacrificed an ox, as *Apollodorus* hath recorded in this Dysticon:

*No sooner had Pythagoras this noble figure found,  
But solemnly he sacrific'd an ox, even in that sound.*

Whether it were that slope line in Geometrie, called *Hypotenusa*, which answering directly to the right angle of a triangle, is as much in effect as the other two that comprehend and make the said angle; or rather that linearie demonstration or proposition, whereby he measured the plot in a parabolike section of a Cone or round pyramidall figure. As for *Archimedes*, he was so intentive and busie in drawing his Geometrical figures, that his servants were faine by force to pull him away to be washed and anointed; and even then he would with the strigill or bath-combe (which served to currie and rub his skin) draw figures even upon his very bellie: and one day above the rest, having found out whiles he was a bathing, the way to know, how much golde the gold-smith had robbed in the fashion of that crowne which king *Hiero* had put forth to making, he ran forth suddenly out of the baine, as if he had beene frantike, or inspired with some fanatical spirit, crying out; *Heweca, Heweca*, that is to say, I have found it, I have found it, iterating the same many times all the way as he went. But we never heard of any glutton so given to gourmandise & belly cheere, who went up and downe crying *Bebroca*, that is to say, I have eaten, I have eaten; nor of a wanton & amorous person, who having enjoied his love, would set up this note, *Ephilesa*, that is to say, I have kist, I have kist. Norwithstanding there have beene & are at this day, a thousand millions, even an infinit number of lascivious & loose persons: But contrariwise, we detest and abhorre those, who upon an affection, braverie and pride, make reherall what feasts they have beene at, as persons who highly account of so base and unworthy pleasures, which men ought indeed to have in contempt. Whereas in reading the works of *Endoxus*, *Archimedes*, and *Hipparchus*, we are ravished and transported as it were with some heavenly and divine delight; believing that saying of *Plato* to be true, who writeth: That the Mathematicall arts, howsoever they be contemned, by those that be ignorant, and for default of knowledge and understanding neglected; yet for the grace and delight that they yeeld, be more and more in request, even in despite of those blind and blockish persons: All which pleasures so great and so many in number, running alwaies as a river; these men heere doe turne and derive another way, for to empeach and hinder those who approach unto them, and give eare unto their doctrine, that they should not once taste thereof, but command them to set up and spread all their maine sailes, and flie away as fast as they can. Yea, and that which more is, all those of this sect, both men and women, pray and request *Pythocles* (for *Epicurus* sake) not to make any account of those arts which we name liberall: And in praising our *Apelles*, among other singular qualities, that they attribute unto him, they set downe this for one: That from his first beginning he had forborne the studie of the Mathematicks, and by that meanes kept himselfe unperturbed and undefiled: As for histories (to say nothing, how of all other sciences they have neither heard nor scene any) I will cite onely the words of *Metradorus* writing of Poets: Tush (quoth he) be not abashed nor thinke it a shame to confesse that thou knowest not, of whether side *Hæstor* was, of the Grecks part or of the Trojans; neither thinke it a great matter if thou be ignorant what were the first verses of *Homers* Poeme, and regard thou as little those in the mids.

Now forasmuch as *Epicurus* wilt well enough, that the pleasures of the body (like unto the aniverfarie Etesian minds) doe blow over and passe away, yea and after the flower of mans age is once gone, decay sensibly, and cease altogether; therefore he mooveth a question: Whether a wife man, being now farre steeped in yeeres, and not able any more to keepe company with a woman, taketh pleasure still in wanton touching, feeling or handling of faire and beautifull persons: Wherein verily he is farre from the minde and opinion of *Sophocles*; who rejoiced and thanked God, that hee had escaped from this voluptuous and fleshly love, as from the yoke, chaine,

chaine, or clogge of some violent and furious master. Yet rather ought these sensuall and voluptuous persons, seeing that manie delights and pleasures corporally, doe fade and decaie in old age,

*And that with aged folk in this,  
Dame Venus much offended is.*

(as saith *Euripides*) to make provision then most all, of other spirituall pleasures, and to be stored before-hand, as it were against some long siege, with such drie victuals as are not subject to putrefaction and corruption: Then I say should they hold their solomne feasts of *Venus*, & goodly morrow-minds, to passe the time away by reading some pleasant histories, delectable poems, or pretie speculations of musick or geometric: And verily they would not so much as thinke any more of those blind feelings and bootlesse handlings (as I may tearme them) which indeed are no more but the pricks and provocations of dead wantonnesse, if they had learned no more but as *Aristotle*, *Heraclides*, and *Dicaearchus* did, to write of *Homer* and *Euripides*: But they being never careful and provident to purvey such victuals, and seeing all the rest of their life otherwise to be unpleasant, and as drie as a kex, (as themselves are wont to say of vertue) yet willing to enjoy still their pleasures continually, but finding their bodies to say nay, and not able to performe the same to their contentment, they bewray their corruption in committing foule and dishonest acts out of season, enforcing themselves (even by their owne confessions) to awaken, stirre up, and renew the memorie of their former pleasures in times past, and for want of freesh and new delights, making a shift to serve their turne with the old & tale, as if they had beene long kept in salt-pickle, or compast, untill their goodnesse and life were gone; desirous they are to stirre, kindle, and quicken others that lie extinct in their flesh, as it were raked up in dead and cold ashes long before, cleane against the course of nature; and all for default that they were not provided before of some sweet thing laid up in their soule, proper unto her, and delight some according to her worthinesse: As for other spirituall pleasures wee have spoken of them already, as they came into our minde: but as touching musick, which bringing with it so many contentments, & so great delights, men yet reject & flie fro, no man I now would willingly passe it over in silence, considering the absurd and impatient speeches that *Epicurus* giveth out for in his questions he maintaineth: That a wife man is a great lover of shewes & spectacles, delighting above all others to heare and see the pastimes, sports, & fights, exhibited in theatres during the feast of *Bacchus*; yet wil not he admit any musickal problems, any disputations or witty discourses of Criticks in points of humanitie & learning, so much as at the very table, in dinner and supper time; but giveth counsell unto kings and princes that be lovers & favorers of literature, to abide rather the reading & hearing of military narrations & stratagemes at their feasts & banquets, yea, and scurrill talke of buffons, pleasan, and jesters, than any questions propounded or discussed, as touching musick or poetrie: for thus much hath he delivered in his booke entitled: *Of Royallie*: as if hee had written the same to *Sardanapalus* or *Naratus*, who was in times past a great potentate and lord of *Babylon*. Certes, neither *Hiero* nor *Attalus*, ne yet *Archelaus*, would ever have bene perswaded to remove and displace from their tables such *Erui- 40 pides*, *Simonides*, *Melanippides*, *Crates* or *Diodorus*, for to set in their roomes *Cordax*, *Arianes* and *Callias*, known jesters and notorious ribaunds; or some parasiticall *Thrasimides* and *Thrasyleons*, who could skill of nothing els but how to make folke laugh, in counterfeiting lamentable yellings, groanes, howlings, and all to move applause and clapping of hands. If king *Ptolemus* the first of that name, who also first erected a librarie, and founded a colledge of learned men, had light upon these goodly rules and royall precepts of his putting downe, would not he have exclaimed and said unto the Samians:

*O Muses faire, & ladies deere,  
What envie, and what spite is heere!*

For, becomming it is not any Athenian thus maliciously to be bent unto the Muses, and be at 50 warre with them: but according to *Pindarus*;

*Whom Jupiter doth not vouchsafe  
His love and favour for to have.  
Amaz'd they stand and quake for feare,  
When they the voice of Muses heare.*

What say you, *Epicurus*? you goe early in the morning by breake of day unto the Theater, to heare musicians playing upon the harpe and lute, or founding flawmes and hautboies: if then it fortune at the table, in time of a banquet, that *Theophrastus* sheweth of Symphonies and

muslicall accords? or *Aristoxenes*, of changes and alteration of tunes? or *Aristophanes* of *Homer's* works, will you stop your eares with both hands because you would not heare, for that you so abhorre and detest them? Surely, there was more civillity yet and honestie (by report) in that barbarous king of *Sythia*, *Areas*, who when that excellent minstrell *Ismenius*, being his captive, taken prisoner in the warres, plaied upon the flute before him as hee sat at dinner, swaie a great oath, that he tooke more pleasure to heare his horse neigh. Doe not these men (thinke you) confesse and grant (when they be well charged) that they have given defence to vertue and honestie, proclaiming mortall and irreconcilable warre, without all hope of truce, parle, composition and peace? for surely, setting pleasure onely aside, what other thing is there in the world (be it never so pure, holy and venerable) that they embrace and love? Had it not beene more reason, for the leading of a joyfull life, to be offended with sweet perfumes, and to reject odoriferous oiles and ointments, as beetles, jeyres and vultures doe, than to abhorre, detest and shun the talke and discourses of Humanitians, Criticks, Grammarians and Musicians? for, what manner of flute or hautboies, what harpe or lute how well forever set, tuned, and fitted for long,

*What quire resounding loud and shrill  
From pleasant mouth and breast so sweeter,  
A long in parts, set with great skill,  
When cunning men in musick mee?*

so greatly delighted *Epicurus* and *Metrodorus*, as the discourses, the rules and precepts of quires and carols, the questions and propositions concerning flutes and hautboies, touching proportions, consonances & harmonical accords would affect *Aristotle*, *Theophrastus*, *Hicronymus* and *Dicaearchus*? as for example, what is the reason, that of two pipes or flutes (otherwise even and equally) that which hath the straighter and narrower mouth, yeeldeth the bigger and more base found? also, what might be the cause, that the same pipe when it is lifted and set upward, becometh loud in all the tones that it maketh; but holde it downward once, it foundeth as low? so doth one pipe also when it is set close unto another, give a base found; but contrariwise, if it be disjoined and put asunder, it foundeth higher and more shrill. As also, how it cometh to passe that if a man vow chaffe or cast dust thicke upon the stage or scaffold in a Theater, the people there assembled be deafe and cannot heare the plaiers or minstrels? Semblably, when king *Alexander the Great* was minded to have made in the citie of *Pella* the forepart of the stage in the Theater, all of braffe; what mooved his workman or Architec not to permit him so to doe, for feare it would drowne and dull the voice of the plaiers? Finally, why among sundry kinds of Musicke, that which is called Chromaticall, delighteth, enlargeth and joiceth the heart, whereas the Harmonicall contracteth and draweth it in, making it sad and dumpish? Moreover, the manners and natures of men which Poets represent in their writings, their wittie fictions, the difference and varietie of their stile, the solution of darke doubts and quaint questions, which (besides a delightsome grace and beautifull elegance) carie with them a familiar and perswasive power, whereout each one may reape profit; inso much as they are able (as *Xenophon* saith) to make a man forget even love it selfe, so effectually is this pleasure and delight. Howbeit, the Epicureans here have no feeling and experience; nay, which is woofe, they desire to have none, as they say themselves; but employing the whole contemplative part of the soule, in thinking upon nothing els but the bodie, and plucking it downward together with sensuall and carnall lusts, as fishers nets with little rols and plummets of lead, they differ nothing at all from horsekeepers or shepherds and other herdmen, who lay before their beasts, hay, straw, or some kinde of grasse and herbs, as the proper fodder & forage for the cattell which they have in charge: for do they not even so intend to feed the soule fat (as men franke up swine) with bodily pleasures; in that they would have her to be glad for the hope shee hath that the body shall shortly enjoy some pleasure, or els in the remembrance of those which it hath enjoyed in times past: as for any proper delight or particular pleasure of her owne, they suffer her to receive none from herselfe, not so much as to seeke thereafter.

And verily, can there be any thing more absurd & beside all apparance and shew of reason, than (whereas there be two parts whereof man is compounded, to wit, soule and body, of which the soule is more worth, and placed in the higher degree) to say and affirme, that there is in the bodie some good thing, proper, peculiar, familiar, and naturall unto it, and none in the soule; but that the fits still tending the bodie, and looking onely to it? that the smileth upon the passions and affections thereof, joying and taking contentment with it onely; having of herselfe

selfe originally no motion, no election, no choise, no desire nor pleasure at all? Now surely they should either by putting off their maske and discovering themselves, have gone roundly to worke, making man flesh, and nothing else but flesh; as some there be who flatly denie, that there is any spirituall substance in him; or else leaving in us two different natures, they ought to have let either of them alone by it selfe, with their severall good and evil; that I say which is familiar or contrarie unto it: like as among the five senses, everie one is defined & appropriated to one object sensible, although all of them by a certaine wonderfull sympathy be affected one to the other. Now the proper sensitive organ or instrument of the soule is, the understanding; and to say that the same hath no peculiar subject to worke upon, no proper spectacle to behold, no familiar motion, no naturall and inbred passion or affection, in the fruition whereof it should take pleasure and delight, is the greatest absurditie of all others: And verily this is the saying of these men; unless haply some there be, who ere they be aware, charge upon them some slanderous and false imputations. Heere began I to speake and say unto him: Not so fir, if we may be judges; but I pray you let be, all action of inquirie, and proceed hardly to finishe and make an end of your discourse. And why (quoth he) should not *Aristodemus* succeed after me, if you haply refuse flatly, or be loth to speake? You say true indeed, (quoth *Aristodemus*) but that shall not be untill you be wearie of speech, as this man is; and for the present, since you are yet fresh and in heart, I beseech you my good friend, spare not your selfe, but use your facultie, lest you be thought for very sloth and idleness to draw back and goe out of the lists. Certes (quoth *Theon* then) it is but a small matter, and the same very easie which is behind; for there remaineth no more but to shew and recount how many joies and pleasures there be in active life, and that part of the soule which is given to action? Firist and formost, even they themselves in some place graunt and confesse; that it is a greater pleasure to doe good, and to benefit others, than to receive a benefit from another; as for good turnes, a man I confesse may doe them in bare words and sayings; but surely the most and greatest are performed by acts and deeds, and thus much doth the verie word of benefit or welldoing import; and even they themselves tell us no lesse: For but a while since, we heard this man report, what words and speeches *Epicurus* delivered; what letters he wrote and sent unto his friends, in extolling, praising, and magnifying *Metrodorus*; how bravely and valiantly he went downe from the citie of *Athens* to the port *Pyreum*, for to aid and succour *Mithris* the Syrian, albeit *Metrodorus* did no service at all in that fallie: What manner of pleasures then, and how great ought we to esteeme those which *Plato* enjoined, when *Dion* a scholar of his & one of his bringing up, rose up to put downe the tyrant *Dionysius*, & to deliver the state of *Sicily* from servitude? what contentment might *Aristotle* find, when he caused the citie of his nativitie which was ruinate and raised to the ground to be reedified, and his countreymen & fellow-citizens to be called home who were banished? what delights and joies were those of *Theophrastus* and *Phidias*, who deposed and overthrew those tyrants who usurped the lordly dominion of their countrey? and for private persons in particular, how many they relieved, not in sending unto them a strike or a bulhell of come and meale, as *Epicurus* sent unto some; but in working and effecting, that those who were exiled out of their native countrey, driven from their owne houses, and turned out of all their goods, might returne home againe and reenter upon all; that such as had bene prisoners and lien in irons, might be delivered and set at large; as many also as were put from their wives and children, might recover and enjoy them againe: What need I make rehearfall unto you, who know all this well enough? But surely the impudence and absurditie of this man, I can not (though I would) passe over with silence, who debasing and casting under foot the acts of *Themistocles* and *Miltiades* as he did, wrot of himselfe to certaine of his friends in this sort: Right nobly, valiantly, and magnificently, have you shewed your endeavour and care of us, in provision of corne to furnish us withall; and againe you have declared by notorious signes, which mount up into heaven, the singular love and good will which you beare unto me. And if a man observe the manner of this stile and writing, he shall find, that if he take out of the miseries of this great philosopher, that which concerneth a little corne, all the words besides are so curiously couched and penned, as if the epistle had bene written purposely as a thanksgiving for the safety of all *Greece*, or at leastwise, for delivering, setting free, and preserving the whole citie and people of *Athens*.

What should I busie my head to shew unto you, that for the delights of the bodie, nature had need to be at great cost and expences; neither doth the chiefe pleasure which they seeke after, consist in course basket-bread, in pease pottage; or lencile broth; but the appetites

of these voluptuous persons, call for exquisite and daintie viands, for sweete and delicate wines, such as those be of *Thasos*, for sweet odours, pleasant perfumes, and precious ornaments, for curious junkets and banquetting dishes, for tarts, cake-bread, marchpanes, and other pastrie works, well wrought, beaten and tempered with the sweet liquor gathered by the yellow winged Bee: over and besides all this, their mind stands also to faire and beautiful young damosels, they must have some pretie *Leontium*, some fine *Boisbon*, some sweet *Hedra*, or daintie *Xycedion*, whom they keepe and nourish of purpose within their gardens of pleasure, to be ready at hand. As for the delights and joies of the mind, there is no man but will confesse and say: That founded they ought to be upon the greatnesse of some noble actions, and the beautie of worthy and memorable works, if we would have them to be not vaine, base and childeish; but contrariwise, reputed grave, generous, magnificent and manlike; whereas to vaunt and glory of being let loose to a dissolute course of life and the fruition of pleasures and delights, after the manner of sailors and mariners when they celebrate the feast of *Venus*; to boast also and please himselfe in this: That being desperately sicke of that kinde of drop sic which the Physicians call *Asites*, he forbore not to feast his friends still, and keepe good companie, neither spared to adde and gather more moisture and waterish humours still unto his drop sic: and remembering the last words that his brother *Neocles* spake upon his death-bed, melted and confounded with a speciall joy and pleasure of his owne, tempered with teares; there is no man (I trow) of sound judgement and in his right wits, who would tearme these foolish follies, either found joies or perfect delights; but surely, if there be any Sardonian laughter (as they call it) belonging also to the soule, it is feared (in my conceit) even in such joies and mirths mingled with teares as these, which do violence unto nature: but if any man shal say, that these be solaces, let him compare them with others, and see how farre these excell and go beyond them which are expressed by these verses:

*By sage advice I have effected this,  
That Spartacus martiall fame eclipsed is.*

Also:

*This man, o friend and stranger both,  
was while he lived heere,  
The great and glorious starre of Rome,  
his native citie decre.*

Likewise:

*I nor nor what I should you call,  
An heavenly God and man mortall.*

And when I set before mine eyes the noble and worthy acts of *Thrasibulus* and *Pelopidas*; or behold the victories either of *Aristides* in that journey of *Plataea*, or of *Miltiades* at the battell of *Marathon*, I am even ravished and transported besides my selfe, and forced to say with *Heredotus*, and deliver this sentence: That in this active life, there is more sweetnesse and delectation, than glorie and honour: and that this is so, *Epaminondas* will beare me witness, who (by report) gave out this speech, that the greatest contentment which ever he had during his life, was this: That his father and mother were both alive to see that noble Trophée of his, for the victorie that he won at *Leutres*, being generall of the Thebans against the Lacedaemonians. Compare we now with this mother of *Epaminondas*, *Epicurus* his mother, who tooke so great joy to see her sonne keeping close in a daintie garden and orchard of pleasure, where he and his familiar friend *Polyenus* gat children in common, upon a trull and courtesan of *Cyzicum*: for, that both mother and sister of *Metrodorum* were exceeding glad of his marriage, may appeare by his letters missive written unto his brother, which are extant in his books; and yet they goe up and downe everie where crying with open mouth: That they have lived in joy, doing nought els but extoll and magnifie their delicate life, faring much like unto slaves when they solemnize the feast of *Saturne*, supping and making good cheere together, or celebrate the Bacchanales, running about the fields; so as a man may hardly abide to heare the utas and yelling noise they make, when upon the insolent joy of their hearts, they brake out into many fooleries, and utter they care not unto whom, as vaine and fond speeches, in this manner:

*Why say'st thou still, thou wretched lout,  
Come let us drinke and quaffe about:  
The meats upon the board set are,  
Be merie man, and make no spare:*

*No sooner are these words let fall,  
But all at once they howl and crye;  
The pots then walke, one fills out wine,  
Another brings a garland fine  
Of flowers full fresh, his head to crowne,  
And decks the cup, while wine goes downe:  
And then the minstrell, Phoebus knight,  
With faire Greene branch of Laurel dight,  
Sets out his rude and rustie brote,  
And sings a filthy tunelesse note:  
With that one thrusts the pipe him fro,  
And sounds his wench an a bedfello.*

Do not (thinke you) the letters of *Metrodorum* resemble these vanities, which he wrote unto his brother in these tearmes? There is no need at all, *Timocrates*, neither ought a man to expose himselfe into danger for the safetie of *Greece*, or to straine and busie his head to winne a coronet among them, in testimonie of his wisdom; but he is to eat, and drinke wine merily, so as the bodie may enjoy all pleasure, and susteine no harme. And againe in another place of the same letters he hath these words: Oh how joyfull was I, and glad at heart! Oh what contentment of spirit found I, when I had learned once of *Epicurus*, to make much of my bellie, and to gratifie it, as I ought! For to say a trueth to you, o *Timocrates*, that art a Naturalist: The soveraigne good of a man lieth about the bellie.

In summe, these men doe limit, set out and circumscribe the greatnesse of humane pleasure within the compasse of the bellie, as it were within center and circumference; but surely impossible it is, that they should ever have their part of any great, roial and magnificent joy, such as indeed causeth magnanimitie and haughtinesse of courage, bringeth glorious honour abroad, or tranquillitie of spirit at home, who have made choise of a close and private life within doores, never shewing themselves in the world, nor meddling with the publicke affaires of common weale; a life (I say) sequestred from all offices of humanitie, farre removed from any instinct of honour, or desire to gratifie others, thereby to deserve thanks, or winne favour: for the soule (I may tell you) is no base and small thing, it is not vile and illiberal, extending her desires onely to that which is good to bee eaten, as doe these poulps or poureutle fishes which stretch their cleies as farre as to their meat and no farther; for such appetites as these, are most quickly cutt off with fatietie, and filled in a moment; but when the motions and desires of the minde tending to vertue and honestie, to honour also and contentment of conscience, upon vertuous deeds and well doing, are once grown to their vigor and perfection, they have not for their limit, the length and tearme onely of mans life: but surely, the desire of honor, and the affection to profit the societie of men, comprehending all eternitie, striveth still to goe forward in such actions and beneficiall deeds as yeld infinit pleasures that cannot be expressed; which joies, great personages and men of woorth can not shake off and avoid though they would: for sic they from them what they can, yet they environ them about on every side, they are readie to meet them whersoever they goe, when as by their beneficence and good deeds they have once refreshed and cheered many other: for of such persons may well this verse be verified:

*To towne when that he comes, or there doth walk:  
Men him behold as God, and so doe talk.*

For when a man hath so affected and disposed others, that they are glad and leape for joy to see him, that they have a longing desire to touch, salute, & speak unto him; who seeth not (though otherwife he were blinde) that he findeth great joies in himselfe, and enioith most sweet contentment: this is the cause that such men are never wearie of well doing, nor thinke it a trouble to be employed to the good of others; for we shall evermore heare from their mouths these 50 and such like speeches:

*Thy father thee begat and brought to light,  
That thou one day might'st profuse many a night.*

Again,

*Let us nor cease, but shew a mende,  
Of doing good to all mankind.*

What need I to speake here of those that bee excellent men, and good in the highest degree? for if to any one of those who are not extremely wicked, at the very point and instant of death; he

he in whose hands lieth his life, be he a god or someking, should graunt one howtes respit, and permit him to employ himselfe at his owne choise, either to execute some memorable act, or else to take his pleasure for the while, so that immediately after that howre past, he should goe to his death: How many thinke you would chuse rather during this small time, to lie with that courtifane and famous trumpet *Lais*, or drink liberally of good Ariusian wine, than to kill the tyrant *Archis*, for to deliver the citie of *Thebes*, from tyrannicall servitude? for mine owne part verily, I suppose, that there is not one: for this I observe in those sword-fencers, who fight at sharpe a combat to the utterance, such I meane as are not altogether brutish and savage, but of the Greekish nation, when they are to enter in place for to performe their devoirt, notwithstanding there be presented unto them many deintie dishes, and costly cates, chuse rather at this very time to recommend unto their friends, their wives and children, to manumise and enfranchise their slaves, than to serve their bellies and content their sensuall appetites: But admit that these bodily pleasures be great matters, and highly to be accounted of, the same are common also even to those that leade an active life, and manage affaires of State: For as the Poet saith:

*Wine muscadell they drinke, and likewise eat  
Fine manchet bread, made of the whitest wheat.*

They banquet also, and feast with their friends, yea and much more merrily (in my conceit, after they be returned from bloudie battels or other great exploits and important services; like as *Alexander* & *Agessilus*; *Phocion* also and *Epaminondas* were wont to do) than these who are appointed against the fire, or carried easily in their litters: and yet such as they, mocke and scorne those, who indeed have the fruition of other greater and more deintie pleasures: for what should a man speake of *Epaminondas*, who being invited to a supper unto his friends house, when he saw that the provision was greater and more sumptuous than his state might well beare, would not stay and suppe with him, but said thus unto his friend: I thought you would have sacrificed unto the gods, and not have bene a wastefull and prodigall spender: and no marvell; for king *Alexander* the Great refused to entertaine the exquisit cooks of *Ada* Queene of *Caria*; saying: That he had better about him of his owne to dresse his meat, to wit, for his dinner or breakfast, early rising and travelling before day-light; and for his supper, a light and hungry dinner. As for *Philoxenus* who wrote unto him concerning two most faire and beautiful boies, to this effect, whether he should buy them for to send unto him or no: he had like to have lost the place of government unto him, for his labour: and yet to say a trueth, who might have better done it than *Alexander*? But like as of two paines & griefs (as *Hippocrates* saith) the lesse is dulled and dimmed (as it were) by the greater; even so, the pleasures proceeding from vertuous and honourable actions, do darken and extinguishe (by reason of the minds joies, and in regard of their exceeding greatnesse) those delights which arise from the bodie. And if it be so as these Epicureans say, that the remembrance of former pleasures and good things, be materiall and make much for a joyfull life; which of us all will beleieve *Epicurus* himselfe, that dying (as he did) in most grievous paines and dolorous maladies, he eased his torments or asswaged his anguish by calling to minde those delights which beforetime he had enjoyed? For surely, it were an easier matter to beholde the resemblance of ones face in the bottome of a troubled water, or amid the waves during a tempest, than to conceive and apprehend the smiling and laughing remembrance of a pleasure past, in so great a disquietnesse and bitter vexation of the body; whereas the memorie of vertuous and praise-worthy actions, a man can not (would he never so faine) chafe and drive out of his minde. For how is it possible, that *Alexander* the Great, should ever forget the battell at *Arbela*? or *Pelopidas*, the defeature of the tyrant *Leontiades*? or *Themistocles*, the noble field fought before *Salamis*? for as touching the victorie at *Marathon*, the memoriall thereof the Athenians doe solemnize with feasts even to this day; like as the Thebans celebrate the remembrance of the famous fight at *Leutres*: and wee verily (as you know well enough) make feasts for the victorie of *Daiphantus* before the citie *Hyampolis*; and not onely we, keepe yeerely holiday then, but also the whole country of *Phocis* (upon that anniverfarye day) is full of sacrifices and due honours: neither is there one of us that taketh so great contentment of all that hee eateth or drinketh at such a festivall time, as he doth in regard of the remembrance of those noble acts which those brave men performed: we may well gesse and consider therefore, what joy, what mirth, what gladnesse and solace of heart accompanied them all their life time after, who executed these noble feats of armes, considering that after five hundred yeeres and above, the memorie of them is fresh, and the same attended with so great cheere and rejoicing. And yet *Epicurus* himselfe doth acknowledge, that of glorie there doe arise certaine joies and pleasures;

pleasures; for how could he doe lesse, seeing that himselfe is so desirous thereof, that he is even mad withall, and fareth after a furious manner to attaine thereto; insomuch, as not onely he disavoweth his owne masters and teachers, contesteth against *Democritus* (whose opinions and doctrines he stealeth word for word) upon certaine syllables and nice points, mainteining that there never was any wife man nor learned cleaerke, setting himselfe and his disciples aside: but also, which more is, he hath bene so impudent, as to say and write; that *Colotes* adored him as a god, touching his knees full devoutly, when he heard him discourse of naturall causes; and that his brother *Neoteles* affirmed and gave out even from his infancie; that *Epicurus* had never his like or fellow, for wildome and knowledge; as also, that his mother was happie and blessed for bearing in her womb such a number of Atomes, that is to say, indivisible small bodies, who concurring all together, framed and formed so skilfull a personage. Is not this all one with that which *Callistarchides* sometime said of *Conon*: That he committed adulterie with the sea; even so a man may say that *Epicurus* (secretly by stealth and shamefully) made love unto Glory, and went about to solicit, yea, force her by violence, not being able to win and enjoy her openly; whereupon he became passionate and love-sicke: for like as a mans bodie in time of famine, for that it hath no food and nourishment otherwise, is constrained even against nature, to feed upon the owne substance; even so ambition and thirst after glorie, doth the like hurt unto the soules of ambitious persons: for being readie to die for thirst of glorie, and seeing they can not have it otherwise, enforced they are to praise themselves. But they that be thus passionately affected with desire of praise and honour, confesse not they manifestly, that they reject, forgo and neglect great pleasures and delights; when through their feeble, lazie and base minds, they flie from publicke offices of State, forbear the management of affaires, and regard not the favours of kings and following of great persons; from whence *Democritus* saith; there accrue unto man many ornaments to grace and commend this life: For *Epicurus* shall never be able to make the world beleieve, that (esteeming so much as he did and making so great account of *Neoteles* his brothers testimonie or the adoration of *Colotes*) he would not have bene ready to have leapt out of his skin, and gone besides himselfe for joy, if he had bene received by the Greeks at the solemnitie of the Olympian games, with joious acclamations and clapping of hands: nay, hee would no doubt have shewed that gladnesse and contentment of heart with open mouth; hee would have bene aloft and flown abroad, as the Poet *Sophocles* saith:

*Like to the Downe, which being light and soft  
From this fildie, the winde doth mount aloft.*

And if it be a gracious and acceptable thing, for a man to brute that he hath a good name; it followeth consequently, that grievous it is to be in an ill name: and what is more infamous and odious, than to be friendlesse, to want employment, to be infected with Atheisme and impietie, to live loosely and abandoned to lusts and pleasures; finally, to be neglected and contemned? and verily (setting themselves aside) there is no man living, but he thinketh at these qualities and attributes to agree fitly unto this sect of theirs. True (will some man say) but they have the greater wrong. Well, the question now, is not, what is the trueth, but what is the common opinion that the world hath of them: and to this purpose I meane not to cite the publicke decrees and acts of *Citres*, nor to alledge the defamatorie books written against them; for that were too odious; but if the oracles, if divination, if the prescience and providence of the gods, if the naturall love and affectionate kindnesse of parents to their children, if the managing of politike affaires, if the conduct of armies, if magistracie and rule in common-wealth, be matters honourable and glorious, then it must needs be, that they who affirme: That no travell ought to be made for the sake of *Greece*, but that we are to eat and drinke, so as the bellie may be pleased, and receive no harme and discontentment, should be infamous, and reputed for wicked persons; and such as are so taken, must needs be odious and in great disgrace, if so be they hold, honour, good name and reputation, to be things pleasant and desirable.

When *Theon* had made an end of this speech, thought good it was to give over walking; and when (as our custome and manner was) we were set downe upon the seats, we rested a pretie while in silence, ruminating (as it were) and pondering that which had bene delivered, but long this was not; for *Zeuxippus* thinking upon that which had bene said: And who (quoth he) shall goe through with that which remaineth behind, considering that me thinks we are not as yet come to a full point and finall conclusion? for seeing that erewhile he hath made mention by the way of Divination, and likewise put us in minde of Divine providence two maine points, I may tell you whereupon these men doe greatly stand, and which by their saying yeeld them not the



\* To wit, in  
denying both  
the one and  
the other.

the least pleasure, contentment, repose of spirit, and assurance in this life; \* therefore I hold it necessarie that somewhat were said as touching the same. Then *Aristodemus* taking the matter in hand: As for the pleasure (quoth he) which they pretend in this case, me thinks (by all in manner that hath bene spoken) that if their reasons should goe for current, and bring that about which they purpose & intend, well may they free and deliver their spirit of (I wot not what) feare of the gods, and a certaine superstition; but surely they imprint no joy, nor minister any comfort and contentment to their minds at all, in any regard of the gods: for to be troubled with no dread of the gods, nor comforted by any hope from them, worketh this effect, and maketh them so affected towards the gods, as we are to the fishes of the Hyrcan sea, expecting neither goodnesse nor harme from them. But if we must adde somewhat more to that which hath bene said already; thus much I take it wee may be bold to set downe, as received and granted by them: First and formost, that they impugne them mightily, who condemne and take away all heaviness, sorrow, weeping, sighes, and lamentations for the death of friends: and they affirme, that this indolence tending to a kinde of impassibilitie, proceedeth from another evill, greater and woofe than it, to wit, cruell inhumanitie, or else an outrageous and furious desire of vainglorie and ostentation; and therefore they hold it better to suffer a little sorrow, and to grieve moderately, so a man runne not all to teares and marre his eies with weeping, nor shew all manner of passions as some doe by their deeds and writings, because they would be thought affectionate and heartie lovers of their friends, and withall of a gentle and tender nature: For thus much hath *Epicurus* delivered in many of his books, and namely in his letters where he maketh mention of the death of *Hegeſimachus*, writing unto *Dositheus* the father, and *Pyrrhus* the brother of the man departed: For long it is not since by fortune those letters of his came to my hands, which I perused, and in imitating their maner of arguing, I say: That Atheisme and impietie is no lesse sinne, than the crueltie or vaine and arrogant ostentation abovesaid; unto which impietie they would induce us with their perswasions, who take from God both favor and also anger: For, better it were, that to the opinion and beliefe which we have of the gods, there were adjoined and engrafted an affection mixed and compassed of reverence and feare, than in flying therefro, to leave unto our selves neither hope nor pleasure, no assurance in prosperitie, never recourse unto the goodnesse of the gods in time of adversitie: True it is, that we ought to ridde away from the opinion that we have of the gods, all superstition, if it be possible, as well as from our eies all gummie and glutinous matter, offending the sight; but if this may not be, we are not therefore to cut away quite, or to put out the eies cleane of that faith and beliefe, which men for the most part have of the gods; and this is not a severe, feareful and austere conceit as these imagine, who traduce and slander divine providence, to make it odious and terrible, as folke doe by little children, who they use to feare with the fantasticall illusion, *Empusa*, as if it were some infernall furie, or tragicall vengeance seizing upon them: but some few men there be, who in that sort doe feare God, as that it is better and more expedient for them so to doe, than otherwise not to stand in awe of him: for in dreading him as a gracious and propitious lord unto the good, and an enemy unto the wicked, by this one kinde of feare which maketh them that they have no need at all of many others, they are delivered from those baits which many times allure and entice men to evils; and thus keeping vice short, and not giving it head, but holding it neere unto them, and within their reach, that it cannot escape and get from them, they be lesse tormented than those who be so hardie as to empiole the same, and dare put it in practise, but soone after, fall into fearefull fits, and repent themselves: But as touching the disposition toward God in the common sort of men, who are ignorant, unlettered, and of a grosse conceit for the most part; howbeit not very wicked, nor starke naught: true it is, that as together with the reverence and honour that they beare to the gods, there is intermingled a certaine trembling feare, which properly is called superstition; so likewise there is an infinit deale more of good hope and true joy, which causeth them to prate unto the gods continually for their owne good estate, and for happie successe in their affaires, and they receive all prosperitie as lent unto them from heaven above; which appeareth evidently by most notable and significant arguments: for surely no exercises recreate us more, than those of religion and devotion in the temples of the gods; no times and seasons are more joyous, than solemne feasts in their honour; no actions, no sights, more delight and joy our hearts, than those which we doe and see our selves, either singing and dauncing solemly in the presence of the gods, or being assistant at their sacrifices, or the ceremonious mysteries of divine service; for at such times our soule is nothing sadde, cast downe, or melancholike, as if she had to deale with some terrible tyrants, or bloudie

bloudie butchers; where good reason were, that she should bee heavie and dejected; but looke where she thinketh and is perswaded most that God is present, in that place especially, she casteth behinde her all anguishes, agonies, sorrowes, feares and anxieties; there I say she giveth herselfe to all manner of joy, even to drinke wine most liberally, to play, disport, laugh and be merie: As the poet said in love and wanton matters:

*Both grey-beard, old and aged trot  
when they the sports remember,  
Of lovely Venus, leape for joy,  
no cares their heart encomber.*

So verily in these solemne pompes, processions and sacrifices, not onely the aged husband and the old wife, the poore man that liveth in low and private estate, but also

*The fat legd wench well under laid  
Which to the mill bestirs full yerne,  
Her good round stumps, and well appaid  
To grinde her griefe, doth: unne she quene.*

the household limes and servants, and the mercenary day-labourers, who get their living by the sweat of their browes, doe altogether leape for mirth and joy of heart: Kings and princes keepe great cheere in their roiall courts, and make certaine roiall and publike feasts for all comers; but those which they hold in the sacred temples, at sacrifices and solemnities of the gods, performed with fragrant perfumes and odoriferous incense; where it seemeth that men approach neere unto the majestie of the gods, & thinke they even touch them, and be conversant with them in all honour and reverence: such feasts (I say) yeeld a more rare joy and singular delectation, than any other; whereof he hath no part at all who denieth the providence of God: for it is not the abundance and plentie of wine there drunke, nor the store of roast & foddren meat there eaten, which yeeldeth joy and contentment at such solemne feasts; but the assured hope and full perswasion that God is there present, propitious, favourable and gracious; and that he accepteth in good part the honour and service done unto him. For some feasts and sacrifices there be, where there is no musick at all of flutes and hautboies, ne yet any chaplets and garlands of flowers used at all; but a sacrifice, where no god is present, like as a temple without a sacred feast or holy banquet, is \* profane, unseittivall, impious, irreligious, and without divine inspiration and devotion; and to speake better, wholly displeasing and odious to himselfe that offereth it; for that he counterfeitheth by hypocritie, praies and adorations, onely in a shew and otherwise than he meaneth, for feare of the multitude, and pronounceth words cleane contrary unto the opinions which he holdeth in Philosophie: when he sacrificeth, he standeth by the priest as he would by a cooke or butcher, who cutteth the throat of a sheepe; and after he hath sacrificed, he goes his way home, saying thus to himselfe: I have sacrificed a sheepe as men ordinarily do unto the gods, who have no care and regard of me. For so it is that *Epicurus* teacheth his scholars, to set a good countenance of the matter, and neither to envie nor incur the hatred of the common sort, when they are disposed to be merie, but seeming others in practise, and themselves inwardly in being displeased with things done: for according as *Euemus* saith:

*What things are done perforce by us,  
Displeasing be and odious.*

Hereupon it is, that they themselves do say and holde: That superstitious persons are present at sacrifices and religious ceremonies, not for any joy or pleasure they take there, but upon a feare that they have: and verily, herein no difference is betweene them and superstitious folke, in case it be so, that they doe the same things for feare of the world, which the other do for feare of the gods; nay rather they be in a worse condition than those, in that they have not so much hope of good as they, but onely stand alwaies in dread and be troubled in mind, lest they should be detected and discovered, for abusing and deceiving the world by their counterfeit hypocritie; in regard of which feare, they have themselves written books and treatises of the gods and of detrie, so composed, that they be full of ambiguities; and nothing is therein soundly or cleerely delivered, they do so maske, disguise and cover themselves; and all to cloake and hide the opinions which in deed they hold, doubting the furie of the people. Thus much concerning two sorts of men, to wit, the wicked and the simple or common multitude: now therefore let us consider of a third kinde, such as be of the best marke, men of worth and honour, most devout and religious in deed; namely, what sincere and pure pleasures they have, by reason of the perswasion that they hold of God; beleving firmly, that he is the ruler and director of all good persons, the author

thou and father from whom proceed all things good and honest; and that it is not lawfull to say or beleeve, that he doth evil, no more than to be perswaded that he suffereth evil: for good he is by nature; and looke whatsoever is good, conceiveth no envie to any, is fearefull of none, neither is it moved with anger or hatred of ought: for like as heat can not coole a thing, but alwaies naturally maketh it hot; so that which is good can not hurt or do ill. Now, anger and favour be farre remote one from the other; so is choler and bitter gall much different from mildnesse and benevolence; as also malice and frowardnesse are opposite unto bountie, meeknesse, and humanitie; for that the one sort ariseth from vertue and puissance; the other from weaknesse and vice. Now are we not to thinke that the divine power is given to be wrathfull and gracious alike; but to beleeve rather, that the proper nature of God is alwaies to be helpfull and beneficiall; whereas to be angry and to doe harme, is not so naturall; but that mightie *Jupiter* in heaven, he descendeth from thence first downe to the earth, to dispose and ordeine all things: after him, other gods, of whom the one is fumed, The Giver; another, Mild and Bounteous; a third, Protector or Defender: as for *Apollō*, as *Pindarus* saith:

*Who doth in winged chariot flie,  
Amidst the starres in azure skie,  
To every man in his affaire,  
Reputed is most debonaire.*

Now as *Diogenes* was wont to say, all things are Gods, and likewise among friends, all things are common, and good men are Gods friends; even so, impossible it is, that either he who is devout and a lover of God, should not be withall happie; or that a vertuous, temperate, and just man should not likewise be devout and religious. Thinke ye then, that these who denie the government of Gods providence, need other punishment, or be not punished sufficiently for their impietie, in that they cut themselves from so great joy and pleasure as we finde in our selves, we (I say) who are thus well given and religiously affected toward God? The greatest joy that *Epicurus* stood upon and bare himselfe so boldly, were *Metrodorus*, *Polyanus*, *Aristotolus* and such; and those he was alwaies employed about, either in curing and tending them when they were sicke, or in bewailing them after they were dead: whereas *Lycurgus* was honoured even by the prophetesse *Pythia* in these tearmes:

*A man whom Jupiter did love,  
And all the heavenly saints above.*

As for *Socrates*, who had a familiar spirit about him, whom he imagined to speake and reason friendly with him, even of kindnesse and good will: and *Pindarus* likewise, who heard god *Pan* chant one of those canticles which himselfe had composed, thinke wee that they tooke small pleasure and contentment of heart thereby? Or what may we judge of *Phormio*, when he lodged in his house, *Castor* and *Pollux*; or of *Sophocles*, for entreteining of *Aesculapim*, as both himselfe was perswaded, and as others beleeved, for the manifest apparitions presented unto them? It were not amiss and beside the purpose, to rehearse in this place, what a faith and beleeve in the gods, *Heromogenes* had, and that in those very words and tearmes which he fettereth downe himselfe: The gods (quoth he) who know all things, and likewise can doe all, are so friendly unto me, that for the care they have of my person and my affaires, are never ignorant day or night, either of that action which I purpose to doe, or of that way which I intend to goe: and for that they foresee the issue and event of whatsoever I enterprize and undertake; they advertise me thereof before hand, by preface of ossees, voices, dreames, auguries and bird-flights, which they send as messengers to me of purpose. Moreover, meet it is, that we should have this opinion of the gods, that whatsoever proceedeth from them is good; but when we are perswaded that the goods which we receive from them, be sent unto us, upon speciall favor and grace, this is a wonderfull contentment to the minde, this worketh much confidence, breedeth a marvellous courage, and inward joy, which seemeth as it were to smile upon good men: whereas, they who are otherwise minded and disposed, hinder themselves of that which is most sweet in prosperitie, and leave no refuge or retiring place in time of adversitie; for when any misfortune lighteth upon them, no other haven or reitrait have they than the dissolution or separation of body and soule; nothing I say but the depriving of all sense: as if in a storme or tempest at sea, a man should come and say for the better comfort and assurance of the passengers, that neither the ship had a pilot, nor the luckie fire-lights (*Castor* and *Pollux*) appeared to alay the surging waves, or still the boisterous and violent winds, and yet for all that, there was no harme toward, because forsooth the shippe should soone sinke and bee swallowed up of the sea; that

that she would quickly turne side, or runne upon some rock for to be split and broken in pieces: for these be the proper reasons which *Epicurus* useth in grievous maladies and extreme perils: Hopest thou for any good at Gods hand with all thy religion? thou art much deceived: for the essence and nature of God being happie & immortal; is neither given to anger, nor yet inclined to pittie: Dost thou imagine a better state or condition after thy death, than thou hast in thy life? surely thou dost, and art mightily beguiled; for that which is once dissolved, loseth presently all manner of sense; & if it be senselesse, what is that to us? it toucheth not us, whether it be good or ill. But heare you (my good friends) How is it that you exhort me to eat, to drink, and make good cheere? Marie because the tempest is so bigge, that of necessitie (shipwracke must soone ensue, and the extreme perill at hand will quickly bring thee to thy death: and yet the poore passenger (after that the shippe is broken all to pieces, or that hee is flung or fallen out of it) beareth himselfe upon some little hope, that he shall (by one good fortune or other) reach unto the shore and swimme to land; whereas by these mens philosophie, there is no evasion for the soule:

*To any place without the sea  
With striving some all loose and grey.*

For that immediately he is dissolved, perisheth and dieth before the bodie; inasmuch as shee feelth excessive joy, by having learned and received this most wise and divine doctrine: That the end of all her adversities and miseries, is to perish for ever, to corrupt and come to nothing. But it were (quoth he, casting his eie upon me) a great tollie to speake any more of this matter, (considering that long since we have heard you discourse in ample manner) against those who hold; that the reasons and arguments of *Epicurus* make us better disposed and ready to die, than all that *Plato* hath written in his treatise concerning the soule. What of that? (quoth *Zenoxipus*) shall this present discourse be left imperfect and unfinished because of it? and feare we to alledge the oracle of the gods, when we dispute against the Epicureans? No (quoth I againe) in any wise, for according to the sentence of *Empedocles*:

*A good tale twice a man may tell,  
And heare it told as oft full well.*

And therefore we must intreat *Theon* againe; for I suppose he was present at the said disputation, and being (as he is) a young man, he need not feare that young men will charge him for oblivion or default of memorie. Then *Theon* seeming as if he had beene forced and overcome by constraint: Well (quoth he) since there is no other remedie, I will not do as you *Aristodemus* did; you were afraid to repeat that which this man had delivered; but I will not sticke to make use of that which you have said: for in mine opinion you have done very well, in dividing men into three sorts; the first, of those, who are leud and wicked; the second of them that bee simple, ignorant, and the common people; the third, of such as be wise, honest, and of good worth. As for those who be wicked & naughtie persons (in feareing the pains and punishments proposed in general unto all) they will be afraid to commit any more sinne, and by this meanes not breaking out, but restraining themselves, they shall live in more joy, & with lesse trouble and disquietnesse. For *Epicurus* thinketh, that there is no other meanes to divert men from evil doing, than, feare of punishment; & therefore he thinketh it good policie, to imprint in them the frights occasioned by superstition, to mask them with the terrors of heaven & earth, together with fearefull earthquakes, deepe chinks, and openings of the ground, and generally all sorts of feares and suspensions; that being terrified thereby, they might live in better order, and carie themselves more modestly; for more expedient it is for them, not to commit any hainous fact for feare of torments which they were to suffer after their death, than to transgresse & break the lawes, and thereby, live all their life time in danger, and exceeding perplexitie and distrust: As touching the meane people and ignorant multitude (to say nothing of the feare of that which such men beleeve to be in hell) the hope of eternitie, whereof the poets make so great promises, and the desire to live alwaies (which of all other desires is the most auncient and greatest) surpasseth in pleasure and sweet contentment, all childish feare of hell; inasmuch as forgoing and losing their children, their wives and friends, yet they wish rather they should still bee somewhere, and continue (though they endured otherwise all manner of pains and calamities) than wholly to bee taken out of the universall world, and brought to nothing: yea, and willing they are, and take pleasure to heare this spoken of one that is dead: How he is departed out of this world into another, or gone to God; with other such like manner of speeches, importing, that

Ecc death

death is no more but onely a change or alteration, but not a totall and entire abolition of the soule. And thus they use to speake:

*Then shall I call even here to mind,  
The sweet acquaintance of my friend.*

Also:

*What shall I say from you to Hector bold?  
Or husband yours, right deere, who liv'st so old?*

And herof proceeded and prevailed this error: that men supposed they are well eased of their sorrow, and better appaied when they have interred with the dead, the armes, weapons, instruments and garments which they were wont to use ordinarily in their life time; like as *Mino* was buried together with *Glaucon*:

*His Candior pipes, made of the long-shanke bones  
Of dapple doe or hind, that lived once.*

And if they be perswaded, that the dead either desire or demand any thing, glad they are and willing to send or bestow the same upon them. And thus did *Periander*, who burnt in the funeral fire together with his wife, her apparell, habilliments, and jewels, for that he thought she called for them, and complained that she lay a cold. And such as these are not greatly afraid of any judge *Aacus*, of *Ascalaphus*, or of the river *Acheron*; considering that they attribute unto them daunces, theatricall plaies, and all kinde of musicke, as if they tooke delight and pleasure therein: and yet there is not one of them all, but is readie to quake for feare, to see that face of death, so terrible, so unpleasant, so glum and grizly, deprived of all sense, and growen to oblivion and ignorance of all things; they tremble for very horrour, when they heare any of these words: He is dead, he is perished, he is gone, and no more to be seene: grievously displeased and offended they be, when these and such like speeches are given out:

*Within the earth as deepe as trees do stand,  
His hap shall be to rot and turne to sand:  
No feast he shall frequent nor beere the lute  
And harpe, ne yet the sound of pleasant suite.*

Again:

*When once the ghost of man from corps is fled,  
And pass'd he ranks of reeth let thicke in head;  
All meanes to catch and fetch her are but vaine,  
No hope there is of her returne againe.*

But they kill them stone dead, who say thus unto them:  
*We mortall men have bene once borne for all,  
No second birth we are for to expect,  
We must not looke for life that is eternall,  
Such thoughts, as dreames, we ought for to reject.*

For, casting and considering with themselves, that this present life is a final matter, or rather indeed a thing of nought, in comparison of eternitie; they regard it not, nor make any account to enjoy the benefit thereof; whereupon they neglect all vertue and the honourable exploits of action, as being utterly discouraged and discontented in themselves, for the shortnesse of their life so uncerteine and without allurance; and in one word, because they take themselves unfit and unworthy to performe any great thing. For, to say that a dead man is deprived of all sense, because (having bene before compounded) that composition is now broken and dissolved: to give out also, that a thing once dissolved, hath no Being at all; and in that regard toucheth us not: howsoever they seeme to be goodly reasons, yet they rid us not from the feare of death, but contrariwise, they doe more confirme and enforce the same: for this is it in deed which nature abhorreth, when it shalbe said, according to the Poet *Homer's* words:

*But as for you, both all and some,  
Soone may you earth and water become.*

meaning thereby, the resolution of the soule into a thing that hath neither intelligence nor any sense at all, which *Epicurus* holding to be a dissipation thereof into (I wot not what) emptinesse, or voidnesse & small indivisible bodies, which he termeth *Atomi*, by that meanes cutteth off (so much the rather) all hope of immortallitie: for which (I dare well say) that all folke living, men and women both, would willingly be bitten quite thorow and gnawen by the hel-dog *Cerberus*, or

or eary water away in vessells full of holes in the bottome, like as the *Danaides* did, so they might onely have a Being, and not perish utterly for ever, and be reduced to nothing. And yet verily, there be not many men who feare these matters, taking them to be poeticall fictions and tales devised for pleasure, or rather bug-beares that mothers and nouris use to fright their children with; and even they also who stand in feare of them, are provided of certeine ceremonies and exoratorie purgations, to helpe themselves withall: by which (if they be once cleansed and purified) they are of opinion, that they shall goe into another world to places of pleasure, where there is nothing but playing and dauncing continually among those who have the aire cleere, the winde milde and pure, the light gracious, and their voice intelligible: whereas the privation of life troubleth both yong and old: for we all (even every one of us) are sicke for love, and exceeding desirous

*To see the beaurie of sunnes light,  
Which on the earth doth shine so bright,*

as *Euripides* saith: neither willing are we, but much displeased to heare this:

*And as he spake, that great immortal eie  
Which giveth light thorough the fabricke wide  
Of this round world, made haste and fast did he  
With chariot swift, cleane out of sight to ride.*

Thus together with the perswasion and opinion of immortallitie, they bereave the common people of the greatest and sweetest hopes they have. What thinke wee then of those men who are of the better sort, and such as have lived justly and devoutly in this life? Surely, they looke for no evil at all in another world, but hope and expect there the greatest and most heavenly blessings that be: for first and foremost, champions or runners in a race, are never crowned so long as they be in combat or in their course, but after the combat ended and the victory achieved; even so, when these persons are perswaded that the prooffe of the victorie in this world is due unto them after the course of this life, wonderfull it is, and it can not be spoken, how great contentment they finde in their hearts for the privitie and conscience of their vertue, and for those hopes which assure them, that they one day shall see those (who now abuse their good gifts insolently, who commit outrage by the meanes of their might, riches and authoritie, and who come and foolishly mocke such as are better than themselves) paie for their deserts, and suffer worthily for their pride and insolencie. And forasmuch as never any of them who are enamored of learning, could satisfie (to the full) his desire as touching the knowledge of the truth, and the contemplation of the univerfall nature of this world; for that indeed they see as it were through a darke cloud and a thicke mist; to wit, by the organes and instruments of this body, and have no other use of reason, but as it is charged with the humors of the flesh, weake also and troubled, yea, and woonderfully hindered; therefore having an eie and regard alwaies upward, & endeavoring to flie forth of the bodie (as a bird that taketh her flight and mounteth up aloft, that the may get into another lightsome place of greater capacitie) they labour to make their soule light, and to discharge her of all grosse passions and earthly affections, such as be base and transitorie, and that by the meanes of their studie in philosophic, which they use for an exercise and meditation of death. And verily for my part, I esteeme death a good thing, so perfect and consummate in regard of the soule which then shall live a life indeed, found and certaine, that I suppose the life heere is not a subsistent and assured thing of it selfe, but resembleth rather the vaine illusions of some dreames. And if it be so (as *Epicurus* saith:) That the remembrance and renewing acquaintance of a friend departed out of this life is every way a pleasant thing; a man may even now consider and know sufficiently, of what ioie these Epicureans deprive themselves, who imagine otherwhiles in their dreames; that they receive and entertaine, yea and follow after to embrace, the very shadows, visions, apparitions, and ghosts of their friends who are dead, and yet they have neither understanding nor sense at all; and meane while they disappoint themselves of the expectation to converse one day indeed with their deere father and tender mother, and to see their beloved and honest wives; and are destitute of all such hope of so amiable company and sweet societie, as they have, who are of the same opinion, that *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, and *Homer* were, as touching the nature of the soule. Certes I am verily perswaded, that *Homer* (coverly and as it were by the way) shewed, what maner of affection there is in this point, when he casteth and projecteth amide the presse of those that were fighting, the image of *Aeneas*, as if he were dead indeed; but presently after, hee exhibireth him marching alive, safe and found:

*And when his friends saw him so vigorous  
And whole of limbs, and with heart generous,  
To battel prest, whom erst they tooke for dead,  
They leapt for joy, and banished all dread.*

leaving therefore the foresaid image and shew of him, they ranged all about him. Let us likewise (seeing that reason prooveth & sheweth unto us; that a man may in very truth converse with those that are departed; that lovers and friends may touch, handle, and keepe companie one with another, having their perfect senses) be of good cheere and shunne those, who can not beleve so much, nor reject and cast behind, all such fantastickall images and outward barks and rinds onely, in which they do all their life time nothing else but grieve and lament in vaine. Moreover, they that thinke the end of this life to be the beginning of another that is better; if they lived pleasantly in this world, better contented they are to die, for that they looke for to enjoy a better estate in another; and if things went not to their mind heere, yet are they not much discontented, in regard of the hopes which they have of the future delights and pleasures behind: and these worke in them such incredible joies and expectances, that they put out and abolish all defects and offences whatsoever; these drowne (I say) and overcome all discontentments otherwise of the minde, which by that meanes beareth gently, and endureth with patience what accidents foever befall in the way, or rather in a short diverticle or turning of the way: whereas contrariwise (to those who beleve, that our life heere is ended and dissolved in a certaine deprivation of all sense) death (because it bringeth no alteration of miseries) is dolorous as well to them of the one fortune as the other; but much more unto those who are happy in this present life, than unto such as are miserable; for that as it cutteth these short of all hope of better estate; so from those it taketh away a certaintie of good, which was their present joyfull life: And like as many medicinable and purgative drougs (which are neither good nor pleasant to the stomacke, howbeit in some respect necessarie, howsoever they ease and cure the sicke) doe great hurt, and offend the bodies of such as be in health; even so the doctrine of *Epicurus* unto those who are unfortunate and live miserably in this world, promisseth an issue out of their miseries, and the same nothing happy, to wit; a finall end, and totall dissolution of their soule: And as for those who are prudent, wise, and live in abundance of all good things, it impeacheth and hindreth altogether their alacritie & contentment of spirit, in bringing and turning them from an happy life to no life at all, from a blessed estate to no estate or being whatsoever. For first & formost this is certaine: That the very apprehension of the losse of goods, afflicteth and vexeth a man as much, as either an assured expectance, or a present enjoying and fruition thereof rejoiceth his heart: yet would they beare us in hand, that the cogitation of this finall dissolution and perdition into nothing, leaveth unto men a most assured and pleasant good, to wit, the refutation or putting by of a certaine fearefull doubt and suspicion of infinit and endlesse miseries: and this say they, doth the doctrine of *Epicurus* effect, in abolishing the feare of death, and teaching that the soule is utterly dissolved. Now if this be a singular and most sweet content (as they say it is) to be delivered from the feare and expectation of calamities and miseries without end, how can it otherwise be but irksome and grievous, to be deprived of the hope of joies sempiternall, and to lose that supreme and soveraign felicitie? Thus you see it is good neither for the one nor the other, but this, Not-being, is naturally an enemy, and quite contrarie unto all that have Being: And as for those whom the miserie of death seemeth to deliver from the miseries of life, a poore and cold comfort they have (God wor) of that insensibility, as if they had an evasion and escape thereby; and on the other side, those who lived in all prosperitie, and afterwards came of a sudden to change that state into nothing: me thinks I see very plainly, that these tarrie for a fearefull and terrible end of their race, which thus shall cause their felicitie to cease; for nature abhorreth not privation of sense, as the beginning of another estate and being, but is afraid of it because it is the privation of those good things which are present. For to say: That the thing which costeth us the losse of all that we have, toucheth us not, is a very absurd speech, considering, that this very cogitation and apprehension thereof concerneth us much already: for this insensibility doth not afflict and trouble those who have no more Being, but such as yet are, namely, when they come to cast their account, what detriment and losse they receive by being no more, and that by death they shall be reduced to nothing: for it is not the three-headed-helhound *Cerberus*, nor the river of teares and weeping, *Cocytus*, which cause the feare of death to be infinit and interminable; but it is that menacing intimation of Nullity or Not-being, & of the impossibility to returne againe into a state of Being, after

after men once are gone and departed out of this life; for there is no second nativite nor regeneration, but that Not-being must of necessitie remaine for ever, according to the doctrine of *Epicurus*: for if there be no end at all of Non-essence, but the same continue infinit and immutable, there will be found likewise an eternall and endlesse miserie in that privation of all good things, by a certaine insensibilitie, which never shall have end. In which point *Herodotus* seemeth yet to have dealt more wisely, when he saith: That God having given a taste of sweet eternitie, seemeth envious in that behalfe, especially to those who are reputed happy in this world; unto whom that pleasure was nothing els but a bait to procure dolor, namely, when they have a taste of those things which they must forgoe: for what joy, what contentment and fruition of pleasure is there so great, but this conceit and imagination of the soule (falling continually as it were into a vast sea of this infinitie) is not able to quell and chase away, especially in those who repose all goodnesse and beatitude in pleasure? And if it be true as *Epicurus* saith: That to die in paine, is a thing incident to most men; then surely there is no meane at all to mitigate or allay the feare of death, seeing it haleth us even by griefe and anguish to the losse of a soveraigne good: and yet his sectaries would seeme to urge and enforce this point mainly, to wit, in making men beleve that it is a good thing to escape and avoid evill; and yet forsooth, that they should not thinke it evill, to be deprived of good. They confesse plainly, that in death there is no joy nor hope at all, but what pleasure and sweetnesse foever we had, is thereby and then cut off; whereas contrariwise, even in that time, those who beleve their soules to be immortall and incorruptible, looke to have and enjoy the greatest and most divine blessings; and for certaine great revolutions of yeeeres, to converse in all happinesse and felicity, sometime upon the earth, otherwhiles in heaven, untill in that generall resolution of the universall world they come to burne together with Sun and Moone, in a spirituall and intellectuall fire.

This spacious place of so many and so great joies, *Epicurus* cutteth off and abolisheth cleane, in that he annulleth all hopes that we ought to have in the aide and favour of the gods; whereby both in contemplative life he extinguieth the love of knowledge and learning; and also in the active, the desire of valourous acts of winning honour and glory; restraining, driving and thrusting nature into a narrow roome, of a joy which is very strait, short and unpure, to wit, from the soules delight to a fleshy pleasure; as if he were not capable of a greater good, than the avoiding of evill.



## WHETHER THIS COM-

MON MOT, BE WELL SAID:

LIVE HIDDEN: OR, SO LIVE, AS  
NO MAN MAY KNOW  
THOU LIVEST.

### The Summarie.

**T**His precept was first given by Neocles the brother of *Epicurus*, as saith *Suidas*: and as if it had bene some golden sentence, it wem currant or divinity in the mouthes of all the *Epicureans*, who advised a man that would live happily, nor to intermeddle in any publike affaires of State: but *Plutarch* considering well how ill this Emprise sounded, being taken in that sense and construction which they give unto it, and foreseeing the absurd and dangerous consequences ensuing upon such an opinion, doth now confute the same by seven arguments or sound reasons, to wit: That therein such foolish Philosophers discover mightily their excessive ambition: That it is a thing dishonest and perillous for a man to retire himselfe apart from others; for that if a man be vicious, he ought to seeke abroad for remedie of his maladie: if a lover of goodnesse and vertue, he is likewise to make other men love the same. Item: That the *Epicureans*

life being defamed with all ordure and wickednesse, it were great reason in deed, that such men should remaine hidden and buried in perpetuall darknesse. After this, he sheweth that the good proceeding from the life of vertuous men, is a sufficient encouragement for every one to be employed in affaires: for that there is nothing more miserable than an idle life, and that which is unprofitable to our neighbors: That life, birth, generation mans soule, yea, and man himselfe wholly as he is, teach us by their definitions and properties: That we are not set in this world, for to be directed by such a precept as this: and in conclusion: That the estate of our soules, after they be separate from the bodie, condemneth and overthroweth this doctrine of the Epicureans, and prooveth evidently, that they be extreme miserable, both during and after this life. All these premises well marked and considered, instruct and teach them that be of good calling in the world, and in higher place, to endeavor and straine themselves in their severall vocations, to flee an idle life, so farre forth, that they take heed withall, they be not over curious, pragmatically, busie and stirring, nor too ready and forward to meddle in those matters which ought to be let alone as they be; for fewe lest whiles they weene to raise and advance themselves, they fall backe, and become lower than they would.

## WHETHER THIS COMMON

Mot, be well said: *Live hidden: or, So live,*

*as no man may know thou livest.*

20



Or how even himselfe, who was the authour of this sentence, would not be unknowne, but that all the world should understand, that he it was who said it; for expressely he uttered this very speech, to the end that it might not remain, unknowne that he had some more understanding than others, desirous to winne a glorie undeserved and not due unto him, by diverting others from glory, and exhorting them to obscurity of life. I like the man well verily, for this is just according to the old verbe:

*I hate him who of wisdom leaves the name,  
And to himselfe cannot performe the same.*

30

We read that *Philoxenus* the sonne of *Eryxus*, and *Gnaetho* the Sicilian, (two notorious gluttons given to bellie-cheere, and to love their tooth) when they were at a feast, used to snite their noses into the very dishes and platters with meat before them; thereby to drive those in their messe, and who were set at the table, from eating with them, and by that meanes to engorge themselves, and fill their bellies alone with the best viands served up: Semblably, they who are excessively and out of all measure ambitious, before others as their concurrents and corivals, blame and dispraise glorie and honour, to the end that they alone without any competitors might enjoy the fame: And herein they doe like unto mariners sitting at the oare in a bote or gally; for howsoever their eie is toward the poupe, yet they labour to 40 set the prow forward, in that the flowing of the water by reciprocaton, caused by the stroke of the oares, comming forcibly backe upon the poupe, might helpe to drive forward the vessell; even so, they that deliver such rules and precepts, whiles they make semblant to flee from glory, pursue it as fast as they can; for otherwise if it were not so: what need had he (whosoever he was) to give out such a speech? what meant he else to write it, and when he had written it, to publish the same unto posteritie? If I say he meant to be unknowne to men living in his time, who desired to be knowne unto those that came after him? But let us come to the thing it selfe: How can it chuse but be simply naught? Live so hidden (quoth he) that no man may perceive that ever you lived; as if he had said: Take heed you be not knowne for a digger up of sepulchres, & a defacer of the tombs & monuments of the dead: But contrariwise, a foule & dishonest thing it is to 50 live in such sort, as that you should be willing that we al know not the manner thereof: Yet would I for my part fye cleane contrary: Hide not thy life, how ever thou do, and if thou hast lived badly, make thy selfe knowne; bewiser, repent & amend: if thou be endued with vertue, hide it not, neither be thou an unprofitable member; if vicious, continue not obstinate there, but yeeld to correction, & admit the cure of thy vices; or rather at leastwise first make a distinction, & define who it is, to whom you give this precept? If he be ignorant, unlearned, wicked, or foolish, then it is as much as if you said thus: Hide thy feaver; cloke & cover thy phresie; let not the physician take

take notice of thee; goe and put thy selfe into some darke corner, where no person may have a sight of thee, or of thy maladies and passions; go thy way aside with all thy naughtinesse, sicke as thou art of an incurable and mortall disease; cover thy sight and envie; hide thy superstition; suppress and conceale (as it were) the disorderly beatings of thine arteries; take heed & be afraid how you let your pulse be felt, or bewray your selfe to those who have the meanes, & are able to admonish, correct, and heale you. But long ago, & in the old world, our ancestors were wont to take in hand and cure openly in publike place, those that were diseased in body: in those daies, everie one (who had met with any good medicine, or knowne a remedie, whereof he had the prooffe, either in himselfe being sicke, or in another cured thereby) would reveale and communicate the same unto another that stood in need thereof: and thus they say: The skill of Physick arising first, and growing by experience, became in time, a noble and excellent science. And even so, requisite it is and necessarie, to discover and lay open unto all men, lives that be diseased, and the infirmities of the soule, to touch and handle them, and by considering the inclinations of every man, to say thus unto one: Subject thou art to anger, take heed thereof; unto another: Thou art given to jealousie and emulation, beware of it, doe thus and thus; to a third: Art thou amorous and full of love? I have beene so my selfe otherwhiles, but I repent me thereof. But now a daies it is cleane contrarie; in denying, in cloaking, covering, and hiding, men thrust and drive their vices inwardly, and more deeply still into their secret bowels. Now if they be men of worth and vertuous, whom thou counselest to hide themselves, that the world may take no knowledge of them, it is all one as to say unto *Epaminondas*: Take no charge of the conduct of an army: or to *Lycurgus*: Amuse not your head about making lawes: and to *Tiberius*: Kill no tyrants: to *Pylagoras*: Keepe no schoole, nor teach in any wife: to *Socrates*: See you dispute not, nor hold any discourses of philosophie: and to your selfe *Epicurus* first of all: Write not to your friends in *Asia*; enroll and gather no soldiours out of *Aegypt*; have no commerce nor negotiate with them; do not protect and defend as it were with a guard from villanie and violence, the yoong gentlemen of *Lampsacum*; send not your books abroad to all men and women alike, thereby to shew your learning; finally, ordeine nothing about your sepulture. To what tended your publicke tables? what meant those assemblies that you made of your familiar friends and faire yoong boies; to what purpose were there so many thousands of verses written and composed so painfully by you in the honour of *Metrodorus*, *Aristobolus*, & *Charademus*, to the end that after death they should not be forgotten? Was all this because you would ratifie and establish vertue by oblivion; arts by doing nothing, philosophy by silence; and felicitie by forgetfulness? Will you needs bereave mans life of knowledge, as if you would take away light from a feast, to the end that me might not know that you & your followers do all for pleasure, & upon pleasure? then good reason you have to give counsell, & saie unto your selfe: Live unknowne. Certes, if I had a minde to leade my life with *Medea* the harlot, or to keepe ordinarily about me, the strumpet *Leontium*; to detest all honestie; to repose all my delight and joy in the tickling pleasures of the flesh, and in wanton lusts: these ends verily would require to be hidden in darknesse, and covered with the shadow of the night; these be the 40 things that would be forgotten, and not once knowne: But if a man in the science of naturall philosophie, delight in hymnes and canticles to praise God, his justice and providence; or in morall knowledge, to set out and commend the law, humane societie, and the politike government of common-weale; and therein regard honour and honestie, not profit and commoditie; what reason have you to advise him for to live obscurely? Is it because he should teach none by good precept? is it for that no man should have a zealous love to vertue, or affect honestie by his example? If *Themistocles* had never bene knowne to the Athenians, *Greece* had not given *Xerxes* the foile and repulse; likewise if *Camillus* had bene unknowne to the Romans, peradventure by this time *Rome* had bene no city at all; had not *Dion* knowne *Plato*, *Sicilie* should not have bene delivered from tyrannie. But this is my conceit; that like as light effecteth thus 50 much, that we not onely know one another, but also are profitable one unto another; even so in my judgement, to be knowne abroad, bringeth not onely honor and glorie, but also meanes of employment in vertue: Thus *Epaminondas* unknowne unto the Thebanes, untill he was fortie yeeres old, stood them in no stead at all; but after that they tooke knowledge of him once, and had committed unto him the leading of their armie, he saved the citie of *Thebes*, which had like to have bene lost, and delivered *Greece*, being in danger of servitude; shewing in renowne and glorie (no lesse than in some cleere light) vertue producing her effects in due time: For according to the poet *Sophocles*: By use it shineth

Like



*Like iron or brasse, that is both faire and bright  
So long as men doe handle it aright.  
In time also, an house goes to decay,  
And fallerh downe, if dweller be away.*

whereas the very manners & natural conditions of a man be marred & corrupted, gathering as it were a mosse, & growing to age in doing nothing, through ignorance & obscurity. And verily a mute silence, a sedentarie life, retired a part in idleness, causeth not onely the bodie, but the mind also of man to languish & grow feeble: & like as dormant, or close & standing waters, for that they be covered, overshadowed, & not running, grow to putrifie; even so, they that never stirre, nor be employed, what good parts soever they have in them, if they put them not forth, nor exercise their naturall and inbred faculties, corrupt quickly, and become old. See you not how when the night commeth on & approacheth neere, our bodies become more heaue, lumpy, and unfit for any worke, our spirits more dull and lazie to all actions, and the discourse of our reason and understanding more drowfie and contracted within it selfe? like unto fire that is ready to goe out; and how the same by reason of an idleness and unwillingnesse comming upon it, is somewhat troubled and disquieted with diuers fantastickal imaginations; which obseruation aduertiseth us daily after a secret and silent manner, how short the life of man is:

*But when the sunne with light some beames  
Dispatched hath these cloudy dreames,*

after he is once risen (and by mingling together the actions and cogitations of men with his light; awakeneth and raiseth them up (as *Democritus* saith) in the morning, they make haste jointly one with another upon a forren desire, as if they were compounded and knit with a certaine mutuell bond, some one way, and some another, rising to their severall works and businesse. Certes, I am of advice, that even our life, our very nativity, yea & the participation of mankind is given us of God to this end: That we should know him; for unknowne he is and hidden in this great fabricke and universall frame of the world, all the while that hee goeth too and fro therein by small parcels and piece-meale: but when hee is gathered in himselfe, and grown to his greatnesse; then shineth hee and appeereth abroad, where before he lay covered; then is he manifest and apparent, where before he was obscure and unknown; for knowledge is not the way to his essence, as some would have it; but contrariwise, his essence is the way to knowledge; for that knowledge maketh not each thing, but onely sheweth it when it is done; like as the corruption of any thing that is, may not be thought a transporting to that which is not, but rather a bringing of that which is dissolved to this passe, that it appeereth no more: Which is the reason that according to the aunient lawes and traditions of our countrey, they that take the sunne to be *Apollo*, give him the names of *Delius* and *Pythius*; and him that is the lord of the other world beneath, whether he be a god or a diuell, they call *Ades*; for that when we are dead and dissolved, we goe to a certaine \* obscuritie, where nothing is to be seene:

*Even to the prince of darknesse and of night  
The lord of idle dreames deceiving sight.*

And I suppose that our aunceltors in old time called man *Phos*, of light, for that there is in every one of us, a vehement desire and love to know and be knowne one of another, by reason of the consanguinitie betwene us. And some philosophers there be, who thinke verily, that even the soule in her substance is a very light, whereunto they are ledde as wel by other signes & arguments, as by this, that there is nothing in the world that the soule hateth so much as ignorance, rejecting all that is obscure and unlightsome; troubled also when she is entred into dark places, for that they fill her full of feare and suspition: but contrariwise, the light is so sweet and delectable unto her, that she taketh no joy and delight in any thing; otherwise lovely and desireable by nature, without light or in darknesse; for that it is which causeth all pleasures, sports, pastimes, & recreations to be more jocund, amiable, & to mans nature agreeable; like as a common fauce that seasoneth and commendeth all viands wherewith it is mingled: whereas he that hath cast himselfe into ignorance, and is enwrapped within the clouds of mistie blindness, making his life a representation of death, and burying it as it were in darknesse, seemeth that he is wearie even of being, and thinketh life a very trouble unto him: and yet they are of opinion, that the nature of glorie and essence, is the place assigned for the soules of godly, religious, and vertuous folke:

*To whom the sunne shin's alwaies bright  
When heere with us it is darke night:*

The

*The meadowes there, both faire and wide,  
With roses red are beautified:  
The fields all round about them dight  
With verdure, yeeld a pleasant sight:  
All raptised with flowers full gay,  
Of fruitfull trees, that blossom ay:  
Amid this place the rivers cleere  
Runne soft and still, some there, some heere.*

Wherein they passe the time away, in calling to remembrance and recounting that which is past, in discouring also of things present, accompanying one another, and conversing together. Now there is a third way, of those who have lived ill, and be wicked persons, the which sendeth their soules headlong into a darke gulf and bottomlesse pit:

*Where, from the dormant rivers bleak  
Of shade night, thick mists doe reek,  
As blacke as pitch continually  
And those all round about doe slee.*

enfoldng, whelming, and covering those in ignorance and forgetfulness, who are tormented there and punished: for they be not greedy geiers or vultures, that evermore eat and gnaw the liver of wicked persons laid in the earth; and why? the same already is either burned or rotted: neither be there certaine heaue fardels, or weightie burdens that presse downe and overcharge the bodies of such as be punished:

*For such thin ghosts and fibres small,  
Have neither flesh nor bone at all.*

Nyet are the reliques of their bodies who be departed, such as be capable of punishment, for that belongeth properly to a bodie that is solid and able to resist; but the onely way and true manner of chastising and punishing those, who have lived badly in this world, is infamie, ignorance, an entire abolition, and totall reduction to nothing, which bringeth them from the river *Lethe*, that is to say, Oblivion, into another mournfull river, where there is no mirth, no joy, nor cheerefulness, & from thence plungeth them into a vast sea, which hath neither shore nor bottom, even idleness and unaptnesse to all good, which can doe nought else but draw after it a generall forgetfulness and buriall (as it were) in all ignorance and infamous obscuritie.



## RVLES AND PRECEPTS OF HEALTH IN MANER OF A DIALOGUE.

### The Summarie.

**H**He conjunction of the soule with the bodie being so straight, as every man knowes it is, I can not see how it is possible that the one should commit any disorder or excessse, but the other must needs be grieved therewith immediatly: And if there be anything that ought to be deplored and lamented, it is the losse of time, especially and above all, when the same is occasioned by our own intemperance; for that at such a time when as we should attend upon our dutie, we become and continue unprofitable, hurrying many times both our selves and many others. Now for that the study of good literature requirerh a soule well composed and governed in a sound, healthfull, and vigorous bodie; it is not without good cause, that Plutarck interminglerh among philosophical discourses certaine rules & precepts as touching health. For in truth a vaine endeavor & enterpryse this were, and hardly could a man have his mind disposed to good things, in case the bodie be ill affected and misgoverned: But fearing lest it would be thought, that he who

made

made profession of philosophie onely, proceeded farther than in reason hee ought, and brake the limits and bounds of sciences, in meddling with physick heere: Before that he entere into the Dialogue, when he had touched the occasion of this conference and talke; he sheweth: that the studie of physick is agreeable to philosophie: which done, he representeth certaine questions proposed by a third person, which serve in stead of a preface to those precepts and lessons, by him set downe afterwards; not following heerein any exact or exquisite method, but making choise of that which he thought to be most meet for the time, and suting best to those persons, for whose sake this Dialogue was written. He speaketh first therefore of the use of meats, especially such as are sweet and pleasing to the tooth: also what a man is to take heed of in this behalfe: Then he treateth of the pleasures of the bodie, declaring what measure therein we ought to keepe, and discovering by a certaine similitude, the pernicious indiscretion of those who love to keepe good cheere and maintaine dainty fare. Consequently heereupon, he forbiddeth us to use bodily pleasures unlesse we be in good and perfect health; condemneth fulnesse and overmuch repletion, which is the cause of most diseases that are incident to mans body, and this he enrichth and amplifieth by another proper similitude. He is desirous also that maladies were foreseene and prevented, setting downe a speciall remedie therefore, and proving; that the body cannot enjoy any delight, whether in eating or drinking, in case it be not healthy. From this he proceedeth to make mention of diet, and of the prognostikes of diseases breeding and toward. Item, how, and wherewith the maladies of our friends ought to serve and stead us, adding thus much moreover; that for the better maintenance and preservation of health, a man is not to feed to satietie; that he ought to travel well and not spare himselfe; also that he is to save his naturall seed: upon this he discourseth of the exercise and nourishment of students and scholars, describing particularly whatsoever in this point is most woorth the noting and observation, and so cleareth this question, namely; Whether it be holisome for the body to dispute either at the table, or presently upon meat: After all this, he treateth of walking, of sleepe, of vomiting, of purgations of the belly, of diet's over exquisite and precise; condemning expressly idleness, as a thing contrary to the good disposition of the body. Furthermore, he sheweth when a man ought to be at quiet and rest; as also the time that he may give himselfe to pleasure: but above all, he requirith of every man; that he learne to know his owne nature and inclination, as also the meats and drinks that be agreeable unto his stomack: exhorting in the end all students to spare their bodies, to looke unto them, and make much of them, that they may have the better meanes to proceed and goe forward in the knowledge of good letters, whereby they might another day be profitable members of the common-wealth, and doe more good to the societie of men.

## RULES AND PRECEPTS OF health in manner of a dialogue.

The personages speaking in this dialogue: MOS-  
CHION and ZEUXIPPUS.

MOSCHION.

And did you then indeed, (my friend Zeuxippus) turne away Glancus the physician yesterday, who was desirous to confesse with us in philosophie?

ZEUXIPPUS.

No wis, (good Moschion) neither did I put him away; desirous was he to doe as you say: But this was it that I avoided and feared, namely: To give him any advantage or occasion to fasten upon me, and take hold on me, knowing him as I doe to be religious and quarrellsome: for in physick, if I may use the words of Homer:

*He may well stand for many a one,  
Although he be but one alone.*

As for philosophie, he is not well affected thereto, but alwaies provided of some shrewd & bitter tearmes against her in all his disputations, and as then especially; for I observed how he came directly against us, crying out upon us a farre off with a loud voice, & charging us; that we had

to enterprise a great matter, and the same not very civill & honest, and in that we had broken the bounds, and pluckt up (as a man would say) the very limit-marks of sciences, laying all confusion, and making a confusion of them, in disputing as we did of holisome diet, and of the manner how to live in good health. For the confines and frontiers (quoth he) of Physicians and Philosophers, are (as we use to say in the vulgar proverbe, as touching Myfians and Phrygians) farre different, and remooved a lunder: Moreover, he had readily in his mouth certaine speeches and sentences of ours, which we delivered by way of pastime onely, and yet for all that, were not impertinent or unprofitable, and those he would seeme to controule, reprove, and scorne.

MOSCHION.

But I for my part (o Zeuxippus) could be very well content, yea, and most desirous to heare, even those speeches that he mocked, as others beside, which yee had concerning this matter, if so be it might stand with your pleasure to rehearse the same.

ZEUXIPPUS.

I thinke no lesse (o Moschion) for that you are enclined naturally to philosophie, and thinke not well of that philosopher who is not well affected to physicke, but are displeated and offended with him; in case (I say) he suppose it more meet and becoming for him to be seene studying Geometrie, Logicke, or Musicke, than willing to enquire and learne

*What rule at home in house, what worke there is,*

*How things doe stand, what goes well, what amiss?*

When I say, at home, I meane in his owne body; and yet a man shall see ordinarily, what a number more there be of spectators at Theaters, where there is some publick dole or free distribution of money to those that are assembled to see the games and pastimes, as the manner is at Athens, than otherwise. Now of all the liberall sciences, Physicke is one, which as it giveth place to none whatsoever, in beautie, in outward shew, and in pleasure or delight; so it alloweth a great reward and salarie unto those that love it, even as much as their life and health comes to; and therefore we are not to accuse and charge Philosophers, who discourse and dispute of matters concerning like regiment of health, for passing beyond their bounds and confines: but rather we ought to blame them, if they thinke that they should plucke up altogether, and take away those land-marks, to labor (as it were) in some common field betweene them and Physicians, in the study & contemplation of things good and honest, aiming & seeking in al their disputations and discourses, after that which is both pleasant to know & necessarie to understand.

MOSCHION.

But let us I pray you (o Zeuxippus) leave Glancus to himselfe, who for the gravity which he carrieth, would be accounted a man in all points accomplished without any need at all of Philosophies helpe; and recount unto me (if you please) all those speeches which you had, especially at first, those I meane which you said were not spoken in earnest, and yet were scorned and reprooved by Glancus.

ZEUXIPPUS.

I will, and that right willingly. This friend of ours therefore delivered thus much; how he heard one say: That to have ones hands alwaies warme, and never suffer them to be cold, was no small meane to the preservation of health: but contrariwise, to have ordinarily the extreme parts of the body cold, drove heat inwardly into the center of the body, and brought us to a certaine familiaritie and acquaintance with a feaver; as also, to turne and drive with out tooth together with heat the matter thereof, and to distribute the same equally throughout the whole bodie, was an holisome thing; as we see by experience, that if we occupie our hands, and doe some worke with them, the verie motion exciteeth and stirreth up, yea, and maintaineth naturall heat: but if we have no such businesse or employment for them, but hold them still and idle, yet for all that we are not to admit or entertaine cold in those extreme parts of the bodie: This (I say) was one of the points that Glancus laughed at. The second (as I take it) was touching the meats that yee use to give unto sicke persons: For that hee counsell'd men (in time of health) to taste the same by little and little; so as they might bee acquainted therewith, to the end that they should not abhorre and lothe them (as little children use to doe) nor hate such a kind of diet; but make the same in some fort after a gentle manner, familiar unto their appetites; that (whenever it hapned they were sicke) such viands might not go against their stomacks, as if they were Physicke drouges or medicines, out of the apothecaries shoppe: also, that we should not be offended and discontent, otherwhiles to feed upon one single dish and no more, and the same without any fauce to draw it on, or fine dressing and handling by cooks craft, to

commend it. For which cause he would not have men thinke it strange, to come now and then to the table, without being at the baine or hot-house before; nor to drinke there water, when wine is upon the board, nor to forbear to drinke our drinke hot in summer time, although there be snow set before us to coole it. Provided alwaies, that this abstinence proceed not from any ambitious ostentation and vain-glory, or because we would vaunt and make our boast thereof afterward; but that we doe it apart by our selves, making no words thereof, and accustoming by little and little our appetite to obey reason willingly, and to be ruled by that which is good and profitable, by weaning our mindes (long before) from that scrupulous curiositie, daintie nicenesse, and inward complaints, about these matters in time of sicknesse; when commonly we are ready to whine and lament, for that wee misse those our former pleasures, and great delights, which we were wont to enjoy, and see our selves brought to a more base kinde of diet, and a straighter rule of life. For a good saying it was: Chuse the best life simply that is; use and custome will make it pleasing and agreeable unto thee: the which by good proofe and experience hath beene found profitable in all things, but principally in the regard and care of our bodies (as touching diet,) which in time of best health ought to be ordered so by use and custome, that the same may become kinde, familiar, and agreeable to our nature; and namely by calling to minde that which others are wont to doe and say in their sicknesse, how they fume and chafe, how they fare and goe to worke when hot water is brought unto them for to drinke, or warme brothes to be supped, or drie-bread to be eaten; how they call these, untoward, naughty, and unfavourie victuals, yea and name those, cursed and odious persons, who would seeme to force the same upon them for to eat or drinke. Manie there have beene, who had their bane by baines, such as ailed not much at the first, and were not very sicke at the beginning; onely they had brought themselves to this passe, that they could neither eat nor drinke, unless they were first bathed, or had sweat in a stoupe: among whom, *Titus* the emperour of *Rome* was one, as they were able to tell us who had the cure of him when he lay sicke. It was said moreover: That alwaies viands most simple, and such as cost least, were holsonest for the bodie; also that above all things, men ought to beware of repletion, of drunkennesse and voluptuous life; especially, when there is some festivall day toward, wherein they use to make exceeding cheere; or when they purpose to invite their friends to a great dinner, or otherwise looke to be hidden themselves to some roiall feast of a king or lord generally, or else to a banquet, where they shall be put to quaffe and carrouse in their turne, which they may not refuse to do: against such times (I say) they ought to prepare their bodies beforehand, as it were whiles the weather is calme and faire, and make it more fresh and lightsome, yea, and better able to abide the storme and tempest toward: for a very hard matter it is in such assemblies, and feasts of great lords or deere friends, for a man to stay himselfe in a meane, and mainteine his accustomed sobriety; but he shall be thought uncivill, unmanerly, infocible, too austere and odious to all the company. To the end therefore that we should not put fire to fire (as they say) lay gorge upon gorge, surfet upon surfet, and wine upon wine, good it were to imitate and follow in good earnest that which was sometime merily done by king *Philip*, and that was this: A certaine man invited him upon a time to a supper, into the countrey, thinking that hee would come with a small company about him; but seeing that he brought a great traine and retinue with him, and knowing well that he had prepared no more then would serve for a few guests; he was wonderfully troubled; *Philip* perceiving it, sent underhand to every one of his friends that came with him, this word: That they should keepe a roome in their stomacks for a deintie tart or cate that was coming: they beleeving this message in good sadnesse, made spare of other viands that stood before them, looking evermore when this deintie should be served up, in such sort, as that the meat provided was sufficient for the whole company; even so we ought before-hand to be prepared against the time that we are to be at such great feasts and meetings afore said, where we shall be put to it perforce, to drinke round in our turne, and to answer every ones challenge, to reserve (I say) a place in our bodies, both for meats and also for fine cates, and junketting dishes: yea and beleeve me, if need be, for drunkennesse, and thither to bring an appetite fresh and readie for such things. But if peradventure such constraints and compulsions surprise us upon a sudden, when we are either full and heavey, or ill at ease, for that we have a little before over-eaten and drunk our selves; in case (I say) some great lords be come to us, or in place unexpected, or haply a friend or stranger take us at unawares, and unprovided, so that we be forced for shame to keepe others company, who are well enough disposed in body, and prepared for to drinke and make merry; then must we be especially well armed against foolish bashfulnessse, and to meet with such

such bad shamefastnesse is the cause of to many evils among men; and namely, by alledging and saying these verses of king *Creon* in a tragédie of *Euripides*:

*Better it were for me, you to displease  
My friend, than at this time, for your content,  
To give my selfe to pleasure and mine ease,  
But after, with great sorrow to repent.*

For to cast a mans selfe into a pleurisie or phrensie, for feare to be held and reputed rustical and uncivill, is the part of a rude clowne in deed, and of one who hath neither wit nor judgement, ne yet any skill or speech to entertaine and keepe companie with men, unless they may be drunken and engorge themselves like gluttons: for the very refusall it selfe of eating and drinking, if it be handled with dexteritie and a good grace, will be no lesse acceptable to the companie, than drinking square and carrowing round. And if the man who maketh a feast, absteine himselfe, though he sit at the table (as the manner is at a sacrifice whereof he tasteth not) enterreining his guests with a cheerefull countenance and a friendly welcome, and whiles the cups and trenchers walke about him, be disposed to mirth and cast out some pretie jests of himselfe, he shall no lesse content and please his guests, than he that will seeme to be drunken for companie, and cram his bellie with them, till it be readie to cracke. To this purpose he made mention of certaine ancient examples; and namely (among other) of *Alexander* the Great, who after he had drunke well and liberally, was bathed and ashamed to denie the challenge of *Medius*, one of his captaines, who had invited him to supper; and thereupon (falling againe to drinke wine afresh) died thereof. And of those who lived in our daies, he spake of one *Rigla*, a notable Pan-cratiast or champion at all feats of activitie, whom *Titus Caesar* the emperour, sent for one day betimes in the morning to come and bathe with him, who came indeed, and after he had bathed and had drunke a great draught, was (by report) surprisid with an Apoplexie, whereupon he died immediately. All these matters, our Physician *Glancie* mocked and reprooved, calling them discourses of schoolemasters to children their scholars: and as he was not very willing to heare more, so were not we greatly desirous to relate and discouse farther unto him; for that he had no mind to consider ech thing accordingly that was delivered. *Socrates* verily, who was the first that debarred us from eating those meats which drew us on to eat more still when we were not hungry nor had a stomacke thereto; and from drinking such drinks which caused us to drinke, although we were not drie and thirstie; forbade us not simply to use meats and drinks, but taught us rather to use them onely when we had need of them, joining the pleasure of them with their necessitie; like as they do, who employ the publicke money of cities (which before was wont to be spent at Theaters, in exhibiting plaies and shewes) about the charges of mainteining souldiers for the warres: for that which is sweet, so long as it is a part of our nourishment, we hold to be proper and familiar to nature; and we ought all the whiles that we be hungry, to use and enjoy necessarie nourishment, as sweet and pleasant; but otherwise not to stirre and provoke other new and extraordinarie appetites apart, after that we are delivered from those that be common and ordinarie: for like as unto *Socrates* himselfe, dancing was no unpleasant exercise; even so he who maketh his whole supper or meale of junkets and banquetting dishes, catcheth lesse shame thereby: but when a man hath taken already as much as is sufficient to content nature, and wherewith he is well satisfied, he ought to beware as much as in any thing els, how he putteth forth his hands to any such dainties. And we are to flee and avoid in these things, follie and ambition, no lesse than friandise or gluttonie: for these two vices induce us likewise often times to eat some thing when we are not hungrie, and to drinke also when we be not athirst; yea, and they suggest and minister unto us certaine base and extravagant imaginations, to wit, that it were great simplicitie, and a very absurd thing, not to feed liberally of a rare, deere and geafon dith, if it may be had; as for example: That which is made of a sowes pappes when she is newly farrowed, Italian mushroomes, Samian cakes, or flow out of *Aegypt*; for these toies and imaginations smell somewhat of vain-glory as the sent of meat coming out of a kitchen, manie times set our teeth a watering and our stomacke on edge to use them, forcing the bodie (which otherwise would not seeke after them) to participate thereof, onely because they be much spoken of and hard to come by; to the end that we make our report and recount unto others, what wee have done, and be reputed by them right happie and fortunate; for that wee have enjoyed things, so deere, so singular and so geafon. The like affection they cary to women also of great name and reputation: for it falleth out, that having their owne wives in bedde with them, and those faire and beautifull damas, such also as love them deerey, they lie still and stirre not; but

if they meet with any courtesan, such as *Phryne* or *Lais* was, unto whom they have paid good silver out of their purse, though otherwise their bodies be unable, dull and heave in performing the worke of *Venus*, yet doing they will be, what they can, and straine themselves upon a vaine-glorious ambition, to provoke and stirre up their lascivious lust unto fleshly pleasure: where-upon *Phryne* herselfe, being now old and decayed, was wont to say: That she sold her leese and dreggs the deerer, by reason of her reputation.

A great thing it is and wonderfull, that if we receive into our bodies as many pleasures as nature doth require or can well beare; or rather, if upon divers occasions and businesses, we resist her appetites, and put her off unto another time, and that we be loth and hardly brought to yeeld unto her necessities, or (according as *Plato* saith) give place, after that she hath by fine force pricked and urged us thereto, we should not suffer for all that, any harme thereby, but go away freely without any losse or detriment: but on the other side, if we abandon our selves to the desires that descend from the soule to the bodie, so farre forth as they force us to minister unto the passions thereof, and rise up together with them, impossible it is, but that they should leave behinde them exceeding great losses and damages, in stead of a few pleasures, and those feeble and small in appearance, which they have given unto us: and this above all things would be considered, that we take heed how we provoke the body to pleasures, by the lusts of the minde; for the beginning thereof is against nature. For like as the tickling under the arme-holes, procureth unto the soule a laughter, which is not proper, milde and gentle, but rather troublesome and resembling some spasm or convulsion; even so all the pleasures which the bodie receiveth when it is pricked and provoked by the soule, be violent, forced, turbulent, furious and unnatural. Whensoever therefore any occasion shall present it selfe to enjoy such rare and notable delights, it were better for us to take a glorie in the abstinence, rather than in the fruition thereof, calling to minde that which *Simonides* was wont to say: That he never repented any silence of his, but often times he bethrewed himselfe for his speech; and even so we never repent that we have refused any viands, or drunke water in stead of good *Falerne* wine. And therefore we ought not onely, not to force nature, but if other-whiles we be served with such cates and meats as the craveth, we are to divert our appetite from the same, and to reduce it to the use of simple and ordinary things many times, even for custome and exercise:

*If right and law may broken be,  
for any earthly thing,  
The best pretence is for to win  
a crowne, and be a king.*

So said *Eteocles* the Thebane, though untrue: but we may better say: If we must be ambitious and desirous of glorie in such things as these, it were most honest and commendable to use continence and temperance for the preservation of health. Howbeit, some there be, who upon an illiberall pinching and mechanicall sparing, can restraîne and keepe downe their appetites when they be at home in their owne houses; but if it chance they be bidden forth to others, they gorge and fill their bellies with these exquisite and costly viands; much like to those, who in time of warre and hostilitie, raise booties, and prey upon the lands of their enemies what they can; and when they have so done, they goe from thence ill at ease, carrying away with them for the morrow (upon this their fulnesse and unsatiable repletion) crudity of stomacke and indigestion. *Crates* therefore, the philosopher thinking; that civill warres and tyrannies arise and grow up in cities, as well by reason of superfluity and excess in dainty fare, as upon any other cause whatsoever, was wont by way of mirth, to give admonition in these tearmes: Take heed you bring us not into a civill sedition, by augmenting the platter alwaies before the Lentil: that is to say, by dispending more than your revenues will beare. But in deed, every man ought to have this command and rule of himselfe, as to say: Augment not evermore the platter before the Lentil, nor at any time passe beyond the Cresses and the Olive, even to fine tarts and delicate fishes, lest you bring your bodie into a domesticall dissention afterwards with it selfe; namely, to painfull colickes, lasks, and fluxes of the bellie, by over-much fulnesse and excess of feeding: for simple viands and ordinarie, containe the appetite within the bounds and compass of nature; but the artificiall devices of cooks and cunning fellows in pasty, with their curious cates of all sorts, with their exquisite sauces and pickles (as the comicall Poet saith) set out and extend alwaies the limits of pleasure, encroching still beyond the bounds of utilitie and profit. And I wot not verily, how it comes about, that considering we so much detest and abhorre those women, who give love-drinks, and can skill of charmes and forceries to bewitch and enchant men with, we be-  
take

take thus as we do, unto mercenarie hirelings or slaves, our meats and viands, to be medicined (as it were) and no better than poisoned for to enchant and bewitch us. And admit, that the saying of *Aristotles* the Philosopher, against adulterers and other lascivious persons, may seeme somewhat with the bitterest; namely: that it made no great matter, which way one went about that beastly worke, whether before or behinde, for that the one was as bad as the other; yet impertinent it is not, nor beside the subject matter which we have in hand. For to say a truth, what difference is there betwene eating of Ragwort, Rogket, and such hot herbs, for to stirre up the lust of the flesh, and to provoke the taste and appetite to meat by smells and saucies? Like as mange and itching places have alwaies need of rubbing and scratching. But peradventure it would be better, to reserve unto another place, our discourse against dishonest fleshly pleasures, and to shew how honest and venerable a thing in it selfe, is continence: for our purpose at this present, is to debarre many great pleasures, otherwise in their owne nature honest: for I assure you, our diseases doe not put us by so many actions, so many hopes, voyages or pastimes, as they deprive us of our pleasures, yea, and marre them quite: and therefore they who love their delights and pleasures most, had least need of any men in the world, to neglect their health. For many there be, who for all they be sicke, have meanes to studie philosophy, and discourse thereof: neither doth their sicknesse greatly hinder them, but that they may be generals in the field to leade annies, yea, and kings (believe me) to governe whole realmes.

But of bodily pleasures and fleshly delights, some there be which during a maladie will never breed; and such as are bred already, yeeld but a small joy, and short contentment, which is proper and naturall unto them, and the same not pure and sincere, but confused, depraved and corrupted with much strange stuffe, yea and disguised and blemished as it were, with some storme and tempest: for the act of *Venus* is not to any purpose performed upon gourmandise and a full belly, but rather when the bodie is calme, and the flesh in great tranquillity; for that the end of *Venus* is pleasure, like as of eating also and of drinking; and health unto pleasures, is as much as their faire weather and kinde season, which giveth them secure and gentle breeding, much like as the calme time in winter affords the sea-fowles called *Alcyons*, a safe cooing, sitting and hatching of their egges. *Prodicus* is commended for this pretie speech: That fire was the best sauce: and a man may most truly say: That health is of all saucies must divine, heavenly and pleasant: for our viands how delicate soever they be, boiled, roasted, baked or stewed, doe no pleasure at all unto us, so long as wee are diseased, drunken, full of surfeit, or queasie stomacke, as they be who are sea-sicke; whereas a pure and cleane appetite causeth all things to be sweet, pleasant, and agreeable unto sound bodies, yea, and such as they, will be ready to snatch at, as *Homer* saith. But like as *Demades* the orator, seeing the Athenians without all reason, desirous of armes and warre, said unto them: That they never treated and agreed of peace, but in their blacke robes, after the losse of kinsfolke and friends; even so wee never remember to keepe a spary and sober diet, but when we come to be cauterized, or to have cataplasmes and plasters about us: we are no sooner fallen to those extremities, but then we are ready to condemn our faults, calling to minde what errors we have committed in times past; for untill then, we blame one while the aire, as most men doe; another while the region or countrey, as unsound and unhollome; we finde fault that we are out of our native soile, and are wonderfull loth to accuse our owne intemperance and disordinate appetites. And as king *Lysmachus* being constrained and enforced within the country of the *Gates* for very thirst to yeeld himselfe prisoner, and all his armie captivate unto his enemies; after he had taken a draught of cold water, said: Good God, what a great felicitie have I forgone and lost, for a momentarie and transitory pleasure! even so we may make use thereof, and apply the same unto our selves when wee are sicke, saying thus: How many delights have we marred quite? how many good actions have we fore-let? what honest pastimes have we lost? and all by our drinking of cold water, or bathing unseasonably, or else that we have over-drunke our selves for good fellowship: for the bite &c  
of such thoughts as these, toucheth our remembrance to the quick, in such sort as the scarce remaineth still behind, after that we are recovered, and maketh us in time of our health more staied, circumspect, and sober in our diet: for a bodie that is exceeding sound and healthy, never bringeth forth vehement desires, and disordinate appetites, hardly to be tamed or withstood; but we ought to make head against them, when they beginne to breake forth and sing out for to enjoy the pleasures which they are affected unto; for such lusts, some complain, pule, and erie for a little, as wanton children doe, and no sooner is the table taken away, but they be quiet and still; neither finde they fault and make complaint of any wrong or injurie  
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offered unto them: but contrariwise, they be pure, jocund, and lightsome, not continuing heave, nor eadie to heave and cast, the next day to an end: like as by report, capitaine *Timotheus* (having upon a time bene at a fober and frugall scholars supper, in the academic with *Plato*) said: That they who supped with *Plato* were merry and well appaied the next day after. It is reported also, that king *Alexander* the Great when he turned backe those cooks which queene *Admetus* sent unto him, said: That he had about him all the yeere long better of his owne, namely, for his breakfast or dinner, rising beimes, and marching before day light; and for his supper, eating hark at dinner. I am not ignorant that men otherwhiles are very apt to fall into an ague upon extreme travell, upon excessive heats also and colds: but like as the odors and fents of flowers be weak & feeble of themselves; whereas if they be mixed with some oile, they take force to invigore, even so fulnesse and repletion is the ground, which giveth (as a man would say) bodie and substance unto the outward causes, and occasions of maladies; and of a great quantity of humours there is no danger, because all such indispositions and crudities are sooner overcome, dissipated, and dissolved, when some fine or subtil blood, when some pure spirit (1) doth give them their motion: but where there is a great repletion indeed, and abundance of superfluities, (as it were a deepe and mtrie puddle all troubled and stirred) then there arise from thence many malignant accidents, such as be dangerous and hard to cure: and therefore we are not to doe like some good masters of ships who never thinke their vessels bee fully fraught and charged throughly; and when they have taken in all that ever they can, doe nothing else but worke at the pumpe, void the stoke, and cast out the sea water which is gotten in; even so when we have well filled and stuffed our bodies, fall to purge and cleanse them with medicines and clysters: but we ought rather to keepe the bodie alwaies neat, nimble, and light, to the end, that if it chance otherwise at any time to be pressed and held downe, it might be seene above for lightnesse like unto a peece of corke floating aloft upon the water: but principally we are to beware of the very prece lent indispositions, which are forerunners of maladies: for all diseases walke not (as *Hesiodus* saith) in silence and say nothing when they come,

*As whom wife Jupiter hath bereft*

*Of voice, and tongue to them none left.*

But the most part of the have their vant-curcours as it were, their messengers, & trumpets; namely crudities of stomack, wearinesse and heavinesse over all the bodie. According to the Aphorisme of *Hippocrates*, lassitudes and laborious heavinesse of the bodie, comming of themselves without any evident cause, prognosticate and fore-signifie diseases; for that as it should seeme, the spirits that should passe unto the nerves and sinewes, are obstructed, stopped, and excluded, by the great repletion of humors: and albeit the bodie it selfe tendeth as it were to the contrary, and pulleth us to our bedde and repose, yet some there be, who for very gluttony and disordinate lust, put themselves into baines & hot-houles, making haste from thence, to drinking house with good fellows, as if they would make provision before-hand of victuals against some long siege of a citie, or feare that the feaver should surprise them fasting, or before they had taken their full dinner: others somewhat more honest, yea & civill than they, are not this way faultie, but being ashamed (fooles as they are) to confesse that they have eaten or drunke overmuch, that they feele any heavinesse in head or cruditie in stomacke, loth also to be knownen for to keepe their chamber all the day long in their night gownes, whiles their companions goe to tennis and other bodily exercises abroad in publicke place, and call them forth to beare their companie, rise up and make them ready to goe with them, cast off their clothes to their naked shame, with others, and put themselves to doe all that men in perfect health are to performe. But the most part of these (induced and drawn on, by hope perswaded) are bold to arise, and to doe hardly after their wonted maner, assisted by a certaine hope, grounded upon a proverbe; as an advocate to defend gormandise, and wanton life, which adviseth them that they should expell wine with wine, drive or digest one surfeit with another. Howbeit, against all such hope, we are to oppose the warie and considerat caution, that *Cato* speaketh of (which as that wise man saith) doth diminish and lessen great things; and as for small matters it reduceth them to nothing: also that it were better to endure want of meat, and to keepe the bodie emptic and in spight, than so to hazard it, by entering into a baine, or running to an high ordinarie to dine and sup: for if there be some disposition to sicknesse, hurtfull it will be that we have not taken heed, nor contented our selves, but by one secute: if none, dangerous it will not be that we have held in and restrained our selves, and by that restraint made our body so much more pure and cleare. But that childish foole who soever he be, that is afraid to let his friends and those of his owne

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house know that he is amisse or ill at ease, for that he hath eaten overmuch, or surfeited with strong drinke, as being ashamed to confesse this day his indigestion, shall be forced to morrow even against his will, to bewray either an inordinate catarrh and fluxe, or an ague, or else some wrings and torments of the belly: thou takest it for a great shame to be knownen that thou didst want or were hungry: but farre greater shame it is to avow cruditie and rawnesse, to bewray heavinesse, proceeding from full diet, and upon repletion of the bodie to be drawn neverthelesse into a baine, as if some rotten vessell or leaking shippe, that would not keepe out water, should be shot into the sea. Certes such persons as these, resemble some failers or sea-faring men, who in the tempestuous time of winter, be ashamed to be seene upon the shore doing nothing: but when they have once weighed anchor, spread saile, and launched into the deepe, and open sea, they are very ill appaied, crying out piteously, and ready to cast up their gorge: even so, they that doubt some sicknesse, or finde a disposition of the bodie ready to fall into it, thinke it a great shame and discredit, to stand upon their guard, one day to keepe their beds and forbear their ordinarie table and accustomed diet: but afterwards with more shame, they are faine to lie by it many daies together, whiles they be driven to take purgations, to applie many cataplasmes, to speake the physicians faire, and fawne upon them, when they would have leave of them to drinke wine or cold water; being so base minded, as to doe absurdly, and to speake many words impertinently, feeling their hearts to faile, and be ready to faint, for the paine they endure alreadie, and the feare they are in to abide more. Howbeit, very good it were to teach and admonish such persons (as otherwise cannot rule and containe themselves, but either yeeld, or be transported and carried away by their lusts) that their pleasures take the most and best part of the bodie for their share. And like as the Lacedaemonians after that they had given vinegar and salt to the cooke, willed him to seeke for therin in the beast sacrificed; even so in a bodie which one would nourish, the best sauces for the meat are these, which are presented unto it, when it is found in health and cleane. For that a dish of meat is sweet or deere, is a thing by it selfe, without the bodie of him who taketh it, and eateth thereof: but for the pleasantnesse or contentment thereof, we ought to have regard unto the body that receiveth it; also for to delight therein, it should be so disposed as nature doth require; for otherwise, if the body be troubled, ill affected, or overcharged with wine, the best devices and sauces in the world will lose their grace, and all their goodnesse whatsoever: and therefore it would not be so much looked unto, whether the fish be new taken, the bread made of pure and fine flower, the bath hot, or the harlot faire and beautifull; as considered precisely, whether the man himselfe have not a lothing stomacke, apt to heave and vomit, be not full of crudities, error, vanity, and trouble: else it will come to passe, that the shall incur the same fault and absurditie that they doe, who after they are drunken, will needs goe in a maske, to plaie and daunce in an house, where they all mourne for the death of the master thereof lately deceased: for in stead of making sport and mirth, this were enough to set all the house upon weeping, and piteous wailing. For even so, the sports of love or *Venus*, exquisite waunds, pleasant baines, and good wines, in a bodie ill disposed and not according to nature, doe no other good, but stirre, trouble, fleame and cholier in them, who have no settled and compact constitution, and yet be not altogether corrupt; as also they trouble the body, and put it out of tune more than any thing else, yeelding no joy that we may make any reckoning of, nor that contentment which wee hoped and expected. True it is, that an exquisite diet observed streightly and precisely according to rule, and missing not one jot, cansteth not onely the bodie to be thinne, hollow, and in danger to fall into many diseases; but also dulleth all the vigor, and daunteth the cheerefulness of the verie mind, in such sort, as that the suspecteth all things, and feareth continually to stay long as well in delights and pleasures, as in travells and paines; yea, and generally in every action enterprising nothing assuredly and with confidence: whereas we ought to deale by our body, as with the saile of a ship (that is to say) neither to draw it in & keepe it down too straight in time of calme & faire weather, nor to spread and let it out over slacke and negligently, when there is presented some suspicion of a tempest; but as occasion shall require, to spare it, and give some ease and remission, that afterwards it may be fresh and lightsome, as hath bene said already, and not to slacke the time, and stay untill we sensibly feele, crudities, laskes, inflammations; or contrariwise, stupidities and mortifications of members, by which signes (being as it were messengers, and others going before a feaver, which is hard at the dore) hardly will some be so much moved, as to keepe in, and restrain themselves, (no not when the very access and fit is readie to surprise them) but rather long before to be provident, and to prevent a tempest:



*So soone as from some rocke we finde  
The puffing gales of northern winde.*

For absurd it is, and to no purpose, to give such careful heed unto the crying wide throates of crows, or to the crawing and cackling of hennes, or to swine, when in a rage they tollie and fling straw about them (as *Democritus* saith) thereby to gather presages, & prognostications of wind, raine, and stormes; and in the meane time not to observe the motions, troubles, and fiering indispositions of our bodie, nor prevent the same, ne yet to gather undoubted signes of a tempest ready to rife and grow even out thereof. And therefore we ought, not onely to have an eie unto the bodie, for meat and drinke, and for bodily exercises, in observing whether we fall unto them more lazily and unwillingly than our manner was before time; or contrariwise whether our hunger and thirst be more than ordinary; but also wee are to suspect and feare, if our sleepe be not milde, and continued, but broken & interrupted: we must besides, regard our very dreames; namely, whether they be strange and unufuall: for if there be represented extraordinary fanfies and imaginations, they testifie and shew a repletion of grosse, viscous or slimy humours, and a great perturbation of the spirits within. Otherwhiles also it hapneth, that the motions of the soule it selfe, doe fore-signifie unto us, that the body is in some neere danger of disease: for many times men are surprisid with timorous fittes of melancholy, and heartlesse distrusts without any reason or evident cause, the which suddenly extinguish all their hopes: you shall have some upon every small occasion apt to fall into cholerick passions of anger; they become eager and hasty, troubled, pensive and offended with a little thing, inso much as they will be ready to weepe and runne all to teares, yea and languish for griefe and sorrow: And all this cometh, when evil vapours, fowre and bitter fumes ingendered within, doe arise and steeme up, and so (as *Plato* saith) be intermingled in the waies and passages of the soule. Those persons therefore who are subject to such things, ought to thinke and consider with themselves; that if there be no spirituall cause thereof, it cannot chuse but some corporall matter had need either of evacuation, alteration, or suppression.

Expedient also it is and very profitable for us, when we visit our friends that be sicke, to enquire diligently the causes of their maladies, not upon a cavilling curiosity or vaine ostentation, (to dispute sophistically, and discourse thereof only, or to make a shew of our eloquence, in talking of the instances, the infules, the intercourses, communities of diseases, and all to shew what books we have read, & that we know the words & tearmes of physick;) but to make search and enquire in good earnest, and not slightly or by the way, as touching these slight common and vulgar points, namely; whether the sicke partie be full or emptic? whether he overtravelled himselfe before, or no? and whether he slept well or ill? but principally, what diet he kept? and what order of life he followed, when he fell (for examples sake) into the ague: then (according as *Plato* was wont to say unto himselfe, whensoever he returned from hearing and seeing the faults that other men committed:) Am not I also such an one? so you must compose and frame your selfe to learne by the harmes and errors of neighbours about you, for to looke well unto your owne health, and by calling them to mind, to be so wary & provident, that you fall not into the same inconveniences, and forced to keepe your bed, and there extol & commend health, as wishing & desiring (when it is too late) for to enjoy so pretious a treasure; but rather (seeing another to have caught a disease) to marke and consider well, yea, and to entertaine this deepe impression in your heart; how deere the said health ought to be unto us, how carefull we should be to preserve, and chary to spare the same. Moreover, it would not be amisse for a man, afterwards to compare his owne life with that of the foresaid patient: for if it fall out so, that (notwithstanding we have used over-liberall diet both in drinks and meats, or laboured extremely, or otherwise committed error in any excesse and disorder) our bodies minister unto nature no suspicion, nor threaten any signe of sicknesse toward; yet ought we nevertheless, to take heed and prevent the harme that may ensue; namely, if we have committed any disorder in the pleasures of Venus and love-delights; or otherwise bene over-travelled, to repose our selves and take our quiet rest; after drunkennesse or carousing wine round for good fellowship, to make amends and recompense with drinking as much colde water for a time; but especially, upon a surfeit taken with eating heave and grosse meats, and namely, of flesh, or els feeding upon sundry and divers dishes, to fast or use a sparie diet, so as there be left no superfluitie in the bodie: for even these things, as of themselves alone (if there were no more) be enough to breed diseases; so unto other causes they adde matter and minister more strength. Full wisely therefore was it said by our ancients in old time, that for to maintaine our health, these three points were most expedient:

ent: To feed without fatietie: To labour with alacritie: and To preserve and make spare of naturall seed. For surely lascivious intemperance in venerie of all things, most decayeth and enfeebleth the strength of that naturall heat, whereby our meat and food which we receive is concocted, and so consequently is the cause of many excrescences and superfluities engendered, whereupon corrupt humours are engendered and gathered within the body.

To begin therefore to speake againe of every of these points; let us consider first the exercises meet and agreeable to students or men of learning: for like as he who first said: That he wrote nothing of Teeth to those that inhabited the sea coasts, taught them (in so saying) the use of them; even so a man may say unto scholars and men of learning: That he writeth nothing unto them as touching bodily exercises; for that the daily practise of the voice by speech and pronunciation, is an exercise woonderfull effectually, not onely for health, but also for strength, I meane not such as is procured to wrestlers and champions by art, which breedeth brawne carnositie, and causeth the skin to be firme and fast without forth (like unto an house which to the outward shew is rough-cast or thick coated with lime or plaster;) but that which maketh a tough constitution and a vigorous firmitude and strength indeed, in the noblest parts within, and the principall instruments of our life. Now, that the spirits augment & confirme the powers of our bodie, the anointers of mens bodies in the place of publicke exercise know full well, when they give order and command the wrestlers and such like, when their limmes are rubbed, to withstand such frictions in some sort, in holding their winde, observing precisely, and having an eie to each part of the body that is handled or rubbed. The voice therefore (being a motion of the spirit (fortified, not superficially and by starts, but even in the proper fountaines and springs which are about the vitall bowels) encrease the naturall heat) doth subtiliate the blood, cleanse the veines, openeth all the arteries, not suffering any obstruction, oppilation or stopping by superfluous humours to grow upon us or remaine behinde (like unto dregs or grounds) in the bottome of those vessels which receive and concoct those viands whereof we are nourished: by reason whereof, they have need to use ordinarily this exercise, and make it familiar unto them, by speaking in publicke place and discoursing continually. But it haply they doubt that their bodies be but weak, and not able to support and endure so much travell, yet at leastwise they are to reade with a loud voice; for looke what proportion there is betwene gellation or carriage of the body, and the exercise thereof upon the very ground, the same is betwene simple reading and discoursing or open disputation: for this reading doth gently stirre and mildly carrie the voice by the chariot (as it were) and litter of another mans speech; but disputation addeth thereto a certaine heat and forcible vehemence; for that the minde and the bodie conspire and concur together in that action: howbeit, in this exercise we must beware of over-loud vociferations and clamours; for such violent straining of the voice, and unequall extensions and intensions of the winde, many times cause some rupture of veines, or inward spasmes and convulsions. Now when a student hath either read or discoursed in this manner, good it is for him before he walke abroad, to use some unctuous, warme and gentle frictions, to handle and rub the skinn and flesh after a soft and milde maner; yea, and as much as he can, to reach into the very bowels within, that the spirits may be spread and distributed equally thorowout, even to the verie extremities of the bodie. In these rubbings and frictions, this gage & measure would be observed; that he continue them so long and so often, as he findeth them to agree sensibly with his bodie, and bring no offence with them. He that in this wise hath appeased & settled the trouble or tension of the spirits in the center of the bodie, if haply there should remaine some superfluitie behinde, it would do him no great harme: for say, that he should forbear walking, for want of leisure or by occasion of sudden businesse, it is all one, and it maketh no matter; for why, nature hath had already that which is sufficient, and standeth satisfied therewith. And therefore a man is not to pretend colourably for to excuse his silence, or forbearance of reading either navigation, when he is accompanied with other passengers at sea in one ship, or his abode and sojourning in an hostlerie or common inne, although all the companie there should mocke him for it: for as it was no shame nor dishonest thing, to eat before them all; no more unseemly is it to exercise himselfe in their presence by reading. But rather more undecent it were, to be afraid or stand in awe of mariners, muliters or inne-keepers, when they laugh at you, not for playing at ball alone, or fighting with your own shadow, but for speaking before the in your speech, either teaching, or discoursing, or els learning by roat and rehearsing some good thing for your exercise. *Socrates* was wont to say: That for him who would moove and stirre his bodie by way of dancing, a little roome (that would receive seven settles or seats) was sufficient & big enough; but

but him that mindeth to exercise his body either by singing or saying, every place will serve, whether he stand, lie or sit. Only this must we take heed of, that we straine not our voice nor set out an open throat, when we are privie to our selves that we have eaten or drunke liberally, ne yet presently after the company of a woman, or any other wearisome travel whatsoever, as many of our orators & great masters of rhetoricke use to do; who enforce and give themselves to declaim and pronounce their orations too loud, even above the strength of their bodie; some for vainglory and ambition, because they would put forth themselves; others for reward and to get a fee, or els upon emulation to their concurrents. Thus did *Niger*, (a friend of ours) who professed rhetoricke in *Galatia*: this man having swallowed downe a fish-bone which stucke still in his throat (when another rhetorician travelling that way, chanced to make a publike oration; for that he was ashamed to be thought his inferior, and yet durst not deale with him in that facultie) would needs shew himselfe in open place, and declaim, whiles the said bone remained still in his throat: but by this meanes there ensued a dangerous and painfull inflammation; and being no longer able to endure the dolorous anguish thereof, he suffered himselfe to be launced without forth, and to have a deepe incision and a wide orifice made, whereby the bone indeed was plucked out, but the wound was so grievous, and oppressed besides with a descent and defluxion of theumaticke humours thither, that he died thereof. But haply, better to the purpose it were, to speake of this hereafter. Well, after exercise to go presently into the bath, & to wash in colde water, were the part of a lusty wild-braine and a giddy-headed youth, who will needs in a bravery shew what he can do, rather than holloome any way: for all the good that such colde baths bring, is this, that they seeme to harden the body, and confirme it so, as it is lesse subject to take offence by the qualities of the aire without; but surely they do more harme within, by a great deale; for that they enclose and shut up the pores of the body, causing the humors and humorsities which would evaporate and breathe forth continually, to become thicke and grosse. Furthermore, needfull it is for them that love to bathe thus in colde water, to fall into the subjection of that over-straight and exquisite diet (which we would avoid) having evermore an eye upon this, not to breake the fume in any point whatsoever, for that the least fault and smallest error in the world, is presently fore chasticed and costeth full deere: whereas contrariwise to enter into the baine, and wash in hote water, pardoneth us, and holdeth us excused for many things; for it doth not so much diminish the strength and force of the bodie, as it bringeth profit another way for the health thereof; framing and applying most gently and kindly the humors to concoction: and in case there be some which can not well and perfectly be digested, (so they be not altogether cruide and raw, nor float aloft in the mouth of the stomacke) it causeth them to dissolve and exhale without any sence of paine; yea, and withall, it doth mitigate and cause to vanish and passe away the secret lassitudes of the musculous members. And yet as good as banes be, if we perceive the bodie to be in the naturall state and disposition, firme and strong enough, better it were to intermit and for-let the use of baths; and in stead thereof, I holde it holstomer to anoint and rub the bodie before a good fire, namely, if it have need to be chafed and set in an heat; for by this meanes there is dispersed into it as much heat as is requist, and no more; which cannot be against the sunne; for of his heat a man can not take more or lesse at his owne discretion, but according as he affecteth or tempereth the aire, so he affourdeth his use. And thus much may serve for the exercise of students.

To come now unto their food and nouriture: if the reasons and instructions before delivered, by which we learne to restraine, repress and mitigate our appetites, have done any good, time it were to proceed forward to other advertisements; but in case they be so violent, so unruly and untamed, as if they were newly broken out of prison, that it is an hard piece of worke to range them within the compasse of reason; and if it be a difficult piece of worke to wrestle with the bellie, which (as *Cato* was wont to say) hath no cares; we must worke another feat and device with it; namely, by observing the quality of the viands, to make the quantity more light and lesse offensive: and if they be such as be solid and nourish much; as for example, grosse flesh meats, choefce, drie figges, and hard egges, they must feed of them as little as they can; for to refuse and forbear them altogether were very hard; but they may be more bold to eate heartily of those that be thinne and light, such as are the most part of worts, or pot-herbes, birdes, and fishes, that be not fatte & oleous: for in eating of such meats, a man may at once both gratifie his appetite, and also never overcharge his bodie; but above all, take heed they must of crudities and fustits, proceeding from liberal eating of flesh-meats; for besides that they lode the stomacke presently as they are taken, there remaine afterwards behind naughtie reliques; and therefore

therefore it were verie well, that they accustomed their bodies never to call for flesh, considering that the earth it selfe bringeth forth other kinds of food, sufficiently not only for the necessitie of nourishment, but also for pleasure and the contentment of the appetite; for some of them are ready to be eaten without any dressing, or the helpe of mans hand, others being mingled and compounded after divers sorts to make them more lavorite and toothsome. But for as much as custome (after a sort) is a second nature, or at leastwise not contrarie to nature; we must not accustome our selves to feed on flesh, for to fulfill our appetites, after the maner of wolves, & lions, but use it onely as the foundation and ground of other viands; which being once laid, we are to make our principall nourishment of other eates and dishes, which as they are more appropriate to our bodies, and suitable to nature, so they doe increasse and dull lesse the vigor and subtiltie of the spirit, and the discouraging reasonable part of the soule, which is kindled, mainteined, and set to burne cleere, by a more delicate and light matter. As touching liquid things, they must use milke, not as an ordinarie drinke, but as a strong meat that nourisheth exceeding much: but for wine, we are to say to it, as *Euripides* did to *Pentus*:

*Welcome to me in measure and in measure,*

*Too much is naught: yet doe not leave me cleane.*

for of all drinks it is most profitable, of medicines most pleasant, and of daintie viands most harmeless; provided alwaies that it be well delaid and tempered with opportunity of the time, rather than with water. And verily water (not that onely wherewith wine is mingled, but also which is drunke betwene whiles, apart by it selfe) causeth the wine tempered therewith to do the lesse harme: in regard whereof, a student ought to use himselfe to drinke twice or thrice every day a draught of cleere water, for that it will enfeeble the headinesse of the wine, & make the usuall drinking of pure water, more familiar to the stomacke: and this I would have to be done, to this end, that if they be driven perforce to drinke faire water, they might not thinke it strange, nor be ready to refuse it. For many there be, who oftentimes have recourse to wine, when wisly they had more need to runne to the water; and namely, when they be over-heat with the sunne: yea, and contrariwise, when they be stiffe frozen with cold, or have strained themselves to speake much, or studied and sitten hard at their booke; and generally, after that they have travelled fore, till they be wearie, or have performed some vehement exploit, or violent exercise; then (I say) they thinke, that they ought to drinke wine; as if nature herselfe required and called for some contentment and refreshing of the bodie, and some change and alteration after travels: but nature verily is not desirous to have any good done to her in this sort, if you call such pleasure a doing of good; but the demandeth onely a reduction to a meane betwene labour and rest: and therefore such persons as these, are to be cut short and abridged of their victuals, and either to be debarrd quite of all wine, or else enjoined to drinke it well delaid with water: for wine being of it selfe of a violent and stirring nature, augmenteth and maketh more unquiet the stormie perturbations arising within the body, it doth irritate and dissemper more and more the parts therein already offended and troubled; the which had much more need to be appeased and dulced; to which purpose water serveth passing well: for if we otherwise being not a thirst, drinke hot water after we have laboured, or done some painfull exercise, in the exceeding heats of the summer; we finde a notable cooling, refreshing, and easement in our inward bowels; the reason is; because the humiditie of water is kinde and milde, procuring no debate or disquietnesse at all; whereas the moisture of wine hath a vehement force, which never is at quiet and repose, but maketh a deepe impression, nothing agreeable nor fit to appease the indispositions that are a breeding. Now if one doe feare the lowe and sharpe acrimonies, and the bitter tastes which (by the saying of some) hunger and want of food engender in our bodies, or as little children use to do, thinketh much not to sit at the table for to eat, a little before the fit of an ague, or when he suspecteth it coming: the drinking of water is as it were a confine and frontier betwene both, very fit to remedie the one and the other: and many times we offer unto *Bacchus* himselfe certaine sacrifices called *Nephelia*, for that there is no wine used therein; accustoming our selves wisly thereby not to be alwaies desirous for to drinke wine. *Minos* tooke away from sacrifices, the flute, and the chaplets used to be worne on mens heads, in regard of griefe and sorrow: and yet we know full well, that the heave and sorrowfull minde, is neither by flutes nor flowers, passionate; whereas there is not the bodie of a man, (how strong and stout forever he be) but if it be stirred, troubled, and enlisted, will take more harme and offence by wine if it be taken or powred into it. It is recorded in the *Chronicles*; that the *Lydians* in time of a great dearth and famine, did eat but once in

two daies, and spent the time betwene, at dice-play, and other such games and pastimes; and even to it were well beleeving a student and lover of the Muses and his booke, at such a time as he had need to make a late and short supper, to have before him, the figure serving for some Geometrical proposition, or some little booke, some harpe or lute; this will not suffer him to be ledde as prisoner to his owne belly, but by diverting and turning ordinarily his mind from the board, to these honest pastimes and recreations; will chase away from the Muses the greedy appetite of eating and drinking, as if they were so many ravenous fowles and harpies: For a shame it were that a Scythian while hee is drinking, should estoones take his bow in hand ready bent, and twang the string, and by the sound thereof, awaken and quicken his courage, which otherwise would become drowsie, loose, and dull by wine: and that a Grecian should be ashamed or afraid of a stout or mocke, in assaying gently to refrain and bridle an unreasonable, violent, and greedy appetite, by the means of bookes and writings: for much after the same manner in a comedie of *Menander*, when there was a baud, who for to tempt certaine young men sitting at supper together, brought in amongst them certaine pretie young wenches, very faire, & richly arrayed; every one of the said young men (because they were afraid & unwilling to looke those beautifull damosels in the face) made no more adoe, but as he faith,

*Cast downe the head, and like good merrie mates,  
Fall to their jankets hard, and deintie cates.*

Moreover, men that are addicted to their studie, and to learning, have many other proper and pleasant means to turne away their eyes, and divert their minds, if otherwise they be not able to looke off; and to stay or hold in, this violent and dogge-like greedy appetite, when the meat standeth before them upon the board. For as touching the speeches of some masters of welters, or the words of certaine schoole-masters, who goe up and downe, saying: That to reason, argue, and discourse at the table upon points of learning; causeth the meat to corrupt within the stomacke, and breedeth head-ach, or heaviness of the braine: we may indeed feare somewhat; if we will needs (while we be at our repast) fall to resolve such a sophistical argument, as the Logicians call *Indos*: or if wee be disposed to reason and dispute about the matterfull sophisme named *Kyriton*: It is said, that the crowne or upmost tuft growing upon the date tree, called the braine thereof, is exceeding sweet and pleasant to the taste, howbeit, hurtfull to the head: howbeit, these prickie and intricate disputations in Logicke at supper time, are no pleasant banquetting dishes, but offensive to the braine, tedious, and irksome, nothing more. But if those men will not permit us to discourse, to heare, reade, or talke of other matters in supper time, which together with honestie and profit, have an attractive pleasure and sweetness joined therewith: we will desire them to let us alone, & not trouble us, but to arise from the table, and goe their waies into their galleries and halls for wrestling, and there to hold and maintaine such positions among their scholars and champions, whom they withdraw and turne away from the study of good letters; and accustoming them to spend their time all the day long in scoffes and scurrile speeches, they make them in the end (as gentle *Ariston* said) as wilde, and without sense (yet glib and well greased) as the stone pillars which support those galleries, and places of exercise where they use to converse and keepe schoole. But we contrariwise being ruled by the physicians, who advise us alwaies to interpose some competent time betwene supper and sleepe, are not presently to go unto it, after we have filled our bellies with viands, and stuffed our spirits, even while the morsels of meat bee all raw, or beginning now to be concocted, thereby to hinder and staie digestion; but give some space and breathing time betwene, untill the meat bee well setled in the stomacke. And as they who give us counsell to moove and stirre the bodie after meales, will us not to runne our selves out of breath, nor to exercise our selves so, as that we put all the parts of our bodie to the triall, after the manner of the Pancrasts; but either to walke faire and softly, or to daunce after a gentle and easie manner; seembly, we are to thinke, that we ought to exercise our wits and minds after a dinner or supper, not about any affaires of deepe studie, and profound meditation, nor in sophistical disputes, tending to the ostentation of a quicke and lively spirit, or which bee litigious, and breed contention; but there be many questions besides of naturall philosophie, pleasant to be discussed, and easie to be decided; many pretie tales and narrations there are, out of which a man may draw good considerations and wise instructions, for to traine and frame our manners; and these containe that grace & facilitie in them, which the poet *Homer* calleth *Menoikes*, that is to say, yielding to anger, and in no wise croffe and resistant: Heereupon it is, that some doe pleasantly traine this exercise of mooving, propounding & relolving historically or poetically

ons; the second course or the service of banquetting dishes, for students and learned men. Moreover, there be other sorts of pleasant talke besides these, and namely; to heare and recite fables, devised for mirth and pleasure; discourses of playing upon the flute, harpe, or lute, which many times give more contentment and delight, than to heare the flute, harpe, or lute it selfe played upon. Now the very precise time measured as it were and marked out to be most proper and meet for such recreations; is when we feele that our meat is gently gone downe, and setled quietly in the bottome of the stomacke, shewing some signe of concoction, and that naturall heat is strong, and hath gotten the upper hand.

Now forasmuch as *Aristotle* is of opinion, that walking after supper doth stirre up and kindle (as one would say) our naturall heat: and to sleepe immediately after a man hath supped, doth dull and quench it: considering also, that others be of a contrary minde, and hold; that rest and repose, is better for concoction; that motion so soone after, troubleth and impeacheth the digestion and distribution of the meats, which is the cause that some use to walke after supper, others sit still and take their ease: me thinks a man may reconcile and satisfie verie well after a sort these two opinions; who cherishing and keeping his bodie close and still after supper, setteth his mind a walking, awakeneth it, suffering it not to be heavie & idle at once by and by; but sharpeneth and quickeneth his spirits, as is before said, by little and little, in discoursing, or hearing discourses of pleasant matters and delectable, such as be not biting in any wise, nor offensive and odious.

Moreover, as touching vomits or purgations of the bellie by laxative medicines, which are the curied and detestable easements and remedies of fulnesse and repletion; surely they would never be used but upon right great and urgent necessitie: a contrary course to many men, who fill their gorges and bodies with an intent to void them soone after; or otherwise, who purge and empty the same for to fill them againe, even against nature; who are no lesse troubled, nay much more offended ordinarily, by being fedde and full, than fasting and empty: inasmuch as such repletion is an hinderance to the contentment and satisfying of their appetites and lusts; by occasion whereof, they take order alwaies, that their bodie may be evermore emptied; as if this voidance were the proper place and feat of their pleasures. But the hurt and damage that may grow upon these ordinary purgations and vomits, is very evident; for that both the one and the other, put the body to exceeding great straines and violent disturbances. As for vomiting, it bringeth with it one inconvenience by it selfe, more than the former, in that it procureth & augmenteth an unsatiable greedinesse to meat: for ingendered there is by that means a violent & turbulent hunger (like as when the course or stream of a river, hath bene for a while stopped & staid) snatching or greedy at meat, which is evermore offensive, & not a kind appetite indeed, when as nature hath need of meat; but resembling rather the inflammations occasioned by medicines or cataplasmes. Heereupon it is that the pleasures proceeding from thence, passe and slippe away incontinently, as abortive and imperfect, accompanied with inordinate pantings and beatings of the pulse, great wrings in the enjoying of them, and afterwards ensue dolorous tensions, violent oppressions or stoppings of the conduits & pores, & the reliques or retentions of ventosities; which staie not for naturall ejections and evacuations, but runne up and downe all over our bodies, like as if they were shippes furcharged, having more need to be eased of their burden, than still to be laden with more excrements. As for the troublesome motions of the belly and guts, occasioned by purgative drogues, they corrupt, spill and resolve the naturall strength of the solide parts, so that they engender more superfluitie within than they thrust out and expel. And this is foral the world, like as if a man, being discontented to see within his native citie a multitude of naturall Greekes inhabitants, should for to drive them out, fill the same with Scythians or Arabian strangers. For even so, some there be, who (greatly miscounting and deceiving themselves) for to send forth of their bodies the superfluous humors which are in some sort domesticall and familiar unto them, put into them I wot not what, Guadian graines, Scammoni and other strange drogues fer from farre countries, such as have no familiar reference to the bodie, but are meere wilde and savage, and in truth have more need to be purged and chased out of the body themselves, than power and vertue to void away and expell that wherewith nature is choked and overcharged. The best way therefore is, by sobrietie and regular diet, to keepe the bodie alwaies in that moderate measure of evacuation and repletion, that it may be able by proportionable temperature, to maintaine it selfe, without any outward helpe. But if it fall out otherwhiles, that there be some necessitie of the one or the other; vomits would be provoked without the helpe of strange physicall drogues, and not with much adoe

Which some  
suppose, the  
business of the  
body thereto:  
but this bird  
being so large,  
as that it is  
time, for  
a bird of this  
thing, like  
no, how this  
propertie  
should be ob-  
served in the  
business there-  
of.

adsoo and curiositie, that they disquiet & trouble no parts within, but onely for to avoid cruditie and indigestion, reject and cast up that gentle which is too much, and cannot be prepared and made meet for concoction. For like as linnen clothes that bee scoured and made cleane with sopes, ashes, lees and other absterfiv matters, weare more and fret out sooner than such as be washed simply in faire water; even so, vomites provoked by medicines, offend the body much more, and marre the complexion. But say, the belly bee bound and coltive, there is not a drouge that easeth it so mildly, or provoketh it to the sieg so easily, as doe certaine meats, whereof the experience is familiar unto us, and the use nothing dolorous and offensive. Now in case the body be so heard, that such kinde viands will not worke and cause it to be solible, then a man ought for many daies together, to drinke thinne and cold water, or use to fast, or else take some clister, rather than purgative medicines, such as disquiet the body, and overthrow the temperature thereof. And yet many there be, who ever and anon are ready to run unto them; much like unto those lewd and light wanton women, who use certaine medicines to cause abortion, or to send away the fruit which they have newly conceived; to the end that they might conceive soone againe, and have more pleasure in that fleshy action. Now is it time to say no more, but to let them goe that perswade such evacuations.

As for those on the contrary side, who interiect certaine exact, precise, and criticall fastings, observed too straightly according to just periods and circuits of daies: surely they teach nature, (wherein they doe not well) to use abstinction before it have need; and acquaint her with a necessarie abstinance of food, which in it selfe is not necessarie, even at a prefixed time, which 20 calleth for that then, whereto it is accustomed. Better yet it were, for a man to use these chastiments of his body, freely and at his owne liberty, without any foreknowledge of suspition: and as for other diet, (as hath beene said before) to order it so, that it may frame and be obsequient to all manner of occurrences & changes that shall come betwene, and not to be tied and bound to one forme and manner of life, exactly to keepe certaine daies, just numbers, and set circuits, without failing or missing in any jot. For this course is neither sure, nor easie; it is not 30 civill nor yet agreeable to humanitie: it resembleth rather the life of an oyster, or some stocke of a tree; to captivate himselfe, and be so subject and thrall, that he cannot change or alter his viands; he may not once varie in his fastings and abstinencies, in his motions or repose, but continue alwayes close and covert in a shade kinde of life, idle, private to himselfe, without 40 conversing with friends, without participation of honors, farre remote from the administration of weale publicke, which were to shut himselfe up as it were a close prisoner; a life I assure you which I cannot like nor allow: for wee cannot buie our health with idleness and doing naught; which two are the principall inconveniences incident unto diseases: and all one this were, as if a man would thinke to preserve his eyes, by not employing them to see; or his voice, by speaking not at all; thus to be perswaded, that for the preservation of health it were necessarie to have continuall repose, without doing ought: for a man in health, cannot doe better for 50 to maintaine the same, than to be employed in many good duties, and commendable offices of humanitie. An absurd error therefore it is, to thinke idleness to be either healthy or holosome, considering that it destroyeth the very end of health, which is employment: neither is it true, that the lesse men doe, the more healthfull they be. For *Xenocrates* had not his health better than *Phocion*; nor *Theophrastus* than *Demetrius*; and as for *Epicurus* and all the crew of his sectaries, they had no benefit at all for the attaining of that contentment and tranquillitie of the bodie which they make so great reckoning of, and praise so highly; by flying and avoiding all State affaires, and meddling in no publicke and honorable office. Other meanes therefore and provision would be made, to entercaine and keepe that disposition and habitude of the bodie, which is according to nature: for this is certaine; that all sorts of life be capable, as well of sickness as of health. Howbeit, politicians (quoth he) and States-men are to be adonished to doe cleane contrary unto that which *Plato* advertised his yong scholars to doe. For *Plato* ever as he went out of the schoole, was wont thus to say unto them: Goe to my sonnes, see 60 you employ that leisure which you have, in some honest sports and pastimes. But wee may exhort and put in minde those who deale in the administration of common-wealth, to bestow their labour and travell in honest and necessarie things, and not to overtoile and spend their bodies in small matters of little or no consequence; as the manner is of most men, who trouble and torment themselves about just nothing, overwatching, running to and fro, heere and there, up and downe about things which many times are neither good nor honest; but onely because they would disgrace and shame others, either upon envie that they beare unto them, or

or upon obstinate and wilfull selfe-conceit, or else to pursue and maintaine some vaine and foolish opinions that they have taken. For I thinke verily it was in regard of such persons especially, that *Demetrius* said: If the body should call the soule judiciously into question upon an action of injurie or wrong done, and for to make satisfaction of losse and damage; the were not able to answer it, but must needs confesse the action, and be condemned. And *Theophrastus* peradventure said well and truly; when speaking by a metaphor or allegorie; he affirmed, that the soule paid a deere rent for her dwelling within the body. For (I assure you) the bodie may thanke the soule for many harmes that it susteineth; when as she useth it not with reason, nor in-treateth it according as it is meet and convenient; and looke when she hath any proper and peculiar passions of her owne, or some enterprises and actions to be performed, she maketh no 10 spare of the poore bodie. As for the tyrant *Solon*, hee was wont (I wot not upon what reason or ground) to say: That he ought to deale unjustly in small matters, who would be just in the greatestt affaires; and even so, wee may well advise a man of State and government, to make no reckoning of trifling things, but disport, play, and solace himselfe in repose with them; if he would not have his bodie over-spent, dull, or lazie, against the time that he should employe it in great and important causes: much like to an old shippe which hath beene drawn up to land, for to be newly calked and trimmed, after it hath rested a time, is fit to doe new service at sea; for even so, the bodie upon repose and ease, whensoever the soule shall put it to any affaires, will be ready to follow

*And runne with her, as sucking sale doth go  
Hard by the damme, and never parts her fro.*

And therefore when occasions will permit and give leave, wee are to refresh and recreate our selves, not envying the bodies naturall sleepe, or usuall repose and refection of dinner, the yet easement and recreation, which is of a middle nature betwene pleasure and paine, nor observing a strict rule; which many men doe keepe, and in keeping it, spill and spend the bodie by sudden mutations; like as iron that is often made hot and quenched againe: for whensoever the body is soiled and tired with travells, then they will even melt and dissolve it in excessive and unmeasurable pleasures: and all upon the sudden againe, when it is weakened & enfeebled with the delights of *Venus*, or by drinking out of course, they will draw and drive it presently to the ferious travels of the common hall or the court, to the solliciting and following of some affaires 30 of great importance, which requireth earnest attendance and hot pursuit. *Heracitus* the philosopher, being fallen into a drop sic, willed his physician to make drougt of great raine. But most men ordinarily doe fault herein exceeding much: now when they be wearied, toiled, and soiled with painfull labours and wants, yeeld their bodies to be melted and spent quite with voluptuous pleasures; and afterwards againe, wrest and straine them as it were upon the reinters, immediately upon the fruition of some pleasures. For nature verily neither liketh nor requirerh these alterations and sudden changes by turnes: but it is the incontincencie and illiberall lasciviousnesse of the soule, and nothing else, that abandoneth her selfe inordinately unto pleasures and delights, so soone as it is out of laborious exercises; like as mariners and sailors doe at sea. 40 And contrariwise, immediately after sports & pleasures, betaketh it selfe to the eager pursuit of gaine, & to the management of great affaires; giving no time and space of rest to nature, to enjoy repose and quiet tranquillitie, wherof it hath need, but setteth it out of frame, and discompereth it mightily, by reason of this inequalitye. But wise and discreet persons are verie wary and carefull in this behalfe; never presenting such pleasures to their bodies when they be out-wearied with labour and travell, for need thereof they have none at all; and besides, they doe not regard nor thinke upon them, having their mindes continually intentive upon the honestie and decency of the action or thing whereabout they are; dulling or dimming as well the joy, as the earnest sollicitude and care of their minde, by the meanes of other desires and appetites; as it is written of *Epaminondas*, that he should say in game and merriment, of a certaine valiant man, 50 who about the time of the Leuctrique warre, died of sickness in his bedde: O *Hercules*, how had this man any leisure to die, amidst so many important affaires! even so it may be said truly and in good earnest of a great personage, who hath in his hand the managing of some weightie affaires in matter of government, or treatise of philosophie: How should such a man as he have time either to be drunken, or to surfeit with gluttonie, or given himselfe to fleshy pleasures of the body? But wise men indeed, when they be freed from important matters of action, can finde a time to rest and repose their bodies, discharging them of needlesse and unprofitable

travels, but much more of superfluous and unnecessarie pleasures, flying and shunning them as enemies and contrarie to nature.

I remember that upon a time I heard, how *Tiberius Caesar* was wont to say: That a man being once above three-score yeres of age deserveth to be mocked and derided, if he put forth his hand unto the physician for to have his pulse felt. For mine owne part, I take this speech of his to bee somewhat too proud and insolent; but me thinks this should be true: That every man ought to know the particularities and properties of his owne pulse, for there bee many diversities and differences in each one of us: also that it behooveth no man to be ignorant in the severall complexion of his owne bodie, as well in heat as in drinesse: also to be skillfull what things be good for him, and what be hurtfull, when he useth them: for he that would learne these particularities of any other than of himselfe, or goeth to a physician to know of him, whether he be better in health in summer time than in winter; or whether hee stand better affected in taking dry things rather than moist; also whether naturally he have a strong pulse or a weake, a quick or a slow; surely hath no sense or feeling of himselfe, but is as it were deafe and blinde, a stranger he is dwelling in a borrowed body, and none of his owne: for such points as those, are good to be known and easie to be learned; for that we may make proofe thereof every how, as having the body with us continually.

Also meet it is, among meats and drinks, to know those rather which be good and holosome for the stomack, than such as be pleasant to the tooth; and to have experience of that which doth the stomack good, more than of that which is offensive thereto; as also of those things that do not trouble and hinder concoction, than which content and tickle the taste. For to demand of a physician, what is easie of digestion, and what not; what doth loose, and what bindeth the belly; me thinks is no lesse shamefull than to ask him, what is sweet; what bitter; what fowre, tart or austere. But now we shall have many folke, that know well how to find fault with their cooks and dressers of meat, for seasoning their broths, or making sauce to their viands, being able to discern which is sweeter than it ought to be; which is over-tart or too much salted: and yet they themselves are not able to say, whether that which is put into the bodie and united therewith, be light or no; and whether it be harmlesse, nor offensive, or profitable. Hereupon it is, that their pottage misleth not often, the right seasoning; whereas contrariwise, for want of well seasoning their owne selves, but daily faulting therein, they make much worke for physicians: for they esteeme not that pottage best, which is the sweetest, but they mingle therewith many sharpe juices and fowre herbs, to make it somewhat tart withall; but contrariwise, they send into the bodie all maner of sweet and pleasant things, even untill it cry, Ho; partly being ignorant, and in part not calling to minde and remembrance, that nature adjoineth alwaies unto things that be good and holosome, a pleasure not mingled with displeasure and repentance. Moreover, we are likewise to remember and beare in minde, all those things that be fit and agreeable to the bodie; or contrariwise, in the changes of the seasons in the yere, in the qualities and properties of the aire, and other circumstances, to know how to accommodat and apply our diet accordingly: for as touching all the offences proceeding from nigardise, avarice and pinching, which the common sort doe incurre about the painfull innings and laborious bestowing or laying up of their come and fruits; who by their long watchings, by their running and trudging to and fro, discover and bewray what is within the bodie, rotten, faulty & ulcerous: we are not to feare, that such accidents will befall to learned persons or students, ne yet to States-men and politicians, unto whom principally I have addressed this discourse; but they ought to beware and eschue another kinde of more eager covetousnesse and illiberall nigardise in matter of studie and literature, forcing them to neglect and not regard their owne poore bodies, which often times being so travelled and outworn, that they can doe them no more service, yet they spare them never the more, nor give them leave to be refreshed and gather up their crummes againe; but force that which is fraille and mortall, to labour a vie with the foule, which is immortall; that (I say) which is earthly, to hold out with the spirit, that is heavenly. Well, the ox laid unto the camell his fellow-servant, who would not ease him a little of his burden: Thou wilt not helpe me now to beare somewhat of my charge; but shortly thou shalt carie all that I carie, and me besides: which fell out so indeed, when the ox died under his burden; semblably it hapneth to the foule, which will not allow the fillie bodie (worned and tired) some little time of rest and repose: for soone after comes a fever, head-ach, dizziness of the braine, with a dimnesse of the sight, which will compell her to lay aside all books, to abandon all good letters, disputations and studie; and

in the end is driven to languish and lie sicke in bed together with it for company. And therefore *Plato* wisely admonisheth us, not to move and exercise the body without the soule, nor the soule without the body, but to drive them both together equally, as if they were two steeds drawing at one spire of a chariot; and especially at such a time, when as the body is builed with the foule, and laboureth together with her, we ought to have the most care of it, and to allow it that attendance & cherishment, which is meet and requisite, to the end, that thereby we may requite it with good and desireable health; esteeming this to be the greatest benefit and most singular gift that proceedeth thereupon, in that neither the one nor the other (for default of good disposition) is impeached or hindered in the knowledge of vertue and the practise thereof, as well in literature as in the actions of mans life.



## OF THE ROMANS FORTUNE.

### The Summarie.




Never there were any Statepolitike, in the rising growth and declination whereof, we are to see & acknowledge the admirable providence of God, together with the strength and wisdom of man, certes the Romane empire ought to be set in the foremost ring. The causes of the foundation and advancement of this great Monarchie, are otherwise considered by those whom the heavenly truer (revealed in the holy Scripture) doth illuminate, than by the Pagans and Sages of this world, guided onely by the discourse of their reason, corrupted with Sinne and ignorance of the true God. For when the question is, as touching the government of the universall world, although the sovereign Lord thereof, use often times, the spirit uall and corporal vigor both of mortall men, for to execute his will; yet we may behold above it, and before any exploit of visible instruments, this great and incomprehensible wisdom of his; who having decreed in himselfe all things, executeth every moment his deliberations; so that in regard of him, there is nothing as small, but all keepe a course according to his determinate and resolute will: but in respect of us, many things be accidentall; for that the counsels of that eternall and immutable wisdom are hidden from us, and appeare not but by little and little. Infidels and miscreants, who are not able to comprehend this secret, have imagined and set downe for governances of mans life, Fortune and Vertue; meaning by Fortune, that which the common saying compriseth in these few words: In this world there is nothing els but good lucke and a bad; but so, as if any man could skill how to manage his owne fortune, he might make it of bad, good and commodious: and this they meant by the word Vertue, which is an habitude or disposition of the mind and body; by the means whereof, he that is indited therewith, might prevent and overthrow quite all the assaults of Fortune. Some there be, who abuse the word Fortune, for to abolish the providence of God; and others have attributed so much unto Vertue, that they have set man out of those limits, in which his owne proper nature, and above all the divine truth, placed him. Others againe, have ascribed some thing unto Fortune, and yet they neither understand nor declare what it importeth, but have given out (although very irresolutely) that Fortune cannot give the check to a vertuous man. If we had this treatise following entire and perfect, all the ancient philosophie and learning, as touching this question, had bene manifestly discovered unto us. But the principall part of this discourse is lost, in such sort, as *Plutarch* (having brought in Fortune and Vertue disputing upon this point: Whether of them should have the honour of the foundation and maintenance of the Romane empire?) hath left unto us nothing but the plea of Fortune; who by divers reasons and proofs holdeth that the wisdom & valour of the people of Rome, was not the cause of their grandence, but Fortune, that is to say (as he exprestly sheweth in one place) the guidance and helpe of God, who hath so raised his estate for many others, and for to hold one good part of the world jointly in one body, under such a chiefe and sovereigne. As concerning the reasons alledged in the favor and maintenance of Fortune, they be marked in order, and drawn out well at large: where as those of Vertue are omitted, or peradventure referred to the judgement and discretion of the reader, for to invent, devise, and apply them by himselfe.



selfe, and of them all to collect and gather one conclusion, tending to this, for to shew the great wonders of Gods providence in sustaining the Romane empire, and the notable aid of an infinit number of instruments, which the said divine providence employed in plaming, raising up, and pulling downe so mighty and renowned a dominion.

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 **V**ertue and Fortune have fought many great combats, and those-  
teentimes one against the other: but that which presenteth it selfe  
unto us at this time, is the greatest of all the rest; to wit: the de-  
bate and plea which they had together as touching the empire of  
*Rome*, namely; whether of them twaine wrought that worke? and  
which of them brought forth so mightie a puissiance? For this wil  
be no small testimonie on her side who shall gaine the victorie, or  
rather a great apologie, against the imputation charged upon the  
one and the other. For *Vertue* is accused, in that she is honest, but  
unprofitable: and fortune, that she is uncerteine, but yet good: and  
it is commonly said, that as the former is fruitlesse for all her paines; so the other is faithlesse  
and untrusting in all her gifts. For who will not say, if the greatnesse of *Rome* be adjudged and a-  
warded to one of them, that either *Vertue* is most profitable, in case she could doe so much for  
good and honest men, or *Fortune* most firme and constant, if she have preserved and kept so  
long, that which the once hath given? *Ten* the poet in those works of his which he composed  
without verse, and in prose, saith: That *Fortune* and *Wisedome* (two most different things, and  
farre unlike one to the other) produce neverthelesse most like and semblable effects: both the  
one and the other indifferently make men great and honorable; they advance them in digni-  
tie, puissiance, estate and authoritie. And what need I (for to draw out this matter at length) re-  
hearse and reckon up a number of those whom they have preferred, considering that even na-  
ture herselfe who hath borne us, and brought forth all things; some take to be *Fortune*, and  
others *Wisedome*. This present discoufse therefore, addeth unto the citie of *Rome* a great and  
admirable dignitie, in case we dispute of her as our manner is of the earth, the sea, the heaven  
and the starres, namely, whether it were by *Fortune* or by providence, that she was first founded  
and had her being? For mine owne part, I am of this opinion, that howsoever *Fortune* and *Vertue*  
have alwaies had many quarrels and debates otherwise, yet to the framing and composition  
of so great an empire and puissiance, it is very like they had made truce and were at accord; that  
by one joint-consent also, they wrought both together, and finished the goodliest piece of work  
that ever was in the world. Neither think I that I am deceived in this conjecture of mine; but am  
perswaded, that like as (according to the saying of *Plato*) the whole world was not made at first,  
of fire and earth, as the two principall and necessarie elements, to the end that it might be vi-  
sible and palpable, considering that as the earth gave massinesse, poise and firmitude; so fire con-  
ferred thereunto, colour, forme, and motion. Besides, the other two natures and elements which  
are between these two extremes (to wit, aire and water, by softning, melting, tempering and  
quenching (as it were) the great diffociation and dissimilitude of the said extremes) have drawn  
together, incorporate and united by the means of them, the first matter; even so, time and  
God together, intending such a stately piece of worke as *Rome*, tooke *Vertue* and *Fortune*, and  
those they tempered and coupled in one, as yoke-fellows; to the end, that of the thing which is  
proper both to the one and the other, they might found, build, and reare a sacred temple in-  
deed, an edifice beneficiall and profitable unto all, a strong castle seated upon a firme  
ground-worke, and an eternall element, which might serve in stead of a maine pillar, to susteine  
the decaying state of the world, readie to reele and sinke downward; and finally, as a sure anker-  
hold against turbulent tempests, and wandering waves of the surging seas, (as *Democritus*  
was wont to say.) For like as some of the naturall philosophers hold: That the world at  
the first was not the world, and that the bodies would not joine and mingle themselves together, for  
to give unto nature a common forme, composed of them all: but when the said bodies, (such as  
yet were small and scattered heere and there,) slid away, made meanes to escape and die for  
feare they should be caught and interlaced with others; such also as were more strong, firme,  
and compact, even then strove mainly one against another, and kept a foule coile and strite to-  
gether, in such manner, as there arose a violent tempest, a dangerous ghust and troublefome  
agitation,

agation, filling all with ruine, error, and shipwacke, untill such time as the earth arose to  
greatnesse by the tumultuarie concourse of those bodies that grew together, whereby she her-  
selfe began first to gather a firme confidence; and afterwards yielded in her selfe, and all about  
her a sure seat and resting place for all other. Semblably, when the greatest empires and poten-  
tacies among men, were driven and caried to and fro, according to their fortunes, and ranne  
one against another, by reason that there was not one of that grandence and puissance as might  
command all the rest, and yet they all desired that sovereignty: there was a wonderfull confu-  
sion, a generall destruction, a strange hurlyburly, a tumultuary wandering, and an universall  
mutation and change throughout the world, untill such time as *Rome* grew to some strength  
and bignesse, partly by laying and uniting to her selfe the neighbour nations and cities neere  
about her; and in part, by conquering the seigniories, realmes, and dominions of princes farr  
off, and strangers beyond sea; by which meanes the greatest and principall things in the world  
began to rest, and be seled as it were a firme foundaoun and sure seat, by reason that a generall  
peace was brought into the world, and the maine empire thereof reduced to one round circle,  
so firme as it could nor be checked or impeached: for that indeed all vertues were seated in  
those who were the foundiers and builders of this mightie State; and besides, Fortune also was  
ready with her favour to second and accompany them; as it shall (more plainly) appeere and be  
shewed in this discourse ensuing. And now me thinks I see from this project, as it were from  
some high rocke and watch tower; Vertue and Fortune marching toward the pleading of their  
cause, and to the judgement and decision of the foresaid question propounded: but vertue in  
her part and maner of going, seemeth to be milde & gentle, in the carriage also of her eie, staied  
and composed; the earnest care likewise and desire the hath to mainteine and defend her ho-  
nour in this contention, maketh her colour a little to rise in her face, albeit she be farr behinde  
Fortune, who cometh apace, and maketh all the haste she can: now therefore conduct her, and  
attend upon her round about in manner of a guard, a goodly traine and troupe.

*Of worthies brave, who martiall captaines were,  
In bloody warres, and bloody armours beare.*

All wounded in the fore-part of their bodies, dropping with blood and sweet mingled together, leaning upon the truncheons of the lances & pikes halfe broken, which they had won from their enemies. But would you have us to demand and aske who they might be? They say, that they be the *Fabricii*, the *Camilli*, the *Lucii* surnamed *Cincinnati*, the *Fabii Maximi*, the *Claudian Marcelli*, and the two *Scipios*: I see also *C. Marius* all angry, and chafing at Fortune. *Alcibiades* likewise is amongst them, who sheweth the flump of his burnt hand, crying aloud with-  
all: And will you ascribē this hand also to Fortune? And *Marcus Horatius Cokes* that valliant knight, who fought so bravely upon the bridge, covered all over with the shot of Tuskan darts, and shewing his lame thigh, seemeth to speake (from out of the deep while-pit of the river into which he leapt) these words: And was it by chance & Fortune that my legge became broken, & I lame upon it? Lo, what a company came with vertue to the triall of this controversie and matter in question!

*All warriours stout, in complet armour dight:  
Expert in feates of armes, and prest to fight.*

But on the other side, the gate and going of Fortune seemes quicke and fast, her spirit great, and courage proud, her hopes high and haughtie: she overgoeth vertue, and approacheth nere at hand already; not mounting and lifting up her selfe now, with her light and flight wings: nor standing a tiptoe upon a round ball or boole, commeth the wavering and doubtfull; and then goeth her way afterwards in discontentment and displeasure: but like as the Spartiates describe *Venus*, saying, That after she had passed the river *Eurotas*, she layd by her mirrors and looking glasses; cast aside her daintie jewels, and other wanton ornaments, and threw away that titillie and lovely girdle of hers; and taking speare and shield in hand, sheweth her selfe thus prepared and set out, unto *Lycurgus*: euen so Fortune having abandoned the Persians and Assyrians, flew quicklie over *Macedonia*, and soone shooke off *Alexander* the great: then travelled shea while through *Aegypt* and *Siria*, carrying after her kingdomes as she went; and so having ruined and overthrowen the Carthaginians state, which with much variety and change she had oftentimes upheld; she approached in the end to mount *Palatine*, and when she had passed over the river *Tiber*, even there (as it should seeme) she cast off her wings; then she put off her flying patins; her boule so incessant turning and rolling to and fro the forsooke, and so entered *Rome* as to make her stay and abode there: and in this guise and maner sheweth her selfe

now, and maketh her apparance for to heare justice, & have this quarrell decided: Not as a bafe, unknowne, and obfcure perfon (as *Pindarus* faith) nor guiding and tefting with her hand two helmes; but rather as the filter of *Ennomia*, that is to fay Aequitie; and of *Peitho*, that is to fay Perfuaſion; and the daughter of *Promethia*, that is to fay Providence, according as *Alcimus* the poet deriveth her genealogie and pedigree. Moreover ſhe holdeth betwene her hands that plentifull Horne of all abundance, ſo much celebrated and renowned, and the fame filled, nor with ſtore of frutes alwaies freſh and verdant which Autumue yeeldeth, but brim full of all thoſe precious and exquisite commodities

*Which any land or ſea doth breed,  
or out of rivers ſpring:*

*Which in deepe mines by deſce are found,  
or hauens by veſſels bring.*

And thoſe powreth the fourth abundantly, and giueth abroad in great largeſſe. There are about her alſo to be ſcene in her traine, a number of moſt noble and right excellent perſonages, to wit: *Numa Pompilius* deſcended from the Sabines; *Tarquinius Priſcus* from the citie *Tarquini*; whom being aliens and meere ſtrangers the entailed kings, and enthronized in the roiall ſeat of *Romulus*. Alſo *Paulus Aemilius*, who brought backe his armie ſafe and found from the deſaſture of *Perſeus* and the Macedonians, where he atchived ſo fortunate a victorie, that there was not ſcene one Romane with a weeping eye, for the loſſe of any friend in that warre: and when he returned in triumph magnified Fortune. Even ſo did that good olde knight, *Cacilius Metellus*, furnamed *Macedonicus*, aſwell in regard of his brave victories, as of this rare felicitie of his, that he was caried unto his ſepulture by foure of his owne ſonnes, who had bene all conſuls; namely, *Quintus Balearius*, *Lucius Diadematus*, *Marcus Metellus*, and *Caius Caprarius*: there attended alſo upon his corps, two ſonnes in law of his, that married his daughters, both conſular men, and as many nephewes, his daughters children; men of marke and name all, both for great prowefſe in ſeats of armes, and alſo for their high place which they held in government of State: and commonweale. *Aemilius Scaurus* likewiſe (who being of a low degree and condition of life, yet came from a ſtock more bafe than it, a new upſtart and of the firſt head) was raiſed and advanced by her, and by the meanes of her favour, made a great lord and prince of that high court and honourable counſell, called the Senate. *Cornelius Sylla* likewiſe, whom ſhe tooke out of the lap & boſome of *Nieopolis* a courtiſan, for to exalt him above all the Cunbricke Trophies and Laureat Triumphs; yea, and the ſeven conſulſhips of *Marinus*, to raiſe him to that high pitch and ſovereigne degree of an abſolute monarch in the world, and a dictatour; he (I ſay) openly and directly gave himſelfe (as it were) by way of adoption unto Fortune, and attributed his whole eſtate and all his actions to her favour, crying with a loud voice with *Oedipus* in *Sophocles*:

*To Fortunes court I owe all ſues,  
And her good ſonne my ſelfe repues.*

Inſomuch as in the Romane language he furnamed himſelfe *Felix*, that is to fay, Happie: and unto the Greeks, he wrote thus in their tongue: *Δεῦρος Καρρίου & Ευχαιος Εμμεγέστρης*, that is to fay: *Lucius Cornelius Sylla*, beloved of *Venus* and the Graces. And verily thoſe trophies of his, which are to be ſcene in our cuntry of *Cheronea*, in regard of thoſe noble victories which he gained againſt the lieutenants generall of king *Mithridates*, have the like inſcription, and that right worthily. For it is not the night (as *Menander* faith) but Fortune, that is beſt acquainted and in greateſt favour with *Venus*. Should not he therefore (who is deſirous to plead the cauſe of Fortune) doe very well to lay this for a good ground of his plea, and in the forefront and Exordium of his oration, bring in very fitly and properly for his witneſſes to depoſe, the Romans themſelves, who have aſcribed more unto Fortune than to Vertue? Certes, late it was among them, & after many ages, ere *Scipio Numantinus* builded a temple to Vertue: & after him, *Marcellus* cauſed to be built that chapel bearing the name, *Virtutis & Honoris*, that is to fay, Of Vertue and Honour: like as *Aemilius Scaurus* gave order for another to be reared by the name of *Mentis*, that is to fay, of underſtanding; even about the time of the Cunbricke warre: in which age, (when literature, and profeſſors of learning & eloquence, flocked thicke, as it were, and reſorted to the citie of *Rome*) they beganne to have in price and reputation, ſuch matters: and yet to this very day there is not one chapell of Wiſdome, Temperance, Patience & Magnanimitie, ne yet of Continence; whereas of Fortune there be temples ſo ſtately, ſo glorious, and ſo ancient withall, that a man would take them to have bene edified even in manner when the firſt foundations,

ons of the citie were laid. For firſt and formoſt, *Anco Martius* the nephew or daughters ſonne of king *Numa*, and the fourth king of *Rome* after *Romulus*, founded one in the honour of Fortune. And peradventure he it was that furnamed Fortune, *Virilitas*, and derived it of *Fortis*; for that Virility, that is to fay, Manhood, and Fortitude, that is to fay Prowefſe and Valour, have moſt helpe by Fortune, to the atchieving of victorie. As for that temple of Feminine Fortune, named otherwiſe *Mulieris*, they built it alſo before the daies of *Camillus*, at what time as *Marius Coriolanus* (who led under banners diſplayed, againſt the city of *Rome*, a puiſſant power of the Volſcians) was turned backe and retired, by the meanes and interceſſion of certaine noble dames that encountered him: for thoſe ladies went in a ſolemne ambaffage toward him, accompanied with his wife and mother; and ſo earnestly intreated and effectually perſwaded with him, that in the end they prevailed, inſomuch, as for their ſakes he pardoned and ſpared the citie, and ſo withdrew the forces of that barbarous nation: and then it was (by folks ſayings) that the ſtatue or image of Fortune at the dedication thereof, pronounced theſe words: You have (good Romane dames) according to the ordinance of the citie, conſecrated me right devoutly. And verily *Furius Camillus* (at what time as he had quenched the flaming fire of the Gaules, and recovered the city of *Rome* out of the very ſcoles of the balance where it was to bee weighed in counterpoſe againſt a certaine quantitie of golde) erected a temple, neither to Good counſell nor to Valour, but unto \* Fame and Rumour, even in that very place by the new ſtreet, where (by report) *Marcus Cæditi* as hee went by the way, heard in the night a voice, that gave warning and advertiſed, that ſhortly after they ſhould looke for the Gaules to warre upon them. As for that temple (upon the banke of the river *Tyber*) of Fortune furnamed *Fortis*, that is to fay, Strong, Martiall, Valiant, and Magnanimous, for that to her belonged generofiſie and the forcible power to tame and overcome all things, they built a temple to the honour of her, within the orchards and gardens that *Cæſar* (by his laſt will and teſtament) bequeathed unto the people of *Rome*; as being perſwaded that himſelfe (by the gracious favour of Fortune) became the greateſt man of all the Romans, as himſelfe doth teſtifie. As concerning *Julius Cæſar*, I would have bene abaſhed and aſhamed to ſay, that through the favour of Fortune he was liſed up to that rare greatneſſe, but that his owne ſelfe beareth witneſſe thereof: for being departed from *Brindis* the fourth day of January, and embarked for to purſue *Pompeius*, even at the verie height and in the heart of Winter, he croſſed the ſeas moſt ſafely, as if Fortune had held in the tempeſtuous weather of that ſeaſon; and when he found *Pompeius* ſtrong and puiſſant aſwell by ſea as land, as having all his forces aſſembled together about him in a ſet and ſtanding campe, being himſelfe but weake and accompanied with a ſmall power; for that the companies which *Antonius* and *Sabinus* ſhould have brought, lingered and ſtaied behinde, he adventured to take ſea againe; and putting himſelfe into a ſmall frigate, ſailed away unknown both to the maſter, and alſo to the pilot of the ſaid barke, in ſimple habit, as if he had bene ſome meane and ordinary ſervitor: but by occaſion of a violent returne of the tide, ſul againſt the current of the river, & withall, of a great tempeſt that aroſe, ſeeing that the pilot was readie to alter his courſe, and turne abaſt backe, he plucked away his garment from his head wherewith he ſat hoodwinked, and diſcovered his face, ſaying unto the pilot: Holde the helme hard (good fellow) and be not afraid to ſet forward: be bolde (I ſay) hoife ſailes, ſprede them open to the winde at adventure, and feare not, for thou haſt aboard, *Cæſar* and his Fortune. So much perſwaded was he, and confidently aſſured, that Fortune ſailed with him, accompanied him in all his marches and voiaiges, aſſiſted him in the campe, aided him in battell, conducted & directed him in all his warres: whoſe worke indeed it was, and could proceed from nothing els but her, to command a calme at ſea, to procure faire weather and a Summer ſeaſon in Winter; to make them ſwift and nimble, who otherwiſe were moſt ſlow and heaue; to cauſe them to be couragious, who were greateſt cowards and moſt heartleſſe; and that which is more incredible than all the reſt, to force *Pompey* to flie, and *Ptolemæus* to kill his owne gueſt, to the end that *Pompey* might die, and yet *Cæſar* be not ſo ſtained with his bloodſhed. What ſhould I alledge the teſtimonie of his ſonne, the firſt emperor furnamed *Auguſtus*, who for the ſpace of ſittie yeeres and foure, was abſolute commander both by ſea and land of the whole world? who when he ſent his nephew or ſiſters ſonne to the warres, prayed and wiſhed at Gods hands for no more, but that he might prove as valiant as *Scipio*, and as well beloved as *Pompey*, and as fortunate as himſelfe; aſcribing the making of himſelfe as great as he was, unto Fortune; as if a man ſhould intitle ſome ſingular piece of worke with the name of the workman or artifice: which Fortune of his, was the cauſe that he got the ſtate and vantage of *Cicero*, *Lepidus*, *Paſſa*, *Hirtius*, and *Marcus Antonius*, by whole counſels, brave exploits

exploits and prowesses, expeditions, victories, voiajes, armadoes, legions, camps, and in one word, by these warres, as well by sea as by land, she made him ever chiefe and principall, lifting him on high still, and putting them downe by whom hee was mounted and advanced; untill in the end, hee remained alone, and had no peere nor second. For it was for his sake that *Cicero* gave counsell: *Lepidus* ledde an armie; *Pompey* vanquished the enimie; *Clodius* lost his life in the field; and *Antonius* lived riotously in drunkenness, gluttonie, and lecherie: for I recken *Cleopatra* among the favors that Fortune did to *Augustus*, against whom, as against some rock, *Antonius* so great a commaunder, so absolute a prince, and mightie triumvir, should runne himselfe, besplit, and sinke; to the end that *Cesar Augustus* might survive and remaine alone. And to this purpose reported it is of him; that there being so inward acquaintance and familiarity, as there was among them, that they used often to passe the time away together in playing at tennis, or at dice, or seeing some pretty sport of cocks and quails of the game, which were kept for the nonce to fight: when *Antonius* was evermore away with the world, and on the loosing hand; one of his familiar friends, (a man well scene in the art of divination) would manie times frankly say unto him by way of remonstrance and admonition: Sir, what meane you to meddle or have any dealing with this young gentleman, (meaning *Augustus*) Fly and avoid his company, I advise you; more renowned and better reputed you are than he; his elder you are, you have a greater command and feignorie than he, more expert in feats of armes, and of better experience and practise by farre: but good sir, your Genius or familiar spirit is afraid of his, your Fortune, which by it selfe apart is great, flattereth and courteth his, and unlesse you remove your selfe farre from him, it will forsake you quite and goe unto him.

Thus you see what evidences and proofes Fortune may alledge for herselfe, by way of testimony. But we are besides to bring forth those which are more reall, and drawn from the things themselves, beginning our discourse at the very foundation and nativie as it were of *Rome* city. In the first place therefore, who will not say and confesse, that for the birth, the preservation, the nouriture, rearing, and education of *Romulus*, well might the excellencies of Vertue be the hidden ground-works, and first foundation; but surely it was Fortune alone that raised the same above ground, and built all up? For to beginne at the verie generation and procreation, even of those, who first founded and planted the citie of *Rome*, they seeme both to proceed from a wonderfull favour of rare Fortune: for it is said, that their mother lay with god *Mars*, and was by him conceived: and like as the report goeth, that *Heracles* was begotten in a long night, by reason that the day extraordinarily, and besides the course of nature was held backe, and the sunne staied in his race and rising; even so we finde it recorded in histories, that when *Romulus* was gotten, and conceived, the sunne became eclipsed, by reason of his full conjunction indeed with the moone, like as *Mars* being a very god, medled with *Sylvia* a mortall woman: also that the same hapned againe unto *Romulus*, just upon the very same day when hee was translated out of this life: for they say, that even at the very instant when the sunne entred into the eclipse, he also departed out of sight, and was no more scene; which fell out to be upon the day called *Nona Caprinae*: upon which day, the Romans doe still at this present celebrate a solemne feast. Now when these first founders were in this manner bred and borne; after that the tyrant sought to make them away, by good fortune it hapned, that the minister to take them and execute the deed, was neither a barbarous nor a mercilesse cruell slave, but a gracious and pitifull servitour, who would in no wise murder the silly babes: but finding a convenient place, upon the banke by the river side, adjoining hard to a faire greene meadow, and shadowed with pretie trees growing low by the ground; there he bestowed the infants, neere unto a wilde figge tree, which they called afterwards *Ruminalis*; for that a teat or pappe in Latin is called *Ruma*: which done, it chaunced that a bitch-woolfe having newly whelped her litter, and feeling her pappes beset with milke, and so stiffe by reason that her young ones were dead, that they asked againe, and were ready to burst, seeking to be eased and to discharge her selfe thereof; came gently to these babes, stooped downe, and seemed to winde about them, put unto them her teats, desirous & labouring to be delivered of her milke, as if it had beene a second litter: And then (see the fortune of it) a certaine bird (consecrated to *Mars*, which thereupon men name in Latine *Picus Martius*, that is to say, a Speghit or Wood-pecker) chaunced to approach neere, and having alighted gently upon the tips of her toes fast by them, & softly opened with one of her clees the mouthes of these infants, one after another, she conveyed into them certaine morsels, minced small, even of her owne food & provision. That this is true, the said wilde fig tree at this day is named *Ruminalis* of the wolves teat, called in Latine

Ruma

*Ruma*, which she held unto the babes for to suckle them, doth testifie. And long time after, the inhabitants about that place have observed this custome; not to expose and call forth any thing that is bred and borne amongst them; but to reare and nourish all, in a venerable memoriall of this happe and resemblance of the accident which befell unto *Romulus* and his brother *Remus*. Now that these two foundlings were nourished and brought up afterward in the citie of *Gabii*, unknowne to all the world that they were the children of *Sylvia*, and the nephewes or daughters children of *Numitor* the king; may seeme to be a craftie theevith calt, and deceitfull sophistrie, proceeding from Fortune; to the end that they should not perish before they had done some woorthy exploit, by reason of their noble birth, but be discovered by their verie deeds and effects; shewing their vertue as a marke of their nobilitie. And heere I call to minde a certaine speech which *Themistocles* (a brave and wise captain) upon a time gave to some other captaines, who after him, and in a second place, were in great name at *Athens*, and much esteemed, howbeit pretending to deserve more honour than he: The morrow-mind (quoth he) quarrelled and contended upon a time with the feast or holi-day, which went before it, saying: That she was full of labour and businesse, and never had any rest; whereas in her there was nothing but eating and drinking that, which before hand had bene prepared and provided with great paine and travell; unto whom the feast made this answer: Certes, true it is, that thou saiest; but if I had not bene, where hadst thou bene? Even so (quoth *Themistocles*) if I had not conducted the Medians warre, what good would you have done now? and where had your imploiment bene? Semblably, methinks that Fortune saith the same unto the Vertue of *Romulus*: Thy acts are famous, and thy deeds renowned; thou hast shewed by them indeed, that descended thou art from divine blood and some heavenly race; but thou seest againe, how farr short thou art of me, how long after me it was, ere thou didst come in place; for if I had not (when time was) shewed my selfe kinde, gracious and courteous unto those poore infants, but had forsaken and abandoned them silly wretches, how could you have had any being, and by what meanes should you have bene so gloriously scene in the world? in case (I say) a female wilde beast, even a shee-wolfe, had not come in the way, having her bigs swollen, enflamed and aking with the plentie of milke, flowing (as it were) a streame unto them, seeking rather whom to feed, than by who she should be fed? or if she had bene altogether savage indeed & hunger-bitten; these roiall houses, these stately temples, these magnificent theaters, these faire galleries, these goodly halles, palaces and counsell-chambers, had they not bene at this day, the lodges, cottages and stables of shepherds and herdmen, serving (as slaves) some lords of *Alba* and *Tuscan*, or els some masters of the Latine nation? The beginning, in all things, is chiefe and principall, but especially in the foundation and building of a city; and Fortune is she who is the author of this beginning and foundation, in saving and preserving the founder himselfe: for well may Vertue make *Romulus* great, but Fortune kept him untill he became great.

It is for certaine known and confessed, that the reigne also of *Numa Pompilius*, which continued long, was guided and conducted by the favour of a marvellous Fortune: for to say that the nymph *Ageria*, one of the Wood-Fairies, called *Dryades*, a wife and prudent goddesse, was enamoured of him, and that lying ordinarily by his side, taught him how to establish, governe and rule the weale-publicke, peradventure is a meere fabulous tale; considering that other persons, who are recorded to have bene loved by goddeses (and to have enjoyed them in marriage; as for example, *Peleus*, *Anchises*, *Orion* & *Emathion*) had not for all that (thorowout their life) contentment and prosperitie, without some trouble and adversitie: but surely it seemeth that *Numa* in very truth had good Fortune for his domestickall and familiar companion, and to reigne jointly with him; which Fortune of his (receiving the citie of *Rome*, as in a boisterous and troublefome tempest, or in a turbulent sea, to wit, in the enimie, envie and malice of all the neighbor-cities and nations bordering upon it; and besides disquieted within it selfe, and troubled with an infinite number of calamities and seditious factions) quenched all those flames of anger, and alaid all frightfull and malicious grudges, as some boisterous and contrary windes. And like as men say, that the sea, even in mid-winter receiveth the young brood of the birds *Halcyones*, after they have newly hatched, and giveth them leave to be nourished and fed in great calme and tranquillitie; even so Fortune (spreading and drawing round about this people newly planted, and as yet ready to wag and shake every way, such a quiet and still season, void of all busie affaires, without warres, without mortalitie, without danger or feare of danger) gave good meanes unto the citie of *Rome* to take root and set sure footing, growing still in repose with all securitie, and without any hinderance and impeachment whatsoever. Much like therefore, as a great carraque, or

or gallee, is framed, wrought and set together by many a knoeck and stroke, and that with great violence; whiles it feelleth the blowes of sledges and hammers, is pierced with spikes and great nailes, cut with sawes, axes and hatchets; and when it is once made and finished by the shipwright, ought to rest quiet and in repose, for a competent time, untill the braces be well settled and fastened, and the joints firmly knit and compact: for otherwise, he that should stirre it, and shoot it into the sea, whiles yet the junctures and commissures be yet greene, fresh, loose, and not well consolidated, all would chinke, cleave and open, when it came to be never so little shaken and tossed by the boisterous billowes of the sea, so that she would leake & take in water thorough out; even so, the first prince, author and founder of the city of *Rome*, having composed it of rusticall peasants and herdmen, as it were, of rough-hewn planks and posts of tough and stubburne oake, had much adoe, and tooke no small paines, but engaged himselfe farre into sundry warres, and exposed his person and estate to manifold and great dangers, being of necessity enforced to encounter and fight with those who opposed themselves, and withstood the native (as it were) and foundation thereof, before he could bring his worke to an end; but the second king receiving the fame at his hands, gave it good time and leisure to gather strength, and to confirme the growth and augmentation thereof by the favour of happie Fortune, who afforded him the meanes to enjoy great peace and long repose. But if at that time, some such as king *Porrenna*, had come against it, pitching his campe before it, and leading a strong armie of Tuscanes to give assault thereto, whiles the wallies were yet greene, soft, and ready to shake with every small thing; or if some puissant prince and potentate, or worthy warrior from among the *Martians*, upon apostasie and revolt; or els some *Lucan*, for envie or upon a troublesome spirit and desire of contention, a bush-headed person, factious and quarrelsome, such an one as afterwards *Mutius* or stout *Silvanus*, furnished the Bolde; or last of all, *Telephus*, with whom *Sylla* scuffled, an found himselfe somewhat to do; him I meane, who (as it were) with one signall could make all *Italic* rise and take armes: if one of these (I say) had come and given the alarme, envining and assailing with sound of trumpets this Sage-like prince and philosopher *Numa*, whiles he was at sacrifice, or in his devotions and prayers to the gods; surely the citie in that infancy of hers and first beginnings, had never bene able to have held out and withstood so great a storme and tempest, neither had it grown up as it did, to so goodly a number of lustie and serviceable men: whereas, it seemeth that the long peace which continued under this king, served in stead of a provision of furniture and all sorts of munition for innumerable warres ensuing; and the people of *Rome*, much like unto a champion who hath to fight a combat, having bene exercised and enured at leisure, in a peaceable time, for the space of three and forty yeeres after the warres which they had fought under *Romulus*, became strong enough, and sufficient to make head against those that afterwards assailed them: for it is for certaine recorded, that during all that time, there was neither pestilence nor famine, no unkinde barrenesse of the earth, nor unseasonable distemperature of Winter or Summer, to afflict or trouble the city of *Rome*, as if there had beene no humane providence, but onely a divine Fortune which tooke the care and government of all those yeeres. In those daies likewise it was, that the two-leaved doores of the temple of *Janus* were shut up and locked fast, those (I meane) which they call the gates of warre, for that they were set open in the time of warre, and kept shut when it was peace. No sooner was king *Numa* dead, but these gates were opened for the Albane warre, which brake out suddenly and with great violence, and so stood open still, during an infinit number of other warres ensuing continually one after another thereupon: but in proceesse of time, namely, about foure hundred and foure score yeres after, they were shut againe, when the first Punicke warre was ended, and peace concluded with the Carthaginians, even that yeere, wherein *C. Attilius* and *Titus Manlius* were consuls. After this, they were set open by occasion of new warres, which lasted untill the very time that *Cesar Augustus* was that noble victorie under the Promontory *Aethiun*. Then had the Romans a cessation or surcease of armes, but the same continued not long; for that the tumultuous stirres of the Biscains, the Galatians and Germaines comming all together, troubled the peace. And thus much may serve out of histories, for testimonies in behalfe of the felicity and good Fortune of king *Numa*.

But the Kings also that reigned in *Rome* after him, highlie honoured Fortune, as the chiefe patronesse, nurse, and the prop or pillar, as *Pindarus* saith, which supported and upheld the citie of *Rome*; as we may judge by the reasons and arguments following. There is at *Rome*, I wot well, the temple of Vertue highlie honored: but founded it was and built of late daies, even by *Marcus*, who forced and won the citie of *Syracusa*. There was another also in the honor of

reason,

reason, understanding, or good advice, which they called by the name of *Mentis*: but *Aemilius Scaurus* was the man who dedicated it; about the time of the Cimbricke warres. For that by this, the learning, the artes and pleasant eloquence of the Greekes were crept already into the citie: but, to wisdom there is not yet to this day so much as one temple or chappell; neither to temperance, nor patience; ne yet to magnanimitie, whereas of Fortune there be many churches and temples verie auncient, and those much frequented; and to speake in one word, celebrated with all kinds of honor; as being founded and erected amid the noblest parts, and most conspicuous places of the citie. For there is the temple of Masculine Fortune called *Fortuna virilis*, which was buile by *Martius Ancus* the fourth king of *Rome*, and by him so called; for that he thought that Fortune availed as much as Fortitude to the obtaining of victorie. As for the other, entituled by the name of Fortune Feminine; otherwise called *Fortuna Muliebris*, everie man knoweth that they were the dames of the citie, who dedicated it, after they had averted and turned backe *Martius Coriolanus*, who was come with a puissant power of enemies, and presented himselfe before the citie. And *Servius Tullius* who augmented the puissance of the people of *Rome*, and brought it unto a goodlie and beautifull maner of government, no prince so much, having set downe and established a good order for the giving of suffrages and voices at the elections of magistrates, and enacting of lawes: and besides instituted the order of militarie discipline; having been himselfe the first censor of mens maners, and the controller or overseer of every mans life and behaviour; who seemed also to have been a right valiant prince, and most prudent withall: this man I say, whollie avowed himselfe the vassalle of Fortune, and did homage to her, acknowledging all principallitie to depend upon her; in such sort as men say Fortune her selfe used to come & lie with him, descending downe by a window into his chamber; which now the call the gate *Fenestella*. He founded therefore within the Capitoll one temple to the honor of Fortune, called *Primigenia*, which a man may interpret, first begotten: and another to Fortune *obsequens*, which some take to be as much as obsequant; others, gratus and favourable. But not to stand any longer upon the Romaine names and appellations; I will leave them, & endeavour to reckon up and interpret in Greeke the meaning and signification of all these temples, founded and dedicated in the honor of Fortune. For in the mount *Palatine* there standeth one chappell of private Fortune, and another of gluing Fortune: which tearme may haplie seeme to be ridiculous; howbeit, by way of a metaphor it carrieth a signification verie important, as if we were to understand thus much by it: That it draweth unto it, and catcheth those things which be farre off, and holdeth fast whatsoever sticketh and cleaveth to it. Moreover, neere unto the fountaine called *Muscosa*, that is to say, moffie; there is another chappell of Fortune the virgin: as also in the mount *Esquilus*, another of Aduerse Fortune; upon the streete called the Long Way, an altar there is erected to Fortune Good-hope; or, as it were Hope: and neere adjoining unto the altar of *Venus Epi-talaria*, that is isto say, Foote-winged *Venus*, a chappell and image of Fortune Masculine: besides a thousand honors and denominations more of Fortune, which *Servius* for the most part instituted and ordeined; as knowing full well, that in the regiment of all humane things, Fortune is of great importance, or rather can doe all in all. And good reason he had therefore, considering that himselfe by the beneficial favor of Fortune, being descended as he was by birth from a captive, and that of an enemy nation, was raised and advanced to royall dignitie. For when the citie of the *Corniculanes* was won forcible by the Romanes, a certaine young damsell named *Oerisa*, being taken prisoner (who notwithstanding her infortunate captivity; was neither for beauty of face, nor comely behaviour blemished or stained) was given unto queene *Tanaquil*, the wife of king *Tarquin*, to serve her, and afterwards bestowed in marriage upon one of the retainers or dependants to the king; such as the Romanes call *Clientes*: and from thence came this foresaid *Servius*. Others say, that it was nothing so; but that this maiden *Oerisa* taking ordinarily certaine first-frutes or affiaes as it were, both of viands and wine from the kings table, carried the same to the hearth of the domestick altar; and when one day above the rest she cast these primities or libaments afore said (as her usuall manner was) into the fire upon the hearth; behold all on the sudden when the flame went out; there arose out of the said hearth, the genitall member of a man; whereat the young damosell being affrighted, reported what a strange sight she had seene, unto queene *Tanaquil* alone: who being a wise and witty lady, apparelled and adorned the maiden like a bride in every respect, and shut her up with the foresaid apparitions; taking it for a divine thing, presaging some great matter. Some say, that this was the domestick or tutelare god of the house, whom they call *Lar*; others *Pulchra*, who was enamored

enamored of this young virgin: but whatsoever it was, *Oeris* was thereupon with child, and so was *Servius* borne. Now whiles he was but an infant, there was scene a shining light, much like unto the flash of lightning, to blaze out of his head round about. But *Valerius Antius* recordeth this narration otherwise: saying, that *Servius* had a wife named *Gegania*, who hapned to die; by occasion of whose death, hee grew into a great agonie and passion of sorrow, in the presence of his mother, untill in the end for very heavinesse and melancholy, hee fell a sleepe, and as he slept, the woman of the house might perceive his head shining out in a light fire; a sufficient argument and testimonie, that engendred he was of fire; yea, and an assured preface of a kingdome unlooked for, which he attained unto after the decease of *Tarquinius*, by means of the port and favour that *Tanquil* graced him with. For otherwise, of all the kings that were of *Rome*, he seemed to bee the man that was unlikest to reach unto a monarchie, and least intended, or minded to aspire thereunto: considering that when he was king, he determined to resigne up the crowne; though hee was impeached and staied for so doing: because *Tanquil* upon her death-bed conjured and bound him by an oath to continue in his roiall estate and dignitie, and in no case to give over the politike government of the Romans, wherein hee was borne. Lo, how the regall power & kingdome of *Servius* may be wholly ascribed unto Fortune, seeing that as hee came unto it beyond all hope and expectation, so hee held it even against his will.

But to the end it may not be thought, that we withdraw our selves and retire, flying unto antiquitie, as it were into a place obscure and darke, for want of more cleere and evident proofes, let us leave the historie of the kings, and turne our speech unto the most glorious acts of the Romans, and their warres, which were of greatest name and renowne: wherein I will not deny; and who is there but must confesse? there did concurre

*Both boldnesse stout and fortitude,  
with martiall discipline,  
In warre which aie cooperant  
with vertue doth combine.*

according as *Timotheus* the poet writeth? but the prosperous traine and happy course of their affaires, the violent streame also, & current of their progresse into such puissance & growth of greatnesse, sheweth evidently unto those who are able to discourse with reason, and to judge aright, that this was a thing conducted neither by the hands nor counsels, ne yet by the affections of men, but by some heavenly guidance and divine direction, even by a fore-winde and gale of Fortune blowing at the poupe, and hastening them forward, Trophies upon trophies by them were erected, one triumph met with another continually; the former blood upon the weapons not yet cooled, but still warre was washed away by new bloudish comming upon it: they reckoned and numbered their victories, not by the multitude of enemies slaine and heapes of spoiles, but counted them by realmes subdued, by nations conquered and brought to subjection, by isles and firme lands of the continent reduced into servitude and bondage, and all to augment the greatnesse of their empire. In one battell king *Philip* was chased out of *Macedonia*: one blow and one conflict caused *Antiochus* to abandon and forgoe *Asia*: by one defeature the Carthaginians lost *Lybia*: one man alone in one expedition, and by the power of one armie, \* conquered unto them *Armenia*, the kingdome of *Pontus*, the sea *Euxinus*, *Syria*, *Arabia*, the Albanians, the Iberians, all the nations even as farre as the mountaine *Caucasus*, and the Hircanians, yea and the very ocean sea which environeth the world round about; saw the same man thrise victor and conquerour: the Nomades in *Affricke* he repressed and vanquished, even to the coasts of the fourth sea: he subdued *Spain* which revolted and rebelled with *Sertorius*, as far as to the atlantike sea: the kings of the Albanians he pursued, & never left the chafe untill he had driven them to the Caspian sea. At these brave exploits and glorious conquests he achieved, so long as he used the publique Fortune of the citie, but afterwards he was overthrowen and came to ruine by his owne private desires. Now that great *Demon* and tutelar god of the Romans, did not second them for a day as it were and no more; neither in a short time did his best and came to the height and vigor of his gracious favour, as that of the Macedonians; nor gave them his assistance upon the land onely, as he who was the patron of the Lacedemonians; or at sea alone, as the Athenians god; ne yet was long ere he would stirre, as he whom the Colophonians trusted upon; no, nor gave over quickly, as the Persians patron did: but even from the very nativitie and foundation of the citie; it began, it grow up, waxed; and went forward as it did, it managed the government of it, it continued firme and sure with it; by land,

\* All this is to be understood of *Pompeius Magnus*.

land, by sea, in warre, in peace, against Barbarians, and against the Greeks: He it was that when *Annibal* the Carthaginian overpersed all *Italy*, in manner of a land-flood, or violent brooke, wrought it so, that partly through envie, and in part through the malice of his spitefull fellow-citizens, no succours and supplies were sent to feed and mainteine him; and so by that means wasted, spent, and consumed him to nothing in the end: he it was that dispersed and kept the armies and forces of the Cimbrians, & Teutonians a great way, and a long time asunder, so as they could not meet; to the end that *Marius* might be furnished and provided sufficiently to fight with them, and to defeat them both, one after another: hee impeached the joining together of three hundred thousand fighting men at one time; all invincible soldiers, and appointed with armes insuperable, that they might not invade and over-runne all *Italy*. For this cause, and by the means of this protector, *Antiochus* sat still, and stirred not to aid *Philip*, all the whiles that the Romans made sharpe warre upon him: likewise, when *Antiochus* was in distresse and danger of his whole estate, *Philip* being discontented before, durst not hold up his head, and died the while: he, and none but he procured, that whiles the Marsians warre for all *Rome* and *Italy* on a light fire, the Sarmatian, and Bastarnian warre held king *Mithridates* occupied. Finally, through his procurement, king *Tigranes*, when *Mithridates* flourished, and was in his ruffe most puissant, upon suspicion, envie, and distrust, would not joine with him; and afterwards when the said *Mithridates* had an overthrow, combined and banded with him, that in the end he might also lose his life and perish with him for company.

What! in the greatest distresses and calamities that lay heave upon the citie; was it not the Romane Fortune that redressed all, and set it upright againe? As for example: When as the Gaules were encamped round about the mount Capitoll, and held the castle besieged:

*A plague she sent, the soldiers soon fell sick,  
Throughout their host, whereof they died thicke.*

Fortune also it was, & meere chance, that revealed their comming in the night, & gave advertisement thereof, when no man in the world either knew or doubted thereof: and peradventure it would not be impertinent and besides the purpose, in this place to discourse of it more at large. After the great discomfiture and overthrow that the Romans received neere the river *Alia*; as many as could save themselves by good foot-maniship, when they were come to *Rome*, filled the whole citie with a fright and trouble; inso much, as the people wonderfully amazed with this fearful newes, fledde scattering heere and there, excepting onely a few, who put themselves within the castle of the Capitoll, resolved to keepe that peece, and abide the extremities of the siege: others who escaped after that unfortunate battell and defeature, assembled themselves immediately in the citie *Vetii*; and chose for their dictator *Furius Camillus*, a man, who the people (proud & insolent upon their long prosperitie) had before time rejected, and sent away into banishment, condemning him for robbing the common treasure; but then being humbled by his affliction, and brought to a low ebbe; called him backe againe, after that discomfiture; committing and putting into his hands, the absolute power and soveraigne authorities; but to the end it might not be thought, that it was by the occasion of the iniquitie and infortunitie of the time, and not according to order of law, that the man excepted of this high magistracie, and that in a desperate state of the citie, without all hope that ever it should rise againe, he was elected by the tumultuary suffrages of a broken armie, dispersed and wandering heere and there: his will was, that the senators of *Rome* who had retired themselves within the Capitoll aforesaid, should be made acquainted and advertised thereof, and that by their uniform consent, they might approve and confirme that election of him, which the soldiers and men of warre had decreed. Now among the others, there was one named *Caius Pontius*, a valiant and hardy man, who undertooke, and promised in his owne person to goe and carry the newes of that which had beene determined, unto those who abode within the Capitoll: and verily he enterprized a thing exceeding dangerous, for that hee was to passe through the middes of the enemies, who then invested the Capitoll with trenches, and a strong corps-de-guard: when he was come to the river side by night, he fastened just under his breast certeine broad pieces of plates of corke, and so committing his body to the lightnesse of such a barge, hee bare himselfe thereupon, and hulled with the course of the water, which was so good and favourable unto him, that it carried him over, and set him gently upon the banke on the other side of the river, without any danger at all; where he was no sooner landed, but hee went directly toward that place which he law was without all light, conjecturing by the darknesse and silence withall, that he should not light upon any of the watch or ward there: thus he began to climb

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up



up the steepe rocke, whereas he could find any way to set sure footing upon the stones that stuck out, or whersoever he found a place to yeeld better accessse and ascent than another; so fetching a compasse, and catching hold with his hand upon the rough craggies, and bearing himselfe as well as possibly he could, he made such shift, that in the end he crawled up to the toppe thereof; and there those Romans that kept watch and ward, and were foremost of the corps-de-guard, having espied him, helped to pull him up: then declared hee unto those within the place, what had beene set downe and agreed upon by them who were without, from whom hee had no sooner received their assent and approbation of the foresaid ordinance concluded, but the verie same night he made his returne the way that he came, unto *Camillus*: the next morning, one of the barbarous enemies, as hee walked about that place, thinking of no such thing, perceiving by very chance, partly the print of a mans tiptoes, together with the marks of unsteadily footing, and partly the grasse and weeds crushed and broken, which grew heere and there in such places, where they had some little earth to mainteine them; as also the tracks and traces where he had leaned and wrestled with his bodie, either in clambering up, or striving overthwart; went straight waies and related unto his fellow-souldiours what he had seene; who taking it thus, that the enemies themselves shewed them the way, and trode it out before them, assailed presently to doe the like, and to gaine the toppe of the rocke. In the night time therefore having observed where the place was most solitary, and void of watchmen, they mounted up, without being descried and discovered, not onely by the men who were in guard and sentinell, but not so much as by the dogges, which were set a front before, for to assist the watch, so to Ileap they were all, both the one and the other. Howbeit, the good Fortune of *Rome* wanted no voice to bewray so imminent a danger, and to give warning thereof; for there were within the Capitoll certaine geese consecrated unto the goddesse *Juno*, kept at the cities charges, in the honour of her, close under her temple: now is this creature of all others by nature very timorous, and at every little noise that is made, ready to be affrighted; and at that time especially, by reason that there was within the place great scarcitie of victuals, they were neglected, and for that they were kept somewhat hungry, slept not so soundly as they were wont to doe; by reason whereof, at the first, being aware of the enemies comming, even so soone as they had gotten over the buttlements of the wals, they came full butt upon them, & being affrighted besides to see their bright armour, set up such a gagling note after their manner, that all the court of the castle rung with their violent and disonant noise: whereat the Romans were awakened, and suspecting deeply what the matter was, ranne incontinently to the wall, gave the enemies the repulse, and turned them downe with their heads forward: in memoriall of which accidents and occurrences, Fortune goeth as it were in triumph even at this day. For at *Rome* they are wont upon a certaine set day of the yeere in a solemne procession, to have a dogge carried in a shew, crucified; and a goose borne in a gorgeous litter upon a rich cushion, most sumptuously dight and set out: which spectacle representeth and sheweth unto us the puissance of Fortune, and the great meanes that she hath to effect all those things with ease and facilitie, which in mans reason seeme impossible; considering that she giveth a kinde of wittie perceivance and understanding, to brute beasts, otherwise foolish and voide of reason; yea and insensibly bold courage and strength to those which by nature are fearefull, weak, and cowardly. For what man is there, unless he be altogether deprived of naturall sense and affection, who would not be astonied and ravished againe with a woonderfull admiration, to consider and discourse after a sort with himselfe, comparing the heavey cheere and mournfull condition of this citie in those daies, with the felicitie and stately port thereof at this present; to looke up (I saie) to the Capitoll, and behold the riches there, the sumptuositie and magnificence of the monuments and oblations there to bee seene; the excellent pieces of worke, wrought by most cunning artificers, striving who might doe best; the presents of cities, contending who should bee most bounteous and liberall; the crownes sent by kings and princes, and what precious things soever the earth, the sea, the islands, the firmelands of the continent, so the rivers, trees, beasts, champain fields, mountaines and metall-mines doe afford; and in one word, the first fruits and choise parcels of all things in the world, which seeme all to strive one with another, to embelish, grace, adorne, enrich and beautifie this onely place: and withall, to looke backe unto those times past, and consider how it went within a very little, that all this should never have beene, or at least wile not extant at this day; seeing that all being within the power of intercelle fire, fearefull darknesse of the mirke night, cruell and barbarous swords, and most bloudy minds and inhumane hearts of these Gauls; the poore contemptible beasts, foolish

lish, reasonlesse and timorous, made the overture to save all, and were the principall instruments of preservation; also, how those brave gallants, valourous knights, and great captaines and commanders, the *Mantii*, the *Servii*, the *Posthumii* and *Papirii*, the ancestours and progenitours of so many noble houses afterwards, were very neere and at the point to have beene undone for ever, and come to nothing; had not these silly geese awakened and started up to fight for their country, and to defend the god, patron, and protectour of the city. And if it be true that *Polybius* writeth in the second booke of his historie, as touching those Gauls, who at that time surprised the city, and were lords of *Rome*: That when newes came suddenly unto them, how certeine of their barbarous neighbours neere at hand, were entred in armes within their owne country, and won all before them as they went; they had returned in hast backe, and made peace with *Camillus*, certes, without all doubt, Fortune even then had bene the cause also of the cities safetie, in distracting the enemies, or rather in withdrawing them another way contrary to all hope and expectation of man. But what need we to stand thus upon these old histories, wherein there is no certieintie to build upon delivered; considering that the state of *Rome* was then ruinate, and all their annales, records, registers and memorials either perished or confounded, according as *Livie* himselfe hath left in writing; seeing that the affaires of the Romans which happened afterward, and carry more light and perspicuities with them, declare and tell us sufficiently the love and indulgence of Fortune? For mine owne part, I count this for one singular favor of hers, to wit, the death of *Alexander* the Great, a prince of incomparable courage, and spirit invincible, who being lifted up by many great prosperities, glorious conquests and happy victories, lanced himselfe in maner of a starre volant in the aire, leaping out of the East into the West, and beginning not to shoot the flaming beames and flashing rays of his armour as farre as into *Italie*; having for a pretense and colourable cause of this enterprize and expedition of his, the death of his kinsman *Alexander* the Milossian, who together with his army, was by the Brutians and Lucanians (neere unto the citie *Pandæsa*) put to the sword and cut in pieces: although (in trueth) that which carried him thus against all nations, was nothing els but a desire of glory and sovereignty, having propoised this unto himselfe upon a spirit of zeale and emulation, to surpassse the acts of *Bacchus* and *Hercules*, and to go with his armie beyond the bounds of their voiajes and expeditions. Moreover, he had heard say, that he should find the force and valour of the Romans, to be as it were a gad of Steele, to give edge unto the sword of *Italie*; and he knew well enough (by the generall voice and report abroad in the world, which was brought unto him) that famous warriors they were, and of greatest renowne, as being exercised and hardened like stout champions in warres and combats innumerable,

And verily, as I doe weene.

A bloudy fight there would have beene,

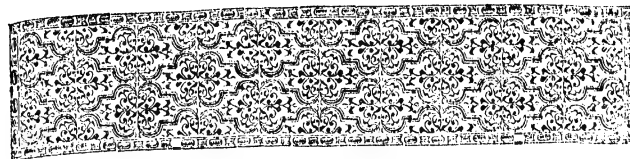
if the undanted and unconquered hearts of the Romans, had encountered in the field with the invincible armies of the Macedonians: for surely the citizens of *Rome* were no fewer at that time in number, by just computation, than a hundred and thirty thousand fighting men, able all to beare armes, and hardy withall:

Who expert were on horsebacke for to fight,

And when they saw their time, on foot to fight.

The rest of this discourse is lost, wherein we misse the reasons and arguments that Vertue alledgeth for herselfe in her plea.





10 THE MORALS OR  
MISCELLANE WORKS  
OF PLUTARCH.

*The second Tome.*

20 THE SYMPOSIAQVES  
OR  
TABLE QUESTIONS.

*The first Booke.*

The Summarie.

- 1 **W**hetter we may discourse of learning or philosophie at the table.  
2 Whether the master of the feast ought himselfe to place his guests, or suffer them to  
3 sit and take their places at their owne discretion.  
30 What is the cause that the place at the boord, called Consular, is held to be most honourable.  
4 What manner of person the Symposiarch or master of the feast ought to be.  
5 What is meant by this usuall speech: Love teacheth us poetrie or musike.  
6 Whether Alexander the Great were a great drinker.  
7 How it is, that old folke commonly love to drinke meere wine undalaid.  
8 What is the cause, that elder persons reade better aswre-off than hard-by.  
9 What might the reason be, that clothes are washed better in fresh & potable water than in sea water.  
10 Why at Athens, the dance of the tribe or lineage Aeantis, is never adjudged to the last place.

40 THE SYMPOSIAQUES OR  
Table-questions.

THE FIRST QUESTION.

*Whether we may discourse of learning and philosophie at the table.*

50 **O**me there be (sir *Sofinus Senerio*) who say that this ancient proverbe in Greeke, *Misrois iudiciorum ovum iudicium*.

*At banquet, wine, or any self,*

*I hate a well remembering guest.*

was meant of \* hostellers or rulers at feasts, who ordinarily are odious, troublesome, uncivill, saucy, and imperious at the table. For the Dorians who in old time inhabited *Italie* (as it should seeme) were wont to call such an one, *perisquam*. Others againe, be of opinion, that this proverbe admonisheth and teacheth us to forget all that hath beene done and said at the boord, and among our cuppes, when we

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have

have beene merry together. Heereupon it is, that in our countrey, men commonly say : That both oblivion and also the palmar, or the plant *Perula*, that is to say, Fenel-giant, be consecrated unto *Bacchus*; which giveth us to understand, that the errors and faults which passe at the table, are either not to be remembered at all, or els deserve to be chastised gently as children are. But seeing you also are of the same minde that *Euripides* was, namely : That howsoever

*Bad things and filthy to forget,*

*Indeed, is counted wisdom great,*

yet the oblivion generally of all that is spoken at the boord and when we drinke wine, is not only repugnant to this vulgar saying : That the table makes many a friend ; but also hath divers of the most renowned and excellent philosophers to beare witness to the contrary, to wit, *Plato*, *Xenophon*, *Aristotle*, *Spensippus*, *Epicurus*, *Prytanis*, *Hicronymus* and *Dion* the Academicke, who all have thought and reputed it a thing woorth their travell, to put downe in writing, the talke that had bene held at meat & drinke in their presence. And for that you have thought it meet, that I also should collect and gather together the principall and most memorable points of learned discourses, which have passed sundry times and in divers places, both here and there ; I meane aswell at *Rome* among you, as also with us in *Greece*, when we were eating and drinking together among our friends ; I settled my selfe unto it willingly; and having sent unto you three books heretofore, containing every one of them ten questions, I will shortly send you the rest, if I may perceive that these which you have already, were not altogether thought unlearned, impertinent, and without good grace.

The first question then, which I have set abroad, is this : Whether it be a seemly and decent thing, to philosophize, that is to say : To speake and treat of matters of learning at the table? for you may remember very well, that this question being moved upon a time at *Athens* after supper : Whether it were besitting those who are come to make good cheere, for to enter into speech, or maintaine discourse, as touching philosophical matters or no? and if it were : How far forth it might be allowed, and within what bounds it ought to be limited? *Ariston*, one of the company there present : What (quoth he) and are there any persons indeed (tell me for the love of God) who denie philosophers and learned men a room at the boord? Yea many are there (my good friend, quoth I againe) who not onely doe so, but also in good earnest and great gravitie (after their ironical maner) give out and say : That philosophie, which is (as it were) the mistress of the house, ought not to be heard speaking at the boord, where men are met to make merry; who commend also the maner of the Persians for good and wise, who never would seeme to drinke wine merrily, and untill they were drunke, nor yet to dauce with their wedded wives, but in the company of their concubines : for seembly, they would have us at our feasts and banquets, to bring in musike, dances, plaies, masks and counterfeit pleasures, but in no wise meddle with philosophie; as if she were never meet for mirth and play, nor we at such a time fit and disposed for serious study. For even so the oratour *Socrates* (say they) could never be brought to make any other answer to those that earnestly intreated him, and were very urgent, that he should make some good speech before them, when he and they were drinking wine, but this : The time fitteth not now for those matters which I professe, and have skill in; and of such things as this present time requireth, I am altogether unskilfull. Then *Crato* crying out with aloud voice : Now so god *Bacchus* helpe me (quoth he) I con the man thanke, and commend him highly, for refusing and (as it were) for swearing talke at table, in case he meant those long clauses and tedious traines or periods of sentences of his, wherewith he should have driven away all the Graces from the feast. But, in my conceit, it is not all one, to banish from the boord an affected speech or rhetorical language; & to chafe away a philosophical discourse; for certainly, philosophie is a farre different thing, which being the arte professing to teach us how we are to live, there is no reason to shut the doores against her, at any game, sport, or pleasant pastime for our recreation whatsoever : for she ought to stand by, and be present at all, for to instruct us what time, what measure and meane we should observe : unlesse by the same rule, we will say, that we must not admit to our feasts, either Justice or Temperance, or other vertues, as scorning and scoffing (forsooth) their venerable gravitie. Now, if we were to eat and drinke some where in a solemne judicial hall or public place of justice, as the maner is of those who feasted *Orestes*, and entertained him with all silence; somewhat it were, and peradventure it might serve for some pretense or excuse (though the same were but an untoward and unhappie precedent) to colour and cloake our ignorance and incivilitie; but in case, *Bacchus* be by right furnished *Lyfius* or *Lydius*, that is to say, the Deliverer and Setter free of all things, and principally

pally of the tongue, from which it taketh away the bit and bridle, giving all libertie to the voice; I suppose it were meere folly and sottishnesse indeed, to deprive that time (which commonly is most talkative and fullest of words) of the best speeches and most fruitfull discourses : It were absurd (I say) to dispute in schoole, what duties are to be observed at a feast; what is the office of a guest; how a man should be have himselfe at the table; & in what sort he ought to drinke wine; and then afterwards wholly bereave all banquets and feasts of philosophy, as if the were not able to continue that by deed, which she prescribeth and reacheth in word. And when thereupon, you inferred and said : That it was unmeet and bootlesse to goe about for to contradict *Crato* in these points, but it behooved rather to studie what limits to appoint, and what prescript forme to set downe of philosophical discourses at the table, to avoid that jest (which usually and not unpleasantly is cast forth at them, who are given litigiously to cavill, argue and dispute, when they should eat) taken out of this verse of *Homer* :

*For this time now to supper goe yee,*

*That soone twist in a combat may bee.*

and with all exhorted and animated me to speake mine advice, I entred into speech and said. That first and foremost I thought it a point especially to be considered, what manner of persons are meet at a feast, and what the company is? for if there be more in number of learned men than of others at the boord, such as the table was of *Agathon*, of *Socrates*, of *Phaedrus*, *Pausanias*, *Eryximachus*, *Calbias* *Charmidas*, *Anisphenes*, *Hermogenes* and others like unto them, suffer then we will have philosophical talke, tempering and mixing *Bacchus*, (that is to say wine) no lesse with the mules than with the Nymphes, (that is to say waters;) for that, as these make him to enter and goe downe into the bodie milde and gentle; so the other may cause him to be as kinde, courteous, and acceptable to the minde. For if so bee there are some few ignorant and unlettered persons, among many learned and skilfull clearks, yet will they like unto mute letters, and consonants betwene vowels, participate with them in a kinde of voice, not altogether inarticulate and insignificant, yea, and learne somewhat by those means, of their skill and knowledge : but say there be a sort of rude guests, such as can abide to heare either the crowing and singing of any bird whatsoever, or the found of any string or piece of wood, it skils not what it be, rather than the toong of a philosopher : then were it good to practise that which *Pisistratus* did; who being at some debate and difference with his owne children, and perceiving that his enemies were well enough contented therewith, and laughed thereat in their sleeves; called a solemne assemblie, wherein hee delivered this speech unto the people : That desirous he had beene indeed to have drawn his children to his owne opinion, but since it would not be, and seeing how obstinate they were bent, he meant to be ruled by them, and to follow their minde; even so a learned man and a philosopher being marched with other guests, that have no list at all to give eare unto his sage sawes and wise words, will range himselfe to their side, and change his owne conceit, he will I say, dauce after their pipe, and take pleasure in their pastimes, so long as they exceed not the bounds of honestie and civilitie; as knowing thus much : That men cannot shew and exercise their eloquence but in speaking, but they may declare and practise their philosophie even in silence and saying nothing; yea, and indisporting themselves with others, giving and taking pretie scoffes interchangeably. For it is not onely a point (as *Plato* saith,) of extreme injustice, when a man is unjust, to make a semblance and shew of justice, but also a kind of soveraigne & principall wisdom to philosophie, & yet to seeme no philosopher, & by way of game & mirth, to doe the serious offices of those that are in good earnest, studious : for like as the franticke women in *Euripides* called *Bacche*, without armes or any weapon of iron and Steele, onely smiting with their little javelits or ferula-stems, wounded those that set upon them; even so the pleasant words of true philosophers indeed, cast out by way of jest, yea, and the very laughers of wise men are able to moove and correct in some sort, such as are not altogether incorrigible, nor so hard as nothing will pierce and enter into them. Moreover, I suppose there be certaine narrations fit to be related at a feast where men are assembled, whereof some be drawn out of written histories, others, present occasions and occurrences do daily yeeld, and those containe examples to incite and provoke men partly to the study of philosophie, and in part to pietie, religion & devotion toward the gods: some induce us to imitate generous & magnanimous acts, others ingender a fervent zeale to performe the works of bountie and humanitie : which precedents, he that can closely and with dexterity use as documents and instructions to those that be drinking with them, so as they perceive him not, shall discharge the time which they drinke, of many vices, and those not the least, which

are imputed unto it: some there be, who put leaves of buttrage into their wine, others be, sprinkle the floores and pavements of parlours and dining-chambers with water, wherein they have infused or steeped the herbes vervain & maiden-haire; having an opinion, that these devices procure some joy and mirth in the hearts of those who are at a feast; and all to imitate ladie *Helene*, who, as *Homer* reporteth, with certaine spices and drougues that she had medicined and charmed (as it were) the wine that her guests should drinke; but they doe not perceive, that this tale being fetched from as farre as *Aegypt*, after a great way and long circuit, endeth at the last in honest discourses, fitted and accommodated to time and place: for that the said *Helene* recounteth unto them as they drunke with her at the table, the travels of noble *Ulysses*, and namely,

*What things this valiant knight had done,  
and what he had endured;*

*What wrongs also he wrought him selfe,  
to which he was inured;*

For this was that *Nemethes* (if I be not deceived) a medicine which discusseth and charmeth all sorrow and paine, even a discreet speech, framed aptly and in season to the affections and occasions which are presented: but men considerate, well advised, and of good judgement, howsoever they may seeme to deale in philosophie, yet they carrie their words, and place them so, that they are effectually, rather by a gentle way of perswasion, than by force and violence of demonstration. For thus you see how *Plato* also (in the treatise called, *His banquet*; where hee discusseth of the final end of humane actions, of the soveraigne good of man, and in one word, treachery of God and heavenly matters, like a divine and theologian) doth not enforce and stretch the prooffe of his demonstration, nor bestrew powder as it were with dust his advertisement, according to his wonted manner, otherwise to take surer hold, that hee might not possibly struggle out of his hands; but induceth and draweth on the hearers his guests, by a weaker kinde of arguments and suppositions, by pretie examples, and pleasant fictions. Moreover, the very questions and matters at such a time and place propounded, & not only their reasonings, ought to be somewhat easie, the problemes and propositions plaine and familiar; the interrogations also and demands probable, and carrying a resemblance of truth, and nothing darke or intricate; lest they doe perstringe and dazzle their eyes, who are not quick sighted, suffocate such as are but weake spirited, and in one word, turne them cleane away, who are but shallow witted and of a meane conceit. For like as there is a custome allowable, to removee and stirre (when a man will) the guests at a feast, by urging them either to daunce alone, or in a ring; but he that should force them to rise from the table, for to put on armour and fight in compleat harness, or to sling the barre, or cast a sledge, doth not only make the feast unpleasant and nothing acceptable to his guests, but also hurtfull unto them; even so, easie and light questions, exercise mens spirits handsomely, and with great fruit and commoditie; but we must reject and banish all disputations of matters litigious, intricate, and snarled (as *Demetrius* saith) to wit, knottie questions & hard to be undone, such as both busie themselves, who propose them, and trouble those that heare them. For thus it ought to be, that as the wine is all one and common throughout the table; so the questions propounded at a feast or banquet, to be talked of, should be intelligible unto all, for otherwise, they who broch matters so darke and mystically, were as unreasonable, and should have as little regard of the common benefit of their company, as the crane, and fox in *Aelops* fables, had one of the others good. For the fox having invited the crane to dinner, set before her a good messe of fattie broth, of beanes and pease, which he had powred upon a broad shallow stone vessell, in such sort, as the poore crane was made a foole and laughing-stocke by this meanes, for that with her long and small bill she could get none of it up, but it went still besides, it was so thinne and glibbe withall: the crane againe, because she would be quit and meet with the fox, bad him to dinner, and presented unto him good victuals within a bottle, that had a long and narrow necke, at which she her selfe could easily convey & thrust her bill to the very bottome; but *Reinard* was not able to take out his part with her; even so, when learned men at a table plunge and drowne themselves (as it were) in subtle problemes and questions interlaced with logicke, which the vulgar sort are not able for their lives to comprehend and conceive; whiles they also againe for their part come in with their foolish songs, and vaine ballads, of *Robin-hood* and little *John*, telling tales of a tubbe, or of a roasted horse and such like; enter into talke of their trafficke and merchandise, of their markers and such mechanicall matters; certes all the fruit and end of such an assemblie at a feast

cast is utterly lost, and were injurie done to god *Bacchus*: for like as when *Phrynicus* & *Aeschylus* first brought a tragedie (which at the beginning was a solemne song, in the honour of *Bacchus*) to fables and narrations pathetically, arose this proverbe: And what is all this I pray you to *Bacchus*? even so it comes many times into my minde to say thus unto one that draweth by head and shoulders into a feast, that sophisticall and masterfull syllogisme called *Koelion*. My good friend, what is this to *Bacchus*? Haply there is some one who singeth certain of these ordinarie songs at feasts, called \* *Scotia*, as a man would say oblique or crooked, when the great standing cuppe of wine is set in the middes of the table before all the company, and the chaplets of flowers divided & dealt among the guests, which that god *Bacchus* putteth upon our heads, to signifie, that hee giveth us all liberty: but surely this is neither good nor honest, ne yet becoming that freedome which should bee at feastes, howsoever some say, that those sonnets are not darkly composed, as the word *Scotia* seemeth to implice, which signifieth crooked; but that they rooke the name, because in old time the guests, at first sung altogether with one voice and accord, one song in the praise of *Bacchus*, and afterwards every one in his turne chanted another apart; giving one to another in order from hand to hand, a branch or garland of a myrtle tree; which I suppose they called \* *Asaron*; for that he who tooke the said branch was to sing in his course: and to the same purpose, a lute there was, or an harpe that went round about the table; and looke who could skill to play upon it, tooke it in hand and sung thereto in measures; but those who had no knowledge at all in musike, and refused the said instrument, gave occasion of the name *Scotia*, because such maner of singing was not common or easie unto all: others there be who say: That the said branch of myrtle went not round about to all the guests in order, but passed from table to table, or from beddeto bedde; for when he that sat formost at the first table, had sung, he sent it to the principall or first man of the second, and he to the chiefe person of the third; and so consequently, the second did by the second; by reason whereof, and in regard of this crosse and overthwart varietie in the oblique revolution thereof, the song was called *Scotia*.

## THE SECOND QUESTION.

*Whether the master of the feast ought himselfe to asigne unto every guest his place, or suffer them to sit as they will themselves?*

MY brother *Timon* having upon a time invited many persons to a feast, willed every one of them as he entred in, to take his place, and sit where he thought good himselfe, for that there were among them, strangers, citizens, neighbours, familiars, friends, and kinsfolke, and in one word, all that were bidden were not one mans children, but a medley and mixt number of all sorts and conditions. Now, when as they were for the most part, come already, and had taken their places, a certaine stranger well appointed, like an amorous gallant in some comedie, all in his purple, excessive otherwise in curious and costly apparel, attended beside, with a traine of lacquies and pages following at his heeles; and in one word, better guarded than regarded, came to the doore of the hall or dining-chamber, who after he had cast his eye round about, and viewed all the companie how they sat at the table, would not enter in, but slung away immediately and stayed not. Many there were who ranne after him, requesting him to returne and beare them company; but in no wise would hee, saying, That he saw never a place left, woorthy his person: which when they who were set already, understood, (and many of them had taken their drink well, and had in maner their full load) they being right glad, tooke up a great laughter, and with this note:

*Now farewell he, since needs he will be gone,  
Better his room, than company (quoth each one.)*

but after that supper was done, my father addressing his speech unto me who sat a great way off: *Timon* and I (quoth he) have chosen thee for a judge, to decide a matter of some question and difference betwene us: for I blamed and reprooved him a pretie while since, about this itanger; for if at the first, he had ordered the matter well, according as I would have had him, and bestowed every man in his owne place, we should not have bene condemned for our oversight and disorder in this behalfe, especially by such a person who hath the skill

*Horsemen to range in comely battell ray,  
And targetiers on foot, to leade the way.*

For it is reported that *Paulus Aemilius* (him I meane, that defeated *Perseus* king of *Macedonie*, after that glorious victory) made many great and magnificent feasts; wherein (besides the wonderfull furniture and provision that he ordeined) he observed in all points a singular order & discipline, saying: That to one & the same man belonged the knowledge, as well how to set out a most friendly and merry feast, as to range a most terrible battell; for both the one and the other required great discretion and good order: which was the reason that *Homer* the poet was wont (when he spake of right valiant warriours and most roial personages, deserving best the highest place of command) to rearme them *κατακτάμενοι* *κἀνδράσι*, that is to say, the disposers and setters of the people in order. Yea, and you that are philosophers, doubt not to say and affirme: That the great God of heaven (in making and creating the world) did nothing but change disorder into good order, without putting to or taking away ought that was before, by disposing and setting every thing in place, meet and convenient; and so, by giving a most beautifull forme to that confused masse or Chaos in nature, which had no forme at all, wrought this admirable piece of worke, which we call the World. As for these great & high points indeed of doctrine, we learn them of you; but we our selves are able to see and observe thus much; that how sumptuous soever a feast be otherwise, yet if it want good order, there is no grace or pleasure at all in it. A very ridiculous thing it is therefore, and a mere mockery, that cooks, clerks of the kitchen, and sewers, should be so careful what dishes ought to be served first, second, in the middle, or in the last place; yea, and (beleeve me) to looke unto it very diligently, that there be a convenient place ordeined for perfumes and sweet odours, when they are to be brought in; for chaplets also, and garlands, that are to be distributed & dealt about; and last of all, for a minstrell wench (if any be there) to sing & play, where she may be best heard; & in the mean while the master of the feast, suffer those who are bidden to all this, for to sit pell-mell at the table at a venture, as if they came onely to fill and cram their bellies, without giving (either to age, or to dignity, or to any matter of like qualitie) that rank and order which is fit, decent, & meet for every one: in the keeping of which discretion, the best man in the place hath his due honor in sitting highest; he that is second & inferior, is by use and custome acquainted and well contented to sit accordingly; and the huiher, who hath the ordering of the matter, is well exercised, to distinguish and judge that, which is befitting every one according to his estate and degree. For it can not stand with any reason, that in the Counsell-house there should be a place knownen, either of sitting or standing, more or lesse honourable, according to the quality and dignity of the person; and that for setting men at the table, there should be the like order observed. And is it meet, that the host or master of the feast should drinke to one before another, and yet have no regard at the first, in placing of his guests? putting no difference nor observing any distinction at all? making of a feast, even in the very beginning, one *μυκνος* (as they say in the common proverbe) which is as much as a mish-mash and confused mingle-mangle of all. And thus much of the reasons and allegations of my father, for his plea. But *Timon* my brother, on the contrary side, answered: That he was not wiser than sage *Bias*; and considering, that he refused alwaies to be arbitratour or umpire betweene two of his owne friends, though they requested him; why should himselfe become a judge at once, among so many kinsfolke and friends, yea, and other persons besides? especially, where the question is not about money and goods, but as touching preeminence and superiority; as if he had sent for them all, not to be merry and make good cheere, but to disquiet them, and set them out one with another, who were good friends before? For if (quoth he) *Athenes* in olde time, committed one great absurdity, in so much as there grew upon it, a proverbe and by-word, in that he intruded himselfe unsent for, into the counsell of *Agamemnon*? far greater reason theris, that he should be thought more absurd, who constituteth and maketh himselfe, of a courteous host and civill master of a feast, an austere judge and precise censurer of those that require no such matter, nor willingly desire, that one should determine and judge of them, who is the better man or the worse; seeing they are not cited peremptorily to a iudiciall court for triall of a controverisie, but invited friendly to a good supper, for to mak merry? Over and besides, no easie matter it is, to make distinction aright; for that some go before in age, others, in degree of kindred and linage; and therefore, he that should take such a taske or charge in hand, ought evermore to be studying upon the degrees of comparison, or els of the argument in logicke, *A comparatis*, that is to say, drawn from comparifon; and to have alwaies in his hand, either the *Topiques* of *Aristotle*, or els the *Precedences* of *Thrasymachus*, a booke which he entitleth *Hyperbollantes*, wherein a man should doe no good at all; but contrariwise much harme, by transferring the vain-glorie about higher place, from iudiciall courts, common halles and theaters,

ters, to sitting at feasts; and when he hath endeavored to abate and repress other passions of the foote by good fellowship and company-keeping, now stirre up and set on foot pride and arrogance; of which in mine advice, we ought to studie more for to cleanse our soules, than to wash and scoure away the dirt and filth from our feet: to the end that wee may converte familiarly and fellowlike at the table, with all mirth and singlenesse of heart. But now, when we goe about and do what we can with one hand, to take away from our guests all rancor and enmity, bred either upon anger, or some worldly affaires that they have had together, in making them eat at one table, and drinke one to another, wee doe as much as lies in us, with the other hand to stir an old fire, and kindle a new fire of grudge and malice by ambition, in debasing one, and exalting another: but if withall, according to the preference which wee have made in the placing of them, we take the cuppe also and drinke othner, or set better meat and daintier dishes to some than to others; if I say we make more of this man than of that, cheere one up, and speake unto him after a more familiar manner than to another; surely, in stead of a feast of friends and familiars, it will be a stately assembly altogether of lords and potentates. But if in all things else we are careful and precise in our feasts, to observe and maintaine equalitie of persons; why beginne we not at the first, in the placing of our guests, to accustome and acquaint them for to range themselves, and take their seats simply and familiarly one with another? considering at the first entrance into the hall or great chamber, they see that they were nor summoned aristocratically to a senate house of lords and great States, but invited democratically and after a popular manner to supper, where the poorest may take his place with the richest, like as in the state of a citie and common-wealth, called Democratic. After these opposite reasons were alledged, and that all the company there present demanded my sentence, I said: That taking my selfe chosen as an arbitrator, and not as a judge, I would deale indifferently, and with an equall hand in the middle betweene both: As for those (quoth I) who feast young men their equals, all friends and of familiar acquaintance, they ought to accustome them (as *Timon* saith) to carie themselves so void of pride and arrogance, that they may take contentment in any place whatsoever that falleth out unto them; and to think this facilitie & singlenesse of heart, to be a singular meanes and provision for the feeding and nourishing of amity: but in case the question be of entreteining strangers, or worshipfull personages of high calling & great place in common-wealth, or of elder persons; I feare me, that as wee shut out at one dore in the forefront pride and arrogance, so we let it in at another backe-gate behinde, by our indifference and making no distinction. Heerein therefore we ought to give somewhat unto use and custome, or else we must altogether forbear all manner of cheereing up, drinking to, and saluting of our guests, which fashions we use not without judgement and discretion hand over head, to such as we meet with or see first; but with as great regard and respect as we can, honoring them according to their worth and qualitie:

*With highest place, with friends of the best,  
With most cups full, and those not of the least.*

as said *Agamemnon* that great king of the Greeks, putting as you see the seat in the first and  
40 cheefe place of honor. We commend also king *Aleimus*, for that he placed the stranger who came in, next unto himselfe,

*And caus'd his sonne Laodamia,  
a gallant, for that guest  
To rise, who close to father sat,  
and whom he loved best.*

For to displace a best beloved sonne, and in his roome to set an humble suppliant, was a singular example of rare courtesie, and humanitie. And verily the gods themselves doe observe this distinction of place, and of sitting: for *Neptune* although he came last into the assemblie of the gods in counsell,

50 *Yet took he his owne place for all that,  
And in the mids of them he sat.*

as being the feat which of right appertained unto him. And *Minerva* seemeth alwaies to challenge as proper and peculiar to her above all others, the very next place to *Jupiter*: which the poet *Homer* doth after a sort covertly insinuate unto us, speaking of dame *Thetis* in this manner:

*By Jupiter she sat, of speciall grace  
And favour; For Minerva gave her place.*

But *Pindarus* significth as much in expresse tearmes when he saith:



To lightning next thus flasheth fire  
Sat Pallas, close unto her fire.

Howbeit, *Timon* said: That we ought not to take from others, for to gratifie and pleasure one; and take he doth away, who maketh that vulgar and common, which by right is proper; & proper there is nothing more than that which is meet and befitting the dignitie of each person: moreover, in giving that superioritie and preeminence to running first, and making most haste, which is done unto vertue, kinred, magnificence, and such other qualities, in seeming to avoid the opinion of being odious or offensive, to his bidden guests, he draweth upon himself, so much more trouble and heart-burning of others; for he offendeth them in depriving everie one of that honour which he deserveth, or is wont to have. For mine owne part, I doe not thinke it so hard a piece of worke to make this distinction, as hee would have it to be: for first and formost, it is not ordinarie nor often scene, that many men of like degree and dignitie, are bidden to one and the same feast; besides, being as there are, many honorable places, a man of judgement and discretion, hath good meanes to dispose of them accordingly, among manie, if there be occasion: for one of them he may content in setting him highest and above the rest; another he may please with a place in the midst; to one he may doe the favour, as to set him next unto himselfe; another he may gratifie by placing him close to some friend or familiar of his, or else fast by his master and teacher: in this order, I say, he may satisfie many of them who seeme to be of better reputation, in distributing the places also which are of more respect among them; as for the rest, I leave them meanes also for their contentment; namely certaine gifts, favours, civilities, and kindneses, which may in some sort make amends for the want of some honorable place. But say, that their deserts and dignities be hard to be distinguished, or the persons themselves not easie to be pleased; marke what a device I have in such a case to serve the turne: My father (if he be present) I take by the hand, and set him in the most honourable place of all; if not, I do the same by my grand-father, my wives father, or mine uncle by the fathers side, or my colleague and companion in office, or els my fellow-senator and brother-alderman, or some one of those who hath some speciall and inward prerogative above others of honour and account, with the master of the feast himselfe, that biddeth the guests; taking this for a rule in the cases borowed out of the books of *Homer*, which are presidents of duties, and shew what is becoming every man to do; and namely, in that place where *Achilles* seeing *Meneleus* and *Antilochus* debating the matter very hotly, about the second prize for horse-running, and doubting how farre forth their anger and contention might proceed, would needs give the said prize in question, to a third man; pretending in word, that he tooke pitie of *Eumelus*, and that he was minded to doe him some honour; but indeed and trueth, it was to take away the occasion of difference and quarrell betweene the other two. As I was thus speaking, *Lamprias*, who was set close in an odde corner of the chamber, upon a low pallet, thundering out his words after his wonted manner, demanded of the assistance or companie, in this wife: My masters, please it you to give me leave for to reprove and rebuke a little, this fottish judge here? and when everie one made answer, saying: Good leave have you, speake your mind freely, & spare him not: And who can (quoth he) forbear that philosopher, who setteth out and disposeth of the places at a feast, like as he would do in some theater, namely, according to birth and parentage, wealth and riches, estate and authority in common wealth? yea, and as if he ordeined the seats and sitting places, for to opine or give voice in that solemne assembly of the States of *Greece*, called *Amphictyones* to the end, that even at the very table, where as we are met to drinke wine and be merry, we should not be rid of ambition, nor shake off the foolish desire of glory: for surely, the places at a feast ought not to be distributed so, as respective to honour, but rather to the ease and pleasure of the guests that are to sit in them; neither is the dignitie of each one by himselfe in degree to be regarded, but rather, the affection, disposition and habitude of the minde one to another, how they can fort and frame together like as our maner is to doe in some other things which are to meet in one common conjunction: for a good architect or mason will not (I trow) lay his first worke or forefront of the house, with Atticke or Lacedaemonian marble, before the Barbarian stone, because the same is in some sort of a noble kinde, and comming from the worthier place; neither will a cunning painter dispose his richest and most costly colour in the principal place of his picture; nor the carpenter or shipwright, employ before all other timber in the stem of his ship, either the pine tree wood of *Palmos* in *Peloponnesus*, or the cypresse of *Cande*: but so they order and distribute, their stone, their colours and their timber, that being joined and fitted well together one with another, the common worke arising of them all, may be

be more firme and strong, faire and beautifull, good and commodious. And thus you see, God himselfe, whom our poet *Pindarus* calleth the best workman and principall artian, doeth not place the fire alwaies aloft, nor the earth below, but according as the use of bodies compounded doth require; like as *Empedocles* testifieth in these verses:

The oysters, murets of the sea,  
and shet-fish every one,  
With maske coat, the tortoise ke  
with cruell as hard as stone,  
And vaulted backe, which arch-wise he  
aloft doth hollow reare,  
Shew all, that heavie earth they do  
above their bodies beare.

not in that place which nature ordeined for it in the first constitution and framing of the universall world, but in that which the composition of a new worke requireth: for disorder and confusion is bad enough in all things; but when it commeth among men, especially when they are drinking and eating together, it sheweth her badnesse most of all, by insolencie, outrages and other enonimities that can not be numbred; which to foresee and remedie, is the part of a man industrious, well scene in policie, good order and harmonie. And that is well said of you (answered we) but why envie you to this company that science of order, proportion and harmonie, and doe not communicate it unto us? Surely there is no envie at all (quoth he) in the way, in case ye will beleeve me and be ruled by me, in that which I doe change and alter in the order of the feast, like as you would be directed by *Epaminondas*, if he should range a battell in good order, which before was in disorder. We all agreed and gave him leave to do: then he voiding first out of hall or dining-place all the boies and lackies, cast his eie upon every one of us in the face, and said: Hearken and give care, how I meane to range and sort you one with another; for I would advertise you of it before-hand, because I am of this minde, that the Theban *Pammenes*, justly and upon good reason reprooved *Homer*, saying that he had no skill at all in \* love-making, for that he ranged together in battell those who were of one and the same nation, and mingled such as were of the same race, lineage and bloud; whereas he should have joined the lover, and the beloved, to the end that the whole battell might be incited by one spirit, and draw in the same line, as linked by a lively bond. Semblably, will I doe in this feast of ours, not coupling at the table, one man with another; nor matching a young man with a young man; ne yet setting a magistrate or a ruler just by another; no, nor two friends together: for surely such an ordering as this, hath no life in it, no vigor and power at all, either to breed and imprint, or to nourish and augment the heat of mutuall benevolence and affection of one to another; but framing and applying to that which hath need, the thing that is fit and proper thereto, I would have a student to sit next unto a learned man; a milde and gentle person, unto one that is hard to be pleased; to an old prating fellow who loves to heare himselfe speake, a youth who is desirous to heare, I would place a boasting and glorious bragger, with a drie childe and soothing companion; with a testie and colerike man, one who is silent or of few words: if I see a rich or mighty personage, and withall, bountifull and free of gift, I will fetch out of one corner or other, some poore honest body to be his next-neighbour, to the end that from him (as out of a full cup) there might overflow some goodnesse, into another which is void and emptie: but I will be very wary and circumspect, that I doe not sort two orators or professed rhetoricians together, nor match one poet with another; for according to the proverbiall verse:

A begger can no begger well abide,  
And chamer one by another is envied.

Howsoever these two heere *Sesiles* and *Modestus*, confirming in alternative course the speeches one of another:

Blow not the coles that ready are to dy,  
But just accord together must friendly.

I sever also a sundrie busie and troublesome persons, such as take one another by the throat, injurious folk, testie and cholerike men; interposing alwaies some milde and modest nature betweene, as a emollitive of their hardnesse, for feare they should crush and bruse one another: contrariwise, I bring together, such as love wrestling and other exercises of the bodie, hunters also, and those that professe husbandry: for of similitudes and resemblances, two sorts there be; the one quarrellous and given to fight, as that of cocks; the other loving and amiable, as that of

jaies or dawes. Also those that be good companions, and can drinke well, I use to set and match close together; yea and amorous folke:

*Not onely those who feele hot fantasies pricke  
To boies, and of love masculine are sicke.*

As *Sophocles* saith, but such also as are pinched with the love of wives and maidens; for that being heat and enchaufed with the same fire, they will catch and take hold the sooner one of another; like as pieces of iron that cleave and be united together, when they beecd hot; provided alwaies, that their love doe not settle in one place, whether it be male or female.

### THE THIRD QUESTION.

*What is the reason, that the place at the table named Consular, is held honorable?*

After this, there arose a question as touching the places of sitting at a table; for that some are reputed honorable in one countrey, and some in another. Among the Persians, the middle place is accounted best; for therein sitteth the king: In *Greece* the first is held chiefe and principall: and the Romans make most regard of the last in the middle pallet or table; and this commonly is called the Consular place; whereas contrariwise, certaine Greeks that inhabit the country about *Pomus*, & namely those of *Heraclea*, reckon the first of the said middle pallet, the highest place of honor: but we made most doubt of the the said place called Consular: for the same was in our time also counted honorable; but not in regard, that it was either the foremost or the middles; and besides, of the accidental qualities observed therein, some were not proper and peculiar to it alone, and others seemed to be of no importance at all: howbeit, three reasons alledged there were, which seemed somewhat to moove and induce us above the rest: the first was this: That the consuls having deposed and expelled the kings of *Rome*, and chaunged all into a more popular estate, withdrew themselves from the roiall place in the middes, to a lower roome, to the end, that by quitting and forgoing the place which to them appertained, they might avoid all occasions of making their power and authoritie odious unto those that conversed with them. Secondly, that seeing the two first tables or pallets being destined and appointed for the guests invited, the third, and namely the first place thereof, belonged properly to him who made the feast; for there sitteth he most commodiously, in manner of a coachman in a chariot, or pilot in a shippe; to see the whole order of the service: neither is he farre from other tables, but that he may cheere up & welcome all the company: for, of the places nere unto him, that underneath is appointed usually for his wife or children; and that above, ordinarily and by good right, was allowed for the most honorable personage of all them that were bidden, to the end, that he might sit neere unto the master of the feast. Thirdly, this place seemed to have this propertie by it selfe, that it was thought commodious for such as were employed and had any affaires in hand. For the Roman consull was nothing like unto *Archias* sometime the captaine generall of the Thebans; who if there had beene brought unto him any letters, newes, or advertisement of importance, in the middes of supper time; or if there fell out any serious occasions, would cry out aloud and say: To morrow morning will we thinke of earnest matters; the pacquet of letters he laid aside, and in stead thereof, tooke a boule of wine in hand: the Roman consull (I say) was not such an one, but even at these times especially he is most vigilant, and looketh circumspectly about him, for not onely according to the common proverbe in *Aeschylus*:

*The night alwaies even to a pilot wife*

*Breeds wo, for feare lest tempests should arise.*

But also amide all pleasures, feasts, and pastimes, is requisite in a wife captaine, and man of government, that he alwaies stand upon his guard, and carrie a watchfull eye about him; to the end therefore that he might evermore be ready to understand all occurrents, to command also, to direct, signe, or subscribe if need required: this place was allotted unto him of purpose above the rest: wherein, by reason that the second table stood close joined to the first, the corner within the turning, leaveth a space open, or void distance, giveth roome and meanes very handiome for a secretary, a notarie, a sergeant, or apparitor, a pencioner, or one of the guard, yea & to any messenger or pursuivant coming from the campe, to approach neere unto the consull, to declare his message, to aske any question, or to commune & confer with him, & that without troubling any body, or being molested by any person there met at the feast or banquet

quet: for both his hand is his owne and at command, and also his voice at liberty, to say and doe whatsoever he would.

### THE FOURTH QUESTION.

*What manner of man he ought to be, who is chosen master of the feast?*

*Crato* my sonne in law, and *Theon* our familiar friend, being with us at a certaine feast, where there beganne some misrule and disorder, upon large drinking of wine, which notwithstanding was soone appeased, tooke occasion thereby, to speake of the masterie and presidency of such feasts observed in old time, being of this opinion, and saying (withall to me) That I ought to weare a chaplet of flowers on my head, and not suffer the auncient custome of creating a king or governour of the feast; who is to give order in all things, and to see there be no misrule, by disuse and discontinuance to be utterly neglected and abolished; but rather that I ought to bring that laudable order up againe, and put it in practise. Of the same minde was the whole company, and liked very well of the motion; inso much as they all with a loud voice and one accord, requested me to take the thing upon me: Seeing then (quoth I) that you be all of this minde, I am content to chuse my selfe president, and master of this feast: and heere to beginne withall, I give commaundement to all the rest, that for this present they drinke at their owne discretion, and as it pleaseth themselves: as for *Crato* and *Theon*, who were the first that set this matter on foot, I will by vertue of my office and place, enjoin them summarily and in few words, to declare heere before us, what manner of person ought to be chosen for the president, and master of such a feast, and what he must aime at, when he is elected; as also how he is to carry himselfe towards those who have made choice of him; and this charge I laie upon them two, permitting them to divide it betweene them, and to handle it according to their good discretion. At the first, they made some semblance of refusal, praying me to hold them excused: howbeit when they saw the whole company crying upon them for to obey the president, *Crato* began first & said: That as the captaine of the guard or watch, ought himselfe especially to be a most diligent & vigilant warder, according to the saying of *Plato*; even so should he who hath the command of guests met together for to make merrie, be himselfe of all other a right good fellow, and a cheerefull companion; and such an one he shall be, in case hee be neither one that will quickly be cup-shotten, and overseene with wine; nor yet untoward and unwilling to drinke liberally; much like as *Cyrus* wrote sometime unto the Lacedaemonians: That as in all other points he was more woorthy to be a king than his brother; so in this respect especially, that he would take his wine in greater measure, and beare the same better than he: for hee that will bee soone drunke, groweth insolent, unseemly, and outrageous in his drunkennesse: and he againe, who is too too sober, and abstinent altogether, becometh unpleasant and unfociable, meeter indeed to be a schoole-master, and to have the bringing up of boies, than a president of a feast, to order guests. *Pericles*, so oft as he was chosen captaine generall of the Athenians; no sooner put on his mantle of estate, and was ready to set forward, but before any thing else, used thus to say unto himselfe, as it were to refresh his memorie by way of admonition: Looke about thee now *Pericles*; thou hast the command of free men; thou commaundest now the Greeks; nay thou art commaunder of the Athenians; even so should our master of a feast reason thus within himselfe: Thou hast the rule now of friends; to the end that he neither permit them to doe any unseemly or dishonest thing; nor bereave them of their delights and pleasures; for as he ought to be friendly affected unto them in their serious occasions, so he must be no enemy to their sports and pastimes, but framed indifferently, and as it were well tempered for the one and the other; & yet by his naturall disposition, he should, like good wine, be somewhat more inclined unto a kind of hardnesse or austeritie: for by this meanes the wine which he drinketh, will reduce his manners and behavior to a meane or mediocrity, by moistning as it were and softning it, that it may be more gentle and pliable: for as *Xenophon* said: That the sadde cheere, heavy and rusticall severitie otherwise of *Cherchan*, seemed to be more lightsome and pleasant in battell and conflict, by reason of his resolute confidence; even so, he who is by nature not bitter nor crabbed, but only grave and severe, by drinking, becometh more remissive, and not so straight laced; and by that meanes more lovely and amiable also. And thus much of his owne person.

Moreover, he ought above all things, to know by experience, every one of the guests: what alteration

alteration there is wrought in them by drinking? into what accidents or passions they be ready to fall; and how they can beare strong wine? for wee are not to thinke, but if there be a proper temperature and severall mixture with water fit for every sort of wine; which kings tasteth, and cup-bearers know well enough, and in that regard can discern and distinguish, when they are to use more or lesse water to the delaying of wines; there is more reason that there should be a temperature likewise of man and wine, which our master or president of a feast ought to know, and when he knoweth it, to observe; that like an expert musician, by stretching as it were & setting up one, a note higher, in making him to drinke largely, and letting downe another by causing him as much to spare, he may bring and reduce different natures unto an uniforme equalitie & consonance, not measuring the same by waight & measure, pintes or quarts, to not by so many cups or glasses, but going by a certaine rule of time and age, as also by the strength of the bodie, giving to each one that which is meet and convenient. Now if peradventure this seeme an hard piece of worke, namely, to know all these particularities; yet meet it is at leastwise that he should be skilful in generalitie, as touching severall complexions & ages; as for example; that old folke are sooner and more easily made drunke than yong persons; those that be stirring and in continuall motion, rather than such as be in repose and rest; sadde, hea-  
vie, pensive, and melancholike men, more than those who are jocund and merry; lastly, those who are chaste, or use women modestly, much more than such as be dissolute or excessively given that way. He that is thus farre forth acquainted with these circumstances, may be a meet-  
er and fitter person a great deale to mainteine decencie, order, and agreement at a feast, than he who is ignorant therein. Furthermore, what is he who knoweth not very well, that the master of a feast ought to be well affected, and to carrie a loving minde unto all those who are invited to a feast; to carrie neither open malice, nor secret grudge to any one of them: for otherwise, if he commaundeth ought, it will not be well taken; if hee distribute and deale amongst them, he shall not be thought equal and indifferent; last of all, if he be disposed to mirth and jollitie, he shall hardly escape a rebuke and blame. Lo, *Theon*, what manner of president and master (quoth *Crato*) I have framed unto you by words, as if he were wrought out of waxe, and him I deliver into your hands. Then answered *Theon*: And I receive him from you so much the rather, as one shaped and fashioned indeed for a right governour of a feast, and a good companion besides: but whether I shall ever use him or no, or whether in so doing I shall shame my selfe; I wot not: howbeit, this I am assured of, that if hee be such an one as you have described, he will know how to order & governe a feast, & not suffer that one while it seeme a solemne assembly of a cite, another while a schoole of rhetorike, now a knot of dice-players or cheaters met together, and anon a scaffold forsooth for dauncers and singers, or a stage for plaiers and comedians: this I say, for that you see ordinarily some making orations, and pleading at the table, as it were in the court, or at the barre before judges; others exercising themselves how to speake in publike, or else rehearsing and reading certeine of their owne compositions; and others againe taking upon them like judges of dauncers and stage plaiers, who doe best for to winne the prize; and yet this is not the worst: for *Alcibiades* and *Theodorus* made of *Politics* feast, a very place of divine misteries, representing there the solemne carying of torches and other ceremonies, at the shewing of some sacred reliques; which I would not have a good master and president of a feast to be so carelesse as to abide; but to allow place and time for such talke, such spectacles, sights, plaies, and pastimes onely, which tend to that end for which feasts be made; that is to say, to breed and augment amitie betweene them that are present, by the meanes of the delight they take in eating together; for that in truth, a feast is nothing else but a pleasant recreation at the table, aiming at this marke, to contract friendship by the entercourse of mutuall drinking one to the other.

But forasmuch as in all things, varietie is very pleasing, and nature joiet in nothing more than in diversitie and change; but contrariwise, a simple uniformity alwaies, one and the same, is hurtfull, and bringeth tediousnesse with it incontinently; whereas the mixture of divers things applied in time and place with measure, taketh that away which is offensive to pleasure, and hurtfull to profit: therefore the master of a feast must devise for his guests, and exhibit unto them some mixed sport to passe away the time whiles they be drinking. I have heard many men say, that to walke by the sea side, as also to saile along the shore, is most pleasant; and even to a man must joine alwaies sport with serious affaires, and profit with pleasure, to the end that those who play, may in some sort be in good earnest; and likewise, when they be busie in serious matters, find some recreation; like as those who are sea-sicke, and ready ever & anon to cast up their

their stomacke, recover their spirits and are revived, when they see how they be neere the land; even so a man may profit in mirth and laughter; he may likewise laugh and be merry in profit, and make his serious affaires pleasurable enough; for as the old proverbe goeth:

*With calt brop thistles, and among the prickly rest-harrow,*

*The violets and soft wasflowes are alwaies wont to grow.*

But as for all other sports & plaies, which without any profit at all, leape impudently into feasts, he shall command his guests expressly to forbear, lest ere they be aware, they become outrageous and furious, like as those who have taken the juice of henbane: they also abuse their power, & go too far in their commandements, (for so they be called at the wine) who enioine flouters, stammerers and mafflers to sing, or bald-pates to kembe their heads, or lame creeplees to go up-right on their feet without halting. Thus upon a time at a certeine merry meeting and feast, where *Agamemnor* the Academicke philosopher was, who had a withered legge, and nothing left thereof but skin and bone, all the company (by way of mockerie) insulted upon him, and made a law among themselves, that they should stand all upon their right leg, and every one drinke his boule of wine, or els pay a certeine piece of money, as a forfeiture: now when it came to *Agamemnor* turne, by right to command, he charged them all to drinke in that sort and maner, as they saw him to drinke: then called hee for an emptie earthen pitcher with a narrow mouth, to be brought into the place; into which when he had thrust his poore consumed legge afore said, he drunke up his cup of wine; and when all the rest had assaid, and found they could not do as he did, were all forced to pay the forfeit. Herein was *Agamemnor* to be commended: for after his manner, the master of a feast ought to be revenged, in a kinde of mirth and gentle sort; also to accustom himselfe to such commaundements, as tend to pleasure and profit both, charging each one to doe those things which be proper, possible and easie for him, and yet may commend the doer: as for example, to impose upon them who have good voices, and be professed musicians, to sing; oratours and rhetoricians, to declame; philosophers, to asseile darke questions, and cleere ambiguities; and poets, to pronounce some of their verses; for every one of these joietly and taketh pleasure, to be put to that

*Wherein he knowes he can do well,*

*And other men farre doth excell.*

There was some time a king of the Assyrians, who by voice of heralds, and found of trumpet, proclaimed a great prize and reward to him that could devise a new kinde of pleasure: but the king and governour of a feast, should doe very well, to propose an honourable reward unto him, that could invent an honest game or pastime, wherein were no insolencie, some delight or disport profitable, and procure laughter not accompanied with wanton reprooche and scornfull reproch, but such as carrieth a grace and pleasure with it: for this is it wherein most part of feasts suffer shipwracke, namely, when they are misgoverned, or not ordered as they ought to be. But the part it is of a wise and prudent man, to know how to avoid enmity and anger in the marketplace, gotten by avarice; in the publicke halles of bodily exercises, by contention and emulation; in bearing offices and suing for them, by ambition and vain-glory; and last of all, in feasts and banquets, by such plaies and pastimes.

## THE FIFTH QUESTION.

*What is meant by this common proverbe: Love teacheth musicke and poetrie.*

The question was mooved one day in *Sosim Severim* house, after certeine verses of *Sappho* were chanted, how this saying of *Euripides* should be understood:

*Love teacheth musicke, make when you will,*

*Tough one before, thereof had no skill.*

considering that the poet *Philoxenus* reporteth, how *Cyclops Polyphemus* the giant, cured his love by the sweet tongued muses? Whereupon it was alledged, that Love is of great power to moove a man for to be bold, hardy and adventurous, yea, and ministreth a readinesse to attempt all novelties, according as *Plato* named it, the enterpriser of all things; for it maketh him talkative and full of words, who before was silent; it causeth the bashfull and modest person, to court it, and put himselfe forward in all maner of service; it is the meanes that an idle carelesse lubber, and a negligent, becometh diligent and industrious; and that which a man would most marvell at, a mitching hard-head and mechanicall penitather, if he fall once to love, doth relent and waxe soft as iron in the fire, and so proveth more liberal, courteous and kinde, than ever

before: so that this pleasant and merry proverbe, seemeth not to be altogether ridiculous & impertinent, namely: that Loves purse is tied & knit up with a lecke or porret blade. Moreover, it was there spoken: That Love resembled drunkenesse, for that the one aswell as the other, doth set folke in a heat; it maketh them cheerefull, merry and jocund; and when as men be come once to that, they fall soone to sing, to rime, and make verses. And it is said, that the poet *Aeschylus* composed his tragedies, when he had well drunken, and was heat with wine. I had a grandfather also my selfe, named *Lamprias*, who seemed alwaies more learned, witty, and fuller of inventions, yea, and to surpass himselfe in that kinde, when he had taken his cups liberally; and he was wont to say: That at such a time he was like unto incense, which being set on fire, rendereth the sweet odour that it hath. Moreover, they that take exceeding great pleasure to see their loves, are no lesse affected with joy when they do praise them, than in looking upon them: for love, as it is in every thing a great prater, and full of words; so especially and most of all, in praises: in so much, as lovers would willingly persuade others to that, wherein they are themselves persuaded first; namely, that they love nothing but that which is perfect in goodnesse and beautie; and others they would have to be wimmes with them of it. This was it, that induced the Lydian king *Candaules*, to draw and traine *Giges* into his bed-chamber, for to see the beautie of his wife naked: for why? such are willing to have the testimonie of others. Lo, what the reason is, that if they write the praises of that which they love, they embellish and adorne the same with verses, songs and meeter, like as images with golde; to the end that the said praises might be heard more willingly, and remembered better by more people: for if they bestow a fighting-cocke, an horse, or any other thing whatsoever, upon those whom they love, their minde is principally, that this their present should be faire and beautifull in it selfe; afterwards, that it be most gallantly and in best maner set out; but above all, in case they be disposed to flatter them in words or writings, their chiefe care is, that the same run roundly and pleasantly, that they be also glorious and beautified with fine figures, such as is ordinarily the stile of poets. Then *Sophus* approving well of these reasons, said moreover: That it were well, if some would take in hand to draw and gather arguments out of that which *Theophrastus* left in writing, as touching musick: For long it is not (quoth he) since I read over that booke; wherein he delivereth thus much altera divine maner: That three principall causes or roots there be of musick, to wit, paine or griefe, pleasure or joy, and the ravishment of the spirit; of which three, every one doth bend and turne so the voice a little out of the ordinary tune: for griefs and sorrowes, usually bring with them, moanes and plaints, which quickly run into song; which is the reason that we see oratours in the perorations or conclusions of their speeches, the actors also in tragedies, when they come to make their dolefull lamentations, bring their voices downe gently to a kinde of melodie, and by little and little tune them (as it were) thereto. Also the great and vehement joies of the minde do lift up all the body, of them especially, who are any thing lightsome by nature, yea, and provoke the same to leape, skip, and clappe their hands, observing a kinde of motion according to number and measure, if they can not dance:

And otherwise in furious sort,  
Like frantike folke they do disport;  
They shake, they wag, they set out throat,  
And send out many a foolish note.

according as *Pindarus* saith. But in case they be somewhat more grave and staied, than others, when they finde themselves moved with such a passion of joy, they let their voice onely go at liberty, speaking aloud and singing sonnets. But above all, the ravishment of the spirit, or that divine inspiration, which is called *Enthusiasmus*, casteth bodie, mind, voice and all, far beyond the ordinary habit; which is the cause, that the furious and raging priests of *Bacchus*, called *Bacchae*, use rime & meeter; those also, who by a prophetical spirit, give answeres by oracle, deliver the same in verse; and few persons shall a man see starker mad, but among their raving speeches, they sing and say some verses. This being to, if you would now display love, and view it well, being so unfolded and laied open abroad, hardly shall you meet with another passion, which hath either sharper dolours, or joies more violent or greater extasies and ravishments of the spirit, lying (as it were) in a trance; so that a man may discover in amorous persons, a foule much like unto that city which *Sophocles* describeth:

Full of songs and incense sweet,  
Of sighs and groanes in every street.

No marvell is it therefore, nor a strange thing; if love (containing & comprehending in it selfe

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all those primitive causes of musick, to wit, dolour, joy, and ravishment of spirit, be likewise in all other things diligent, industrious, talkative, and namely, inclined to making of verses and chanting songs as much or rather more, than any other passion which can enter into the heart of man.

## THE SIXTH QUESTION.

Whether king Alexander of Macedonie were a great drinker.

<sup>20</sup> **T**HERE was some speech upon a time, as touching king *Alexander* the Great, to this effect: That he dranke not so much, as far long at his meat, and passed the time away, in devising and talking with his friends: but *Philinus* shewed by certaine scroles, papers, and day-books of the said kings house, that they who held that opinion, knew not well what they said; for that this particular instance was ordinarily and usually found in those records: That such a day the king slept all day long, upon his liberrall drinking of wine; yea, and other-whiles it appeareth, that he slept the morrow after likewise; which is the reason, that hee was not so forward in venerous matters, nor given much to women, though otherwise he was battie, quick and courageous; great arguments of an inward heat of bodie: and it is to be seene upon record: That his flesh yielded from it, and breathed a passing sweet smell; in so much as his shirts and other clothes were full of an aromaticall sent and savour, as if they had bene perfumed; which seemeth also to be an argument and signe of heat. For we see, that those be the hottest & driest countries, which bring forth cynamon and frankincense, according as *Theophrastus* saith: That a sweet odour proceedeth of perfect concoction and digestion of humours; namely, when by naturall heat, all superfluous moisture is quite chased and expelled. And by all likelihood, this was the principall cause, that *Callisthenes* grew into disgrace, and lost the kings favour; for that he was unwilling to sup with him, in regard that he would impose upon him to drinke so much. For it is reported, that upon a time, the great boule or goblet, furnamed, *Alexanders* boule, having passed round about the table thorowout, untill it came to *Callisthenes*, he refused it, and put it backe; saying withall: I will not drinke in *Alexander* for to have need of *Aesculapius*. And thus much

<sup>30</sup> was said then, concerning king *Alexanders* much wine-bibbing. Moreover, king *Alithridates*, he who warred against the Romans, among other games of prize which hee exhibited, ordained one for those who could drinke best and eat most; and by mens saying, himselfe performed them both so well, that he won the prize in the one and the other: for he could eat and drinke more than any man living in his time: by occasion whereof, he was commonly furnamed *Dionysus*, that is to say, *Bacchus*. But as touching the reason of this surname, wee say it is an opinion rashly received: for when hee was a very infant lying in the cradle, the lightning caught the swadling clothes, and set them on fire, but never touched or hurt his body, save onely that there remained a little marke of the fire upon his forehead, which notwithstanding the haire did cover that it was not greatly seene, so long as he was a childe: and

<sup>40</sup> gaine, when he was a man grown, it chaunced that the lightning pierced into the bed chamber where he lay asleepe; and for his owne person it was not so much as singed therewith; but it blasted a quiver of arrowes that hung at his bed-side, and went through it, and burnt the arrowes within; which (as the soothsayers and wise men out of their learning did interpret) signified, that one day he should be puissant in archers and lightarmed men. But most men affirme, that hee gat his surname of *Bacchus*, or *Dionysus*, in regard of the resemblance and likenesse of such accidents of lightning, and blasting, as many times befall.

After these words passed, they entred into a speech as touching great drinkers; among whom was reckoned also one *Heraclides*, a famous wrestler, or champion, whom the men of *Alexandria* in our fathers daies, pleasantly called little *Heraclides*. This good fellow when he could not

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away, but the pure and hot part thereof, continueth behinde, and pierceth forward still, by reason of the subtiltie that it hath, untill it be presented unto the nostrils. But we, receiving and admitting the principle of *Plato*, affirme & hold: That there passeth from the eyes an illuminate spirit, which intermingleth it selfe with the cleerenesse and light that is about the bodies of visible objects; by which meanes there ariseth an united composition from them twaine, according in every point one with another, but congregate they be by measure and proportion; for neither the one nor the other, ought to perish, as being surmounted by his fellow, but of twaine contempered together in iust proportion, there is made one puillance and meane facultie betwene. Seeing then, that the thing which passeth thorow the eye-sight of those persons who be farre slept in yeeeres, be it some fluxion, light some spirit, or bright beame, (call it what you will) is in them, weake and feeble, there can not be a mixture and composition of it, with the shining aire abroad, but rather an extinction and suffocation, unless they remove the letters a pretie way off from their eyes, and by that meanes temper and resolve the exceeding brightnesse of the light, so as the same hit not upon their sight, so long as it is too radiant and resplendant, but measured and proportioned to the feeblenesse of their eyes. This also is the cause of that which befalleth to those living creatures which see best in the darke, and feed themselves by night; for their eye sight being naturally weake, is offuscate and darkened by the great light of the day; for that such weak raies proceeding from so tender a source or fountaine, will not well fort & agree with so strong and forcible light; but their eyes do fend forth beames sufficient and proportionable, to be mingled with a light more dim and dusky, like as the light of a starre in the night season appeareth best: and thus being incorporate with it, it is cooperative to the performance of sense.

## THE NINTH QUESTION.

*What is the cause that clothes be better washed in fresh water than that of the sea?*

**T**Heon the grammarian, upon a time when wee were feasted by *Metrius Florus*, demanded of *Themistocles* the philosopher, how it came to passe that *Chrysippus* having made mention in many places of strange positions and paradoxes, which seemed to goe against all reason; as for example: That salt fish, or powdered flesh, if it bee watered or washed in sea water, becommeth more sweet: also fleeces of wooll are lesse pliable, if they be plucked forcibly, than if they be gently handled, tooled and drawn in sunder. Item, that they who have fasted long, chew their meat, and eat more slowly at first, than after they have eaten a little; yendeth no reason of the one nor the other: unto whom *Themistocles* answered: That *Chrysippus* propounded them by the way onely, and as it were for example sake to advertise and admonish us; for that we are ever ready to beleeve, even without all reason, any thing that cometh with it some small likelihood and probability, and contrariwise to discredit that which at the first sight seemeth unlikely: But what reason I pray you (quoth he) my good friend have you to search & enquire into these matters? For if you be so contemplative and inquisitive in finding out the causes of naturall things, you need not to goe farre from that which belongeth to your profession: but tel me why *Homer* bringeth in *Nausicaa*, washing her clothes in the river, & not in the sea which was so neere unto her; yet notwithstanding that salt sea water being hotter, more transparent, & absterfivie than fresh water of the river, seemeth by all appearance better for to wash withall: As touching this probleme (quoth *Theon*) long since hath *Aristotle* resolved it, referring all to the terrestriety of the sea; for that in sea water there is mingled much earthlie substance, which causeth it to be so sale, by reason whereof, it beareth them up better who swim therein; also it carrieth a greater and heavier burden than fresh water, the which yeeldeth and giveth way, as it is more subtle, lighter, and feebler, as being more simple and pure: in which regard it pierceth sooner, and by this penetrative facultie, it scoureth and cleneth away all staines and spotted better than sea water: and thinke you not that this reason of *Aristotle* cometh great appearance of truth? Yes verily (quoth I) there is appearance and probability indeed thereof, but no truth at all: for this I see ordinarily that the manner is to incrassate fresh water with albes or gravel stones; or if there be none to be had, even with very dust, as if the roughnesse of terrestriall substance were more meet and apt, to cleanse all filthinesse, which simple and cleere water cannot doe so well, by reason of the thinne subtiltie thereof, and because it is very weake: and therefore it is not well and truly said, that the thicknesse of the sea water hind-

dereth his effect. But the true cause is, for that it is penetrant and piercing; for this acrimonie doth unbinde and open the small pores, and so draweth forth the ordure outwardly; whereas contrariwise, that which is grosse and thicke, is never good and meet for to wash withall, but rather it maketh spots & steines: now is the sea fattie and oileous, which may be a principal cause why it is not good to wash withall: and, that sea water is unctuous, *Aristotle* himselfe beareth witness; for even salt it selfe hath a certaine fattinesse and unctuousity in it; by reason whereof, it causeth those lampes to burne more cleere wherein it is put: yea and sea water if it be sprinkled or dropped upon the flame, will likewise be of a light fire and burne withall; neither is there any water that burneth so much as that of the sea; and in this regard I am of opinion, that it is of all other water hottest: howbeit there may be another reason yielded: for considering that the end and consummation of washing, is to drie; those things wee hold most neat and cleane which are driest; and therefore the moisture that doth wash, must goe away together with the ordure; like as the roote of *Elleboro* is sent out of the body with the melancholike humour: as for the humiditie which is sweet and fresh by reason of the lightnesse thereof, the sunne draweth it up very quickly; whereas the saltnesse of sea water sticketh fast to the small pores, & by reason of the asperitie thereof is hard to be dried. Then *Theon*: This (that you say quoth he) is nothing, but very false; for *Aristotle* in the same booke affirmeth, that those who walk in the sea, are sooner dry than they that wash in fresh water, if they stand in the sunne. He saith so indeed (quoth I) but I thought that you would sooner beleeve *Homer*, who holdeth the contrarie. For *Ulysses* after he had suffered shipwracke mette with ladie *Nausicaa*:

*All terrible and fearefull to be seene*

*For that in sea all plunge d/ she had bene.*

Yea and himselfe said unto her women and waiting maidens:

*Retire aside and stand you farre from me,*

*Faire damosels, untill such time you see,*

*That I have washt from off my shoulders raine*

*The filth of sea, that now my skinneth doth staine.*

And when he had thus said, he went downe into the river,

*And there anon, he scow'd cleane away,*

*The salt sea-fome, upon his head that lay.*

In which place, the poet hath marvelous well observed and exprest that which ordinarilie hapneth in such a case: for that, when they who come forth of the sea stand drying them in the sunne; his heat doth presently dissipate the most subtile and lightest substance of the humiditie, and then, that which is most foule and filthy, remaining behinde, sticketh to, is baked and felted to the skinneth, in manner of a salt crust, untill it be washed off with fresh and potable water.

## THE TENTH QUESTION.

*What is the cause that at Athens they never judged nor pronounced the daunce of the tribe Acantis to be the last?*

**A**T the solemne feast which *Serapion* made for the victory of the daunce, which the tribe or lineage *Acantis* obtained, by his leading and conduct: to which feast we were bidden, as being of that tribe; for that the people had endued us with the priviledge and right of bourgeoisie in the same; much talke there was occasioned by the great emulation and strife which had bene for the honour of that present daunce: and indeed followed it was with much zeale and heat of affection, by reason that king *Philopappus* himselfe in person, was a most honourable and magnificent president thereof, having defraied the charges belonging to the daunces of every tribe; who being present also with us, invited guests to this stately supper (as hee was a prince no lesse courteous and full of humanitie, than studious and desirous of knowledge) had put to discourse, such a matter as this, by *Marcus* the Grammatician, namely: that *Xenobes* the Cyzicene wrote in his fabulous narrations of this cite, that the tribe *Acantis* had by especiall honour, this speciall priviledge above the rest, that their daunce was never adjudged to the last place. That writer (quoth the king) is not sufficient to authorize an history; but supposing that this were true, let us make it the subject-matter of our discourse at this present, and search the cause thereof. But admit (quoth our friend *Milo*) that this were a false tale. What then?

(quoth king *Philopappus*) there were no great matter in it, if the like befall unto us for love of learning, as sometime did to the wife philosopher *Democritus*; who feeding one day (as it should seeme) upon a coucumber, when he perceived the juice and liquor thereof to be verie sweet, and to taste of honie; demanded of his maid-servant who attended upon him, where she bought it: who named a certaine garden: whereupon he rose from the boord, and would needs have her to bring him thither, and to shew him the very place where it grew: but the wench woondering at her master, and asking him the reason what he meant to be gone in such haste: Why (quoth he) I must needs finde out the cause of this extraordinary sweetnesse, and finde it I shall, when I have well viewed and considered the place: hereat the maiden smiling: Sit you still, good sir (quoth she) and let this thing trouble your head no farther; for the truth is this: I chanced before I was aware, to put this coucumber into a vessell that had honie in it. Then *Democritus* seeming to be offended and displeased with her: Thou angrest me to the heart with thy prittle-prattle, I will (I tell thee) go forward in this my intended purpose; and search into the cause hereof, as if this sweetnesse were naturall and came of the coucumber it selfe; and even so we will not pretend this readinesse and facilitie of *Neantus* in delivering some matters incredible, as an evasion or excuse, to avoid this present disputation: for if none other good will come of our discourse, yet I am sure it will serve well to whet and exercise our wits the while. Then all the companie at once with one accord, fell to praise the said tribe *Acantis*, relating and collecting what commendable acts foever and glorious feats of armes had bene performed by that tribe. And here they failed not to rehearse the famous battell of *Marathon*, which is a State belonging to the tribe *Acantis*. They forgot not to alledge likewise, how *Harmodius* and *Aristogiron* were *Acantides*, borne in *Aphiæne*, a towne of that tribe. Also *Glauces* the orator affirmed, that the right wing or point of that battell of *Marathon*, was assigned to them of that tribe, proving the same by the Elegies or verses which the poet *Aeschylus* had composed in the praise of their good service, having himselfe in person fought valiantly in the said conflict. Moreover, he shewed that *Callimachus* the high marshall of the field, being one of that lineage, both bare himselfe right bravely that day, and was one of the principall authors (after capitaine *Miltiades*) of that fought field, gave his voice with him, and perswaded to strike this battell. unto this allegation of *Glauces*, I my selfe added moreover, and said: That the decree or commission, by vertue whereof *Miltiades* led forth the Athenian armie with banner displayed, into the field, was concluded at what time as the tribe *Acantis* was president of the counsell at *Athens*; as also that the same tribe in the battell of *Plates*, carried away the praise and prise for their brave service above the rest: and hereupon it is, that this tribe of *Acantis* solemnizeth every yeere a stately sacrifice, for that victorie, as being commanded and appointed so to doe by the oracle of *Apollo*, upon the mount *Cithæron*, and the same performed by nymphes or maidens \* *Sphagittides*: for the celebration of which solemnity, the city furnisheth them with beasts and other things needfull for the same sacrifice. But yet you see (quoth I) that all the rest of the tribes may as well alledge for themselves many valiant acts by them achieved; and namely, *Leontis*, from which my selfe am descended, which in glorious renoume, giveth place to none whatsoever. Consider therefore my masters, whether it bee not very like and more probable, that this was attributed unto it, for to appeale and comfort that worthy person who gave the name unto this tribe; I meane *Ajax* the sonne of *Telamon*, who had not the patience to endure the overthrow in judgement, and losse of *Achilles* armour, but was so farre inflamed with envie, emulation, and wrath, that he cared for nothing, nor cared for the ruine of all: to the end therefore that he might not fall into another fit of furie, and be implacable; thought good it wasto ease him of the thing which might of all things offend and vex him most, in that disfavour and disgrace, to wit: That the tribe which beareth his name, should never be thrust downe into the lowest and last place.



THE



## THE SECOND BOOKE OF THE SYMPOSIAQUES.

The Summarie, or severall Chapters thereof.

- 1 **W**hat be those things which Xenophon saith, that men are better contented to be asked of at the table, yea, and to be scoffed at for, than otherwise no.
- 2 What is the reason that we have better stomacks to our meat, and eat more in Autumne, than in any other season of the yeere.
- 3 Whether the hen was before the egge, or the egge before the hen.
- 4 Whether wrestling was of all the sacred exercises and games of prize, most ancient.
- 5 Why Homer among all the combats of prize, putteth evermore in the first place, the fight as buffets; next to it, wrestling; and last of all, running the race.
- 6 What is the cause that the pine, sapin or pitch tree, and other like, yeelding rosin, can not be grafted by way of inoculation or the scutijian.
- 7 Of the stay-ship, *Remora*.
- 8 How it cometh to passe, that the horses *Lycospades* are said to be more courageous and better spirited, than any others.
- 9 How is it, that the sheepe worried by wolves, yeeld flesh more sweet and tender, but wooll more subject to breed lice than others.
- 10 Whether our ancestors did better in old time, to eat every man his owne part divided by himselfe at the boord, or the men now living, who feed in common, of viands set before them all together.

## THE SECOND BOOKE OF the Symposiaques.

### THE FIRST QUESTION.

What be the things whereof Xenophon saith: That men love better to be asked and to be scoffed at for, when they sit at the boord, than otherwise no?

- 40 **I**f those things (ô *Saisius Senecio*) which are provided to furnish the feasts, and set out feasts and banquets, some are to be ranged as altogether necessarie; namely, bread, wine, viands, meats, both flesh and fish, benches, stools, formes, and tables; others be but accessories and may be spared, devised only for pleasure, and not upon any urgent necessity; as plaies, shewes, and pastimes brought in, either to be heard or seene; some pleasant buffon also or mery jester to make folke laugh, such an one as *Philip* in *Kallatis* his house, which disports men are delighted in otherwhiles, if they be presented, and if they be not, they are not greatly missed, nor much cared for, neither is the feast thought defectuous for want thereof. The same may be said of table talke: for one kinde there is which modest and civill men doe embrace and entertaine, in regard of their proper use fitting and agreeable for meales and meat indeed; another sort they admit, and allow as containing some gentle speculation, and the same becometh rather the time imploied in hearing musick, of flute, hautboies, lute and viall. And of both these, our first booke contained certaine miscellane examples one with another; as namely, of the first sort were these questions: Whether it be good and commendable, to treat and dispute of philosophicall mat-

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ters at the table or no? Also, whether it be better, that the master of the feast himselfe place his guests, at the board, or permit them to sit at their owne discretion? Of the second kind be these; whereupon arose this common saying: That love teacheth musicke or poetrie; as also the question concerning the tribe *Aeantes* and such like. For mine owne part, I would call the former *Symposica*, as properly belonging to a feast; the other by the generall name *Symposiaca*, as becoming rather a banquet after the feast is done: howbeit set downe they are by me pell-mell, and not distinctly, but according as every one of them came into my minde and remembrance: neither must the readers marvell if I collect and gather certaine speeches for to dedicate unto you, which have bene haply held heretofore by others, or by your owne selfe: for albeit our learning is not alwaies a calling to remembrance, yet oftentimes it falleth out, that to remember and to learne, concur and meet together in one subject matter. Moreover, having digested in every booke ten questions, the first of this second is one, that *Xenophon* a disciple of *Socrates*, hath in some sort proposed unto us, when hee writeth: That *Gobryas* being upon a time at supper with *Cyrus*, as he praised many other fashions of the Persians, so he commended them especially in this: That they demanded one of another such questions, wherewith they stood better pleased, than if they had not bene asked at all; and betwene whiles, let sic such pleasant scoffes and jestes, as that the parties so scoffed at, liked thereof better, than otherwise if they had bene let alone. For if it be so, that other men, even with their praises many times offend us, why should we not greatly admire the seemly grace and wittie conceit of those, whose scoffes and jests yeeld pleasure and contentment to those who seeme to be mocked therewith? This is the reason why *Sopater* having one day invited us to a feast at *Patrae*, mooved this talke and saide: Gladly would I know what kinde of questions and interrogatories they were? of what nature, and what the manner of them was? For no small part it is (quoth hee) of our entercours and mutuall communication one with another, to have the dexteritie and skill, both to know and also to observe the decencie and congruities in such pleasant demands and facetie jests. Nay, (quoth I againe) a great matter it is; but marke, if *Xenophon* himselfe as well in the Symposium or banquet of *Socrates*, as in those of the Persians, giveth not us to understand what was the order thereof: and if you thinke good that we enter into this discourse, and that I should adde somewhat of mine owne. First and formost this is mine opinion: That men are well enough pleased to be asked those questions, to which they are able easily to answer, and namely of such things as they have best skill and experience of: for if one should demand of them, matters that they know not, either they be offended and grieved if they can say nothing unto them (like as those who are called upon to pay debts which they are not able to discharge) or if they bring out crosse, impertinent, and untoward reasons, they are much troubled, dismayed, and perplexed: whereas if their answers be not onely readie and easie, but also wittie and exquisite, so much the more pleasant and agreeable it is to the answerers: now those I count wittie and exquisite, which carie somewhat with them, that the common multitude knoweth not, or which few men have heard of; such as be the points of astrologie or logicke, especially if they be well seene therein, and have as it were the habit of them: for everie man is well pleased and appaied, not onely in practising and spending his time, as *Euripides* saith:

*Whereby he may quit him so well,*

*That even himselfe he may excell.*

but also in reasoning and discoursing of that wherein he hath best skill and knowledge. For men take great contentment when they be asked questions of that which they have an insight in, and knowing so much by themselves as they doe, loth they bee to have their cunning hidden, and to be thought of others ignorant therein: therefore those who have bene great travellers, and failed in many voyages, cannot be better pleased, than when others enquire of them as touching farre countries, strange seas, the manners, fashions, and customes of barbarous nations; and you bring them to bedde (as they say) when you put them to discourse of such matters; as being most willing to describe and draw upon a table the coasts, places, straights, gulfs by which, and through which they have passed, reputing it to be no small fruite of all their travels, and an easement of the paines which they have endured: in one word, looke whatsoever we of our selves are wont, without the demand and intreatie of others to recount and relate willingly; the same are we desirous that men should aske us questions of, and howsoever we seeme to doe pleasure unto the company, yet indeed we have much adoe to hold, and with great paine forbear to utter the same. This is a very maladic incident to failers and fea-men above all other. As for those that be of a more modest and civill nature, they are desirous

to be asked those things, which they are willing enough to utter, but that they be abashed, and in reverent regard of them that be present, passe over in silence those exploits which they have performed happily and with great honour: and therefore good olde *Nestor* in *Homer* did very wittily, who knowing well the ambitious humour and desire of glory which was in *Ulysses*, spake unto him:

*Ulysses, flower of noble chivalrie,  
Renowned knight, and all the Greeks glorie,  
To tell us now, I pray (good sir) begin,  
How ye both twaine didt those great battles win.*

- 10 For unwilling men are to heare those who praise themselves or recount their owne worthy acts, if there be not one or other of the company that is urgent with them so to do, or unlesse they be in manner forced unto it; and therefore they are glad, when they be asked concerning the ambassages wherein they have bene imployed; of their acts during the time of their government of State, especially, if they have performed some great and honourable service therein; and withall, perceive that it is not for envie nor malice, that such demands be made: for otherwise, such as be envious or malicious, weepe at those reports, and be ready to put them by, not willing to give place unto any narrations, nor to minister occasion or matter of talke, that may turne to the honor and commendation of him that delivereth the same. Moreover, this is another meanes to gratifie those who are to answer; namely, to move question of such things as they wot well enough, that their enemies and ill-willers are loth to heare. And verily, *Ulysses* said to *Aleinu* in this wise:

*A minde you have, to heare me tell  
my woofull miserie;  
Thas I might still sigh, groane and waille  
for my hard destinie.*

Even so *Oedipus* in *Sophocles* answered thus to the company of the Chorus:

*A woe it is (my friend) to raise and wake  
A griefe that long hath slept and rest doth take.*

But contrariwise, *Euripides* wrote after this sort:

*How sweet is it to one for to remember  
The paine now past, which sometime he did suffer!*

- 30 True it is, but not to those who still wander, and (being tossed in trouble some seas) do yet meet with new misfortunes and calamities. But to returne againe to our former purpose; we ought to beware how wee demand ill newes: for men are grieved at the heart, to make report either how they have bene cast & condemned in any sure, or that that they have buried their children, as also, how infortunate they have bene in their traffique either by sea or land: contrariwise, they are well pleased to rehearse and repeat often times (if they be asked the question) how they have had good audience given them from the publike place of making orations, and obtained whatsoever they there demanded; how they have bene saluted and honourably entreated by some king and potentate; and how, when other passengers and travellers with them, have bene plunged into dangers of tempest or thieves, they onely escaped the perill: and for that in the bare relation, they seeme (as it were) to enjoy the thing it selfe, they can not be satisfied with the discourse and remembrance thereof. Also men rejoice and take delight, when they be asked as touching their friends, who are fortunate and doe prosper in the world, or of their owne children that profit well in learning and good literature, or have sped well in pleading causes, or otherwise are of credit in the court and with princes: semblably, they be very well content and pleased, to be moved for to relate, and so are more willing to make report of the losses or shameful disgraces of their enemies and ill-willers, whom either they have overthrowen at the barre and caused to be condemned, or who otherwise are fallen into any disastrous calamity: for of 40 themselves, loth they are, unlesse they be required thereto, to recount such things, lest they might be reputed malicious, and glad to heare of other mens harmes. A hunter loveth very well, to have speech and question mooved unto him as touching hounds; so doth a champion, and one that delighteth in bodily exercises, to be trained to talke of gymnasticall pastimes and seats of activitie, like as an amorous lover, of such persons as be faire and beautifull; a devout and religious man discourseth ordinarily of dreames and visions that hee seeth, and what good successe he hath had in his affaires, by observing the direction of oracles, the pretiges of augurie and omens, by doing sacrifice, and generally, by the grace and especial favour of the gods: and

such be well pleased for to be asked questions as concerning these matters. As for old folke, you shall do them a high pleasure, if you put them to it, for to make any discourse whatsoever; for although the narration concerne them nothing at all, nor be to any purpose, yet if one aske them questions, he tickleth them in the right veine, and scratcheth them (as they say) where it itcheth. This appeareth by these verses out of *Homer*:

O Nestor, *sonne* of Neleus,  
tell me in veritie,  
How Agamemnon, elder *sonne*  
of Atreus, did die?  
Where was his younger brother then,  
for Menelaus might?  
Lives he or no, in Achaea,  
at Argos citie bright?

Here you see *Telemachus* asketh him many questions at once, giving him occasion and matter of much speech, not as some do, who restraining olde folke to answer to the point only which is necessarie, and driving them within a narrow compasse, bereave them of that which is their greatest pleasure. In sum, they that would rather please and delight, than displease and trouble, propose such questions, the answers whereunto, draw with them, not the blame and reproofe, but the praise and commendation; not the hatred and spight, but the amitie and good will of the hearers. And thus much may serve for interrogatories and demands.

As touching scoffes and merry jests, he that knoweth not how to use and handle them with dexterity, good discretion and skill, according to time and place convenient, I would advise him altogether to forbear them. For like as if men be in a slippery or ticklish ground, they that touch them never so little in running by, are able to overturne and lay them along; even so at the table, when we are drinking, in danger we be upon every small occasion in the world offered (by a word not well placed, or untowardly delivered) to fall into choler; yea, and many times, more moved we are with a scoffe or pleasant gibe, than with a reprochfull taunt or meere slander; for that ordinarily it is scene; that a reprochfull word proceedeth from a violent fit and sudden passion of anger, even against his will that giveth it; but we take more to the heart, a mocke or scornfull flout, as coming from a prepened malice, and a voluntary minde set upon mischief, without any necessity at all enforcing thereto; and to be brieve, we are in generall more offended with those that can give a drie frumpe in good sadnesse, than such as cast forth words at random. And this we hold for certaine, that every one of such frumps birteth fore, and seemeth to be an artificiall kinde of reproch devised and thought upon of purpose before-hand: as for example, if one call another salt-fish-monger, by that word he gives him openly a plaine reproch; but if he say, we remember well, that you are wont to wipe or snuffe your nose upon your sleeve, he mocks him covertly, and calles him as much by craft. The like frumpe it was, that *Cicero* used to one *Octavius*, who supposed to be an African borne: for when he seemed to excuse himselfe that he heard not what *Cicero* spake: And that is a great wonder (quoth *Cicero* againe) considering that you have an hole bored through your eare. And *Aelantius* being flouted and made a mocking stocke by a comedie maker: You have (quoth he) given me a reward that I never deserved, and paid me that which you owed me not: such gibes therefore and mocks as these, doe prick the worse, and much like to arrowes with barded heads, sticke longer by them who are thus flouted; and for their wittinesse more delight those who are present, than for any other pleasure else, seeme to winne credit unto him that useth them. For to speake a truth, a scoffe or mocke is nothing else but a covert and dissimuled reproch for some fault, according to *Theophrastus*: so as he that standeth by and heareth it, can make construction thereof, and ghesse how to adde more unto it, as knowing and beleiving all the rest behinde to be true. For no doubt he that laugheth heartily as if he were tickled, when he heareth the answer of *Theophrastus* to one, who being named for a common stripper of men out of their garments, as they went late in the streets, asked him if he went forth to supper? Yes mary doe I (quoth he) but I meane to lie there all night: such an one (I say) seemeth to confirme the opinion of the fore-said crime, for which the partie was suspected; inso much as hee that mocketh and scoffeth impertinently and without grace, possesse the standers by and hearers with malice, as if they insulted over the partie mocked, and were abettors themselves, as being glad that hee is thus derided or reproched. But in that noble citie *Lacedaemon*, among other good disciplines in times past there taught, men learned also to jest at others without biting, and not to count themselves

selves nipped, when themselves were jested with: and if peradventure a man shewed himselfe discontented with some broad jest, and could not beare it well, the other partie presently gave over and was quiet. How then can it chuse but be an hard matter, to finde that kinde of scoffe or taunt which may content and please the party mocked: considering that it is a point of no small arte, nor meane experience and dexteritie to be able for to discern and judge, what it is that in the fear of mockerie which is not offensive. Howbeit to open a little the meanes thereto: First and formost it seemeth, that as these jestes touch and sting them most who know themselves to be guilty of those vices for which they be mocked: so the same frumps if they note men for such fautes of which they be most cleere, must needs in some sort be pleasant and acceptable unto them upon whom they be discharged. Thus *Xenophon* jesting pleasantly with that foule and illfavoured fellow above all others, all hairy, and as rough as a beare; said: He was the minion and love of *Sambaulas*. You may call to minde also *Quintus* a good friend of ours, who when he lay sicke in bedde, complained that his hands were cold: But you brought them warm enough not long since (quoth *Aufidius Modestus*), when you returned out of the province: which quippe being banded upon him, an honest and upright pretor, ministred occasion of mirth, contentment, and laughter; the same if it had light upon a proconfull that had used extortion or oppression, would have beene a girding and nipping reproch. This is the reason that when *Socrates* chalenged *Critobulus* the fairest young man then living, to compare their beauties, jested merrily with him, but scorned and derided him not. And *Alcibiades* himselfe was pleasantly disposed with *Socrates*, when he said: That jealous he was of faire *Agathon*. And even kings and great princes verily otherwhiles joy and take pleasure when they be spoken of, as if they were poore or private persons; like as one of these pleasaunts or parasiticall jesters, when king *Philip* seemed to gird and scoffe at him, returned upon him againe this word: What sir, know you not who I am, do not I keepe & mainteine you? For in reproching such persons with vices and defects, as which are not in them, they doe after an oblique manner give them to understand, and doe make knowne the vertues and perfections which they have. But heere wee must take heed and be sure in any wise, that such good parts they be indued withall indeed, and without all doubt; otherwise that which is spoken to the contrary, buzzeth in their heads, and breedeth a doubtfull suspicion in themselves: for hee that faith unto a rich and great monied man, that he will be his broker, and helpe him to some usurers of whom he may take up money at interest; or unto a sober person, who drinketh nothing but water, that he is a drunkard, or hath taken his wine too liberally; or he that calleth a liberal man, well knownen to spend magnificently, and ready to please all men, a base mechanickall kumbix, and a pinching peni-father; or he who threatneth a famous advocate or counsellor at the barre, who hath a great name for lawe and eloquence in all courts of plea, and besides for policie and government is in high authority, that he will bring him to a non-sure, or overthrow him judicially, he (I say) ministreth matter of good spirit and laughter unto the partie whom he seemeth so to chalenge or menace. After this manner king *Cyrus* became very lovely and gracious, by his singular courttesie, in that he would seeme to provoke his familiars for to performe those feats, wherein he knew himselfe inferior to them: and when *Ismenias* the famous musician plaid one day upon his lute, during the time of sacrifice, but so, as for all his musick there appeared no good prognosticks and signes, in the beast sacrificed, testifying that the gods were propice and well pleased; another mercenary minstrell, taking the instruments in his hand, kept a foolish and ridiculous tooting, full untowardly; and when all the company there in place reprooved him for it: To found an instrument (quoth he) to the contentment of the gods, is an heavenly gift: whereat *Ismenias* laughed a good, and made this answer: You take the matter amisse (quoth he) and cleane contrary, for whiles I plaid, the gods tooke so great pleasure in my musick, that they intended it onely, & had no while to accept of the sacrifice; but when thou beganest to meddle with the pipes, they received it immediately, and made haste to be ridde and delivered of thy absurd piping. Moreover, they who call such things as bee simply good, by odious and opprobrious names, and that in mirth, if they doe the same with a good grace; please more than those who directly praise the same; like as they doe nippe and bite more shrewdly, who give reproches under faire and lovely tearmes, as for example: such as call wicked persons, *Aristides*, or base cowards, *Achilles*: after the manner of *Oedipus* in *Sophocles*, when he said:

Creon who had beene always kind  
And even at first her faithfull friend.

Another kinde there seemes to be of ironicall praise, opposite unto the former; namely, when

semblant is made of blame and reproofe : which maner of praise, *Socrates* often used ; as for example, when he called the indolitious meane that *Antisthenes* practised to reconcile men and make them friends, as also to gaine good will and fauour, broakage, bauds-craft, enticement and allurements : as also, for that the philosopher *Crates*, had a good grace with him wherefoever he went, and because he was ever welcome, honourably received, and kindly entertained into what house soever he came, he was commonly named *Thyrepanacles*, as one would say ; The doore-opener. Furthermore, that mockerie is pleasing, which goeth in maner of a complaint, and yet carrieth with it a kinde of gratitude and thankfulness. Thus *Diogenes* speaking of his master and teacher *Antisthenes*,

*Who clad me in a cloake thred bare,  
And made me ragged clothes to weare;  
Who forced me to beg my food,  
And houselesse for to wake abroad.*

For nothing so good a grace it would have had, in case he had used these words: **H**e who made me wife, contented, and happy. Also a certaine Laconian, who making a shew, that he blamed the warden of the publicke stoupes and halles of exercises, for giving him wood so drie, that it would not so much as smooke, said thus of him : Here is one, by whose meane we can not be suffered to shed a teare. Semblably, if a man should call him who kept a bountifull table, and feasted him every day, a tyrant and taker of men perforce, saying withall, that he would not suffer him to eat his meales at home, nor to see so much as once his owne table in so many yeeres space : like as if one should complaine of the king, for making him, of a poore man, rich and wealthy, in these tearmes : That he had laied wait for him to doe him a shrewd turne, in taking from him his repose and leasure, and bereaving him of his sleepe and naturall rest : or as if some man having gathered plenty of good wine, turning againe upon the gods *Cabeiri* in *Aeschulus*, should accuse them, for that they had caused him to have scant of vineger in his house, as they themselves in boud and mirth had menaced to doe. For these kinds of covert, secret and diffinuled praises, enter farther, carrying with them a greater grace and more effectually by farre, in such sort, as they who in this wise perceive themselves to be commended, are nothing offended thereat, nor take it in ill part.

Over and besides, it behooveth him who would give a frumpe or scoffe with a grace and dexterity, to know also the difference of a defect and imperfection, from studies and recreations whereto men are given : as namely, to distinguish betwene avarice or a contentious humour, and the love of musicke or of hunting : for as men can not abide to be twit by those, so they are very well contented to be scoffed at for these ; as *Demosthenes* the Mitylenæan plaied in this kinde pleasantly upon a time : for when he went to visit a familiar friend of his, who loved musicke passing well, and was much addicted to play upon the harpe ; after that he had knocked at the doore, and the other hearing that it was he, willed him to come in : But first (quoth he) I would have you tie up your harpe. But the parasiticall bassau of king *Lysimachus*, contrariwise rejoined in this sort as rudely and uncivillly ; for when the king had throwen a counterfeite scorpion made of wood, upon his coat, wherewith he first started and was afraied ; but when he perceived once that the king was merrily disposed, and did but make sport, came upon him againe : And I will fright you, sir king, as well (quoth he) come on, and give me a talent from you. The like regard ought to be had, and the same difference made, as touching the defects or imperfections of the bodie, at least-wise in many of them : for if men be jestled at, for that they be long-nosed and hawked, or otherwise have short snut-noses, they will but laugh thereat. Thus one of the minions of *Cassander*, was nothing offended with *Theophrastus*, when he said : I wonder at your eyes, that they fall not a finging, and make good musicke, considering your nose is set and hidden within them : meaning, that he had a nose so flat and sunken. To his head. And *Cyrus* seeing one with a long nose and hawked withall, willed him to marrie a wife with a short and flat nose : For then (quoth he) you would match well, and make a good medly betwene you. But so in case we jest and make game at those whose nostrils stinke, or who have a strong and unfavoury breath, they take it not well at our hands, but are displeased. On the other side, if they be plaied upon for their bald-pates, they can abide it well enough, and put it up ; but say a man mocke them for having but one eye or being blinde, they will not endure it. In deed king *Antigonus* would jest pleasantly with himselfe for the losse of one eye ; as namely, when there was presented unto him a supplication written in great capital letters : Why (quoth he) a man may see this, if hee were starke blinde, and had never an eye in his head : but *Theophrastus* of *Chios* his prisoner, he

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put to death, for that, when one to comfort him, came and said : That if the kings eyes once had a sight of him, he should be pardoned, and save his life : Why then (quoth he) God have mercie upon me ; for impossible it is for me to escape death : which he said, because king *Antigonus* had but one eye. *Leo* the Bizantine, when *Pasades* objected unto him his bleered eyes, saying : Mine eyes before with looking upon yours : Goe to (quoth he) you twit and reproch me, for a bodily infirmity that I have, and never looke your selfe upon a sonne of your owne, who carrieth the vengeance of God upon his shoulders : now this *Pasades* had a sonne, who was crumpled shouldered and bunch-backed. Likewise *Archippus*, who in his time bare a great sway in *Athens*, as being one of the oratours who led the people, and ruled the State, was very angry with *Melan-thius*, who alluding to his bunch backe, and scoffing thereat, used these tearmes : That he did not stand manfully upright in the defence of the citie, but \*stouped and bended forward, as if he had suffered it likewise to leane, reele, and sincke downward. And yet some there be, who can carrie these broad jets patiently, and with good moderation ; as one of the minions of king *Antigonus*, who having craved of him a talent in free gift, and seeing that he was denied it, required at the kings hands, that he would allow him a good strong guard to accompanie him : For feare (quoth he) that I be forsaid by the way, and rifled by him, who enjoined me to carrie a talent of silver at my backe. See, how men are diversly affected in these externall things, by reason of the inequalitytie of their maimes, some after one sort, and some after another. *Epanimondas* sitting at a feast with his companions and colleagues in government, dranke wine as sharpe as vineger, and when they asked him why he did so, and whether it made for his health ? I know not that (quoth he) but well I wot this, that good it is to put mee in minde of my home diet. And therefore in casting out of jests and pleasant taunts, regard would be had of mens natures and dispositions, for that some have broader backs to beare scoffes than others : and endeavour we must, so to converse with men both in boud and in earnest, that wee offend no person, but be acceptable unto all.

As for love, a passion very divers it is, and passing variable, as in all other things, so in jests and gibes especially : for that some will take offence and be soone angry, others will be merrie and laugh it out, if they be touched in that point ; and therefore above all things the opportunitie of the time would be well observed : for like as when a fire is newly kindled and but weak 30 at the first, the wind will put it quite out, but when it hath gotten strength and burneth forth, it maintaineth, feedeth, and augmenteth the flame ; even so love, when it is a breeding, and whilst it lieth secret, and sheweth not it selfe, quickly taketh displeasure and offence against those that discover it ; but when it is once broken forth, and is made apparent and known to all, then nourished it is, and taketh delight to be blown (as it were) and enflamed more with scoffes and merry jestes : and that which pleaseth lovers best is this, when they be jestled with, in the presence of those whom they love, and namely in love matters, otherwise not ; and if the case stand so, that they be woonderfully enamoured upon their owne wedded wives, or young laddes by the way of honest and vertuous love, then they joy exceedingly, they glory and take a pride, in being scoffed at for the love of them. Heereupon *Archippus* being upon a time in 40 his schoole ; when one of these professed lovers and amorous persons, chaunced in communication, to give him these words : Me thinks this that you have said toucheth none of this companie ; replied thus and said : No more than you are touched and mooved ; and withall, shewed him a faire and well favoured youth in the prime of his yeeres sitting by him. Furthermore, good regard and consideration would be had, who they be that are present and in place, for otherwhiles, men are disposed to take up a laughter at merry words which they heare among friends and familiars, who would not take it well, but be offended thereat, if the same were delivered before wife, father, or schoole-master, unlesse it were some thing that agreed verily well with their humour : as for example, if one should mocke a companion of his before a philosopher, for going bare-footed, or sitting up at his booke all night long, studying and 50 writing ; or in the presence of his father for being thriftee, and spending little ; or in the hearing of his owne wife, that he cannot skill of courting and loving other dames, but is altogether devoted and serviceable unto her alone : thus *Tigranes* in *Xenophon*, was mocked by *Cyrus*, in these tearmes : What and if your wife, should heare say that you made a page of your selfe, and caried your bedding and other stuffe upon your owne necke ? She shall not (quoth he) heare it, but be an eye witness thereof, and see it in her presence. Furthermore, when they who give out such merrie taunts as these, be partakers therein, and in some sort doe include themselves withall, lesse blame-worthy they are, and nothing so much to be reprieved ; as for example : when

\* Cræcæmelion.





*I count all one, to make of\* beanes, our meat,  
As if the heads of parents we did eat.*

As who would say, that the Epicureans by this word *zoogon*, that is to say, beanes, meant ar-  
bitrarily and covertly, egges, because that the breeding of yong, or conception, in Greeke, is  
called *zoogon*, as if there were no difference at all, but they thought it all one to eat egges and the  
living creatures which lay them. Now if I had alledged my dreame unto them, for my defence,  
as the very cause of mine abstinence, certes, mine answer would have seemed more absurd  
and ridiculous, than the dreame it selfe, especially, to this Epicurean: and therefore I stood  
not greatly upon excusing my selfe unto the said *Alexander*, playing upon me so merily, but  
suffered him to feed and mainteine that opinion conceived of me: for surely, a pleasant man he  
was, honest, civill, and well learned. Howbeit, he tooke occasion hereupon, to set on foot  
that doubtfull question of the egge and the bird, which had busied and amuzed the heads so  
much of great naturallists, and searchers into the causes of naturall works, and namely to know,  
whether of the twaine was before? Whereat *Sylla* our familiar friend said: That with this little  
question of the henne and the egge, as with a small lever, screw, or such like engine, we shaked  
the great frame and weightie fabricke of the generation of the whole world, and therefore wil-  
led him to surcease and proceed no farther, to speake thereof. But when *Alexander* laughed  
at it, and made no more reckoning of it, than of a ridiculous question of no importance, nor  
consequence at all depending thereof; my sonne in law *Firmus* began in this wise: I must here  
borrow (quoth he) the indivisible elements of *Epicurus*, and make use of those mores or atomi  
of his; for it be true which he supposeth and laith for a ground: That small principles should  
alfoord beginning to great bodies; it soundeth by all likelihood to great reason, that the egge  
was before the henne: for as farre forth as by our senses we are able to judge, it is more simple,  
whereas the henne is a body mixt and compounded; and to speake in generalitie, the principle  
or element is ever first: the seed is a principle, and the egge full of seed, and lesse, than the chicke  
or living creature that is hatched of it: for like as the progresse and proceeding unto vertue is of  
a middle nature, betwene the first disposition and the final habit and perfection thereof; even  
so it should seeme, that the egge is a certaine proceffe and advancement forward of nature, tend-  
ing to make a living creature of the seed disposed thereto: moreover, as in a beast or such a liv-  
ing creature it is commonly said and received, that the arteries and veines bee formed first;  
semblable, good reason there is to hold, that the egge was before the bird, as the continent  
before the thing contained within: for so it is with very arts, which make the first draught of  
their works grossly without forme & fashion; but afterwards give distinct figure and shape to  
every part thereof, according to that which *Polysetus* the famous imager was wont to saie:  
That their workmanship in potterie was then most difficult and hard, when the claie and the  
finger naile mette together: that is to say, when the worke was at the point to be finished: and  
therefore it standeth well to good reason, that the matter yeelding and obeying but slowly unto  
nature at the beginning, when she mooveth and frameth by little and little, produceth at the  
first, rude lumpes and masses, not as yet brought into shape and fashion, such as egges be; but  
as the frame grow to receive the impression of some forme, there is afterwards wrought out and  
framed a living creature within: for like as there is engendered first a grub, which in time grow-  
ing hard by reason of drinelle, cleaveth and openeth in the end, and putteth forth another lit-  
tle winged flie, which we call *Nympha*, before it is a perfect bee; after the same manner, the egge  
here is the first subsistent matter of generation; for necessarie it is, that in every change and  
transmutation, that must precede and have a being first, which is to be alkered and turned into  
another: see you not how cankers or caterpillers are bred in trees, and wormes in wood, ei-  
ther by the purefaction, or concoction of humiditie? and will any man deny that the said moi-  
sture went before; and that by order of nature, that which ingendred is more auncient than that  
which is ingendered? for as *Plato* saith: The matter in all things that breed, serveth in stead  
of mother & nourice; and that is to be counted the matter, whereof the thing is composed, & con-  
sisteth which is bred. And now for that which remaineth (quoth he, and therewith he laughed)  
I will sing unto those that be skillfull and of understanding, one holy and sacred sentence, taken  
out of the deepe secrets of *Orpheus*, which not onely importeth thus much, that the egge was  
before the henne, but also attributeth and adjudgeth unto it, the right of elderhip and priori-  
ty of all things in the world: as for the rest, let them remaine unspoken of in silence (as *Herodo-  
tus* saith) for that they be exceeding divine and mysticall; this onely will I speake by the way:  
That the world containing as it doeth, so many sorts and sundry kinds of living creatures, there

is not in manner one I dare well say, exempt from being ingendered of an egge, for the egge  
bringeth forth birds and fowles that flie; fishes an infinite number that swimme; land creatures,  
as lizards; such as live both on land & water, as crocodiles; those that be two footed, as the birds;  
such as are footlesse, as the serpents; and last of all, them which have many feet, as the unwinged  
locust. Not without great reason therefore is it consecrated to the sacred ceremonies and my-  
steries of *Bacchus*, as representing that nature which produceth and comprehendeth in it selfe  
all things.

When *Firmus* had discoursed in this wise, *Senecio* opposed himselfe and said: That the last  
similitude and comparison which he brought, was that, which first and principally made against  
him: For you marke not *o Firmus* (quoth he) how ere you were aware, you opened the world  
like a gate, as the proverbe saith, even upon your selfe; for that the world was before all other  
things, as being most perfect, and reason would, that whatsoever is perfect, should precede the  
unperfect; the entier and found goe before that which is wanting and defectious; and the whole  
before the part, for that there can be no parcell, but the whole thereof went before: for no man  
useth to speake thus: The seeds-man, or the egges henne; but contrariwise we say: The mans seed,  
and the hennes egge, as if both generative seed and egge did succceed and follow them, taking  
their owne generation in them first, and afterwards paying againe (as it were a debt unto nature)  
a successive generation from them: for need they have of that which is proper and familiar un-  
to them, and thereupon are endued with a naturall desire and inclination, to produce such ano-  
ther thing as that was from whence they came: and hereupon it is, that seed is thus defined, to  
be a geniture or thing bred, having need and desire of new generation. Now there is nothing  
that either standeth in need or hath an appetite to that which is not, or hath no being: and wee  
may plainly see, that egges have their totall essence and substance, from that compact knot and  
composition which is gathered within the body of a living creature, and faileth herein onely,  
that it hath not such organs, instruments, and vessels as they have; which is the reason that  
you shall never finde written in any historie, that an egge was ingendered immediately of the  
earth; for even the poets themselves doe say: That the egge out of which sprang *Cassio* and  
*Pollux*, fell from heaven; whereas the earth even at this day produceth many comel and per-  
fect creatures; as for example, mice in *Aegypt*, and in many other places, serpents, frogges, and  
grasshoppers, by reason that the principle and puissance generative, is infused and inserted in-  
to it from without. In *Sicilie* during the time of the Servile warre, much carnage there was, and  
a great quantitie of blood shedde and spilt upon the earth, many dead bodies corrupted and pu-  
trified above ground, lying unburied; by occasion whereof, an infinite number of locusts were  
engendered, which being spread over the face of the whole island, spoiled and destroyed all the  
come in the countrey: all these creatures therefore are bred and fedde of the earth; and of their  
nourishment they yeeld a generall superfluitie, apt to ingender the same kind, and that is called,  
seed; and for to be discharged thereof, by meanes of a certaine mutual pleasure, the male and  
the female match and couple together; and so some according to their nature, breed and lay  
egges; others bring forth yong ones alive; whereby it is evidently seene, that the primitive  
generation came first and immediately from the earth, but afterwards, by a certaine conjunction  
of one with another; in a second sort, they breed their yong. In summe, to say that the egge  
was before the hen, is as much as if the matrice were before the woman; for looke what relation  
there is betwene the said matrice and the egge, the semblable hath the egge unto the chicken  
that is ingendered and hatched within it. So that, to demand how birds were made when there  
were egges, is all one, as to aske how men and women were created, before the naturall parts and  
general members of the one sex and the other were made? And verily the members for the  
most part, have their subsistence and being together with the whole; but the powers and facul-  
ties come after those members; the functions succceed the faculties, and consequently, the ef-  
fects or complements follow upon the said functions and operation: now the accomplished  
worke or perfection of that generative facultie in the naturall parts, is the seed or the egge: so  
that we must of necessitie confesse, that they be, after the generation of the whole. Consider  
moreover, that, as it is not possible that there should be concoction of meats or any nourish-  
ment, before the living creature be fully made and compleat, no more can there be any feed or  
egge; for that both the one and the other, is made by certaine concoctions and alterations:  
neither is it seene, how before the full perfection of a living creature, there should be any thing  
that hath the nature of the superfluitie or excrement of nutrition; and yet I must needs say, that  
naturall seed otherwise, in some sort, may go for the principle and beginning of life; whereas the  
egge

egge in no proportion answereth to such a principle, for that it hath not a subsistence first, nor any reason or nature of the whole, because it is imperfect. And hereupon it is, that we never say, that a living creature had any being or subsistence, without an elementarie beginning: but we affirme, that there was a principle of generation, to wit, the power or facultie generative, by which the matter was transmuted, and wherein there was imprinted a generall temperature; and that the egge afterwards, is as it were a certain supergeneration, much like unto the bloud & milke of a living creature, after nourishment & concoction: for never shall you see an egge engendred of mud; for that an egge hath the generation and concretion within the bodie onely of a living creature; whereas there be an innumerable sort of creatures procreated & bred of mud and within mud. And to seeke no further for allegation of other examples to prove this, there be taken every day an infinit number of eeles, and yet never saw any man one eele, either milter or spawner, or that had any row in it. And more than that, if one let out all the water forth out of the poole, and cleanse it from all mud and mire, yet after the water is returned thither againe into the place, there will be eeles soone engendred. And therefore we may conclude necessarily, that whatsoever in generation hath need of another, can not chuse but be after it; and that which otherwise may be of it selfe, and without the other, must of necessitie precede and go before in generation: for this is that prioritie wherof I speake. To prove this, marke how birds do build and make their nests before they lay egges; women also provide cradles, clouts, beds, and swadling-clothes for their little babes, before they cry out, or be delivered; and yet you will not say (I trow) that either the nest was before the egge, or the swadling cloths before the infant. 20 For (as *Plato* saith) the earth doth not imitate a woman, but a woman the earth; and consequently, all other females. And very like it is, that the first procreation out of the earth, was performed entire, and accomplished by the absolute vertue and perfection of the Creatour, without need of such instruments, vessels, or secondines, which nature deviseth now, and frameth in parents, by reason of their imbecillity and weaknesse.

### THE FOURTH QUESTION.

*Whether wrestling were of all the exercises and games of prize, most ancient or no?*

WE made a feast in the honour of *Soficles* the Coronean, for joy of the victorie which hee obtained at the Pythicke games, over all other poets. And when the time drew neere at hand, wherein the Gymnicke matteries and feats of activity, were to be performed; the greatest talke was at table, as touching the wrestlers; for that many of them resorted thither, and those the most renowned champions of all *Greece*. In our company was *Lysimachus*, one of the agents or procuratours of the high commissioners, called *Amphictyones*, who moved speech, and said, how not long before, he heard a Grammarian say: That wrestling was the most ancient combat of all those exercises that were named Gymnicke, for that they were performed by men naked; and he added moreover: That the very name thereof in Greeke, imported no lesse; for *milus*, aludeth neere unto *milus*, which is as much as [of olde] or [in times past.] And it may seeme 40 (quoth he) that ordinarily, the things that be moderne and newly devised, borrow the names imposed upon those that be of more antiquity: for so we say that *aulo*, that is to say, the fluit or hautboies, is turned, borrowing the tearme of *aulos*, which is a psalterie or stringed instrument: and we call even at this day, *aulomata*, i. the playing upon the pipe or hautboies, by the name of *κενυματα*, that is to say, striking with the fingers, which no doubt is a tearme fetched from the harpe or lute. And even so, the very place where they do exercise, who performe all feats of activitie naked, is named *milusces*, of *milus*, that is to say, wrestling; which (no doubt) was a denomination given to it at the first, and time out of mind, howsoever it be retained still, and extendeth to other exercises invented since, & taken up long after. Then began I, and said: That this argument and testimonie, was not sufficient to conclude thereupon: For admit (quoth I) that *Palaestra* was derived of *milus*, which signifieth wrestling, yet it was not because of all others it was most 50 ancient, but for that it is the only exercise that requirith cley, called *milos*; dust also and *ceroma*, which is a composition of oile and waxe, wherewith wrestlers be anointed. For surely, in these places, called *Palaestra*, there is practised neither running a race, nor fist-fight or combat with buffets, but only wrestling, called *milus*, and *Paneration*, wherein they go to it with hand and foot, yea, and by the very teeth and all: for that in these two exercises, the champions lie along other-whiles, and wallow in the dust and mire, named *milos*. And evident it is, that *Paneration* is

is a mixt exercise of wrestling and fist-fight. Again: What likelihood or reason is there (quoth I) that wrestling, which of all combats is most wittie and artificiall, should likewise be of greatest antiquitie? for need and necessitie produceth that first, which is simple, plaine, and without arte; performed rather by fine force and maine violence, than by rule and method. When I had thus delivered my conceit, *Soficles* seconding my words: True it is (quoth he) that you say, and the better to confirme your opinion; it seemeth unto me, that *milus* is derived of the verbe *μιλῶν*, that is to say, to overthrow or lay one along by craft and deceit. Nay rather (quoth *Philinus*) it tooke the name of *milus*, that is to say, the flat palme of the hand, because this part especially of both the hands is most employed by them that wrestle; like as those, who 10 go to buffets, use their two fists or hands clutched together; wherupon, that maner of fight is called *πύγμη*, that signifieth, a fist; and the other, *μῆλον* of *milus*, that is to say, the broad palme of the hand. Howbeit, forasmuch as the poets use this verbe *παλῶν*, for *πύγμη* and *μῆλον*, that is, to firew and sprinkle dust, which wee wrestlers for to practise more than any other championions, it may be very well, that the word *milus*, was derived from *παλῶν*. Consider yet moreover (quoth he) how the curriers or runners in a race, do all that lies in them, to leave their concurrents a great way behind, and be as farre before them as possibly they can; those also that fight at buffets, though other-whiles they be very desirous to buckle and close together, yet the wardens and judges of the games will not permit them once to catch hold: but we see that wrestlers onely doe clasp about, and imbrace one another with their armes; and the most part of 20 their striving one against another, whether it be performed by taking hold either directly or indirectly, by tripping, by coping and tugging, doe all bring them together, and enterlace them: so that it is not unlike, that by reason they approach so as they do, and be neere one to another, their wrestling was first called *milus*, of *milus*, which signifieth neere at hand.

### THE FIFTH QUESTION.

*What is the reason that Homer among the combats of prize, setteth alwaies in the first place: The fight at buffets; in the second, wrestling; and last of all, running the race?*

WHEN these words had passed to and fro, and after that wee had commended *Philinus*, *Lysimachus* began againe, saying: And which of all the games of prize should a man say was first performed? The race or carriere, as at the Olympique solemnities; for heere at the Pythique games, the manner is to bring in certaine champions at every severall game or plaie: first boies to wrestle, and after them, men-wrestlers also; then those that performe fist-fight, one after another; and likewise the champions called *Panerationists*: but there, after that children have achieved all their combats, the men grown were called in: Mary, this I would have you to consider well (quoth he) whether *Homer* hath not done very expressely, to shew the order which was observed in his time? for alwaies in his poemes the fight with fist among all the Gymnick combats, standeth first; wrestling second; and the running of a course last: Heere- 40 at *Craes* the Thesalian, woondring (as if he had beene amazed) O *Hercules* (quoth he) what a number of things are we ignorant of! but I beseech you, that if you have readily under your hand any of his verses, you would not thinke much to call them to our remembrance, and recite them: Why (quoth *Timon* then) it is well known in manner to all the world, and none there is but his eares resound againe with this; that in the honorable funerals of *Patroclus*, the same order of combats was precisely observed; and the poet keeping the same order still, and never missing it, hath brought in *Achilles* speaking unto good *Nestor* in this manner:

Heere father old, I give to thee,  
This gift of meere gratiuee:  
For now with fist thou maist not fight:  
To wrestle still thou hast no might:  
Thou canst no more the javelin lance,  
Nor in the race thy selfe advance.

And anon he inferreth the aged grey-beard, answering with along traine of words, as the maner is of these old folke, after this sort:

The time was when at buffet fight,  
the prize I wonne in field,

*And with my fist made Clitomedes  
for Oenops sonne, to yeeld:  
Ancaeus the Pleuronien  
in wrestling gave me place,  
And Iphiclus by foot-man'ship,  
I overranne in race.*

Afterwards in another place he speaketh of *Ulysses*, challenging the Phaeocians to combat in this wise:

*At buffets dry with good hard clutched fist,  
At wrestling, or at running if you list.*

But of *Aleinos* making a kinde of excuse, and in sort condemning himselfe, in these words: 10

*At buffets hard we fight not well,  
Ne yet in wrestling doe excell:  
But swift of foot, and light we are,  
And runne a course with you we dare.*

Thus you may see his order, he changeth not upon any occasion or occurrence presented, neither rashly, and as it came into his head, now in one sort, and then in another; but following from point to point, as it were by a certaine rule and prescript, what was the use in those daies, and what was done then; he keepeth himselfe to the same method, according as they likewise observe still in the said aunient order. After that my brother had finished his speech, I said: 20 That in mine advice he had spoken very well and truly to the point; but yet for all that, I could not conceive the reason of the said order: and some other were there present, who thought it unlikely, and were not perswaded, that in case of combat and achieving feats of activitie for victorie, either fighting with fists, or wrestling, should goe before running: and therefore they requested me to search farther into the matter, and to fetch the reason thereof from the verie original: whereupon I set in hand presently and *ex tempore*, spake to this effect: That I thought all these combats to be the very representations and exercises of warfare; for proofe whereof, the custome was and is at this day, after that these combats be performed, to bring into the place a foot-man in compleat harness, and armed at all pieces, as it were to witnesse, that this is the end whereunto tend all these exercises of the body, the contentions also and amulations, 30 for to gaine the prize, and the priviledge graunted unto the victours when they returned with triumph to those cities where they were borne; namely, to make some breach in the wall, and to throw downe some part thereof: the mystery and meaning whereof is thus much; that the wall of a citie serve in small stead, if there be no men in it who are able to fight, and know how to winne the victorie. In *Lacedaemon* they that once had gained the prize at these sacred and crowned games; by a speciall priviledge of honour, were allowed a certaine place in the battell, to be raunged neere unto the kings person, and there to fight: and of all living creatures, there is none but the horse onely that can obtaine the crowne in such games; for that he alone of all beasts, is by nature framed, and by discipline trained to accompany men in battels, and with them to fight: now if this be true, and to the purpose: VVe observe moreover (quoth I) 40 that the first and principall worke of those who fight in the field, is to strike the enemy; and to ward his blowes; the second is, when they be come to clofe and to grapple with hand-gripes, to thrust and assay how to overturne and lay one another under-foot: which by report was the vantage, that our countymen being well practised in the feat of wrestling, had over the Spartans, at the battell of *Leuctra*, whereby they overthrow them, & bare them to the ground: this also was the cause that *Aeschylus* the poet in one place, speaking of a valiant warrior, nameth him:

*A wrestler stout, and tried in field,  
To fight it out with sword and shield.*

And *Sophocles* in one of his tragedies speaking likewise of the Trojanes, reporteth thus much of them in these rearmes: 50

*They love great horses for to sit,  
as valiant men at armes;  
Bowes banded at both ends they bend,  
and draw with strength of armes;  
They fight so close, they catch such hold,  
and gripe fast with hands twaine,*

That

*That in their wrestling, all their shields  
resound and ring againe.*

The third is this, when all is done, either to flie and runne away apace, if they be vanquished, or else to follow hard in chase, if they be conquerors. By good right therefore, the fight with fists goeth first; wrestling followeth in the second place; and running commeth in the last; for that buffeting representeth the charging of the enemy, and the avoiding of his recharge; wrestling may be compared with the violent bukkling and conflict pell-mell in the medly; and by running, they learne how to pursue, or to escape by good footman'ship.

## THE SIXTH QUESTION.

*Why the pine, sapine, or pitch tree, and such other as yeeld rosin, will not abide to be grafted in the cutcheon, or by way of inoculation.*

*Soclarus* feasting us upon a time within his orchards, which were well watered, and environed all about with the river *Cephus*, shewed unto us trees carrying armes and branchs of sundry sorts, after a very strange manner, and all by the meanes of a kinde of grafting in the budde, called inoculation: for there saw wee olive boughes growing out of lentiske or mastick trees; pomgranats out of myrtles; oakes there were which put forth faire perries or pearce-trees; and 20 plane-trees that admitted and adopted apple trees; figge-trees also which were grafted with mulberry impes and cions; other mixtures there were besides of wilde plants, so ramed and made gentle, that they bare frute: whereupon some other of the guests began to jest and be merry with *Soclarus*, saying: That he nourished certaine kinde of beasts, more monstrous than the fabulous Sphinges or Chimeraes of the poets. But *Craton* proposed this question: What the cause might be, that those trees onely which be oileous and full of rosin, admit not any such mixtures and compositions? For never shall you see pine tree that beareth the nuts, cypres tree, pitch tree or sapine, to maintaine or feede the graffe of a tree different in kinde. Then *Philo*, there is (quoth he) one maxime or principle held among the learned, and the same confirmed by the experience of husbandmen: That oile is an enemy to all plants; and there is not a readier way 30 to kill what tree soever a man will, than to rubbe or besmeare it with oile; like as bees also by that meanes are soone destroyed: so it is therefore, that all those trees which have bene named, are of a fattie substance, and have a soft and unctuous nature, inso much as there distilleth and droppeth from them pitch and rosin; and if a man make a gash or incision in any of them, they yeeld from within, a certaine bloudie liquor or gumme, yea, and there issueth from the torch staves made of them, an oileous humour, which shineth againe, because they are so fattie & unguinous: This is the reason why they will not joine and be incorporate with other trees, no more than oile it selfe be mingled with other liquors. When *Philo* had done with his speech, 40 *Crato* added thus much moreover: That in his opinion, the nature of their rinde or barke, made somewhat for the said matter; for the same being thinne and drie withall, yeeldeth neither a sure seat & socket as it were to the impes or buds (which there dies) to rest in, nor meanes to get sappe and nutriment for to incorporate them; like as all those plants which have barks verie tender, moist, and soft, whereby the graffes may be clasped, united, and foddered with those parts that be under the said barke. Then *Soclarus* himselfe said: That whosoever made these reasons, was in the right, and not deceived in his opinion; to thinke it necessarie, that the thing which is to receive another nature, should be pliable and easie to follow every way; to the end, that suffering it selfe to be tamed and overcome, it might become of like nature, and turne the owne proper nutriment, into that which is set and grafted in it. Thus you see, how before wee sow or plant, we eare and turne the earth, making it gentle, soft, and supple, that being in this manner wrought to our hand, and made tractable, it may be more willing to apply it selfe, for 50 to embrace in her bosome whatsoever is either sowed or planted; for contrariwise, a ground which is rough, stubborne, and tough, hardly will admit alteration: these trees therefore consisting of a light kinde of wood, because they are unapt to be changed and overcome, will admit no incorporation with others: And moreover (quoth hee) evident it is, that the stocke in respect of that which is set and grafted into it, ought to have the nature of a ground which is tilled; now it is well knownen, that the earth must be of a female constitution, apt to conceive and beare; which is the cause that we make choise of those trees for our stocks to graffe upon, which are most frutefull; like as we chuse good milch women that have plenty of milke in their

brests, to be nurses for other children besides their owne, who we put unto them: but we see plainly, that the cypresse tree, the sapin, and all such like, be either barren altogether, or else beare very little frute: and like as men and women both who are exceeding corpulent, grosse and fatte, are for the most part unable either to get or beare children; for spending all their nourishment as they doe in feeding the body, they convert no superfluitie thereof into generall seed; even so, these trees employing all the substance of their nouriture to fatten as it were themselves, grow indeed to be very thicke and great; but either they beare no frute at all, or if they doe, the same is very small, and long ere it come to maturitie and perfection: no marvell therefore that a stranger will not breede or grow there, whereas the owne naturall issue thriveth but badly.

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## THE SEVENTH QUESTION.

*Of the stay-sharp fish, Echeneis.*

**C**Harmonianus the Trallicen, upon a time when divers and sundry small fishes of all sorts were set before us, shewed unto us one with a long head, and the same sharpe pointed, and told us that it resembled very much the stay-ship fish, called thereupon in Greeke *Echeneis*, and he reported moreover, that he had scene the said fish, as he sailed upon the Sicilian sea, and marvelled not a little at the naturall force and propertie that it had, so sensible in some sort to stay and hinder the course of a shippe under saile, untill such time as the mariner who had the government of the prow or foredecke, espied it sticking close to the outside of the ship. upon the relation of this strange occurrent, some there were in place at that time, who laughed at *Charemonianus*; for that this tale and fiction, devised for the nonce to make folke merry, and which was incredible, went currant with him, and was taken for good paiment: againe, others there were, who spake very much in the defence of the hidden properties, and secret antipathies or contrarieties in nature. There you should have heard many other strange passions and accidents; to wit, that an elephant being enraged and fraike mad, becommeth appeased immediately, upon the sight of a ram; also, that if a man hold a branch or twig of a beech tree close unto a viper, and touch her therewith never so little, she will presently stay and stirre no farther; likewise, that a wilde bull, how wood and furious soever he be, will stand gently and be quiet, in case he be tied to a fig-tree; feimblably, that amber doth remove and draw unto it all things that be drie and light withall, save onely the herbe basil, and whatsoeuer is besmeared with oile; Item, that the Magnet or Lode stone, will no more draw iron, when it is rubbed over with garlick: the proofe and experience of which effects, is well knowne, but the causes thereof difficult, if not impossible to be found out. But I for my part, said: That this was rather a shift and evasion, to avoid a direct answer unto the question propounded, than the allegation of a true cause pertinent thereto: for we daily see that there be many events and accidents concurring, reputed for causes, and yet be none; as for example, if one should say or beleve, that the blowing of the withie called Chast-tree, causeth grapes to ripen, because there is a common word in every mans mouth.

*Loe how the chast-trees now do flower,  
And grapes was ripe even at one hour.*

or that by reason of the fungous matter scene to gather about the candle-snuffes or lamp-weeks, the aire is troubled, and the skie overcast; or that the hooking inwardly of the nailes upon the fingers, is the cause, and not an accident, of the ulcer of the lungs or some noble part within, which breedeth a consumption. Like as therefore, every one of these particulars alledged, is a consequent of divers accidents, proceeding all from the same causes; even so I am of this mind (quoth I) that one and the same cause, staith the shippe, and draweth the little fish *Echeneis* to stick unto the side thereof; for so long as the ship is drie, or not overcharged with moisture soaking into it, it stands with great reason, that the keele glideth more smoothly away, by reason of the lightnesse thereof, and cutteth merrily thorow the waves, which yeeld and give way willingly unto it, all the while it is cleane and void of filth; but after once (by being long drenched and soaked in the water, it hath gotten about the keele a deale of mosse, reits, kilpe, and tangle, wherewith it is overgrown and furred; then the wood of the said keele or bottoome, becommeth more dull, and not able to cut the waves so easily; and the water beating upon the mosse and filth there engendred, resteth there still, and passeth not so easily away. The mariners therefore,

therefore, seeing this, use to cleanse the sides of the ship, and to scrape off this mosse, reits, and such like baggage, from the planks and ribbes thereof, unto which it is like that the said filth will cleaveth, as being a matter soft and tender: so that we may very well thinke, that by reason of it, as the principall cause the ship is staied, and that it is not a consequent or accessorie of that which causeth the slownesse thereof.

## THE EIGHTH QUESTION.

*What is the cause that the horses named Lycospades, be more courageous, and fuller of stomacke, than others?*

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**S**ome are of opinion, that these horses Lycospades tooke their denomination of certaine strough and hard bits, called in Greeke, *Lycei*, by meanes whereof, being so stomakefull otherwise, and hard to be ruled, they were wont to be tamed and restrained: but my father, who was not a man so prompt and ready of speech as others be, and given to speake rashly and without advisement, howbeit, one who had not the least skill in horfmanship, and loved alwaies to keepe the best horses that might be come by, said: That those horses (which being but colts) were set upon and assaulted by wolves, and yet were rescued, escaped the danger of them, proved good mettall, and swift of pace; and there upon were named Lycospades. And for that many approved this reason of his, and gave testimonie with him that he spake a trueth, occasion was ministred thereby, to search into the cause thereof; and namely, how and by what reason such an accident as this might make horses more generous and better spirited; and verily, the most part of the company there present, were of opinion, that the said, occurrent bred cowardlife in horses, rather than stomacke and generositie; and so, by reason that they became timorous thereby, and apt to be frighted upon every occasion, therefore their motions were more quicke and lively; like as other wild beastes also, when they chance to be entangled within net and toile: but I my selfe inferred, and said: That it would be well and thorowly considered, whether it were not cleane contrary to that which appeared at the first sight, and which they opined; for colts become not more swift and fleet of foot for avoiding the perill of being worried and devoured by wolves that set upon them, but rather, if they had not bene nimble and full of courage before, naturally, they could never have gotten away cleere, as they did, from the wolfe; no more than *Ulysses* proved a wise man, because he avoided the danger of that giant *Cyclops Polyphemus*; but for that he was by nature prudent and wise, he found meanes to save himselfe.

## THE NINTH QUESTION.

*What is the cause that the flesh of those sheepe which have bene wolfe-bitten, is tenderer, but their wooll more subject to breed lice and vermin, than others?*

**V**Pon the former discourse of horses, inferred there was a speech also, concerning sheepe that had bene bitten by the wolfe; for that it is a received opinion, that this biting of theirs maketh their flesh more delicate in the eating, but their wooll apt to engender lice. As for the reason that my sonne in law *Patrocles* yeilded, as touching the sweetnesse of their flesh, it seemed to be true; for thus he argued: That this beast by meanes of his biting, causeth the flesh to eat more short and tender, for that his breath is so ardent and fierie-hot, that it is able to resolve and digest within his stomacke, the hardest bones that be; which is the reason (quoth he) that such flesh as the wolfe hath bitten, is sooner mortified, and doth putrifie more quickly than others: may, for the wooll we were not so well resolved, as supposing that the same did not breed lice, but rather draw them forth, and let them out to be scene, by a certaine incision or absterfitive faculty that hath, as also through the hear thereof, whereby it openeth the pores of the skinnie; which propertie is infused into the wooll of a sheepe, by meanes of the tooth and breath of the wolfe, which altereth not onely the flesh, but even the very wooll and shag-haire of the beast which he hath worried and killed. And this reason is confirmed by experience and example; for it is well knowne unto us all, that hunters, butchers, and cooks, sometimes with one blow knocke downe their beasts, and lay them along some dead and breathlesse in a moment; others againe, hardly and with much ado are able to kill them, after many a stroke; and that which yet is more wonderfull than so, some of them insufe together with the axe or knife of iron, where-



with the beast is flaine, such a qualitie that the same putrifieth presently, and will not last sweet one day to an end: others againe, though they be not longer about the killing of a beast than the other, yet the flesh of beasts so flaine, doth not so soone corrupt, but continueth sound and sweet a good while after. And that true it is, that the varietie & alteration occasioned by the sundry sorts of death, and killing of beasts, passeth and extendeth as farre as to their very skin, their haire, nailes, houfes and clees; *Homer* himselfe doth testifie, who of their hides and skinnes is wont thus expressely to write:

*The hide it was of sturdy ox.*

*Sticked with knife, or brain'd by knocks.*

For the skinn of those beasts which die not for age, nor of long maladie, but are killed violently, is more firme, fast, and tough: and true it is, that of those tame-living creatures, which have beene bitten by wilde beasts, the houfes, clees, and nailes turne blacke, the haire theadeth, and the skinnes become riveled, soone teare and fall a pices.

## THE TENTH QUESTION.

*Whether our unceftors did better, who when they were at supper, fedde every man by himselfe, and knew his owne part, than we in these daies who eat our vittuals all together, and feed in common?*

**T**hat yeere wherein I was head magistrate in my countrey, and bare that provostship whereof the yeere tooke name, most of the suppers were private repasts of sacrifices, where every man had his part and portion set out; wherewith some were woonderfully well pleased; but others blamed the manner thereof, as uncivill, unfociable, and illiberal, saying: That so soone as the garland or coronet of the beast sacrificed was taken off his head, and laid down, we ought to reduce our tables to the ancient order and old accustomed fashion againe: For it is not I suppose (quoth *Agias*) for to eat and drinke simply, that we invite one another, but for to eat and drinke together for companie and good-fellowship; whereas this parting and division of flesh and other viands into portions, doth abolish all communication & societie, making indeed many severall suppers, and many men to sit at supper apart, but not one supping with another, or fellow-guest in one messe; when every man takes as it were from the butchers stall his own joint of meat, or a piece of flesh by just waight, or at a certaine size, & so sets his part before him. For is not all one I pray you, and what difference is there I would faine know, to allow each one of the guests at table his owne cup by himselfe, & to fill every man his Congious or gallon of wine, yea, and to allow him his table apart from others? like as by report the linage of *Demophon* sometime served *Orestes*, and so to bid them drinke without any regard or heed of others? what diversitie (I say) is in this, and the manner of these our daies; namely, to set before every man his lofe of bread, and piece of flesh, for to feed by himselfe, as it were at his owne manger? Surely all the oddes is, that we have no commaundment to keepe silence and say never a word when we are at our meat, as those had who interteined and feasted *Orestes*, and verily even this haply ought to provoke and bring us that are met, to the communion & participation of all things at a feast or banquet; namely: that we talke there one to another, that we be partakers together of one song of a minstrell wenchs musicke delighting us all, and one as well as another, with her playing upon a psalterie or pipe, & singing thereto. Moreover, that standing cup of amitie and good-fellowship, which is set in the very middles of the company, for to drinke out of it, one to another, and that without any limitation or restraint to certaine bounds, standeth as it were a source and lively fountaine of love and good will, and hath no other stint and measure, but the thirst and disposition of every one, to drinke at his pleasure: not like to this most unjust distribution of bread and flesh to every one, which masketh it selfe with a false colour of equality among those who are unequal; for even that, as even and equall as it seemeth 50 and in manner all one, is too much for him that needs but a little, and too little for him, who hath need of much. Like as therefore (my good friend) he is a ridiculous and foolish leech, who to many and sundrie patients, sick of diverse and different diseases, exhibith and giveth medicines just of one weight, and exactly of the same measure; even so were the matter of a feast woorthy to be laughed at, who having invited to his table sundry persons who are not hungry or thirsty alike, would enterteine and serve them all indifferently after one order, measuring the equalitie of his distribution, by proportion arithmetical and not geometrical. True it

it is (I confesse) that we go or send al of us to the taverne for to buy our wine, by one & the same measure just, which is allowed and set downe by the publicke State; but to the table, every man brings his owne stomacke, the which is filled not with an equal quantitie of meat or drinke, to all others, but with that which sufficeth each one. As touching those \* banquets that *Homer* speaketh of, wherein every man had his part cut out; to what purpose should we bring them hither from military discipline, and the custome of a campe, to the manner and fashion of these daies? but more reason it is that we resolve and propose unto our selves, for to imitate heerein the humanity & courtesie of those in old time, who highly honored, not only those who lodged ordinarily, and made their abode with them under one roufe, but also such as drunke of the same 10 cuppe, eat of the same meat, and fedde out of one dish with them, inasmuch as they enterteined and revered their societie in all things. Away therefore (I pray you) with those thort meales and slender pittances of *Homer*; which in my conceit are somewhat too scant and pinching, and as a man would say, over hungry and thirtie; as having kings and princes for the masters and makers of them, who be more sparing of their purses, and looking more neerely to their expences, than those good hostes and keepers of ordinaries in *Italy*; as who being in armes and arranged in batell rale, and ready to joine in conflict with the enemy, could remember precisely, how many times each one of their guests who dined or supped with them, tooke the cuppe and dranke. Yet commend me to those banquets and feasts which *Pindarus* writeth of, for surely they are much better; in which, as he saith:

*Full oft a prince, and person honorable,*

*Among them all, sit at some stately table.*

For why? such feasts had the communication of all things together: and verily this was the fellowship and knot indeed of true friends, whereas the other was a distraction and separation of persons, who made semblance to be the greatest friends, and yet could not agree and communicate together, so much as in the feeding of one dish of meat. *Agias* had good audience given him, and was well commended for the reasons which he alledged; and then we set one of the company to come upon him in this manner, saying: That *Agias* thought it very strange and was offended that he should have an equal portion which others allowed him, carying as he did before him such a grand-paunch; and in truth, a great eater he was, and given exceeding much to belly cheere: For a common \* fish (as *Democritus* was wont to say) hath no bone. And yet this is that (quoth I) which especially and above all induceth us to the use of these portions, and not without good reason, considering that we acknowledge fatall necessitie by the name of 30 justice: for according as the old lady *Jocasta* laid in *Euripides*:

*That which uniteth cities and great States,*

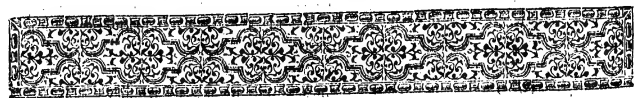
*And knits in league confederates.*

is nothing els but equalitie: and nothing in the world hath so much need thereof, as the societie and communion at the table; which is grounded upon nature, and law of necessitie, nothing so much; the usage whereof, is not newly taken up, nor drawn in, as needful, by opinion of others, but right necessarie in it selfe. For at an ordinary or common repast, where folke feed together 40 of one dish; if one eat more than his fellowes, certes, he that can not plie his teeth so fast, and cometh short of him, doth maligne and repine at him for it; like as that galley which maketh way, and skuddeth before others, is spighted by those that come dragging behinde. For mee thinks it is not an auspicate beginning of a feast, nor agreeable to amitie and good fellowship, to snatch or lurch one from another, to have many hands in a dish at once, to crosse one another with the elbow, and to be with hand or arme in his fellowes way, striving a vie who should be more nimble with his fingers, but surely, all these fashions are absurd, unseemely, and (as I may say) dog-like, ending many times in snarling, jarring, bitter taunts, revilings, and cholerick brawles, not onely of the guests one with another, but also against those that furnished the board, and the masters of the feast. But so long as these wise sagies, *Justice* and *Astaxos*, that is to 50 say, portion and partition, had the ordering of suppers, dinners and great feasts, dispensing and setting out an equalitie for to maintaine the societie there, a man should never see any ill-trall or mechanical disorder: for in those daies, suppers were called *Antis*, guests at the table, *Antipais*; the carvers serving at the table, *Antipais*; not that they divided, cut out, and gave to every one their due portions. And verily, the Lacedaemonians had among them certaine distributors of flesh, whom they called *Xepodaimas*, and those were no meane men of the vulgar sort, but principall persons of the State, inasmuch as *Lysander* himselfe was by king *Agis* ordained and created *Xepodaimas* in *Afus*, that is to say, an officer for the distribution of flesh-meat in the campe there.

That is to say, if a fish be eaten in common, it is not known how much one hath eaten of it more than his fellowes, by the bones lying upon his trencher.

there. But downe went these distributions and diuisions, when superfluities and costly cares crept into feasts, and were served up to the table; for they could not then (as I suppose) so hand-  
 somely cut into even portions, their pie-meats, pasties, tarts, marchpaines, and such devices of  
 pastrie; they might not so well diuide ther flaws, custards, egge-pies, florentines, and daintie  
 puddings, going under the name of *οὐροὶ* and *εὐφροῖναι*, ne yet their blamangers, jellies, chaw-  
 dices and a number of exquisit saues, and delicate junkets of all sorts, sent up and brought to  
 the boord: but being overcome with the pleasure of such lickorous viands, they tooke to them,  
 an abandoning of all equall distribution of parts and portion. A good argument and sufficient  
 prooffe hereof, a man may gather by that which we see yet at this day; namely, that the feasts at  
 sacrifices, and some publike banquets, are made after the antique maner, and served up by even  
 portions, to shew the simplicitie and pure feeding that was in olde time: so that I suppose, who-  
 soever would bring up againe that distribution, should withall revive the ancient frugalitie.  
 But some man haply, will say: That where private proprietie is in place, publike communie  
 is turned out of doores. True indeed, in case that propriety reitene not equalitie: for it is not  
 the possession of a mans owne, and of a thing in proper; but the usurping of another mans  
 right, or the covetous encroching upon the common, that hath brought iniustice, debate and  
 trouble into the world; which enormities, the lawes do repress, by the bounds, limits and mea-  
 sure of that which a man holdeth as proper & his owne, and thereupon they be called in Greeke,  
*νομος*, of the power and authoritie which they have to part equally unto every one, that which was  
 common among all. For otherwise, if you admit not this distribution, you have no more rea-  
 son to allow that the master of the feast should deale among his guests, to every one his coronet  
 or chaplet of flowers, nor his owne place to sit at the boord. Nay, if any one peradventure, bring  
 with him his fliee-friend and sweet-heart, or a minstrell wench to play and sing, they mult be  
 common to him and his friends, that all our goods may be huddled pell-mell, and made so, that  
 is to say, one, according as *Anaxagoras* would have all. But if it be so, that the challenge in pro-  
 prietie of this or that, is no trouble nor hinderance of societie and communion, considering,  
 that other matters of principall regard and greatest importance, are allowed for to be common,  
 (I meane conference in talke, courtesies and kindeesses of drinking one to another, and mutual  
 invitings) let us surcease and give over, thus to despise, discredit and condemne this laudable  
 maner of portions, and the lotterie in partage, which (as *Euripides* saith) is the daughter of  
 Fortune, which giveth not the prerogative and preeminence, either to riches, or credit and no-  
 bilitie; but going (as it happeneth) alwell one way as another, cheereth up the heart of a poore  
 and abject person, and depriveth no sort and condition whatsoever, of libertie; but by acquain-  
 ting the great, wealthy and mighty person with an equalitie, so as he repine not and grudge  
 thereat, reclaimeth him unto temperance and moderation.

\* *nuptes*, some  
 sayes, that is,  
 the loud: o-  
 thers sayes,  
 that is, silence.



## THE THIRD BOOKE OF SYMPOSIAQUES OR BANQUET QUESTIONS.

### The Contents, or Chapters thereof.

1. Whether it be commendable to weare chaplets of flowers upon the head, at a table.
2. Of the true, whether it be her or cold by nature.
3. What the reason is, that women be hardly made drunke, but old men very soone.
4. Whether women by their naturall constitution and complexion, be hotter or colder than men.
5. Whether wine of the owne nature and operation be colde.
6. Of the meet time and season to company with a woman.

7. What

7. What is the cause that Most or new wine, doth not easily overturne the braine or make one drunke.
8. How it cometh to passe, that those who be thorow drunke indeed, are lesse troubled in the braine, than such as are but in the way unto it, and as it were halfe drunke.
9. What is the meaning of this old proverbe: Drink five or three, but never four.
10. Why flesh-meats corrupt and purrifie sooner in the moone shene, than in the sunne.

## THE THIRD BOOKE OF Symposiaques or banquet-questions.

### The Preamble or Proëme.



*Imonides* the poet, & *Sofinus Senecio*, seeing upon a time a stranger at the table, sitting still, and saying never a word, when others were merrie, and dranke liberally, said unto him: My friend, if you be a foole, you doe wisely; but if you be a wise man, you do as foolishly: for it is a great deale better for a man (as *Heraclius* was wont to say) to hide his own folly and ignorance, than to discover the same; and that wis is a very hard matter to doe; when we are set upon a merrie pinne, and drinking wine lustily: for as the poet *Homer* said very well:

*Wine makes a man, were he both wise and grave,  
 One while to sing, and otherwhiles to rave:  
 To sport, to play, and laugh full wantonly  
 To leape, to dance, and foos it demity:  
 Words to let fall, and secrets to reveale  
 Which better were to hold in and conceale.*

In which verses, the poet if I be not deceived, doth covertly and by the way imply a difference betweene liberall drinking of wine, or being somewhat cup-shotten, and drunkennesse indeed: for to sing, to laugh, and to daunce, be ordinarie matters, incident to those who have taken their liquor well, and be heat with wine, but to prate like a foole, and \* blurt out that, which bet-  
 ter had beene kept in, be the effects and acts of such as have powred in too much, and be stark  
 drunken; and therefore *Plato* said: That the affections and conditions of the vulgar sort of men  
 be discovered farre better in drinking than otherwise. And when *Homer* saith:

*They had not yet by wine and words,  
 Knowne one another at their boards.*

it is evident that he wist well enough of what power and force wine was; namely, to engender and multiply many words: for surely, we come not to the knowledge of men and their maners, by eating and drinking, in case they eat and drinke and say nothing. but for that drinke induceth and draweth on folke to speake much; and much speech detegeth and layeth open many things, which otherwise would have lien hidden; therefore by good consequence, drinking together giveth a great light and knowledge one of another: and therefore wee may by good right re-  
 proove *Aesop* in this wise: What meane you good sir, to seeke for those windowes, through which one man might looke into another, and see into his neighbours heart? for wine fet-  
 teth the doores wide enough open unto us, and bewraith what we have within; not suffering us to be still and silent, but taking from us the maske and visour of all dissimulation, and shewing what we are in our colours, as if we stood in no feare at all of law, but were a great way out of the sight of our tutors and schoole-masters that kept us in awe. Wine then is enough for *Ae-  
 sopus*, for *Plato*, and for all those who search after meanes to discover the secrets of mens hearts: but such as desire not in this wise to trie and sift one another, but rather be willing to converse together with mirth and recreation, these men (I saie) are wont to propose questions, and en-  
 tertaine such discourses when they meet; whereby the ill parts and imperfections of the soule, if they have any, may be concealed and hidden; but the best gifts thereof, and that which fa-  
 voureth most of civilitie and erudition, may appeere and gather more strength, as being con-  
 ducted and trained by the guidance of learning and good literature, to the faire meadows and  
 pleasant pastures wherein the taketh delight to walke and feed; in which regard, I have for your  
 sake

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lake compiled this third Decade of banquet-questions and table discourses; whereof the first concerneth chapters of flowers:

## THE FIRST QUESTION.

*Whether it be commendable to weare upon the head, flower-garlands at the table.*

There was a solemne feast or banquet one day at *Athens*, which *Eraton* the professour in musicke made, having sacrificed before unto the muses: and to this feast he invited many; among that faire company, certaine questions were mooved, and much good talke passed 10 as touching chapters of flowers: for by occasion that after supper was done, many such coronets of all sorts went about, and were dealt round among the guests; *Ammonius* beganne to scoffe and laugh at us; who in stead of laurell chaplets, did set upon our heads rose-garlands: For that (quoth hee) these chaplets of flowers be girlish gaudes, and more meet indeed for plaifull maidens and yoong women, than the assembles of philosophers and learned men: And I wonder much at this *Eraton*, that reprooving and detesting as he doth the flower-works, (as it were in long and musicke, and blaming faire *Agathon*; who by report first brought up the Chromaticke musicke; and when he set out the tragædie of the Mysians, inserted it within other plaine musicke) should himselfe as you see, heape upon us at this feast a number of wreathes, garlands, and chaplets of flowers, filling the whole place with sweet smells and plea- 20 sant favours; and when he shutteth up the dore of our eares, against the delights and pleasures of musicke; should in the meane while set open the windowes of our eies and noses, giving entrance thus another way unto them, for to pierce unto the soule, making a coronet and garland to serve for pleasure and loosenesse; which should be a matter of religion and devotion: and yet I must needs say, that these oiles and perfumes yeeld a sweeter favour, and more exquisite pleasant odour, than these chaplets of flowers, that fade and wither in the hands of the garland-makers: howbeit, for all that, they are allowed no place in banquets and assembles of philosophers; being an idle pleasure, not accompanied with any profit whatsoever, nor arising from any source of naturall necessitie or appetite: for like as those who come as shadows to a feast, being brought thither by some friends, who are themselves bidden guests, according to 30 the ordinarie custome of courtesie, finde themselves no lesse welcome and well intreated than the rest, as *Arctodemus* was, whom *Socrates* brought with him to a feast, which *Agathon* made; but if one goe of himselfe presumptuously, not invited nor brought thither by a friend, he is wel worthy to have the dore shut upon him: even so the pleasures of eating and drinking, which necessitie hath invited, and doe accompanie the naturall appetite, are admitted and have place among wise men: but as for others which come before they bee bidden or sent for, and presse to get in without any reason, onely upon a disordinate lust, are to be kept out and excluded.

At these words of *Ammonius*, certaine yoong men who were not as yet acquainted with his fashions, being distained and abashed; began gently, and without more ado to plucke off 40 and pull in sunder their coronets. But I (who knew well enough that he mooved this talke onely by way of exercise, and because hee would draw us on to debate the matter) addrest my speech unto *Tryphon* the physician in this wise: Of all loves *Tryphon*, be so good as lay downe as wel as we, this goodly chaplet which you have upon your head, so fragrant & flagrant, both of most beautifull red roses; or else declare presently as you are wont to do many times among us, the profit and commodity that this flower garland doth conferre unto our drinking of wine so freely. But here *Eraton* interposing himselfe: How is it ordeined (quoth he) that we receive no pleasure free, but it bringeth alwaies one salarie or other with it; & ever as we solace our selves and be merie, we are displeased and discontented, in case wee enjoy not our delights with some hire or reward to cheere the same: as for sweet smells or costly oiles, and compounding perfumes, 50 there is some reason peradventure why we should be somewhat ashamed of them; as also for the rich purple colours we may be abashed, in regard of the affected curiositie and superfluous expence thereof; which we are to reject, as being odours deceitfull, and fraudulent robes and colours; as sometime said that barbarous Scythian: but colours and odours such as be naturall, are simple, pure, and sincere, not differing in that respect from the fruits of trees which nature bringeth forth. Were it not then meerely folly to gather the juice and liquor of such fruits, and in the meane time reject and condemne the fairer colours and sweet favours, that the

seasons

seasons of the yeere do yeeld, onely for the delightfome aspect and pleasure that floweth (as it were) out of them, if they afford not otherwise some vertue and propertie which is good and profitable? It seemeth rather yet, that we should do the contrary; namely, if it be true as you philosophers say, that nature doth nothing in vaine and for no purpose, that (she hath created and produced these things, for the pleasure onely of man, as serving to no other purpose, but onely for to cheere up our spirits, and content our outward senses. Marke this moreover and besides, how unto trees and plants that prosper and grow, nature hath given leaves, to save and defend their fruits; as also that under their covert, themselves (one while warmed and another while cooled and refreshed) might be able the better to endure the injuries of the aire, and 10 change of seasons. As for flowers, they yeeld no commoditie at all, by their tarrying upon the plant, unlesse it be this, that we have delight in smelling, and pleasure in beholding them for a time, in that there exhale and breathe from them, woonderfull sweet favours; and they discover unto us an infinit sort of tinctures and colours, by no art of man imitable. And therefore, when we strip trees of their leaves, they seeme displeased and grieved thereat; they feele (as it were) the smart and paine of a wound; and there is left (by that meanes) a hurt and fore like an ulcer; and being thus despoiled of their naturall beauty and heart, they are ill-favoured to see to, and deformed: so that we ought not onely (as *Empedocles* saith)

*The leaves of laurel wholly to forbear,  
And to abstaine her branches for to wear.*

20 but also we are to spare the leaves and boughs of all other trees, and not by their deformitie to adorne our selves, robbing and spoiling them perforce and against nature; whereas, if we gather and crop their flowers, we do them no hurt nor wrong at all. For this manner of dealing with them, resembleth vintage and gathering grapes from the vine; and if they be not plucked in due time, they shed of their owne accord, all faded and withered. Like as therefore, they be barbarous people, who clad themselves with the felles and skinnies of sheepe, in stead of making cloth of their wooll, to apparell their bodies; even so me thinks, that they who twist and plait their chaplets, of leaves, rather than flowers, doe not use plants so well as they ought to doe. Thus much I thought good to deliver unto you, in defence of those that make and sell flower garlands; for Grammarian I am not, nor much read in poets, to alledge testimonies out of their 30 poems; wherein it is to be found, that in olde time, the victors who won the prize of the sacred games, were crowned all with chaplets of flowers; howbeit, thus much I will be bold to avouch out of them: That the rose-garland was peculiarly destined and appropriat to the muses; for so I remember, I have read in one place of *Sappho* the poetresse, where speaking of a great rich woman, yet altogether ignorant, unlettered, and a meere stranger to the muses, she writeth thus:

*All dead thou shalt intombed lie,  
And leave no name nor memorie:  
For roses none thou couldst come by,  
That flower on mountaine Pierie.*

But now it is time to heare what testimonie *Tryphon* will alledge out of his physicke. Then 40 *Tryphon* taking in hand the matter in question: Our ancients (quoth he) in alder time, were not ignorant of all these points; neither forgot they to treat thereof, as having exceeding great use of plants in the practise of physicke. For proofe whereof, there remaine at this day, most evident arguments; for the Tyrians offer unto *Agemonides*, and the Magnesians unto *Chiron* (who were the first that professed and practised physicke in those parts) the primies and first gatherings of those herbs and roots wherewith they were wont to cure and heale their patients; and prince *Bacchus*, not onely for the invention of wine (a most puissant medicine, I may say to you, and a pleasant) was esteemed a sufficient physician; but also for that he taught those who were surprised into honour and reputation by that meanes; for that it hath a propertie in nature repugnant 50 and contrary unto the qualitie of wine, repressing and quenching the coldnesse which it hath, the predominant heat thereof, that men might take lesse harme thereby, and so withstand drunkennesse. And verily, the names of certaine plants, do plainly shew the great industrie and careful diligence of our forefathers in this behalf. For the walnut-tree they called in Greeke \**Kasia*, \* Of *Kasia*, the head, or *quercus*, drow-  
linette, *in* the  
\* *reyn*, be-  
nummed-  
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it the ancient coronet of the great gods, meaning thereby the gods terrestrial. Moreover, it is said that the herbe Rue had the denomination in Greeke *ῥυαῖος*, of the vertue which it hath; by reason that with the drinelle wherewith it is endued, and the same occasioned by excessive heat, it is so astringent, that it \* knitteth, bindeth and hardeneth the naturall seed of man, and is a great enemy to conception and women with childe. As for the \* Amethyst, aswell the herbe as the stone of that name, they who thinke that both the one and the other is so called, because they withstand \* drunkenness, miscount themselves, and are deceived; for in trueth, both are named so of the colour: and as for the leafe of the herbe, it hath no fresh and lively hew, but resembleth a \* winelesse weake wine, as one may say, that either drinketh flat and hath lost the colour, or els is much delaied with water. Many other plants may be alledged to this purpose, whose properties and naturall vertues have imposed their names: but these examples may suffice to shew the studious industrie and great experience of our ancetours; in regard whereof, they used to weare chaplets of leaves and flowers upon their heads, whiles they sat drinking wine; for strong wine and pure of it selfe, having begun to assaile the head, and to enervate or enfeeble the whole body, by seizing upon the originall fountaine of the nerves and senses, to wit, the braine, doth mightily trouble and disquiet a man: for the remedie of which inconvenience, the sent and smell, breathing from flowers, serveth marvellous well, for that the same doth defend and fortifie as with a rampar, the castle and citadell (as it were) of the head, against the assaults and impressions of drunkenness. For these flowers, if they be hot, gently untop and open the pores, and in so doing, make way and give vent for the heady wine to evaporate and breathe out all fumosities; and contrariwise, if they be temperatly colde, by closing gently the said pores, keepe downe and drive backe the vapours steaming up into the braine. And of this vertue are the garlands of violets and roses, which by their smell and comfortable sent, repress and stay both ache and heaviness of head. As for the flower of \* Privet, Saffron and Baccaris, that is to say, Our Ladies gloves, or Nard Rusticke, bring them sweetly to sleepe, who have drunke freely: for these send from them a milde aire, breathing after a smooth and uniforme manner; the which doth softly comprise and lay even, the unequall distemperatures, the troublesome acrimonies and disorderly alperities, arising in the bodies of those who have overdunk themselves; whereupon there ensueth a calme, and thereby the strength of the headie wine is either dulled, or else rebated. Other sorts of flowers there be, the odours whereof being spread and disper'd about the braine, purge mildly the pores and passages of the senses and their organs, subtiliat and discusse gently, without trouble and offence, with their moderate heat, the humors and all moist vapours, by way of rarefaction, and warme the braine comfortably, which by nature is of a cold temperature: and for this cause especially those pettie garlands or poesies of flowers which they hung in old time about their necks, they called *coronulae*, as if one would saie summigations, and they anointed all their breast-parts with the oiles that were expelled or extracted from them. *Aleyn* also testifieth as much, where hee willeth to powre sweet oile upon his head that had suffered much paine, and upon his breast all grey; for even so such odors are directed up as farre as to the braine, being drawn by the sense of smellling. So it was not because they thought that the soule, which the Greeks call *ψυχή* was seated and kept residence within the heart, that they called these wreathes and garlands about their necks *coronulae*, as some would have it, for then more reason it had bene to have tearmed them *Embruyantes*, but it was as I said before, of the exhalation or evaporation upward from the region of the breast, against which they were worne pendant: neither are we to wonder, that the exhalations of flowers should have so great force; for we finde it written in records, that the shadow of \* Smilax especially when it is in the flower, killeth them that lie a sleepe under it; also from the Poppie there ariseth a certaine spirit, when the juice is drawn out of it, which they call *Opium*, and if they take no better heed, who draw the same, it causeth them to swoone and fall to the ground: there is an herbe called Alysson, which whofever hold in their hands, or doe but looke upon it, shall presently be ridde of the yexe or painfull hickot; and they say, it is very good also for sheepe and goates, to keepe them from all diseases, if the same be planted along their cotes and folds: the Rose, also named in Greeke *ῥόδον*, was so called, for that it casteth from it an \* odoriferous smell, which is the reason that it quickly fadeth, and the beautie passeth soone away; cold it is in operation, although it carie the colour of fire, and not without good cause; for that the little heat that it hath, flieth up to the superficies of it, as being driven outwardly from within, by the native coldness that it hath.

THE

## THE SECOND QUESTION.

Whether Ivie of the owne nature be cold or hot.

This speech of *Tryphon* we greatly praised: but *Amonius* smiling: It were not meet (quoth he) to kicke and spurne againe, nor to overthrow so beautifull and gay a discourse as this was, embellished and adorned with as great varietie as the garlands whereof it treated, and which he undertooke to defend and mainteine: but that I cannot tell how it is come to passe that the Ivie is enterlaced in the chaplet of flowers, and said by the naturall coldness that it is to have a vertue and propertie to extinguish and quench the forcible heat of new wine: for contrariwise, it seemeth to be hot and ardent, and the fruit which it beareth being put into wine, and infused therein, giveth it power to inebriat and make drunke, yea, and to trouble and disquiet the body by the inflammation that it causeth: by reason of which excessive heat, the very body thereof groweth naturall crooked, after the manner of wood that curbeth and warpeth with the fire; of growth naturall crooked, after the manner of wood that curbeth and warpeth with the fire; alio the snow which oftentimes continueth and lieth many daies upon other trees, flieth in great haste from the Ivie tree; or to speake more properly, is presently gone, thawed and melted, if it chance to fettle upon it, & that by reason of the heat; and that which more is, (as *Theophrastus* hath left in writing) *Harpalus* the lieutenant general under *Alexander* the Great, in the province of *Babylon*, by expresse order and direction from the king his master; endeavored and did what he might to set in the kings orchard there, certaine trees and plants which came out of *Greece*, and such especially as yeelded a goodly shade, caried large leaves, and were by nature cold; for that the countrey about *Babylon* is exceeding hot and scorched with the burning heat of the sunne; but the ground would never entertaine nor abide the Ivie onely; notwithstanding that *Harpalus* tooke great paines, and employed most careful diligence about it: for plant it as often as he would, it dried and died immediately; and why? hotte it is of the owne nature, and was planted in a mould farre hotter than it selfe, which hindered it for taking roots for this is a generall and perpetuall rule: that all excessive enormities, of any object, destroy the force and powers of the subject: in which regard, they desire rather their contraries; in such sort, as that a plant of cold temperature requirith an hot place to grow in; and that which is hot demaundeth likewise a cold ground: and this is the reason, that high mountaine countries, windie, and covered with snow, beare ordinarily trees that yeeld torch-wood and pitch, as pines, cone trees, and such like: And were it not so, my good friend *Tryphon*, yet this is certeine; that trees which by nature are chill and cold, shedge their leaves every yeere; for that the small heat which they have, for very penurie retirith inwardly, and leaveth the outward parts naked and destitute: whereas contrariwise, heat and unctuous fatinesse, which appeareth in the olive, laurell and cypresse trees, keepe themselves alwaies greene, and hold their leaves, like as the Ivie doth for her part. And therefore good father *Bacchus* hath not brought into use and requit the Ivie, as a preservative and present helpe against the encounter of drunkenness, nor as an enemy to wine, who directly calleth wine *uino* and furnameth himselfe *uivivator* thereupon: but in mine opinion, like as they who love wine, if they cannot meet with the liquor of the grape, use a counterfet wine or barley broth, called beere & ale, or els a certeine drinke made of apples, named cydres or els date-wines; even so, he that gladly would in winter season weare a chaplet of vine branches, seeing it altogether naked and bare of leaves, is glad of the Ivie that resembleth it; for the body or wood thereof is likewise writhed and crooked, and never groweth upright, but shuneth out heere and there, to and fro at a venture; the soft fatie leaves also after the same manner grow disper'd about the branches without all order; & besides all this, the very berries of the Ivie growing thick & clustered together like unto greene grapes, when they begin to turne, doe represent the native forme of the vine: and yet albeit the same yeeldeth some helpe and remedie against drunkenness; we say, it is by occasion of heat, in opening the pores and small passages in the body, for to let out the fumes of wine, and suffer them to evaporate and breathe forth, or rather by her heat helpeth to concoct and digest it, that for your sake (good *Tryphon*) *Bacchus* may still continue a physician. At these words, *Tryphon* staid a while, and made no answer, as thinking with himselfe, and studying how to reply upon him. But *Eraton* calling earnestly upon every one of us that were of the younger sort, spurned us forward to aide and assist *Tryphon* our advocate, and the patron of our flower-chaplets, or els to plucke them

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from our heads, and weare them no longer. And *Ammonius* assured us (for his part) that if any one of us would take upon him to answer, he would not recharge againe, nor come upon him with a rejoinder. Then *Tryphon* himselfe moved us to say somewhat to the question. Whereupon I began to speake and said: That it belonged not to me, but rather unto *Tryphon*, for to prooue that *Ivies* was colde, considering that he used it much in physicke to coole and binde, as being an altringent medicine: but as touching that which ere-while was alledged; namely, that the *Ivie* berie doth inebriate, if it be steeped in wine; it is not found to be true; and the accident which it worketh in those who drinke it in that maner, can not well be called drunkennesse, but rather an alienation of the mind and trouble of the spirit; like to that effect which henbane worketh, & many other plants, which mightily disquiet the braine, and transport our senses and understanding. As for the tortuositie of the bodie and branches, it maketh nothing to the purpose and point in hand; for the works and effects against nature, can not proceed from faculties and powers naturall; and pieces of wood do twine and bend crooked, because fire (being neere unto them) draweth and drieth up forcibly, all the native and kindly humour; where as the inward and naturall heat, would rather ferment, enterteine and augment it. But consider better upon the matter and marke rather, whether this writhed-bunching forme of the *Ivie* wood (as it groweth) and the basenesse, beating still downward and tending to the ground, be not an argument rather of weaknesse, and bewray the coldnesse of the bodie, being glad (as it were) to make many rests and staies; like unto a pilgrim or wayfaring traveller, who for wearinesse and faintnesse sitteth him downe and reposeth himselfe many times in his way, and ever and anon riseth againe and beginneth to set forward: in regard of which feeblenesse, the *Ivie* hath alwaies need of some prop or other to stay it selfe by, to take hold of, to claspe about and to cling unto; being not able of her owne power to rife, for want of naturall heat, whose nature is to mount aloft. As touching Snow, that it thaweth and passeth away so soone, the cause is, the moisture and softnesse of the *Ivie* leafe; for so wee see that water dispatcheth and dissolveth presently, the laxitie and spongyous raritie thereof, being (as it is) nothing els but a gathering and heaping of a number of small bubbles couched & thrust together: and hereof it cometh, that in over-moist places, slobbered and soaked with water, snow melteth as soone as in places exposed to the sun. Now for that it hath leaves alwaies upon it, and the same (as *Empedocles* saith) firme and fast, this proceedeth not of heat, no more than the fall and shedding of leaves every yeere, is occasioned by colde. And this appeareth by the myrtle tree and the herbe *Adiantum*, that is to say, Maiden-haire, which being not hot plants, but colde, are alwaies leaved and greene withall: and therefore some are of opinion, that the holding of the leaves, is to be ascribed to an equality of temperature: but *Empedocles* (over and besides) attributeth it to a certaine proportion of the pores, thorow which the sap and nourishment doth passe and pierce equally into the leaves; in such sort, as it runneth sufficiently for to mainteine them: which is not so in those trees which lose their leaves, by reason of the laxitie or largenesse of the said pores and holes above, and the straightnesse of them beneath; whereby, as these doe not send any nourishment at all, so the other can hold and retaine none, but that little which they received, they let goe all at once: like as we may observe in certaine canals or trenches, devised for to water gardens and orchards, if they be not proportionable and equall; for where they be well watred and have continuall nourishment, and the same in competent proportion, there the trees hold their owne, and remaine firme, alwaies greene, and never die. But the *Ivie* tree, planted in *Babylon*, would never grow, and refused there to live. Certes, it was well done of her, and she shewed great generositie, that being (as she was) a devoted vassalle to the god of *Babylon*, and living (as it were) at his table, she would not goe out of her owne countrey, to dwell among those Barbarians: shee followed not the steps of king *Alexander*, who entred alliance, and made his abode with those strange and forren nations, but avoided their acquaintance all that ever she could, and withstood that transmigration from her native place: but the cause thereof, was not heat, but colde rather; because shee could not endure the temperature of the aire, so contrary to her owne: for that which is so sensible and familiar, never killeth any thing, but receiveth, nourisheth and beareth it; like as drie ground, the herbe thyme, how hot soever the soile be. Now for the province about *Babylon*, they say, the aire in all that tract is so foultric hot, so stuffing, so grosse, and apt to stifle and stop the breath, that many inhabitants of the wealthier sort, cause certaine bits or bagges of leather to be filled with water, upon which, as upon featherbeds, they lie to sleepe and coole their bodies.

THE

## THE THIRD QUESTION.

*What the cause is, that women hardly are made drunke, but olde men, very soone?*

*Lorius* one day seemed to marvell, that *Aristotle* having in his treatise of drunkennesse, set downe this position: That olde men are soone surprized and overteene with wine, but contrariwise, women, hardly and very seldome; rendred no reason thereof, considering that his manner otherwise, is not to propose any such difficulties, but hee doth decide and cleere the same. And when he had made this overture, he mooved the companie to inquire into the cause thereof, and a supper it was, where familiar friends were met together. Then *Sylla* said: That the one was declared by the other: for if we comprehend the cause aright, as touching women, it were no hard matter to finde out a reason for old men; considering that their natures and constitutions be most opposit and contrary, in regard of moisture and drinessse, roughnesse and smoothnesse, softnesse and hardnesse: for first and foremost, suppose this of women undoubtedly, that their naturall temperature is very moist, which causeth their flesh to be so tender, soft, smooth, slicke and thinning; to say nothing of their naturall purgations every moneth: when as therefore wine meeteth with so great humiditie, being overcome by the predominancy thereof, it loseth the edge and tincture (as it were) together with the force that it had, so as it becometh dull, every way discoloured and waterish. And verily to this purpose, somewhat may be gathered out of the words of *Aristotle*; for he saith: That those who make no long draught when they take their wine, nor drinke leasurly, but powre it downe at once (which manner of drinking they called *epithymia*) are not so subject to drunkennesse as others; for that the wine maketh no long stay within their bodies, but being forcibly thrust forth, soone passeth thorow: and ordinarily we may observe, that women drinke in this manner; and very probable it is, that their bodies by reason of continual attraction of humours downward, to the nether parts for their monthly termes, is full of many conduits and passages, as if they were divided into chanelles, pipes, and trenches, to draw forth the said humours; into which the wine no sooner falleth, but away it passeth apace, that it cannot settle nor rest upon the noble and principall parts, which if they be once troubled and possessed, drunkennesse doth soone ensue. Contrariwise, that old men want naturall humiditie, their very name in Greeke seemeth to implic sufficiently, for called they are *gerontes*, not because they are *gerontes* *in* *gera*, that is to say, inclining and stooping downward to the earth, but because they are already in their habitude of bodie *gerontes* and *gerontes*, that is to say, earthly: Moreover, their stiffenesse and unpliant disposition, the roughnesse also of their skinnie, argueth their dry nature and complexion: it standeth therefore to good reason, that when they liberally take their wine, their bodies which are rare and spungious within, by occasion of that drinessse, quickly catcheth and sucketh up the same, and then by long staying there, it worketh up into the head, causeth the braine to beat, and breedeth heavinesse there; & like as land-floods gently glide over those fields which be solide & hard, washing them onely aloft, and making no mire & dirt; but if the ground be light and hollow they enter and soke farther in; even so wine being soone caught, and drawne by the drinessse of old mens bodies, staideth there the longer time: and were not this so, yet we may observe that the verie nature of old men admitteth the same symptomes and accidents which drunkennesse maketh. Now these accidents occasioned by drunkennesse, are very apparent, to wit, the trembling and shaking of their limbes, faltering in their toong, and speaking double, immoderate and lavish speech, pettishnesse and aptnesse to choler, forgetfulnessse and alienation of the minde and understanding; the most part whereof being incident to old men, even when they are belt in health and in most sober, a little thing God wot will fet them cleane out, and any small agitation whatsoever will doe the deed: so that drunkennesse in an old man engendreth not new accidents, but so setteth on foot and augmenteth those which be already common and ordinary with them. To conclude, there is not a more evident argument to proove and confirme the same than this; that nothing in the world resembleneth an old man more, than a young man when hee is drunke.

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## THE FOURTH QUESTION.

*Whether women by their naturall complexion be colder or hotter than men?*

WHEN *Sylla* had delivered his minde to that effect; *Apollonides* an expert professoer and well scene in raunging a battell in array, seemed by his words to approve well of that which had bene alledged as touching old men; but he thought, that in the discourse of women, the onely course was left out and overlit, to wit, the coldnesse of their constitution, by means whereof, the hottest wine is quenched, and forgoeth that fierie flame which flieth up to the head, and troubleth the braines: and this was received as a very probable and sufficient reason, by all the company there in place. But *Athrilatus* the physician, a Thasian borne, interjected some staie off farther searching into this cause: For that (quoth hee) some are of opinion that women are not cold, but hotter than men; yea, and others there be, (and that is a greater matter) who hold, that wine is not hott at all but cold. *Florus* woondering, and amazed heereat: This discourse and disputation (quoth he) as touching wine I refer to him there; and with that pointed at me; for that not many daies before wee had disputed together about that argument: But as for women (quoth *Athrilatus*) that they bee rather hot than cold, they argue thus: First and foremost, they are smooth, and not haire on their face and bodie, which testifieth their heat, which spendeth and consumeth the excrement and superfluitie that engendreth haire. Secondly, they proove it by their abundance of blood, which seemeth to be the fountaine of heat in the body; and of blood women have such store, that they are ready to be inflamed, yea, to frie and burne withall, if they have not many purgations, and those quickly returning in their course to discharge and deliver them thereof. Thirdly, they bring in the experience observed at funerals, which sheweth evidently, that womens bodies be farre hotter than mens; for they that have the charge of burning and enterring of dead corpes, doe ordinarily put into the funerall fire one dead body of a woman to tenne of men: For that one corpe (say they) helpeth to burne and consume the rest; by reason that a womans flesh containeth in it I wot not what unctuositie or oileous matter, which quickly taketh fire, and will burne as light as a torch, so that it serveth in stead of drie sticks to kindle the fire, and set all a burning. Moreover, if this be admitted for a truth, that whatsoever is more frutesfull and apter for generation, is also more hot: certaine it is, that yong maidens be ripe betimes, readier for marriage, yea and their flesh pricketh sooner to the act of generation, than boies of their age; neither is this a small and feeble argument of their heat, but for a greater and more pregnant prooffe thereof, marke how they endure very well any chilling cold, and the injurie of winter season, for the most part of them lesse quake for cold than men doe, and generally need not so many clothes to wear.

Heereat *Florus* began to argue against him and said: In my conceit, these very arguments will serve well to confute the said opinion; for to beginne with the last first, the reason why they withstand cold better than men, is because every thing is lesse offended with the like: besides, their seed is not apt for generation, in regard of their coldnesse, but serveth in stead of matter onely, and yeeldeth nourishment unto the naturall seed of man. Moreover, women sooner give over to conceive, and cease child-bearing, than men to beget children: and as for the burning of their dead bodies, they catch fire sooner I confesse, but that is by reason that commonly they be fatter than men; and who knoweth not, that fatte and grease is the coldest part of the bodie; which is the cause that yong men and those that use much bodily exercise, are least faine of all others: neither is their monthly sicknesse & voidance of blood, a signe of the great quantity and abundance, but rather of the corrupt qualitie and badnesse thereof; for the crude and uncocted part of their blood being superfluous, and finding no place to settle and rest, nor to gather confidence within the bodie by reason of weaknesse, passeth away, as being heavy and troubled, altogether for default and imbecillitie of heat to overcome it: and this appeereth manifestly by this, that ordinarily when their monthly sicknesse is upon them, they are very chill, & shake for cold, for that the blood which then is stirred and in motion, ready to be discharged out of the bodie, is so raw and cold. To come now unto the smoothnesse of their skinned, and that it is not haire; who would ever say that this were an effect of heat? considering that we see the hottest parts of mans bodie to be covered with haire? for surely all superfluities and excrements are sent out by heat, which also maketh way, boring as it were holes through the skinned, and

and opening the passages in the superficies thereof. But contrariwise wee may reason, that the sleeknesse of womens skinned is occasioned by coldnesse, which doth confitate and close the pores thereof. Now that womens skinned is more salt and close than mens; you may learne and understand by them (friend *Athrilatus*) who use to lie in bedde with women, that annoint their bodies with sweet oiles, or odoriferous compositions; for even with sleeping in the same bed with them, although they came not so neere as to touch the women, they finde themselves all perfumed, by reason that their owne bodies which be hot, rare, and open, doe draw the said oinments or oiles into them: Well, by this meanes (quoth he) this question as touching women hath bene debated *pro & contra*, by opposit arguments right manfully.

## THE FIFTH QUESTION.

*Whether wine be naturall cold of operation?*

BUT I would now gladly know, (quoth *Florus* still) whereupon your conjecture and suspition should arise, that wine is cold of nature? why? And doe you thinke (quoth I) that this in an opinion of mine? Whose then (quoth the other?) I remember (quoth I) that not of late, but long agoe, I light upon a discourse of *Aristotle* as touching this probleme: and *Epicurus* himselfe in his *Symposium* or banquet, hath discussed the question at large; the summe of which disputation (as I take it) is thus much: For (he saith) that wine is not simple of it selfe hot, but that it containeth in it certaine atomies or indivisible mores causing heat, and others likewise that engender cold; of which some it casteth off and loseth when it is entred into the bodie, others it taketh unto it, from the very bodie it selfe wherein it is; according as the same petite bodies be of nature and temperature, fitted and agreeable unto us; in such sort, as some when they be drunke with wine, are well heat; others againe contrariwise, be as cold. These reasons (replied *Florus*) directly bring us by *Protagoras* into the campe of *Pyrho*, where we shall meet with nothing but incertitude, and be still to seeke, and as wise as we were before: for plaine it is, that in speaking of oile, milke, hönie, and likewise of all other things, we shall never grow to any particular resolution of them, what nature they bee of, but still have some evasion or 30 other, saying: That they become such and such, according as each of them is mixed and tempered one with another: But what be the arguments that your selfe alledge, to prove that wine is cold? Thus I see well (quoth I) that there be two of you at once, who presse and urge mee to deliver my mind *ex tempore*, and of a sudden: the first reason then that cometh into my head is this, which I see ordinarily practised by physicians upon those who have weake stomachs: for when they are to corroborate and fortifie that part, they prescribe not any thing that is hot; but if they give them wine, they have present ease and helpe thereby; semblable, they repress fluxes of the belly, yea, and when the bodie runneth all to diaphoreticall sweats, which they effect by the meanes of wine, no lesse, nay much more than by applying snow, confirming and strengthening thereby the habit of the bodie, which otherwise was ready to melt 40 away and resolve: now if it had a nature and facultie to heat, it were all one to apply unto the region of the heart; as fire unto snow: furthermore, most physicians do hold, that sleepe is provoked by cooling; and the most part of soporiferous medicines which provoke sleepe, be cold; as for example, *Mandragoras* and poppie Juice: but these I must needs confesse, with great force and violence doe compresse, and (as it were) congeale the braine to worke that effect; whereas wine cooling the same gently, with ease and pleasure represseth and staith the motion thereof; so that the difference onely betweene it and the other, is but in degree, according to more and lesse. Over and besides, whatsoever is hot is also generative and apt to ingender seed; for howsoever humiditie giveth it an aptitude to run and flow, it is spirit, by the meanes of heat, 50 that endueth it with vigor & strength; yea, and an appetite to generation: now they that drinke much wine, especially if it be pure of it selfe, and not delaid, are more dull and slow to the act of generation, and the seed which they sow, is not effectuell, nor of any force and vigor to ingender; their medling also and conjunction with women, is vaine, and doth no good at all, by reason that their seed is cold and feeble: furthermore, all the accidents and passions which colde worketh, doe befall unto those that be drunke; for they tremble and shake, they are heave and mooveth dull of motion, and looke pale; the spirit in their joints and members, is unquiet, and mooveth disorderly; their tongues falter, stur and be double; last of all, their finewes in the extremities of the bodie, are drawn up in manner of a crampe, and benumbed; yea, and in many, drunkennesse

endeth in a dead pallie or generall resolution of all parts; namely, after that the wine hath utterly extinguished and mortified their naturall heat. Physicians also are wont to cure these symptomes and inconveniences procured by excessive drinke and surfer, by laying the patients presently in bedde, and covering them well with clothes, for to bring them to an heat; the next morrow they put them into the baine or hot-house, and rub them wel with oile; they nourish them with meats which do not trouble the masse of the body; and thus by this cherishing, they gently fetch againe and recover the heat which wine had dissipated and driven out of the bodie. And forasmuch as (quoth I) in things apparent and evident to the eie, we search for the like faculties which lie hidden and secret, how can we doubt what drunkenness is, and with what it may be compared? for according as I have before said, drunken folke resemble (for all the world) old men: and therefore it is, that great drunkards soone wax old, many of them become bald before their time, and grow to be grey and hoarie ere they be aged; all which accidents seeme to surprize a man for defect of heat.

Moreover, vinegar (in some sort) resembleth the nature and propertie of wine: now of all things that are powerfull to quench, there is none so repugnant and contrarie to fire, as vinegar is; and nothing so much as it, by the excessive coldness that it hath, overcommeth and representeth a flame. Again, we see how physicians use those fruits to coole withall, which of all others be most vinous, or represent the liquor of wine; as for example, pomegranates and other orchard apples. As for honie, do they not mix the substance thereof with raine-water and snow, for to make thereof a kinde of wine, by reason that the cold doth convert the sweetness for the affinity that is between them, into austeritie, when it is predominant and more puissant? what should I say more? have not our ancients in olde time, among serpents, dedicated the dragon? and of all plants, consecrated Ivie to *Bacchus*, for this cause, that they be both of a certaine colde and congealing nature? Now if any doe object for prooffe, that wine is hot; how for them that have drunke the juice of hemlocke, the soveraigne remedie and counterpoise of all other, is to take a great draught of strong wine upon it; I will reple to the contrary, and turne the same argument upon them; namely, that wine and the juice of hemlocke mingled together, is a poison incurable, & presently killeth those who drinke it, remediless. So that there is no more reason to prove it hot, for resisting hemlocke, than colde, for helping the operation of it; or els we must say, that it is not coldness whereby hemlocke killeth those that drinke it so presently, but rather some other hidden qualitie and propertie that it hath.

## THE SIXTH QUESTION.

*Of the convenient time for a man to know his wife carnally.*

Certeine yoong men, who were new students, and had lately tasted of the learning contained in ancient books, were ready to reare *Epicurus* in pieces, and inveighed mightily against him as an impudent person; for proposing and moving speech which was neither seemly nor necessarie, in his *symposium* or banquet, as touching the time of meddling with a woman: for that an ancient man, well steeped in yeres as he was, should make mention & begin talke of venerous matters, and namely, at a banquet, where many yoong men were in place, to particularize and make question in this sort: Whether it were better for a man to have the use of his wife, before supper or after; seemed to proceed from a lascivious minde, and incontinent in the highest degree. Against which, some there were, who alledged the example of \* *Xenophon*, who after his supper or banquet, brought his guests (not on foot, but on horse-backe, riding a gallop away home) to lie with their wives. But *Zopyrus* the physician, who was very well seene and conversant in the books of *Epicurus*, said: That they had not read diligently and with adveintment, his booke called *Symposium*, that is to say, The banquet: For he tooke not this question (quoth he) to treat of at the beginning, as a theme or subject matter expressly chosen and of purpose, whereto all their talke should be directed, and in nothing els to be determined and ended: but having caused those yoong men to rise from the table for to walke after supper, he entred into a discourse, for to induce them to continence and temperance, and to withdraw them from dissolute lust of the flesh, as being at all times, a thing dangerous, and ready to plunge a man into mischief, but yet more hurtfull unto those who use it upon a full stomacke, after they have eat and drunke well, and made good cheere at some great feast. And if (quoth *Zopyrus*) he had taken for the principall subject, the discourse of this point, is it pertinent and becoming a philosopher,

pher, not to treat and consider at all of the time and houre proper and meet for men to embrace their espoused wives: or much better so to doe, in due season and with discretion? and is it (I pray you) not discommendable, to dispute thereof elsewhere and at other times? and altogether dishonest, to handle that question at the table or at a feast? for mine owne part, I thinke cleane contrary; namely, that we may with good reason reprove and blame a philosopher, who openly in the day time, should dispute in publicke schooles, of this matter, before all comers, and in the hearing of all sorts of people; but at the table, where there is a standing cup betwixt familiars and friends, and where other-whiles it is expedient to vary and change our talke, which otherwise would be but lewke warme or starke colde for all the wine, how can it be unseemely or dishonest, either to speake or heare ought that is holisome and good for men, as touching the lawfull company with their wives in the secret of marriage? for mine owne part, I protest unto you, I could with all my heart, that those Partitions of *Zeno*, had bene couched in some booke entituled, *A banquet or pleasant treatise*, rather than bestowed (as they are) in a composition so grave and serious, as are the books of policie and government of State. The yoong men at these words, were cut over the thumbs; and being abashed, held their tongues, and sat them downe quietly. Now when others of the company requested *Zopyrus* to rehearse the words and reasons of *Epicurus*, as touching this point, I am not able (quoth he) in particular, to decipher, and precisely to set them downe as he delivered them; but I suppose the philosopher feared those violent concussions and motions, which are felt in the time of that conjunction; for that our bodies by that means, be woonderfully stirred and disquieted, in regard especially of the wine, which being of it selfe stirring and causing much turbulent agitation, it setteth the bodie ordinarily out of quiet repose: if then the full masse thereof, being in such an agitation, meet not with a settled calme and rest, by sleepe, but runneth on still headlong to other troublesome motions, caused by the sports of *Venus*, so that the cords and ligaments, which are wont to hold our bodies entire, and mainteine them firme and strong, be slackted and loosed, great danger there is, that the foundation being thus shaken, the whole edifice will fall to the ground: for surely at such a time, the very genitall seed is not so apt and ready to passe away with ease, being so pent and confitiate (as it is) by reason of repletion; so that it must be fetched away perforce, all troubled and confused. In which regard (quoth *Epicurus*) a man is to goe about this business, when the bodie is at quiet and well settled; namely, after that the concoction and digestion both, of our food, is perfectly finished, which all that time runneth to and fro, and willingly avoideth all such disquietness, untill (I say) the bodie have need of new nourishment. And for to confirme this opinion of *Epicurus*, a man may adjoine a reason out of physicke; namely: That the opportunity of the morrow-morning, when the concoction is thorowly performed, is most safe and sure; whereas to struggle or meddle with a woman immediately after supper, is never without danger: for who can tell (before the meat be well concocted) whether after the paining agitation by the act of *Venus*, there will not ensue another cruditie and indigestion, so as a double inconvenience and surfer upon surfer may follow thereupon? Then *Olympicus* taking his tyme to speake and opine: As for me, I am (quoth he) infinitely well pleased with that sentence of *Climas* the Pythagorean; who being demanded the question, when the best time was to embrace a woman? *Maric* (quoth he) when thou art minded to do thy selfe most harme: for that which *Zopyrus* said even now of the fit time, carrieth some reason with it: and as for the other, it hath (I see well) many and sundry difficulties and inconveniences, and is altogether unseasonable for this purpose. Like as therefore, *Thales* the wife, being importuned by his mother (who pressed hard upon him) to marrie; prettily put her off, shifting and avoiding her cunningly, with words: for at the first time, when she was in hand with him, he said unto her: Mother, it is too soone, and it is not yet time: afterwards, when he had passed the flower of his age, and that she set upon him the second time, and was very instant: Alas mother, it is now too late, and the time is past; even so, it were good for every man to carry and governe himselfe in these amorous games of *Venus*, that when he goes to bed at night, he say to himselfe: It is not yet time; and when hee riseth in the morning: Now there is no time left. Hereupon *Socrates*: These be indeed (quoth he) *Olympicus*, the parts of champions, and require such as would enter combat for to win a prize at the sacred games: these matters (I say) altogether, are for those to performe, who can drinke wine freely, and make a game of it, yea, and eat flesh as lustily: but surely, this speech of yours, little becometh this time and place; for heere are a sort of fresh and lustie yoong men newly married,

\* See *Xenophon* in the end of his *Symposium* or banquet.

*By whom, not well, the works, in some degree,  
Of love and Venus, must performed be.*

Neither is dame *Venus* as yet, retired and fled altogether from us; for we stil in chanting hymnes unto the gods, pray devoutly other-whiles unto her, in this wise:

*O Venus, laide deere and goddesse faire,  
Hold aske olde age, keepe from us boarie faire.*

But let us consider now (if you thinke it good) whether *Epicurus* hath done well and decently, as he ought to doe, in taking away *Venus* from the night season; or whether he hath not rather offended against all right and reason in so doing; considering that *Menander*, a man well scene in love-matters, saith: That hee is acquainted with her above all other gods and goddeses: for in mine opinion, well ordeined was this vaile and shade of darkenesse, to cover those that are minded to performe these acts, and in some sort to hide the pleasure from them, and not to come unto this game by day-light, thereby to chafe from out of their eie-sight all shame and to give meanes unto lascivious wantonnesse, for to be bold and confident; and finally, to imprint the memorie of the act so lively, that it may remaine long after in the minde, for to kindle and revive still, new lusts and fleshly desires: For the eie-sight (as *Plato* saith) passeth most swiftly thorow the fleshly affections of the body into us, that is to say, into our soule, and evermore awakeneth and raiseth fresh and new concupiscence, representing with great force and vehemencie, the images of pleasure, and putting us in minde to pursue the same; whereas contrariwise, the night taking away the greatest part of such acts as be most furious, lulleth nature asleepe, and bringeth her (as it were) to bed, in such sort, as it doth not exorbitate or breake forth by meanes of the sight, into lascivious loosenesse. But over and besides all this, what reason or sense is there in this, that a married man, returning all jolly, fresh and merry, from a festivall supper, and peradventure with a gay chaplet of flowers upon his head, yea, and perfumed with sweet and odoriferous oiles, should come home, go to bed, turne his backe unto his wife, pull the clothes about him round, and so lie to sleepe all night; and the morrow after, in broad day-light and in the mids of household occasions and other affaires, send for his wife out of the nourse or womens roome, for to come unto him about such a matter; or in the morning, turne unto her and imbrace her in his armes, at such a time as the cocke treads his hennes? for the even-tide (my good friend *Olympicus*) is the end and repose of all out day-labours past, and the morning is the beginning of new travels. Of the evening, god *Bacchus* is the superintendent and president, who is surnamed *Lysus* or *Liber*, for that hee freech us from all paines-taking; and accompanied he is in this presidencie of his, with the mules, to wit, faire *Terpsichore*, who loveth daunces, and pleasant *Thalia*, who delighteth in feasts and banquets; whereas the morning riseth betimes by the breake of day, to do service unto *Athena*, surnamed *Ergane*, the work-mistresse or patronesse of artificers; to *Mercurie* likewise, the master of merchants and occupiers: and therefore upon the evening, attend songs, musicke, minstrelsie; plaies, daunces, weddings,

*Musiques, mommeries, feasts and banquets,*

*Noise of h. w. boies, flutes, and cornets,*

In the morning a man shall heare nothing but the thumping sounds of the smiths hammer and sledges, bearing and knocking upon the anvill; the grating noise of sawes; the morrow-watch of Publicans, Customers and Toll-gatherers, crying after those that come in or go forth; the journeymen of serjeants and criers, calling for apparance in the court before the judges; publications of edicts and proclamations; summons to attend and be ready to make court, and to do duetie unto some prince, great lord or governour of State; at which time, all pleasures be gone and out of the way.

*Of Venus then there is no talke,  
The slaves of Bacchus do not walke  
With Iove light: the game some sport  
Of gallant youth is, is all a-mort:  
For why? as day grows on apace,  
Cares and troubles come in place.*

Moreover, you shall never reade, that the poet *Homer* reporteth of any worthy prince and demi-god, that in the day-time he lay either with wife or concubine; onely he saith, that *Paris*, when he fled out of the battell, went and couched himselfe in the bosome and lap of his *Helena*; giving us thereby to understand, that it is not the part of an honest minded husband, but the act of a furious and wanton-given adulterer, to follow such pleasures in the day-time. Neither doth

it follow (as *Epicurus* saith) that the bodie takes more harme by performing this duetie of marriage after supper, than in the morning, unlesse a man be so drunke or overcharged with meates, that his bellie is ready to cracke; for certainly, in such a case it were very hurtfull and dangerous indeed: but if one have taken his meat and drinke sufficiently, be wel in health, and in some measure cheerefull; if his bodie be apt and able, his minde well disposed thereto; if hee interpose some reasonable time betweene, and then fall to clip and imbrace his wife; he shall not thereby incurre any great agitation that night, nor feare the heavie load and repletion of meat; neither will this action worke him any damage, or coole him too much, ne yet disquiet and remoove out of their place, the atomies (as *Epicurus* saith); but if hee compole himselfe afterwards to sleepe and repose, he shall soone supplie againe that which was voided, and replenish the vessels with a new afflux of spirits, which were emptied by the said evacuation. But of all things, especiall heed would be taken, not to play at this game of *Venus* in the day time; for feare lest the body and minde both, being troubled already with the cares and travels of fundry affaires, be by this meanes more exasperat and inflamed, considering that nature hath not a sufficient and competent time betweene, to repose and refresh her selfe: for all men (my good friend) have not that great leasure which *Epicurus* had, neither are they provided for their whole life-time, of that rest and tranquillity, which he said, that he got by good letters and the study of philosophy: nay, there is not one in maner, but every day he finds himselfe amused and employed about many affaires and busineses of this life, which holde him occupied; to which, it were neither good nor expedient for a man to expose his body, so resolved, enfeebled and weakened with the furious exploit of concupiscence. Leaving him therefore to his foolish opinion of the gods, that being immortal and happy, they have no care of our affaires, nor busie themselves therewith, let us obey the lawes, maners and customes of our owne country, as every honest man ought to do; namely, to be sure in the morning to go into the temple, and to lay our hands upon the sacrifice, if haply a little before, we have done such a deed. For in truth, well it were, that interposing the night and our sleepe betweene, after a sufficient time and competent space, we should come to present our selves pure and cleane, as if we were risen new men with the new day, and purposing to leade a new life, as *Democritus* was wont to lay.

### 30 THE SEVENTH QUESTION.

*What is the cause that Must or new wine doth not inebriate or make folke drunke?*

The maner was in *Athens*, to give the assay, and to taste new wines the eleventh day of the moneth [February] which day they named *Pithugia*; and verily in olde time, they observed this ceremonie, to powre out the first drawing thereof unto the gods, before they dranke of it, making their praies devoutly, that the use of this medicinable drinke might be holosome and healthfull, not noisome nor hurtfull unto them. But in our country this moneth is called *Hyemivius*, the first day of which moneth, the manner was to pierce their vessell first, and taste new wines, after they had sacrificed to good *Fortune*, and good *Demon*, and that the westerne winde Zephyrus had done blowing; for of all windes, this is it that most troubleth, disquieteth, and turneth wine: and looke what wine may escape this season, great hope there is that it will hold and continue good all the yeere after: according to which custome my father upon a time sacrificed as his maner was; and after supper finding that his wine was good & commendable, he propoed this question unto certene yong men that were students with mee in philosophy: How it came to passe that new wine would not make a man drunke: the thing seemed at the first unto many a very strange and incredible paradox: But *Agias* said: That this new sweet wine was every way offensive unto the stomacke, and quickly glured it; by reason whereof a man could hardly drinke so much of Must, as were sufficient to overturne his braines: so for that the appetite is quickly dulled and wearied, for the small pleasure that it taketh, so soone as it feelth no more thirst. Now that there is a difference betweene sweet and pleasant, the poet *Homer* knew well enough and gave us so much to understand when he said:

*With cheefe and hony that is sweet:*

*With pleasant wine, a drunke most meet,*

For in truth wine at the first is to be counted sweet, but in the end it becommeth pleasant, namely, after it hath age, and by the meanes of working, ebullition and concoction, passed to a certene harshnesse and austeritie. But *Aristanetus* of *Nica* said: That he well remembered how he

had read in a certaine place in some books: That Must mingled with wine staith & represseth drunkennesse; he added moreover and said: That there were physicians who ordeined for them that had overdrunke themselves; to take when they went to bed, a piece of bread dipped in hony and to eat it? If then it be so, that sweet things doe mitigate and dull the force of wine: good reason it is, that new wine should not inebriate, untill the sweetnesse thereof be turned into pleasantnesse. We approved greatly the discourse of these two young men, for that they fell not upon triviall and common reason, but had devised new: for these be they that are alledged by every man, and ready at hand, to wit; the heaviness of Must or new wine, as *Aristotle* saith, which maketh the belly soluble, and so it breaketh thorow the quantitie of flatulent and muddy spirits that abide therein, together with the waterie substance, of which the ventosities directly get fourth, as expelled by force; but the aquositie by the owne nature enfeebleth the strength of the wine: like as contrariwise age augmenteth the power thereof, for that the warlike substance is now gone; by reason whereof, as the quantitie of the wine is diminished, so the quality and vertue is increased.

## THE EIGHT QUESTION.

*What is the reason is, that they who be thoroughly drunke, are lesse brasse-sicke than those who are but in the way of drunkennesse.*

Seeing then (quoth my father) that we have begun already to disquiet the ghost of *Aristotle*, it shall not be amisse to trie what we can say of our selves, as touching those whom wee call *drunken*, that is to say, who are well heat with wine, but not yet starke drunke: for howsoever *Aristotle* was ordinarily very quicke and subtle in resolving such questions, yet in mine opinion he hath not sufficiently and exactly delivered the reason thereof; for as farre as I can gather out of his words (he saith) That the discourse of reason in a man who is sober, judgeth aright and according to the truth of things as they be: contrariwise, his sense and understanding who is cleane gone, & as they say dead drunke, is done and oppressed altogether: as for the apprehension and imagination of him who hath taken his wine well, and is but halfe drunke, is yet found, many his reason and judgement is troubled already and crackt: and therefore such judge indeed, but they judge amisse, for that they follow their phantasies onely: but what thinke you of this? For mine owne part (quoth I) when I consider with my selfe his reason, it seemeth sufficiently to have rendered a cause of this effect; but if you would have us to search farther into the thing, and devise some speciall new matter? marke first, whether this difference which hee maketh betweene them, ought not to be referred to the bodie: for in these that have well drunke, there is nothing but the discourse of reason onely troubled; because the bodie being not yet thoroughly drenched and drowned in wine, is able to doe service unto the will and appetite; but if it be once off the hookes, (as they say) or utterly oppressed, it forsaketh and betrayeth the appetites, and breaketh day with the affections, being so farre shaken and out of joint, that it can serve no more, nor execute the will: whereas the other having the bodie still at command, and ready to exorbitate together with the will, and to sinne with it for companie, are more seene and discovered, not for that they be more foolish, and have lesse use of reason, but because they have greater means to shew their follie. But if we should reason from another principle, and go another way to worke (quoth I) he that will consider well the force of wine, shall find no let, but that in regard of the quantitie, it altereth and becommeth divers, much like unto the fire, which if it be moderate, hardeneth and baketh the tile or pot of clai; but in case it be very strong, & the heat excessive, it melteth & dissolveth the same: and on the other side; the spring or summer season at the beginning breedeth fevers and setteth them on fire, which in the progresse and middes thereof being grown to their heights, decline and cease altogether. What should hinder then, but the minde and understanding which naturally is disquieted and troubled with wine, after it is once off the wheelles, and cleane overturned by the excessive quantitie thereof should come into order \* againe, and be settled as it was before? Much like therefore as Ellebore beginneth his operation to purge, by overturning the stomacke, and disquieting the whole masse of the body; and if it be given in a lesse dose or quantitie than it should be; well it may trouble, but purge it will not: also as wee see some, who take medicines for to provoke sleepe, under the iust and full quantitie which is prescribed, in stead of sleepe and repose, finde themselves more vexed and tormented than before; and others againe, if they take more, sleepe soundly:

\* Elebore  
by many  
is a purgative  
but a man  
may drunke  
his effects  
etc.

soundly; even so it standeth to good reason, that the brain-sicknesse of him who is halfe drunke, after it is grown once to the highest strength and vigour, doth diminish and decay; to which purpose now wine serveth very well, and helpeth much: for being powred into the body with great abundance, it burneth and consumeth that spice of madnesse which troubleth the minde and use of reason; much after the manner of that dolefull song, together with the heavy sound of hautboies in the funerals of dead folke, at the first mooveth compassion, and setteth the cies a weeping, but after it hath drawn the soule so to pittie and compassion, it proceedeth farther, and by little and little it spendeth and riddeth away all sense of dolour and sorrow; semblably a man (shal observe, that after the wine hath mightily troubled, disquieted the vigorous & courageous part of the soule, men quickly come to themselves, & their minds be settled in such sort as they become quiet, and take their repose when wine and drunkennesse hath passed as farre as it can.

## THE NINTH QUESTION.

*What is the meaning of the common proverb: Drinke either five, or three, but not four?*

When I had thus said, *Ariston* crying out aloud as his manner was: I see well now (quoth he) that there is opened a reentrance, and returne againe of measures into seats and banquets, by vertue of a most iust and popular decree: which measures by meanes of (I wot not what) sober season, as by a tyrant have bene this long time banished from thence: for like as they who professe a canonicall harmonie in sound, of the harpe, doe holde and say: That the proportion Hemiolios or Sesquialterall, produceth the symphonie or muscicall accord Diapenta, of the duple proportion ariseth that Diapason: but as for the musike or accord called Diatessaron, which of all others is most obscure and dull, it consisteth in the proportion Epitritos; even so, they that make profession of skill in the harmonies of *Bacchus*, have observed, that three symphonies or accords there are, betwene wine & water, namely, Diapenta, Diatrion, & Diatessaron, singing and saying after this manner: Drinke five, or three, and not four; for the fit standeth upon the proportion Hemiolios, or Sesquialterall to wit, when three parts or measures of water be mingled with two of wine; and the third containe the duple proportion; namely when two parts of water be put to one of wine; but the fourth answereth to the proportion of three parts of water powred into one of wine; and verily this measure or proportion Epitritos, may fit some grave and wise senators sitting in parliament; or the *Archons* in the counsell chamber *Prætorum* for to dispatch waightie affaires of great consequence: and it may be seeme well enough some logicians that pull up their browes, when they are busie in reducing, unfolding, and altering their Syllogismes; for surely it is a mixture or temperature sober and weake enough: as for the other twaine, that medley which carrieth the proportion of two for one, bringeth in that turbulent tone of the Acrothoraces before said; to wit, of such as are somewhat cup-shotten and halfe drunke:

*Which stirs the strings and cords of secret hart,*

*That mooveth should not be, but rest apart.*

For it neither suffereth a man to bee fully sober, nor yet to drench himselfe so deepe in wine, that hee bee altogether wideffe and past his sense: but the other standing upon the proportion of two to three, is of all others the most muscicall accord, causing a man to sleepe peaceable, and to forget all cares, resembling that good and fertile corne-field which *Hesiodus* speaketh of,

*That dash from man all cares and curses drive,*

*And children cause to rest, to feed, and thrive.*

It appeareth and stilleth all proud, violent, and disordered passions arising within our heart, inducing in the stead of them a peaceable calme and tranquillitie. These speeches of *Ariston* no man there, would crosse or contradict; for that it was well known he spake merily: but I willed him to take the cup in hand, and as if he held the harpe or lute, to tune and set the same, to that accord and consonance which he so highly praised, and thought so good. Then came a boy close unto him, and powred out strong wine; which he refused, saying, (and that with a laughter) That his musike consisted in reason and speculation, and not in the practise of the instrument. But my father added thus much moreover to that which had bene said: That as hee thought, the auncient poets also had to great reason feigned; that whereas *Jupiter* had two nurses

nurses, to wit, *Ida* and *Adrastia*; *Juno* one, namely, *Euboea*; *Apollo* likewise twaine, that is to say, *Aletheia*, and *Corythalia*; *Bacchus* had many more; for that he was suckled and nursed by many nymphes, because this god forsooth had need of more measures of water, signified by the nymphs to make him more tame, gentle, witty, and wise.

## THE TENTH QUESTION.

*What is the reason that any killed flesh will be naught and corrupt sooner under the raies of the moone, than in the sunne?*

*Entydemus* of *Sunium*, feasted us upon a time at his house, and set before us a wilde bore, of such bignesse, that all wee at the table woodred thereat; but he told us that there was another brought unto him farre greater; many naught it was, and corrupted in the cariage, by the beames of the moone-shine: whereof he made great doubt and question, how it should come to passe; for that he could not conceive, nor see any reason, but that the sunne should rather corrupt flesh, being as it was, farre hotter than the moone. Then *Saryrus*: This is not the thing (quoth he) whereat a man should marvell much in this case; but rather at that which hunters practise; for when they have stricken downe either a wilde bore, or a stagge, and are to send it farre into the citie, they use to drive a spike or great naile of brasle into the body, as a preservative against putrefaction. Now when supper was done, *Entydemus* calling to minde his former question, was in hand withall againe, and set it now on foot: And then *Moschion* the physician shewed unto them, that the putrefaction of flesh was a kinde of eliquation and running all to moisture; for that corruption bringeth it unto a certeine humiditie, so as what-ever is sappie or corrupted, becommeth more moist than it was before: Now it is well known (quoth he) that all heat which is mild and gentle, doth stirre, dilate, and spread the humours in the flesh: but contrariwise, if the same be ardent, fierie, and burning, it doth attenuate and re- streine them: by which appeereth evidently the cause of that which is in question; for the moone gently warming bodies, doth by consequence moisten the same; whereas the sunne by his extreme heat catcheth up and consumeth rather that humiditie which was in them: unto which *Archilocus* the poet alludeth like a naturall philosopher when he said:

*I hope, she dogge starre Sirius,  
In fire heat so furious  
With raies most ardent will them smite,  
And numbers of them dry up quite.*

And *Homer* more plainly spake of *Helior*, over whose body lying along dead: *Apollo* (quoth he) displayed and spread a darke and shadowy cloud:

*For feare lest that the scorching beames,  
Of sunne aloft in skie,  
Should on his corps have power, the flesh  
and nerves to parch and dry.*

Contrariwise, that the moone casteth weaker and more sickeley raies; the poet *Virg* sheweth, saying:

*The grapes doe finde no helpe by thee,  
To ripen on the vine,  
And never change their colour blacke,  
that they might make good wine.*

These words thus passed: And then all the rest (quoth I) is very well said, & I approve thereof; but that al the matter should lie in the quantity of heat, more or lesse considering the season, I see not how it should stand; for this we find, that the sunne doth heat lesse in winter, & corrupteth more in summer: whereas we should see contrary effects, if putrefactions were occasioned by the imbecillitie of heat; but now it is far otherwise, for the more that the suns heat is augmented, the sooner doth it putrifie & corrupt any flesh killed: and therefore we may as well inferre, that it is not for default of heat, nor by any imbecillitie thereof; that the moone causeth dead bodies to putrifie, but we are to reterre that effect to some secret propertie of the influence proceeding from her: for that all kinds of heat have but one qualitie, and the same differing onely in degree, according to more or lesse: that the very fire also hath many divers faculties, and those not resembling one another, appeareth by daily & ordinary experiences: for gold-smiths melt and

and worke their gold with the flame of light straw and chaffe: physicians doe gently warme (as it were) in *Balneo* those drougues, and medicines which they are to boile together most all with a fire made of vine cuttings; for the melting, working, blowing, and forming of glasse; it seemeth that a fire made of *Tamarix* is more meet than of any other matter whatsoever; the heat caused by olive-tree wood, serveth well in drie stoupes or hot houses, and disposeth mens bodies to sweate; but the same is most hurtfull to baines and baths; for if it bee burned under a furnace, it hurtheth the boord-floores and feelings; it marreth also the verie foundations and ground-works: whereupon it cometh, that *Aediles* for the State, such as have any skill and understanding, when they let to ferme the publicke baines unto *Publicans* and *Farmers*, except ordinarily olive-tree wood, forbidding exprelly, those that rent them at their hands, nor to use the same; as also not to cast into the furnace or fire with which they give an heat unto them, the seed of *Darnell*; for that the smoaks and fumes which ariseth from such matters, ingender head-ach and heaviness of the braine, together with a dizziness and swimming in the head, in as many as wash or bathe in them. And therefore, no marvell it is, that there should be such a difference betwene the heat of the sunne and of the moone, considering that the one by his influence doth drie, and the other by her power dissolveth humors, and in somebodies (by that meanes) causeth rheumes: and therefore discrete and carefull nurses take great heed how they expose their sucking babes against the raies of the moone, for that such infants (being full of moisture, like to sappie-green wood) will (as it were) warpe, twine, and cast at one side by that meanes. And an ordinary thing it is to be seene, that whosoever sleepe in the moone-shine, be hardly awakened, as if their senses were stupefied, benumbed, and astoned: for surely, the humors (being dissolved and dilated by the influence of the moone) doe make bodies heavie. Moreover, it is said, that the full-moone (by relaxing and resolving humors in this wise) helpeth women in travell of child-bearing, to easie deliverance. Whereupon, in my judgement, *Diana*, which is nothing els but the very moone, is called *Lochia* or *Ilithyia*, as having a speciall hand in the birth of children; which *Timotheus* direct- ly testifieth in these verses:

*Therow azure skie, with starres beset,  
By moone that giveth speed  
Of child-birth, and doth ease the paine  
of women, in their need.*

Moreover, the moone sheweth her power most evidently even in those bodies, which have nei- ther sense nor lively breath; for carpenters reject the timber of trees fallen in the full-moone, as being soft and tender, subject also to the worne and putrefaction, and that quickly, by reason of excessive moisture; husbandmen likewise, make haste to gather up their wheat and other graine from the threshing-floore, in the wane of the moone, and toward the end of the month, that being hardened thus with driness, the heape in the garner may keepe the better from being fustie, and continue the longer; whereas corne which is inned and laid up at the full of the moone, by reason of the softnesse and over-much moisture, of all other, doth almost cracke and burst. It is commonly said also, that if a leaven be laid in the full-moone, the paste will rise and take leaven better; for although it have but a little leaven, & lesse in quantitie than ordinary, yet it faileth not by the sharpnesse thereof (by meanes of rarefaction) to make the whole masse and lump of dow to swell and be leavened.

To returne now unto flesh that is caught, and beginneth to putrifie, it is occasioned by no- thing els but this, that the spirit which maineineth and knitteth the same fast, turneth into moi- sture, and so by that meanes, it becommeth over-tender, loose, and apt to runne to water: an ac- cident, which wee may observe in the very aire, which resolveth more in the full of the moone, than at any other time, yea, and yeeldeth greater store of dewes: which the poet *Alcan* signi- fied enigmatically and covertly unto us, when he saith in one place, that dew is the daughter

*What things on earth, the dew as nows doth feed,  
Whom Jupiter and moone betwixt them breed.*

Thus evident testimonies we have from all parts, that the light of the moone is waterish, and hath a certeine propertie to liquifie, and by consequence, to corrupt and putrifie.

As for the brasen spike or naile above mentioned, if it be true (as some hold and say) that be- ing driven into the body, it preserveth the flesh for a time from rottenhead and putrefaction: it seemeth to worke this effect, by a certeine attractive qualitie and vertue that it hath; for the

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flower



flower of brasse, called *Ver-de-gris*, physicians doe use in their astrigent medicines: and by report, those that frequent mines, out of which brasse-ore is digged, finde much helpe thereby for bleered and rheumaticke eies; yea, and some thereby have recovered the haire of their eie-lids, after they were shed and fallen off: for the small scales or fine powder in maner of flowre, which commeth and falleth from the brasse-stone *Chakitis*, getting closely into the eie-lids, staith the rheume; and represseth the flux of weeping and waterie eies: and thereupon it is said, that the poet *Homer* hath given these attributes and epithites unto brasse, calling it *divines* and *ruynes*. Besides, *Aristotle* saith, that the wounds inflicted by speares and lances with brazen heads, by swords also made of brasse, are lesse painfull, and be sooner healed, than those which are given by the same weapons of iron and Steele; for that brasse hath a kinde of medicinable vertue in it, which the said weapons doe leave behinde them immediatly in the wounds. Moreover, that astringent things be contrary unto those that purrifie; and that preservatives or healing matters, have an opposit facultie to such as cause corruption, it is very plaine and evident; so that the reason is manifest of the said operation: unlesse haply some one will alledge, that the brazen spike or nail in piercing thorow the flesh, draweth unto it the humours thereof, considering that there is evermore a flux in that part which is hurt and wronged. Over and besides, it is said, that there appeareth alwaies some marke or spot, blacke and blew, about that very place of the flesh, betwaying (as it were) some mortification; a probable argument, that all the rest remaineth sound and entire, when the corruption runneth and floweth thither as it doth.

\* I suppose *Homer* used the words in a false other sense, by *Mischion* leave beir spoken, who was a better physician, than a grammarian, as it should seeme.



## THE FOVRTH BOOKE OF SYMPOSIAQUES OR BANQUET-QUESTIONS.

The Contents or Summarie.

- 1 **W**hether the food consisting of many and sundrie viands, is easier of digestion, than the simple.
- 2 Why it is thought that *Mushromes* are ingendred by thunder; wherein also the question is made, wherefore it is a necessarie opinion, that those who lie asleepe, are not smitten with lightning.
- 3 What is the reason that to a wedding supper, many guests were invited.
- 4 Whether the viands which the sea affordeth, be more delicate than those of the land.
- 5 Whether the Jewes in a religious reverence that they have of swine, or upon an abomination and abhorring of them, forbear to eat their flesh.
- 6 What god the Jewes worship.
- 7 Why the dayes of the weeke, bearing the names of the seven planetes, are not disposed and reckoned according to the order of the said planetes, but rather cleane contrary; where, by the way, there is a discourse as touching the order of nailes.
- 8 What is the cause that rings and signets were worne especially upon the fourth finger, or that, next from the middle.
- 9 Whether wee ought to carrie in our scale-rings, the images of the gods engraven, or of wise personages.
- 10 What is the reason that women never eat the middle part of a Lettuce.

THE

## THE FOURTH BOOKE OF Symposiaques or banquet-questions.

The Proeme.



**P**olybius in times past (6 *Sextus Senecio*) gave unto *Serpio Africano* this good advertisement: Never to depart out of the market or common place, where citizens daily assembled about their affaires, untill he had gotten one new friend or other, more than he had before: Where you must understand this name of friend, not precisely as the Stoicks doe, nor after the subtile acception of the word, according to curious Sophysters; namely, for him that continueth firme, fast for ever and immutable; but after a civill and vulgar manner, for a well-willer, as *Diarchum* meant, when he said: That we ought to make all men our well-willers, but honest men onely

our friends: for surely, this true friendship and amitie can not be gotten and purchased, but in long time, and by vertue; whereas that good-will of civill persons, may be gained by affaires and dealings one with another, by conference and conversation, and other-whiles, by playing and gaming together; namely, when opportunities of time and place meeteth therewith, which helpeth not a little to the winning of humane affection and favour among men. But consider now, whether that lesson and precept of *Polybius* may be fitted, not onely to the market and common place aforesaid, but also to a feast or banquet; namely, That a man ought never to rise from the table, nor to depart from the company met at a feast, before he know, that he hath acquired the love and good affection of some one of those there assembled; and so much the rather, because men repaire ordinariely to the publike place of the citie about other negotiations and buisnesse; but to a feast, wise and discreet persons come as much to get new friends, as to do pleasure unto those whom they have already: and therefore (as it were) a base, absurd and libellous part, to seeme to carry away from a feast or banquet any thing whatsoever; so to goe from thence with more friends than he brought thither at his entrance, is a delectable, honest and honourable thing: like as on the contrary side, he that is negligent and carelesse in this behalfe, maketh that meeting and fellowship unpleasant and unprofitable unto himselfe, and so he goes his way as one that had supped with his bellie; and not with his minde and spirit; for he that commeth as a guest to supper among others; commeth not onely to take his part with them, of bread, wine, meats and junkets, but to communicate also in their discourses in their learning, yea, and their pleasant courtisie, tending all in the end, to good will and amitie. For wretchers to catch and take fast hold one of another, had need of dust strewd upon their hands; but wine at the table, especially when it is accompanied with good talke, is that which giveth meanes to lay holde upon friends, and to knit them together. For \* speech doth transfuse and derive by discourse and communication, as it were, by conduits and pipes, courtisie and humanity, from the bodie to the mind; for otherwise, dispersed it is, and wandreth all over the bodie, and doth no other good at all, but onely fill and fatisfie the fauce. And like as marble taketh from iron red-hot, the fluxible moisture, by cooling it, and maketh that softnesse to become hard and stiffe, whereby it is more apt to retaine the impression of any forme received; even so honest discourse and talke at the table, suffereth not the guests that are eating and drinking together, to run endlong still, and be carried away with the strength of wine; but staith them, and causeth their mirth and jollitie (proceeding from their libell drinking) to be well tempered, lovely, well becoming, yea, and apt to be sealed (as it were) with the signet of amity and friendship, if a man know with dexterity, how to handle and manage men, when they are thus made soft and tender, yea, and capable of any impression, through kinde heat, by the meanes of wine and good cheere.

### THE FIRST QUESTION.

Whether the food consisting of sundry sorts of viands, be easier of digestion, than the simple?

**T**he first question then, of this fourth Decade of Table discourses, shall be concerning diversitie of meats: for by occasion of the solemne feast \* *Elaphobolia*, for the celebration whereof

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\* That is to say, The Stag killing.

whereof we went to the city *Hyampolia*. *Philon* the physician invited us, who (as it should seeme) had made great preparation of good cheere, to entertaine us magnificently; and seeing with *Philemus* a yong lad his sonne, feeding heartily upon drie bread without calling for any other meat to it, tooke occasion to breake out into this admiration: O *Hercules*, now surely here is the common proverbe verified indeed!

*They fought in place all full of stone,  
But from the earth could lift up none.*

and therewith he leapt forth, and ran into the kitchen to fetch some good victuals for them: and after he had staid a pretie while away, he came againe and brought nothing with him, but a few drie figs and some cheefe; which when I saw: This is (quoth I) the ordinary fashion of those, who having made provision of rare and exquisite things, which also be costly and sumptuous, do neglect those which be good and necessarie, whereof afterwards, they finde a misse and want. I never remembred (quoth *Philon*) that our *Philemus* heere, seemeth to feed after the maner of \* *Socratus*, who never (by report) did eat or drinke any thing, all his lifetime, but onely milke: but as for him, very like it is, that upon some change of minde, he began this maner of diet, and that he had not alwaies lived so; but this *Philemus* here, like another *Chiron*, feedeth his sonne (like as *Achilles* was brought up from his very infancie) with such meats as have no blood in them, that is to say, of the fruits of the earth. And thinke you not, that by this certaine demonstration, he verifieth that which is written of the grasshoppers; namely, that they live of the aire and dew? I never thought upon a supper (quoth *Philemus*) or a feast of an hundred beasts killed for sacrifice, as they were when *Arifomenes* feasted his friends; for otherwise, I would have come from home well provided before-hand of simple viands, which be holisome and healthfull, as preservatives hanging about our necks, against these sumptuous, surfetous & feaverous feasts; for that I have heard many times physicians say: That simple viands are easier of digestion, than varietie of meats, like as they be also readier at hand, and sooner provided. Then *Marcius* directing his speech unto *Philo*: This *Philemus* heere (quoth he) marres all your provision of good cheere, frightening as he doth your guests, and (what lies in him) withdrawing them from eating thereof: but if you will request me, I shall answer in your behalfe, I will pawne my selfe also and be their warrant, yea and proove unto them afterwards, that the diversitie of meats is more easie to be concocted and digested, than their simplicitie and uniformitie, to the end that they may in the meane time be the bolder and better assured to fall unto their victuals, & make merry with that plentiful fare that you have ordered for us: Then *Philo* entreated *Marcius* so to doe.

Now after that we had supped, we called upon *Philemus* to set in hand with the accusation of this multiplicitie of sundry and divers viands: Why (quoth he againe) I am not the author of this position; neither is it I that have said so; but this good host of ours *Philo* heere, who evermore telleth us: First and formost, that those beasts which feede upon a simple kinde of meat, and the same alwaies one, live more healthie than men; whereas they that be kept up and crammed in coupes, cages, mewes, & bartons, or otherwise franke-fed & fattened, are in greater danger to fall into diseales, & more subject to crudities, for that their meat is set before them mingled, compounded, and in some sort delicately condited. Secondly, there was never yet any physician so bold and venturesome in making new experiments, who durst offer unto his patient sicke of an ague, any meat or nourishment so compounded of divers sorts; but ordered there is for them alwaies the simplest that can be had, & least smelling of the kitchen and cooks craft; as that which is most easie to be concocted in the stomacke: for in truth our meats should suffer alteration, and be wrought by the naturall faculties within us: and like as the colours which are most simple doe strike the deepest die, and give the best tincture; and among oiles that which hath no sent at all, taketh best the aromatically drougues and odors of the perfumes, and sooner turneth or chaungeth than any other; even so the simplest nourishment is that, which most easily is altered and concocted by the vertue digestive: whereas if there be many and sundry qualities, and those of a contrary operation, they corrupt soone; for that they fight and runne one against the other, and so hinder concoction; much like as in a citie, the confused multitude of many nations huddled together from all parts, hardly will ever grow to any agreement, & consistence well united and accordant; for that ech partie leaneth to their owne rites, striveth to draw all to their owne commoditie, and followeth their private affections against others, hardly or never agreeing and framing well with strangers. Moreover, we may have a most evident and infallible argument of this by the familiar example of wine, for nothing there is that so doth inebriate, as varietie and change of wines; and it seemeth that drunkenesse is nothing els

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but the indigestion of wine: and therefore our great professed drinkers avoid all that ever they can, mixt and brewed wines; yea & they that are the brewers and minglers thereof, doe it as secretly as it is possible; like to those that lie in ambush: for surely every change brings with it inequality, and a kinde of extasie, putting all out of frame; which is the cause likewise that musicians are very wary how they stire or strike many strings together, & yet there is no other harme at all to be suspected but the mixture and varietie. This I dare be bold to affirme, that a man will sooner beleve & consent to a thing where contrary reasons be alledged, than make good concoction, and digestion of divers and sundry faculties: but because I would not bee thought to speake in jest, leaving these prooves, I will come to the reasons of *Philo*: for wee have heard him oftentimes say: That it is the quality of the meat that causeth difficultie of digestion, and that the mixture of many things is pernicious, and engendreth strange accidents: and therefore we ought to take knowledge by experience, what is friendly and agreeable to nature, that we may use the same, and rest contented therein; and if peradventure there bee nothing of the owne nature hard to be concocted, but that it is the quantitie alone that troubleth and hurteth our stomacke, and there corrupteth, so much the rather in mine advice we ought to forbear divers sorts of viands, wherewith *Phileas* cooke exercising his art cleane contrarie to his masters, hath even now empoisoned and bewitched us, by diversifying our appetite and by novelties and change, not sufficing it to bee wearie, and to refuse any thing, feeding it still with one thing after another, and causing it by this varietie to passe the bonds of contentment

in reason; much like unto the foster-father of lady *Hippolyte*:

*Who being set in meadow gay,  
Flower after flower did crop away:  
And yet his minde so childish was,  
And in desire so furie did passe,  
That bootie none would him content,  
Vntill the flowers most part off went.*

In this case therefore it were good withall to remember the wise instruction of *Socrates*, who giveth us counsell to take heed and beware of those viands which draw men on to eat, when they are not hungry, wherein his meaning was this and none other; that we should avoid and feare the diversitie and pluralitie of meats: for this is it that causeth us to exceed the bounds of suffiance, farther than needfull is, and retaineth our pleasure in things that content the eie and the eare, in venerous matters, in plaies, games, and all kindes of sport, being continually refreshed and renewed still with a singularitie and superfluitie that hath many heads: whereas in simple and uniforme pleasures, the attractive delight never exceedeth the necessitie of nature. To be short, of this minde I am: That a man would better endure a musician, who commended a confusion of many strings discordant; or a master of wrestlers who praised the annointing of bodies for exercise, with sweet oiles and perfumed ointments; than a physician who recommended this multiplicitie and varietie of viands; for surely such alterations and changes from one dish to another, must needs force and drive us out of the right way to health.

After that *Philemus* had thus said: I am of this minde (quoth *Marcius*) that not onely they who disjoine and sever profit from honestie, incur the malediction of *Socrates*, but also those who distinguish pleasure and health a sinder, as if pleasure forsooth were repugnant, or an enimie unto it, and not rather a friend and companion thereof: for seldome and even against our wils (quoth he) doe we make any use of paine, as being an instrument too boisterous and violent; whereas no man, would he never so faine, can chase pleasures away, and banish them, but they will present themselves alwaies in our feeding, in sleeping, in washing, bathing, sweating, and annointing our bodies; they entertaine, foster, and cherish him that is over-travailed and wearie, putting away quite by a certaine familiar propertie, agreeable unto nature, whatsoever is strange and offensive: for what manner of paine, what want, what poison is there how strong soever it be, that riddeth or dispatcheth a maladie so soone or so presently, as the bath in due time; or wine given to those that have need, and when their heart doth faint: Our meat going downe into the stomacke merrily, and with pleasure, dissolveth incontinently all wambles, reducing and restoring nature againe into her owne estate; as if faire weather and a calme season were come againe; whereas on the contrarie side, the succors and remedies which are procured by dolorous and painfull means, by little and little, hardly & with much ado are brought about and effected, even with wrong and injurie offered unto nature: let not *Philemus* there-

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fore set himselfe in opposition against us, in case we doe not hoise up and spread all our sailes, to flie away from pleasures: but endeavour and studie wee rather to draw delight and health together, for to make a marriage betweene them, for which we have more reason than some philosophers, to match pleasure with honesty. For first and formost (*Philinus*) mee thinks in the very entrance of your discourse, that you are greatly deceived; setting downe this supposal for a ground: That brute beasts feed more simply than men, and in that regard live more healthfully; for neither the one nor the other is true: and as for the former, disprooved plainly it is by the testimonie of the goates, of whom the poet *Empolus* writeth, who highly commend and praise their pasture, as being mingled, and consisting of the varietie of all plants and herbes, who sing and say in this manner:

*We feed in plenty everie where  
Upon the plants which earth doth beare;  
The staty Firre we bark and bruse  
The Holme likewise with mightie bowghes;  
The tender crops of Arbutree  
Which beares a fruite like Strawberry;  
Do yeeld us fooode, and many mo  
Which both on hilles and dales do grow;  
As namly sweet tree Trifolie  
On which we love to eate dailie;  
The Juniper with fragrant smell,  
The Yewgbye greene and leav'd as well;  
Wilde Olives and fruitfull Lentisk,  
Which yeelds the holtsome gumme Mastick,  
Ash, Figge-tree, Oakes that high doe grow,  
Ivie, Lings which creepes as low;  
Whins, Tamarix, Gorse and Broome,  
Chaste-tree, Brambles, all and some,  
Mollein, Longwoort, Asphodell,  
Ladan for shrub that sweet doth smell:  
Beech trees, with triangled Mast,  
Thyme and Sav'ry, be our repast.*

For even these trees, shrubbes, and herbes, heere reckoned up, have no doubt infinit differences in taste, juice, & vertue; and yet there be a number more besides these left out unnamed: And as for the second point, *Homer* refuseth it by an evident experience, shewing that murrins and pestilent contagions, seized first upon brute beasts: besides, their short life witnesseth sufficiently how diseased they be, and subject to many accidents and infirmities; for there is not one of them to speake of, that liveth long, unlesse haply some man will give instance of the raven and the crow, which we know and see to eat much, and to feed of all sorts of victuals. Moreover, mee thinks that reasoning from the diet of sicke persons, you have not gone by a right rule to discern the meats which be of easie or heave digestion; for labour and exercise, yea and to cut and chew the meat well, serve much for concoction; but for all that they agree not to those who are in a fever: furthermore, I suppose, that you feare without just occasion, the repugnance and contrarietie of divers and sundry meats: for set the case that either nature doth out of different and dislike meats, chuse and take that which is agreeable unto it; the divers nourishment transmitting many and sundry qualities, into the masse and bulke of the body, distributeth unto every part that which is meet and fit for it: so as that commeth to passe which *Empedocles* delivered in these verses:

*Sweet will to sweet, and therewith loves to joine;  
The bitter runnes to that which bitter is;  
Looke what is sharpe with sharpe doth well combine,  
With salish parts salte forseth not amisse.*

This goeth one way, and that another, ech one to that which is suitable thereto, after that the mixture by the heat which is seated in the spirits is dilated and spread abroad, the like alwaies follow their owne kinde: for a body mingled and compounded of so many things assembled together as ours is, by all reason doth contract, enterteine and accomplish the temperature thereof by varietie of matter, rather than by a simple uniformitie thereof; or if it were not so, but that the

the concoction so called, be it which hath force to alter and change our viands; yet the same will both sooner and also better be performed in sundry and divers meats, than in that which is one and simple: for never will the like receive any passion or alteration by the like; but contrarietie and repugnance is that, which sooner turneth and changeth the qualities being ensembled by the mixture of their contrarie: and if you resolve once (*Philinus*) to condemne all that which is mixed and compounded; do not reprove and revile this *Philo* heere, for interteining onely his friends at the table with so costely fare and varietie of deintie dishes: but also, yea and so much the rather, whensoever he compoundeth and mixeth those roiall confections, and those cordiall electuaries that be counter-poisons, which *Erasistratus* was wont to cal: The

very hands of the gods; condemne them (I say) of vanitie, curiositie, and absurditie, who confound and mixe together minerals, herbes, theriacall trochits, made of the parts of venomous serpents, for the composition of their treacles; yea and in one word, whatsoever land or sea affordeth: for by your advice, good it were to abandon all these mixtures, and reduce all physick to plaine pisans, thinne barley water, cucumber seeds, all simple, or at the most to oile and water mingled together: yea, but this pluralitie and diversitie of viands, doth by your saying, ravish, transport, and enchant our appetite as it were, besides its felie, inso much as it hath no more mastery of it selfe: I answer my good friend: That the same draweth after it puritie and neatnesse; it maketh a good stomack; it causeth a sweet breath; and in one word, procureth cheerefulness in us, and a disposition both to eat more, and to drinke better: for otherwise

why take we not course branne in stead of the fine flower of meale to thicken our pots? or why dresse we not and prepare \*cives and golden thistles, as well as wee doe the tender crops and heads of garden sperage? why reject we not this odoriferous, fragrant, and delicate wine of ours, to drinke some savage and hedge drinke; as cyder made of apples, even out of the tubbe which refounds with the confort and musicke of gnats and flies round about? for you will say (I am sure) that an healthfull diet is not the flying and avoiding of pleasure altogether; but rather a moderation and temperature of pleasures, making use of that appetite which is obedient to profit: for like as pilots and matters of ships have many devices and meanes to escape a blustering and violent winde when it is aloft, but when the same is alliaed and downe, there is no man able to raise and set it up againe; even so to withstand the appetite, and to repress the same

when it doth exceed, is not so hard and difficult a matter; but to stirre up, to provoke, & corroborate the same when it is lost, & decayed before due time; or to give an edge unto it, being dull, and faint, is a matter indeed, and a piece of worke (my friend, I may say unto you) not so easily done: whereby it appears, that the nouriture of divers viands, is better than the simple food, and that which by reason is alwaies of one sort, doth soone satise and give one enough, by how much more easie it is to stay nature, when the is too speedie and halitie, than to set her forward, being weary and drawing behinde: and whereas some haply there bee, who say, that repletion and fulnesse is more to be feared and avoided than inanition and emptinesse, that is not true; but rather the contrary: in deed, if repletion and surfet grow to corruption or to some maladie, it is hurtfull; but emptinesse (if it bring and breed none other harme els) is of it selfe

adverse and contrary to nature. Let these reasons therefore be opposed, as it were, dissonant and founding of a contrary string, against those which you (*Philinus*) have physylophically discoursed: as for others of you heere, that for saving money, and to spare cost, stick to salt and \*cumin; you are ignorant for want of experience, that varietie is more pleasant, and the more delectable that a thing is, the more agreeable it is to the appetite, (provided alwaies that some reade that some reade you shunne excesse and gourmandise) for surely it cleaveth quickly to the body which is desirous of it, going as one would say before, and ready to meet it halfe-way for to receive it, having the cie-sight to prepare the way: whereas contrariwise, that which is lothsome or not pleasing to the appetite, stoteth and wandereth up and downe in the bodie, and findeth no entertainment, in such sort, as either nature rejecteth it quite, or if she receive it, the same goes against her

heart, & the doth it for pure need, and want of other sustenance: now when I speake of diversitie & varietie of viands, note thus much and remember, that I meane not these curious works of pastry, these exquisit sawces, tarts, and cakes, which go under the name of *Aburiae*, *Canduli*, & *Caryae*; which are but superfluous toies and vanities; for otherwise *Plato* himselfe alloweth varietie of meats at the table, to these generous and noble gentlemen his citizens, whom he describeth in his common-wealth, when he setteth before them, bulbs, scallions, olives, salad herbs, cheefe, and al manner of deinties that worth would afford; and over & above all these, he would not defraud nor cut off the feast of their junclets & banquetting dishes at the end of al.

## THE SECOND QUESTION.

*What is the reason of this opinion so generally received, that Mufhromes be engendred of thunder? and that those who lie afleepe are not thought to be smitten with lightning?*

**A**T a certaine supper, where we were in the city *Elia*, *Agemachus* set before us Mufhromes of an exceeding bignesse; whereat when the companie seemed to wonder, one who was there present, smiled and said: Certes, these may be seeme well the great thunders that we have lately had within this few daies; by which words he seemed pleasantly to scoffe at this vulgar opinion: That Mufhromes should breed of thunder. Now some were there, who said: That thunder caused the earth to chinke and open, using the meanes of the aire, as it were a wedge to cleave it, and withall, that they who seeke for Mufhromes, by those crevices guesse where they are to be found; whereupon arose this common opinion: That they were engendred of thunder, and not shewed thereby; as if a man should imagine that a shewe of raine breedeth snails, and not rather cause them to creepe forth and be scene abroad. But *Agemachus* seemed then in good earnest to confirme the said received opinion, by experience, praying the company, not to conclude by & by that a thing was incredible, because it was strange and wonderful: For (quoth he) there be many other effects of thunder, lightning, and other meteores or celestial impressions right admirable; whereof it were very hard, if not altogether impossible, to comprehend the causes and the reasons. For this ridiculous round root called the Bulb, which maketh us so good sport, and is grown into a by-word, little though it be, escapeth not by that meanes from thunder, but because it hath a propertie cleane contrary unto it; like as the figge tree also, and the skin of the seale or sea-calf, and of the beast *Hyena*, with whose skinned, mariners and failers are wont to clothe the ends of their crosse-saile-yards, whereupon they hang their sailes: gardeners also and good husbandmen, call those shewes that fall with thunder *evadras*, that is to say, good to water their grounds, and so they think them to be. In summe, it were great simplicity and meere folly to wonder hereat, considering that we doe see before our eyes, things more admirable than this, and indeed of all other, most incredible; namely, out of moist clouds, fire to flash, and from the same (soft as they be) so great cracks and horrible claps of thunder: Well, I am (quoth he) in these matters somewhat talkative and full of words, because I would sollicit and move you to be more willing to search into the cause, for that I meant not to deale hardly otherwise with you, and seeme to presse you every one to lay downe your part toward the payment for these my great Mufhromes. Why (quoth I) *Agemachus* himselfe seemeth in some sort to have pointed with his very finger to the reason hereof; for I assure you, at this present I can not thinke of any one, more probable than this; namely, that together with thunder, there falleth downe many times a certaine genitall water, apt to ingender; and the cause thereof, is heat mingled among: for, that pure, light, & piercing substance of the fire, being now converted into lightning, is gone and passed away; but the more weightie, grosse and flatulent part remaining behinde, enwrapped within the cloud, altereth and taketh quite the coldnesse away, and drinketh up the moisture, making it more fletuous and windie, in such sort, as by this meanes especially, these raines gently and mildly enter & pierce into plants, trees and herbs, upon which they fall, causing them within a while to thrive in bignesse, and infusing within them a particular temperature and a peculiar difference of juice. As we may observe otherwise, that the dew maketh the grasse to be better seasoned (as it were) and fitter to content the appetite of sheepe and other cattell: yea, and those clouds upon which that reflexion is made, which we call the rain-bow, fill those trees and wood upon which they fall, with a passing sweet and pleasant odor; whereof, the priests of our countrey be not ignorant, but acknowledge as much, calling the same *triffespa*, as if the rain-bow did rest or settle upon them. Much more probable it is, that when these waters and raines together with their ventosities & heats, occasioned by thunders & lightnings, come to pierce deepe into the earth, it turneth and rolleth round, and by that meanes are ingendred therein such like nodosities and knobs, soft and apt to crumble, which we call Mufhromes; like as in our bodies there breed and arise certaine flatuous tumors, named Kernels or Glandules, formed by occasion of I wot not what bloudy humors and heats withal: for a Mufhrome seemeth not to be a plant, neither without rain & moisture doth it breed, having no root at all, nor any sprout springing from it; it is wholly entire of it selfe round about, and holding upon nothing, as having the consistence onely of the earth which hath bene a lile altered & changed.

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And if you thinke this reason to be but slender, I say unto you more, that the most part of those accidents which follow upon thunder and lightning, are of the like sort; and therefore it is especially, that in these effects there is thought to be a certaine divinitie. Then *Dorotheus* the orator who was in the companie: I trow it is (quoth he) that you say, for not onely the vulgar sort of simple and ignorant people are of that opinion, but some also of the philosophers; and for mine owne part I know as much by experience, that the lightning which of late fell upon our house, wrought many strange and wonderfull things: for it emptied our sellers of wine, and never did hurt unto the earthen vessell wherein it was; and whereas there lay a man a sleepe, it flew over him, yea, and flashed upon him, without any harme at all to his person, or singeing so much as his clothes; but having a certaine beke or pouch wherein were certaine pieces of brasse money, it melted and defaced them all so confusedly, that a man could not know by the forme or impression, one from another: the man went thereupon to a certaine Pythagorian philosopher, who as he happened was sojournd there, and demaunded of him what the reason might be thereof, and what it did preface? But the philosopher, when hee had cleered and assailed his minde of scrupulous feare and religion, willed him to ponder and consider of the matter apart by himselfe, and to pray unto the gods. I heare say also, that not long since there was a souldier at *Rome*, who keeping the Centinell, upon one of the temples of the citie, chanced to have a flash of lightning to fall very neere unto him; which did him no hurt in the world in his body, but onely burnt the latches of his shoes: and whereas there were certaine fine boxes and crucets of silver within wooden cases, the silver within was found all melted into a masse in the bottom, and the wood had no injurie at all, but continued still entire and sound. But these things a man may chuse whether he will believe or no. Howbeit, this passeth all other miracles, which we all (I suppose) doe know very well, namely, that the dead bodies of those who have beene killed by lightning, continue above ground and putrifie not: for many there be who will neither burne nor enterre such corpes, but cast a trench or banke about, and so let them lie as within a rampart; so as such dead bodies are to be scene alwaies above ground uncorrupt; convincing *Clymene* in *Euripides* of untruth, who speaking of *Phaethon* said thus:

*Belov'd mine, but see where dead he lies,*

*In vale below, and there with purifies.*

And heereupon it is, (as I take it,) that brimstone taketh the name in Greeke *thion*, for the resemblance of that smell which those things yeeld that have beene smitten with lightning, which no doubt have a ferie and piercing sent: and this may be the reason likewise in my conceit, that dogges and fowles of the aire forbore to touch any dead bodies, which in this sort are stricken from heaven. Thus farre forth have I laid the first stone for a ground-woke of this cause, as also of the Bay-tree: Now let us intreat him heere to finish and make out the rest, for that he is well acquainted with Mufhromes, lest haply that befall unto us which sometimes to the painter *Andros* did; for whē he painted the gulfe *Seylla*, he portraied more naturally & to the life, the fishes all about, than any thing else besides; whereby men judged that hee shewed more affection therein, than cunning of his art, for that naturally he loved to feed upon good fishes; and even so some one might say; that we have discoursed so much of Mufhromes, the breeding and generation whereof is so doubtfull, as you see, for the pleasure and delight that we take in eating of them. Considering now that in these points our discourse seemed to carrie some probability, and that everie man was perswaded well enough that the cause and reason thereof was cleere; and withall my selfe began to speake and advise, that it was now time as the manner was in comedies, to set up those engines devised for to counterfet thunder; so to inferre a disputation at the table of lightnings; to which motion all the company consented, but passing over all other points, very desirous and earnest they were to heare a discourse as touching this one: What the reason might be that men a sleepe be never smitten or blasted with lightning. Now albeit I saw well well enough, that I should gaine no great praise, in touching so a cause, whereof the reason was common, yet I beganne to let it and said: That the fire of lightning was fine and subtil, as that which tooke the original and beginning from a most pure, liquid, and sacred substance; which if there had bene in it any moisture or terrestrial grosseness mingled among, the celeritie of motion is such, that it would have purged and cast it forth: Nothing is smitten with lightning (quoth *Democritus*) that cannot resist the fire from heaven; and therefore solide bodies, as iron, brasse, silver, and gold, be corrupted and melted therewith, by reason that they hold out, and withstand it: contrariwise, such as bee rare, full of holes, spungious, soft, and lux, lightning quickly pierceth through, and doth them no harme;

as for example, clothes or garments, and drie wood; for such as is Greene will burne, because the moisture within maketh resistance, and so catcheth fire withall. If then it be true, that those who lie a sleepe be never stricken dead with thunder and lightning, surely wee must search heere for the cause, and never goe farther; for the bodies of men awake, are stronger, more firme and compact, yea, and able to make more resistance; as having all their parts full of spirits, by which ruling, turning, and welding the naturall senses and holding them together as it were with an engine, the living creature becometh strong, fast, knit, and uniforme: whereas in sleepe it is slacke, loose, rare, unequal, soft, and as it were all resolved, by reason that the pores be open, for that the spirit hath forsaken and abandoned them; which is the cause likewise that voices, odors, and savours, passe through them unheard and unsmelled: for why? that which should resist, in resistance suffer and take impression, meeteth not with those objects, that are presented unto it, and least of all, when they pierce with such swiftnesse and subtiltie, as the fire of lightning doth; for that which of it selfe is lesse firme & strong for to resist offensive things, nature doth defend, fortifie, and furnish with remedies against that which offendeth, by putting before them hard and solide munitions; but looke what things bee of incomparable force, and invincible, they lesse offend and hurt that which yeeldeth, than that which maketh head and resistance: adde moreover hereunto, that they who lie a sleepe are lesse affraid, affrighted, or astonied, by occasion whereof of nothing else, many have died; onely (I say) for feare of death, without any harme at all done unto them: And this is the very cause that shepheards teach their sheepe to runne and gather round together, into a troupe when it thundereth, for that they which are disperfed and scattered a sunder, for very feare take harme, and cast their yong ones in time of thunder: yea and an infinit number have bene knowne to lie dead on the ground, by reason of thunder, without any mark or stroke, wound, scorch, or burne seene upon them, whose life and soule for very feare hath flowne out of their bodies, like a birde out of a cage: for according as *Euripides* saith:

*The very blast of some great thunder-clap,  
Hath many a one stricken stone-dead with a flap.*

And forasmuch as otherwise the sense of hearing, is of all others most subject to suffer violent passions, and the fearefull frights occasioned by sounds and noises, worke greatest troubles in the minde: against it, the privation of sense is a sure bulwarke and rampart to a man that lieth a sleepe; whereas they who are awake, be many times killed with feare of the thing before it cometh: for a fright (to say a trueth) knitting, closing, and compressing the body fast, giveth more strength a great deale to the stroke when it comes, for that it findeth more resistance.

### THE THIRD QUESTION.

*Why at a wedding or bride-supper, men use to invite more guests, than at other times?*

AT the wedding of my sonne *Autobulus* (ô *Sofistus Senecio*) one who came first *Cheronea*, was with us to solemnize the feast; & a great number there were besides of other honorable personages; which gave unto him occasion for to demand this question: What the cause might be, that ordinarily we invite more guests to such a marriage supper, than to any other feast? considering that even those law-givers who impugned most, the superfluitie and riot of feasts, have precisely & expressly set downe the number of those persons, whom they would have to be bidden-guests to a wedding: For of the ancient philosophers (quoth he) the man that treated of this argument and the cause thereof, to wit, *Hecataeus of Abdera*, hath written nothing in my judgement worth ought, nor to the purpose; for thus he saith: That they who marry wives, bid many persons to their wedding, to the end that many may take knowledge and beare witness, that being free borne and of free condition, they take wives likewise of like free birth and condition. For the comick poets, cleane contrary, mocke and laugh at those, who make proud and sumptuous feasts at their marriage, setting out the same with great pompe and magnificence, as if that were no sure bond nor linke to be trusted unto, wherewith they would seeme to knit wedlocke; like as *Menander* said to one, who willed the bridegrome to make a strong rampart all about, of pots, pannes and platters;

*When that is done on every side,  
What is all this to your new bride?*

But lest we might not seeme to finde fault with others at our pleasure, for that we have nothing of our owne to say, which is the easiest matter in the world, I shewed first and formost, that there

was

was no occasion of feasting, so publike nor so much divulged and celebrated, as marriage: for say that we sacrifice unto the gods, or feast a friend for his farewell when he is to goe a long voyage, or entertaine a traveller and stranger that passeth by our house, or cometh of purpose to visit us, we may do all without the privie of kinsfolke & friends: but a nuptiall feast (where the wedding-song and caroll of *Hymenaeus* is chanted aloud; where the torches are to be seene light-burning; where the hautboies and pipes play merrily and rebound; where (as *Homer* saith) the very women and maidens stand wondering at their doors, to see and heare) is notoriously knowne and proclaimed to the whole world; in regard whereof, because there is none ignorant of these espousals and festivall solemnities, men being ashamed to leave out any, invite generally all their kinsfolke, familiar friends and acquaintance, as whom in some sort it doth concerne, and who have an interest in the thing. When we all had approved this, *Theon* taking in hand the question: Surely all this (quoth he) may goe for current, for it carrieth great probability therewith; but you may adde moreover (if you please) thus much: That these marriage feasts are not onely for friends, but also for kinsfolke and allies; for that a whole kindred, race and generation, come to have another new alliance to be incorporated into them: and that which more is, when two houses in this wise be joined together; both he who receiveth the woman, thinketh that hee ought to entertaine and feast the kindred and friends of him that giveth her; and he who giveth her, likewise taketh himselfe bound to doe as much reciprocally, by the kinsfolke and friends of the receiver; whereby the feast and number of them who are bidden, groweth double. Now forasmuch as many marriage complements, and (to say a trueth) the most part in manner all, are performed at weddings by women, surely where the goodwives be, great reason there is, that of necessity their husbands also should be welcome for their sakes, and so thereby the companie still doth increafe.

### THE FOURTH QUESTION.

*Whether the viands which the sea affordeth, be more delicate than those of the land?*

*Galepsus* a town in *Eubaea*, where there be baths naturally of hot waters, is a proper seat and place fitted by nature, for sundry honest pleasures, beautified with many faire houses and lodgings, in such sort, as it is reputed the publike hostellie of all *Greece*: and albeit there be great game there, of hunting and hawking, and wonderful plenty afield of fowle as other venison, yet is the market no lesse served from the sea, nor their tables lesse furnished with daintie fish; for that indeed along the coast, the sea is very deepe, and the water faire, nourishing an infinit number of excellent fishes. This towne flourisheth more in the mids of Spring, than at any other season of the yeere; for much concourse there is thither at that time, who converse familiarly one with another, feasting mutually, and taking the benefit of that great affluence of victuals, and abundance of all good things; where having nothing els to doe of great importance, they passe the most part of the time in devising and discoursing together of good letters and matters of learning: but whensoever *Callistratus* the professour of rhetoricke is at home, hardly may a man sup any where els but at his house; for a man so full of courtesie he is and hospitality, that there is no saying of him nay. Now for that willingly he used to bring those together who were learned and professed scholars, his company was so much more pleasant and delectable; for many times he would seeme among other ancient persons of olde time, to imitate *Cicero*, making his whole and onely pleasure, to feast many in his house, and those from all parts: but most of all, and in manner continually, he followed the example and steps of *Celeus*, of whom it is written, that he was the first who daily assembled to his house, a number of honourable persons, and of good marke, which assembly he called *Prytanium*. The speeches ordinarily at these meetings in *Callistratus* his house, was soring well and suitable to such companie: but one day above the rest, when the table stood furnished with all manner of dishes that a mans heart could wish for, it ministred matter and occasion to enquire as touching viands, whether were better, those of the land or those of the sea? And when all others in manner with one accord and voice, commended them which the land did yeeld, as being of so divers and sundry sorts, yea and those innumerable; *Polyrates* calling *Symmachus* by name: You sir, (quoth hee) who are (as one would say) a water-animall, bred and fed within so many seas, environing round about your sacred citie *Naxos*, will not you mainteine and defend your tutelard god *Neptune*? Yes that I will (quoth *Symmachus*) I heartily pray and beleeve you to joine with me in this cause, whom I

take



take for mine adioint and affisant; considering that you enjoy the benefit of the sweetest and most pleasant coast of all the sea. Beginne we then (quoth *Polyrates*) our discourse with our usuall custome and manner of speech: For like as among so many poets as there be, wee give but one by way of excellencie, simply the name of poet; to wit *Homer*, for that of all others he is the principall; so there being in the world many daintie cates, and exquisit viands, yet use of speech hath caried it so, that fish alone, or especially is named *fish*, that is to say, meat, for that indeed it is the chiefe and very best: heereupon it comes, that we call those gluttons that love belly cheere so well, *fish-eaters*, and *fish-lovers*, not for that they love beefe so well as *Hercules* did: who as the poet saith:

*When that he had fedde well of flesh,  
Did eat greene new figges gathered fresh.*

10

Neither doe wee name such an one *phagivorus*, that is to say, a lover of figges, as *Plato* was, or *phiborlus*, that is to say, one that loveth grapes as well, like as *Arceflaus* did; but such as haunt ordinarily the fish stalls, and have a quicke care, to heare the market bell, or listen to the clock, that giveth warning when the fish-market is open: And *Demosthenes* when hee objected unto *Philocrates*: That with the money that hee received for betraying his country, hee bought whoores, & fishes; reproched the man no doubt for his lecherie and gluttony: and it is preily said of *Ctesiphon*, when as one of these gluttons and bellie-gods, in the court or counsell house cried out: That he should cracke and burst in the middes: Doe not so (quoth hee) my good friend in any case, make us not a bait heere, for to be devoured of fishes: and he that made these little verses:

*Thou live'st of capers as thy meat,  
When as of \*Sturgeon thou dost eat.*

\* *asthar*, if it were not a sturgeon, it was some delicate fish.

What was his meaning thinke you? or what meaneth this common word of the people, when they speake one to another, for to be merry and make good cheere: Come, shall wee to the strand or shore to daie? Is it not as much as if they meant; that to suppe by the water side had no fellow for pleasure and delight, as in truth it hath not; for surely their purpose is not to goe unto the shore for the love that they have to see the billowes of the sea, or the gravell stones and sands cast up; why then? because they would eat some good pease pottage there, or make their meales with capers? no forsooth; for who goes thither for that purpose? but it is because they that dwell along the banke by the water-side, are provided alwaies of toison and store of good fish, & the same fresh & sweet. Moreover, sea-fish carrieth an higher price beyond all reason, than other meat that commeth to the market: inso much as *Cato* declaiming and inveighing openly before the people against the superfluitie and excess in *Rome* citie, brake out into this speech, not hyperbolically and over-reaching the truth, but as it was indeed: That a fish at *Rome* was deerer sold than a fatte ox: for they sell a little barrell of fish at such an high price, as an hundred oxen would not cost so much, at a solemne sacrifice, where they goe before bores, goates, and other beasts, yea and the strewing of sacred meale. Certes, the best judge of the vertue and strength of medicinable drougues and spices, is the most expert physician; likewise no man is able so well to judge of song and harmonical measures, as the best and most experienced musician; and consequently we may inferre, that the meekest judge as touching the goodnesse and deintinesse of meats, is he who loveth them best: for we must not take to arbitrate and determine such a controversie and question as this, *Pythagoras* or *Xenocrates*; but rather *Antagoras* the poet, *Philostratus* the sonne of *Eryx*, and *Androcydes* the painter; who being to make a picture for to represent the gulfie *Seylla*, drew even the fishes about it most emphatically with a kinde of affectionate minde unto them; and in one word, more lively and naturally than all the rest, because he loved fish so well, and fedde upon them with such contentment. *Antagoras* as the poet was upon a time in the campe of king *Antigonus*, who finding him verie busie all untied & unbuttoned, in seeking of congers in a pan, came close unto him, & rounding him in the eare: Sirha, (quoth hee) thinkest thou that *Homer* thy master, when hee described the noble acts of *Agamemnon*, was busie about boiling of congers: unto whom *Antagoras* turned againe, and replying in this wise presently: And thinke you sir (quoth he) that when *Agamemnon* exploited those brave feats of armes, he went up and downe in his campe spying, peeping, and prying into every corner so busily as you doe, for to see if he could find one seeking a conger? Thus much *Polyrates*: and to conclude and knit up his speech: For mine owne part (quoth he) this I thought good to say in the behalfe of fishes, induced thereto as well by the proofe of testimonies as custome and usuall speech.

But

But I (quoth *Symmachus*) will handle this matter soberly, and in good earnest, going more subtilly and liker a logician to worke, in this manner: For if that be counted dainy and delicate which seasoneth meat, and giveth it the most pleasant taste; we must needs confesse, that simply to be the best, which maintaineth the appetite, and giveth an edge to the stomacke that continueth longest: like as therefore those philosophers surnamed *Elpistiques* affirme: That there was nothing that maintained life, and held bodie and soule longer together than Hope; for that without hope which doth mitigate and allay all travells, it is impossible to live; even so for we must needs graunt and yeeld, that to keepe and preserve appetite best, without which all other viands be lothsome and odious: but nothing shall you finde of that propertie and effect, comming out of the earth; but such a thing the sea affordeth, and that is salt, without which nothing to speake of is favorie, nothing toothsome nor to be eaten: for even our very bread is not pleasing to our taste, if there be no salt within it: which is the reason that *Neptune* and *Ceres* be alwaies worshipped together in one temple: In summe, salt is as it were the sauce of sauces, and that which seasoneth all the dainties whatsoever. And heereupon it was that those worthies and demi-god princes, who encamped before *Troy*, and made profession of sparie and simple diet, as religious votaries, and who cut off all curious superfluitie and excess, over and above necessarie food, inso much as they did not eat once of fish; notwithstanding they had a standing legier, hard upon the straights of *Hellepont*, could not endure to befever at the table without salt; witnessing thereby, that it is the onely viand which cannot be rejected or left out: for like as colours of necessitie require light; even so all those labours and juices within meats, have need of salt, to stirre up the sense of taste, and to provoke appetite, otherwise they are but flat, unpleasent to the tongue, and lothsome: for dead carions (as *Hercules* saith) would be cast forth, rather than dung and ordure: and what is the flesh that wee eat, but a dead thing, and part of a dead carcase: but when the strength of salt is put thereto, it is in stead of life; to give a grace and commendable taste unto it: and this is the reason, that before other food, we take those things that be sharpe and saltish, and in one word, whatsoever do stand most of salt; for such be affectives of the appetite, which being drawn on, and enticed as with a bait, by the meanes of these vancurriers and preparatives, it commeth more fresh, and with a better edge, ready to set upon other meats; whereas, if we should begin with them first, our stomacke would quickly be done and gone: I will yet say more than so; namely, that all the kinds of salt, serve not onely to give a good relish to our meats, but also draw on our drinks, and cause us to make a quarrell to the cup. As for that opinion which *Homer* talketh of, and praith for a speciall daintie to commend drinke, it was more meet indeed for mariners & rowers at the oare, than kings and princes: but in truth, those meats that be powdered or corned a little with salt; for that they be favoury in the mouth, give all wines a pleasant verdure to please the taste, and to goe downe the throat merrily; the same make any water potable and delightfome, having besides, no such ranke and strong sent, as the onion leaves behind it. That which more is, such meats doe rarefie other viands, and prepare them for concoction and digestion, in such sort, as salt being eaten, imparteth unto the bodie the delight of a deintie viand, and the might of an hollesome medicine.

To come now unto other meats, wherewith we are furnished from the sea: besides, that they are passing sweet, they be also of all others most harmlesse; for albeit they be of a fleshly substance, yet they lie not heave upon the stomacke, they be easily concocted, and soone passed downward: witness hereof, our *Zeno* here, yea and beleve me, *Cyrus*, who so soone as men be sicke or ill at ease, before all other directions, betake them to fish diet. Furthermore, it soundeth to good reason, that the sea breedeth and feedeth for us, living creatures, more hollesome than any others, by how much they be more exercised, considering that the very aire which dath breathe and send forth, for the purity and simplicitie thereof is most agreeable unto us. Well said of you (quoth *Lamprias*) and fully to the point; howbeit, somewhat will I adde more out of my phylosophicall learning: My grandfather (I remember) was wont ordinarily to say of the Jewes by way of mockerie, that they abstained from the eating of that flesh, which of all others, deserved most justly to be eaten; even so may we say, that man hath not so great right and reason to feed upon any viands whatsoever, as those that come out of the sea: for, say that there were no other communion and fellowship betweene us and these land-creatures; yet at leastwise, thus much there is, that many of them eat of the same food with us, draw in the same aire, wash and drinke as we doe, yea, and otherwhiles we are abashed, and take pity of them, when we kill them for our food, making a lamentable crie as they do: and for that we have made some of

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them

them familiar unto us, inasmuch as they can do many things answerable to the education which they had; whereas the fishes in the sea and rivers, are altogether strangers unto us, as being bred, nourished and living in another world; no voice of theirs, no aspect of countenance, nor service at all which either they have done or can doe for us, can exempt them or crave mercy at our hands, for to have their lives saved. For what use should we make of those creatures which we can not keepe alive with us? or what charitable affection can we beare toward them? the place where we live, is to them no lesse than hell; for no sooner come they into it, but dead they are immediatly.

### THE FIFTH QUESTION.

*Whether it is upon any reverent and religious opinion of swine, that the Jewes abstaine from their flesh, or because they detest and abhorre them?*

After these speeches thus passed, some there were, who prepared and addressed themselves to dispute in opposition against that which had beene said: but *Callistratus* breaking off and putting by all further disputation of this argument: What thinke you (quoth he) of that by-speech, discharged against the Jewes by *Lamprias*; namely, that they forbore to eat of that flesh which deserveth most justly of all others to be eaten? For my part (quoth *Polyrates*) I thinke it passing well spoken; but this moreover and besides, troubleth my head, and maketh me doubt, whether this nation, upon any honour or reverent regard of swine, or for meere abomination and hatred of the beast, doth abstaine from their flesh? as for that which themselves alledge, it resembleth fables and devised tales; unless haply they have some other serious and secret reasons, which they are loth to deliver before the face of the world. To say what I thinke (quoth *Callistratus*) I am verily perswaded, that the swine is in some honour among them: for admit that it be a foule and illfavoured beast, what then? that it be filthie besides, what of that? I can not see that it is more ugly in shape to see to, or more untoward of nature to be endured, than the bettill, the crocodile, or the cat; which notwithstanding, the Aegyptian priests do honour and reverence as most holy creatures, some in one place and some in others: and as for the hogge, it is said, that they regard and honour it by way of thanksgiving, as gratefull persons, acknowledging a benefit received from that beast, in that it sheweth them the manner how to til and eare the ground, breaking up the earth, digging and rooting (as he doth) into it with his snout: and withall, what say you to this, that he hath shewed the making of a plough-share, which some thinke, thereupon tooke the name *Evius*, as derived of the word *Ev*, that is to say, a swine. And verily, the Aegyptians at this day, such as inhabit the low-countrie and the flats along the river *Nilus*, have no need of other plough than the swines snout; for when the river is returned againe within his banks, after he hath watered the plaines & champian field sufficiently, the peasants of the countrie doe no more but follow presently with their seed, and put in all their hogges after it, who partly trampling with their feet, and in part turning up the soft earth with their noses, cover the seeds which the husbandmen have cast upon the ground. No marvell therefore, if there be some nations, who in this respect forbore to eat swines flesh, considering there be other beasts, who for as small matters as these, yea, and some that be meere ridiculous and to be laughed at, have had right great honours done unto them, by barbarous nations: for it is said, that the Aegyptians make a god of the silly blinde mouse *Mygate*: and why so? because darkenesse was before light, and is of greater antiquitie: also they have an opinion, that this creature is ingendered of mice in the fifth generation, or at the fifth time that they breed, and that in the verie change of the moone; also, that the liver of it doth decrease, as the moone is in the wane, and doth decay with her light.

Moreover, they consecrate the lion unto the sunne, for that it is the onely foure-footed beast having crooked claws, which bringeth forth whelps that can see: also, for that the lion is verie wakefull, and sleepeeth passing little, and whiles he sleepeeth, his eyes do shine againe. Moreover, they set lions heads gaping for the spouts of their fountaines, because (forsooth) the river *Nilus* bringeth new waters into their fields, and come-grounds, when the sunne passeth thorow the signe *Leo* in the Zodiacke: and as for the blacke stork *Ibis*, which they likewise honor, they say, that when it is first hatched, she weigheth two drammes, that is to say; just as much as the heart of a young infant newly borne doth weise; also that of the two legs and the bill stretched forth one from the other, and resting upon the ground, is made the true proportion of a triangle

angle with three equall sides: And why should the Aegyptians be blamed and condemned for so great folly and absurditie, seeing that by report, the very Pythagoreans themselves adorned and worshipped a white cocke; and among other sea fishes they abstained from the bable and the nettle fish, considering also that the Magicians, who were of the sect of *Zoroastres*, honored above all living creatures upon earth the urchin or hedgehogge, but hated water-mice; saying: That he should doe best service, and most acceptable to the gods, yea and be right blessed and happie himselfe, who could kill the greatest number of them.

This giveth me occasion to thinke, that if the Jewes had held swine hatefull, and abominable creatures, they would have killed them, like as the Magicians did the said mice; whereas contrariwise they are as well forbidden to kill them, as to eat them: and peradventure there is good reason, that as they honour the asse, for that sometime in a great drought he shewed them a place wherein was a fountaine of water; even so they reverence the swine, for teaching them how to fowe and till the ground. And verily some man haply might say, that this people abstaineth likewise from eating the hare, hating and abhorring the same, as an impure and uncleane beast: It is not without some cause (quoth *Lamprias*, taking the word out of his mouth) that they forbore eating of the hare, for the resemblance that it hath to the asse, whom they mystically doe worship; for the colour of them both is all one; the eares be long and bigge withall, their eyes great and shining; in which respects there is a marvellous similitude betweene them, in such sort, that of a great and small beast, there is not to be found such a resemblance againe in any other; unless peradventure among other similitudes, they imitate heerein the Aegyptians, who esteeme the swiftnesse of this beast divine, yea, and the exquisite perfection of some naturall senses, admirable: for the eyes of hares be so vigorous and indefatigable, that they will sleepe open eyed, and their hearing so quick, that the Aegyptians having them in such admiration therefore, when they would signifie in their Hieroglyphick characters, perfect hearing, doe paint and poutrey hares: as for swines flesh, the Jewes have in great abomination, for that barbarous nations do of all other diseases abhorre faint *Malaria* evill, or the white leprosie most, as well for that they suppose, that these maladies may be engendred, by feeding upon their flesh, as also because, looke what persons they do assaile, them they doe eat & consume in the end; and this we doe see ordinarily, that a swine under his belly is full of a kind of leprosie, and covered all over with a white scurfe, called *Psora*; which infection seemeth to proceed from some evill habit, and inward corruption within the body, bewraying it selfe in the outside of the skinne: to say nothing of the filthinesse of this beast, both in feeding and otherwise, which must needs impart some evill qualitie to the flesh; for there is not another beast againe, that taketh such pleasure in dirt and ordure, loving to wallow and welter in the most mirie and stinking places that be, as it doth; unless they be such as breed and bee nourished in those places: furthermore, it is said, that the sight of their eyes is so bent and fixed downward, that they can see nothing on high, no, nor once so much as looke up to the skie, unless they be cast upon their backs with their feet upward; so that the balles of their eyes by this means be turned quite contrary to the course of nature: and verily this beast howsoever otherwise ordinarily it be given to cry and grunt exceeding much, yet if the feet be turned upward (as is before said) it will be silent and still; so much astonished and amazed it is to see the face of heaven, which it is not wont to doe, and so for feare of some greater harme, it is thought that it giveth over crying: Now if wee may come in with poeticall fables to make up our discourse; it is said, that faire *Adonis* was killed by a wilde bore; and *Adonis* is thought to be no other than *Bacchus* himselfe; which opinion may be confirmed by many ceremoniall rites, in sacrificing both to the one and the other, which are the very same: although some hold that *Adonis* was the minion whom *Bacchus* loved, as appeareth by *Phanocles* the poet, a man well scene in love-matters, in these verses:

*Bacchus who tooke so great delight  
The hills and forests for to range:  
Of faire Adonis had once a sight,  
And him to ravish made it not strange.*

*Symmachus* marvelling at this last speech of his above the rest: How now (quoth he) will you *Lamprias* indeed insert and transcribe the true god of your country:

*Bacchus I meane surnamed Evius,  
Who women doth to rage incite:*

And in such service furious,  
And frantick worship takes delight.

among the secret ceremonies of the Hebrewes? Or doe you not thinke there is some reason that he is the very same god whom they love. Then *Meragenes*: Let *Lamprius* alone (quoth he) as for my selfe who am an Athenian, I answer & say unto you assuredly, that he and *Bacchus* are both one: but the most part of the arguments and conjectures which proove it, may not be uttered and taught, but unto those who are professed in the absolute religion and confraternitie trierically, of *Bacchus* in our country: howbeit, that which we are not forbidden to speak among friends, and namely at the table, amide our cuppes, and when we take pleasure in the gifts and benefits of this god, (if it pleaseth the cōpany) ready I am to deliver: and when they all willed & requested him to doe: \* First and formost (quoth he) the season and whole manner of their principall and greatest feast, is altogether proper and convenient unto *Bacchus*; for that which they call their fast, they celebrate in the very middes and heat of vintage, at what time as they bring tables abroad, and furnish them with all kinds of fruit: they sit under tents or boothes, which are made principally of vine branches and ivie, wrought, twisted, & interlaced one within another; and the even or day before it, they call the feast of tabernacles or pavilions: within a few daies after, they celebrate another feast, and the same is not under a figure, and covertly, but openly, and directly in the name of *Bacchus*: there is a third solemnitie yet among them, named *Cradephoria*, of carying vine braunches and *Thyrsochoria*, of bearing javelins dight with ivie, and in that manner enter they into their temple, but what they doe within we know not: howbeit very probable it is, that they performe there certeine Bacchanales or rites in the honor of *Bacchus*; for they use little trumpets to invoke upon their god, such as the Argives have in their Bacchanale solemnitie; then come others playing upon harpes and lutes, whom they call in their language *Levites*, a denomination haply derived of *Lycius*, the surname of *Bacchus*, or rather of *Evius*: It seemeth also to me, that their feasts of Sabbats is not altogether disagreeable with *Bacchus*; for there be many places yet in Greece even at this day, where they call the priests *Bacchi*, by the name of *Sabbi*: who in their Bacchanales and ceremoniall sports, effoones reiterate these voices, *Euo* and *Sabbi*, as appeareth in the oration of the crowne which *Demosthenes* made against *Aelcines*; as also in the poet *Menander*. And this name, *Sabbat*, if a man should say, it was imposed upon this feast of *Evius*, that is to say, of the inordinate motion and turbulent agitation of the priests of *Bacchus*, it were not altogether absurd and without reason: for even they themselves tell us no lesse: for they solemnize and honor the Sabbath with mutuall feasting and inviting one another to drinke wine, untill they be overfene therewith, unlesse some great occasion do occurre that hindereth them; and even then, they thinke yet that they must needs take strong wine. Howbeit, some man may haply say, that these arguments be but bare conjectures and presumptions, that cary with them some little probabilitie: but verily, that which is done among them, is a forcible & necessarie prooffe. First and formost, their high priest shewing himselfe abroad, and going before with a miter upon his head, at these feasts, argueth no lesse, who also is clad in a vesture of Stags skinnie, wrought richly with golde; arraigned beside, in a long robe, downe to his feet, and wearing buskins; besides, there be many little belles pendant round about the border and skirt of his robe, which gingle and ring as he goeth, like as also among us: this manner of resounding they use still in their sacrifices, and they surname the nourfes of their god, *Cholodryta*: and besides, there is a *Thyrse* or *Javelot* with tabours to be seene expressly printed aloft, against the walles of their temple; all which ceremonies, certainly can agree to no other god, but unto *Bacchus*.

Moreover, in none of all their oblations do they offer honie, for that they thinke it marreth and corrupteth wine when it is mingled with it; and yet this was the liquor which they used in oldetie, to serve God withall in their libaments; and whereof they dranke untill they were drunke, before the vine-tree was knowne: and even at this day, those barbarous nations, who drinke no wine, use a certeine drinke made of honie, correcting the exceeding sweetnesse thereof with certeine tart and austere roots resembling (in some sort) the verdure of wine: these oblations, the Greeks present unto their gods, and those they call *Nephalia* and *Melesponda*, as one would say, Sober and confected with honie: for that honie hath a naturall propertie adverte and contrary unto wine. To conclude, that this is the same God which they worship, a man may collect by this one argument, which is of no small force; namely, that among many punishments which they have, this is the most shamefull and ignominious, when they are forbidden



den to drinke wine; wo are punished even so long as it pleaseth him to set downe, who is the judge, and hath power to impose the penaltie; and those who are thus punished, \* \* \* \*

The end of this discourse is wanting, as also the discussing and deciding of the other five questions proposed in the forefront of this fourth booke.



## THE FIFTH BOOKE OF SYMPOSIAQUES OR TABLE QUESTIONS.

### The Contents or Summarie.

- 1  Herefore we willingly heare and see them who counterfeit those that be either angry or sorrowfull; but such as be wroth or heavie in deede, we love not either to heare or see.
- 2 That there was an ancient game of prize performed in Poetrie.
- 3  Why the \* Pitch-tree is consecrated to Neptune and Bacchus; also that in the beginning, men used to crowne with branches of the said tree, those who won the prize at Isthmicke solemnities of sacred games; afterwards, with a garland of \* Smallach; and now againe, they begin to take up the crowning of them with Pitch-tree.
- 4 What is the meaning of these words in Homer: Ζαεστρεῖς ἀκρίαι.
- 5 Of those that invite many to supper.
- 6 What is the cause of sitting pens and with straight roome at the beginning of supper, but at large afterwards, toward the end.
- 7 Of those who are said to eie-bite or to bewitch.
- 8 What is the reason that the poet called an Apple-tree, ἄλκιμον; and why Empedocles named Apples, ἀίφρον.
- 9 What is the reason, that a Fig-tree being it selfe in taste most sharpe and biting, bringeth forth a fruit exceeding sweet.
- 40 10 Who are they that are said in the common proverbe to be μέλι ἀνὰ θυμῶν.

## THE FIFTH BOOKE OF Symposiaques or table-questions.

### The Proöme.



Hat your opinion is at this present (ὁ σοφὸς Σίμω) as touching the pleasures of the soule and bodie, I wot not;

For that now many a mountaine high,  
And hady forest stand betwene;  
The roaring seas likewise do lie,  
So as to part us, barres they beene.

for you seemed not greatly, long agoe, to approve and allow their sentence, who holde: That there is nothing properly and particularly delightfome, nothing pleasant unto the soule, nothing at all that it desireth, or joiet in, of it selfe; but that it liveth onely according

ding to the life of the bodie, laughing (as it were) and sporting with it in the pleasant affections thereof; and contrariwise, mourning at the heave passions afflicting it: as if the foule were no other thing, but a very matter apt to take the impression of sundry formes, or a mirror to receive the images and resemblances of those objects which are presented unto the flesh and body: for as by many reasons, a man may easily refute the blind and illiberal fallacie of this opinion; so, by this especially; that after the table is taken away, and supper done, men of learning and knowledge incontinently fall to discourse and devise together (as it were) at a banquet, delighting and solacing one another with pleasant talke, wherein the bodie hath no part at all, unless it be very little and a farre off: which experience beareth witness, that this is the provision of dainties, and delicate pleasures laid up peculiarly for the foule; and that these be the onely delights indeed of the minde, whereas those other be but baillards and strangers infected with the societie of the bodie: like as therefore nurses whiles they give pappes and panades unto their little babes, have some small pleasure in feeding them, by tasting the same in their owne mouthes before; but after they have filled their infants bellies, and brought them a sleepe, so as they cry no more, then they goe themselves to their owne refection, meet for them, they eate and drinke and make good cheere; even so the foule doth participate with the desires and appetites of the bodie, in manner of a nurse attending upon it, serving it, and framing herselfe in some sort to do it pleasure, and satisfie the necessities thereof: but after that the body is sufficiently served, laied at rest and repose, then being delivered of her obsequious service and businesse about the bodie, she betaketh herselfe from thenceforward unto her owne pleasures and delights; making her repast, and taking her solace in discourses of learning, in good letters, in sciences and histories, and in seeking to heare somewhat, and know more still of that which is singular. What should a man say any more of this? considering and seeing as he doth, that even base mechanickall and unlettered fellows, after supper, ordinarily withdraw their minds, and employ the same upon other pleasures and recreations, farre removed from the body, proposing darke riddles ænigmaticall questions, and intricate propositions of names comprised under notes of certaine numbers, hardly to be assoiled or guessed at? and after all this, come in banquets, which make way unto plaiers, jesters, counterfet pleasures, giving roome to *Menander*, and the actors of his comedies: all which sports and pastimes are not devised for to ease and take away any paine of the body, ne yet to procure some gentle motion and kinde contentment in the flesh; but onely for that the speculative and studious part of the minde, which naturally is in every one of us, doth demand & call for some particular pleasure and recreation of her owne, when we are once discharged of the businesse and offices whereabout we are employed for the body.

### THE FIRST QUESTION.

*What is the cause that willingly we heare and see those who counterfet them that be angrie, or sorrowfull; but lo we not heare or see the parties themselves in those passions?*

OF such matters there passed many discourses, when you were present with us at *Athens*, at what time as the comedian actor *Strato* flourished; for hee was then in so great name and reputation, that there was no talke but of him. But one time above the rest, we were invited and feasted by *Boetius* the Epicurean, and with us there supped many more of that sect: now after supper, the fresh remembrance of the comedie which we had seene acted, gave occasion unto us, being students and lovers of learning, to fall into a discourse and question about the cause, why we cannot abide but are greatly discontented, to heare the voices of those who are angrie, sorrowfull, timorous, or affrighted; and contrariwise, what the reason is, that they who counterfet these passions, and represent their words, their jestures and behaviour, doe much delight and please us? And verily, all in manner there in place, opined the same, and were in one song; for they gave this reason and said: Inasmuch as he who counterfeith those pastimes, is better than he who suffereth them indeed; & in regard that he who is not affected himselfe, excelleth the other; we knowing so much, take pleasure and are delighted: but I, albeit, that I set foot (as men say) in the daunce of another, said thus much: That we being naturally framed for to discourse by reason, and to love things that favour of wit, and be artificially done, affect and esteeme those who have a dexteritie therein, if a thing succeed accordingly: for like as the Bee delighting in sweetnesse, flieth from flower to flower, seeking busily where shee may finde

finde any matter that will afford substance for hony; even so a man by nature ingenious, studious also of arts, and elegancie, is wont to cherish, love, and embrace every action, and worke, where he knoweth there was wit and understanding employed in the finishing of it: if then one come and present unto a young childe, a little loafe of bread indeed, and withall tender unto him a pretty puppie or bulkin, or heighter made of paste or dough; you shall see that he will run rather to these counterfet devices, than to the other: and even so it is also in other things; for if one offer him a piece of silver in the masse unwrought; and another tender unto him a little beaft or a cup made of silver, he will much sooner make choise of that which hee seeth to have some artificall workmanship joined with it, and to favour of wit and cunning: and therefore it is, that children at this age take more delight, both to heare such covert speeches as shew one thing and meane another; as also those plaies and pastimes which have some wittie matters contrived, or ambiguous difficulties interlaced therein: for that which is smoothly polished and curiously wrought, draweth and allureth unto it mans nature of the owne accord, as being proper unto it, and familiar, although it be not taught to embrace it. Forasmuch as therefore, hee who is angry or grieved in good earnest, sheweth nothing else but common and ordinary passions; but in representing and counterfeiting of the same, there is a certaine dexteritie and subtiltie of wit to be seene, especially if it speed well and take effect; therefore wedelight to behold the one, and are displeased to see the other. For the prooffe hereof, marke how we are affected, semblably in other objects, shewes, and sights, presented unto us: for with griefe and sorrow of heart we look upon those who are either dying or lie grievously sick: contrariwise, with joy we behold, yea and admire either *Philotes* painted in a table; or queene *Jocasta* portraied in brasse; upon whose visage it is said; that the workman tempered a little silver with the brasse, to the end that this mixture of metalls together, might represent naturally, and to the life indeed, the face and colour of one ready to faint, and yeeld up the ghost: And this (quoth I) my masters, (to you I speake who are Epicureans) is an evident argument on the Cyrenaiques side against you; to proove that in pastimes and sports, presented to the eie and the eare, the pleasure consisteth not in seeing or hearing, but in the understanding: for an odious and unpleasant thing it is, to heare a henne keepe a creaking or cackling, and a crow towardsly and untunably crying; and yet hee that can well and naturally counterfet either the cackling of an henne, or the crying of the crow, pleaseth and contenteth us woonderfull well: semblably, to looke upon those who are in pitifick or consumption, is but a lovelesse sight; and yet we joy and take delight to see the pictures or images of such persons; for that our understanding is pleased and contented with the imitation & resemblance of them, as a thing proper and peculiar unto it: for otherwise, what joy and contentment have men, or what outward occasion have they so much to admire and woonder at *Parmenons* fow? inasmuch as it is grown to be a common by-word: This *Parmenon* was by report, one that counterfeited passing well, the grunting of an hogge; for which his singular grace and gift therein, his concurrents upon an envious humour, would needs assay to doe as much in despite of him: but men being already forestalled with a prejudicate opinion of him, would say thus: Well done; but nothing to *Parmenons* hogge: and therefore, one of them having gotten a little porker indeed under his arme, made it for to squeake and cry; but the people hearing the noise of a swine indeed: All this (say they) is nothing to *Parmenons* hog; whereupon the parties let the said live hog run among them all, for to convince them of their corrupt judgement, caried away with an opinion, and not grounded upon truth and reason. Whereby it appeareth evidently, that one and the same motion of the sense, doth not affect the minde alike, when there is not an opinion, that the action was performed wittily and with artificall dexterity.

### THE SECOND QUESTION.

*That there was in old time a game of prize for poets.*

AT the solemnitie of the Pythicke games, there was some question and talke upon a time, about the cutting off, and putting downe of certaine plaies and pastimes, foisted in, so the others that were ancient and of the first institution: for whereas at the first, there were but three onely that plaid their prizes; to wit, the Pythian plaiers of flute or pipe, the harper, and the singer to the harpe: after they had once admitted the actour of tragedies, no sooner was this gate (as one would say) set open, but they were not able to resist and keepe out an infinit number of other

other plaies and sports, that rushed and thrust themselves in after him: by occasion whereof, there was much varietie and a frequent concourse at this solemnitie, which I must needs say, was no unpleasant sight to beholde: but surely it retained not the ancient gravity and dignitie be-  
 10 coming the Mules indeed; for by this meanes, the judges and umpires were much troubled; besides, there grew many quarrels and enmities, which could not otherwise be; for where there are so many contending for the prize, there can not chuse but be a number of mal-contentes, that missed the garland. But among all others, it was thought good by the judges, to remoove and banish from the solemnitie, a number of those who penned orations, and all the sort of poets that came thither to verifie for the best game; which they did not (I assure you) for any hatred  
 20 unto learning and good letters, but for that they who present themselves to these learned combats, be ordinarily the most notable persons of all others; the judges before said, revered them, and in some sort, pitied their case, esteeming them all worthy men, and well deserving of good letters, howbeit, not able all to gaine the victory. We therefore, being at this counsell, labored to dehort those who went about to change and alter setled customes, and who blamed in any of these sacred games, multiplicity and variety, as if they found fault with many strings in an instrument, or a consort of voices in vocall musick. Now, in supper time when we were in *Petrus* his house, who was the president and governour of the said solemnitie, and courteously had invited us, the question was revived and set on foot a fresh; and we tooke upon us to defend  
 30 the cause of the Muses, shewing, that poeticke was no moderne profession, nor entred but lately among the combats of sacred games, but that of ancient time it had won the victorie, and gaine the crowne. There were in the company, some who thought by these words of mine, that I meant to alledge old testimonies, and to cite stale and triviall examples for prooffe of the cause; to wit, the funerals of *Oedipus* the Thessalian, and of *Amphidamas* the Chalcidian, at which, *Homer* and *Hesiodus* made verses one against another for the victorie, as stories make mention: but casting by and rejecting all these evidences so much tossed and divulged already by Grammarians; and namely, the funerall obsequies and honours done to *Patroclus* in *Homer*, where they read not *hymns*, that is to say, launcers of darts, but *epigrams*, that is to say, makers of orations and eloquent oratours, as if *Achilles* had propoed rewards and prizes for orations; leaving (I say) these matters, I affirmed: That when *Acastus* celebrated the funerals for his father *Pelias*, he exhibited a combat of poets for the best game, wherein *Sibylla* went away with the victory. Hereat  
 40 many stood up, and opposed themselves against me, demanding a reall caution at my hands for to make good that which I had averred, for that it seemed unto them a very strange narration and incredible: but as good hap was, I called to remembrance, that I had read so much in the Chronicle of *Zephia*, compiled by *Aesander*, where the story is put downe: And this booke (quoth I) is not in every mans hand to read; howbeit, I thinke verily, that the most of you have bene careful to peruse those records which *Polemon* the Athenian, a diligent writer and a learned antiquarie, who hath not bene idle and sleepe in seeking out the antiquities and singularities of Greece, hath set downe in writing, as concerning the treasures of the city *Delphos*: for there you shall find written, that in the treasure of the Sicyonians, there was a golden booke, given and dedicated by *Arifomache* the poetresse of *Erythrae*, after she had obtained the victorie, & gotten  
 50 the garland at the solemnitie of the Isthmicke games: Neither have you any reason (quoth I) to esteeme *Olympia*, and the games thereof, with such admiration above the rest, as if it were another fatall destiny immutable, and which can not be changed nor admit alteration in the plaies there exhibited: as for the Pythian solemnitie, three or foure extraordinarie games it had, respective unto good letters and the Muses, adjoined and admitted to the rest: the Gymnicke exercises and combats performed by men naked, as they were at first ordeined, for they continued for the most part still, and hold on at this day; but at the Olympian games, all save onely running in the race, were taken up afterwards, and counted as accessories: likewise, there have bene many of them which at first were instituted, since put downe and abolished; namely, *epicures*, that is to say, an exercise and feat of activitie, when the concurrent mounted on horsebacke, in the mids of his course leapeth downe to the ground, taketh his horse by the bridle, and runneth on foot with him a full gallop: as also another, called *aristobolus*, which was a course with a chariot drawn by two mules: moreover, there is taken away now, the coronet ordeined for children that achieved the victorie in *Pentathlus*, that is to say, five severall feats: to be short, much innovation, change and altering there hath bene in this festivall solemnitie, from the first institution; but I feare me, that you will call upon me againe for new pledges and cautions, to prove and justifie my words, if I should say, that in olde time at *Pise*, there were combats of sword-fencers

cers, fighting at the sharpe to the utterance, man to man, where they that were vanquished or yielded themselves died for it; and if my memorie failed mee that I could not bring out mine author, and name him unto you; I doubt, you would laugh and make a game of mee, as I had overdrunk my selfe, and taken one cup to many.

## THE THIRD QUESTION.

What is the cause that the pitch-tree is held consecrated unto Neptune and Bacchus: And that in the beginning the victours at the Isthmian games were crowned with a garland of pine-tree branches, but afterwards with a chaplet of smilax or parsley, and now of late, with the foresaid pitch-tree?

There was a question propounded upon a time: Why the manner was to crowne those with pine or pitch-tree branches, who gained the prize at the Isthmicke games? For so it was, that during the said festivall solemnity, *Lucianus* the high priest made a supper at *Cerimus*, at his owne house, and feasted us: where *Praxiteles* the geometrician, a great discomfiter, told us a poeticall tale, and namely; that the body of *Melicerta* was found cast up, & driven upon the body of a pine-tree, by the sea at a full tide; for that there was a place not farre from *Megara*, named *Cules Dromos*, that is to say, the race of the faire lady; whereas the Megarians doe  
 20 port, that dame *Ino* carrying her young babe within her armes, ranne and cast her selfe headlong into the sea: But it is a common received opinion (quoth he) that the pine is appropriate for the making of coronets, in the honour of *Neptune*: whereupon when as *Lucianus* the high-priest added moreover and said: That the said tree being consecrated unto *Bacchus*, it was no marvell nor absurditie if it were dedicated also to the honour of *Melicerta*. Occasion was taken to search into the cause; wherefore the auncients in old time held the said tree sacred unto *Bacchus* and *Neptune* both? For mine owne part I saw no incongruities therein; for that these two gods be the lords and rulers over one generall principle, or element, to wit, humidity or moisture, considering also that they generally in manner all, sacrifice unto *Neptune*, under the surname  
 30 or addition of *Andrius*, that is to say, the president over trees: and yet it may be said, that the pine more particularly appertaineth not to *Neptune*; nor as *Apollodorus* is of opinion, because it is a tree that loveth to grow by the sea-side, or for that it delighteth in the windes as the sea doth: (for some there be of this minde) but especially in this regard; that it affordeth good timber, and other stufte for building of ships; for both it, and also other trees, which for their affinity may goe for her sisters, to wit, pitch-trees, larkie-trees, and cone-trees, furnish us with their wood, most proper to steele upon the sea, and with their rosin also and pitch, to calke and calstret; without which composition, be the joints never so good and close, they are to no purpose in the sea: as for *Bacchus* they consecrated the pitch-tree unto him, for that pitch doth  
 40 give a pleasant seasoning unto wine: for looke where these trees doe naturally grow, the vine there by report yeeldeth pleasant wine; which *Theophrastus* imputeth to the heat of the soile; for commonly the pitch tree groweth in places of macle or white clay, which by nature is hot, and so by consequence helpeth the concoction of wine; like as such kinde of clay yeeldeth water, of all others most light and sweet: besides, if the same be blended with wheate, it maketh the greater heape, for that the heat thereof doth cause it to swell, and become more full and tender: moreover the vine receiveth many commodities and pleasures more from the pitch tree, for that it, with those things which be, is good & necessarie, both to commend and also to preserve wines; for it is an ordinary thing with all men, to pitch those vessels into which they put up their wines, yea, and some there be who put rosin even into the wine: as for example, those of  
 50 *Eubias* in Greece, and *Italy*, the inhabitants by the *Po* side; and that which more is, from out of *Gaul* by *Vienna*, there is brought a certaine pitch-wine, called *Pysitres*, which the Romanes set much store by, because it giveth it not onely a delectable sent, but also a better strength, taking from it in a small time the newnesse and the watery substance thereof, by the meanes of a milde and kinde heat. This being said, there was an oratour there, a man of great reading a singular scholar, and an excellent humanitian, who cried out in this manner: And is it so indeede as who would say, it were not very lately, and but the other day, that the pine tree yeilded garlands and chaplets at the Isthmian games? for heretofore the victors there, were crowned with wreathes



wreaths and coronets made of smalach leaves: and this appeareth by that which we may heare out of a certeine comedie, a covetous miser speake in this wise:

*These Isthmike games I gladly would part fro,  
For price that smalach wreaths in market go.*

And *Timon* the historiographer writeth; that when the Corinthians marched in battell ray under the conduct of *Timoleon* against the Carthaginians, for the defence of *Sicily*, they encountered in the way certeine folk, who carried bunches of smalach: now when many of the fouldiors tooke this occurrence for an ill presage (because smalach is taken to be an unluckie herbe; inso much as when we see one lie extreame sicke, & in danger of death, we say: That he hath need of nothing else but smalach) *Timoleon* willed them to be of good cheere, and put them in minde of the victorious chaplets of smalach at the Isthmian games, wherewith the Corinthians crowaed the winners. Moreover the admirall galley of king *Antigonius* was called *Isthura*, for that without any fowing or setting, there grew smalach of it selfe about the poupe thereof: and this obscure & ænigmaticall epigram under darke and covert words, signifieth plainly, earthen vessels stilled and stopped with smalach: and in this manner it goeth:

*This Argive earth which ere while was full soft,  
Now baked hard with fire, the bloud deepe-red  
Of Bacchus hides within, but loe aloft,  
It Isthmick branches beares in mouth and head.*

Certes, they have not read this much, who vaunt so greatly of the Pitch-tree chaplet, as if they were not a moderne stranger and new commier, but the ancient, proper, and naturall garland, belonging to the Isthmian games. Which words of his, mooved the younger fort not a little, as being delivered by a man who had seene and read much; and *Lucianus* the high-priest himselfe, casting his eie upon me, and smiling withall: Now by *Neptune* (quoth he) I sweare, what a deale of learning is heere! howbeit, others there were, who bearing themselves (as it should seeme) upon mine ignorance and want of reading, were perswaded of the contrary, and avouched, that the Pitch-tree branches were the ancient garlands in the Isthmick solemnities, as naturall unto that countrey; and on the other side, the coronet of Smalach was a meere stranger, brought from *Æmea* thither upon an emulation, in regard of *Hercules*, whereby it had indeed the name, for a time; inso much as it supplanted the other, and woon the credit from it, as being counted a sacred herbe, and ordeined for this purpose; but afterwards, the Pine-garland flourished againe and recovered the ancient reputation, so at this day it is in as great honour, as ever it was. Heereupon I suffered my selfe to be perswaded, and gave so good care, that many testimonies for confirmation of this opinion I learned, yea, and some of them I bare away and remembred; and namely, that out of them, *Euphorion* the poet, who spake of *Melicerta*, much after this manner:

*The young man dead, they did bewaile,  
and then his corps they laid  
Upon greene branches of Pine-tree,  
whereof the crownes were said  
To have beene made, those to adorne  
with honour glorious,  
Who at the sacred Isthmick games  
were deem'd victorious:  
For why? as yet the murdering hand,  
for Charon had not stain'd,  
The sonne of Neme, no full dame,  
where as with streame avaine  
Asopus runnes: since when, began  
the wreath of Smalach greene,  
To binde the head of champions,  
all bravely to be scene.*

Also out of *Callimachus*, who hath expressed this matter more plainly, where he bringeth *Hercules* in, speaking after this manner:

*And it, though much inferiour,  
and more terrestriall,*

Employ

*Employ they shall in Isthmick games,  
when in memoriall  
Of god Ægeon they with crownes  
the victorious brave de decke,  
According to Æmean rites,  
and thereby give the cheeke  
To chaplets made of Pine-tree faire,  
wherewith the champion  
For victorie, sometime was dight  
at games Corinthian.*

Over and besides, if I be not deceived, I have light upon a certeine commentarie of *Procles*, writing of the Isthmian solemnities; namely, that at the very first institution thereof, ordeined it was: That the victorious coronet should be made of Pitch-tree branches; but afterwards, when these games were accounted sacred, they translated thither from the *Nemæan* solemnities, the chaplet of Smalach: now this *Procles* was one of the scholars in the Academic, what time as *Xenocrates* taught and flourished.

## THE FOURTH QUESTION.

*What is the meaning of these words in Homer: ζῆντες ὁ νέμεϊν?*

Some of the companie where I supped upon a time, thought *Achilles* ridiculous, in that he swallowed his friend *Patroclus* \* to fill out purer wine, and lesse delaied, giving a reason withall, saying:

*For now are cometo visite me for love,  
My dearest friends, and whom I best approve.*

But *Niceratus* the Macedonian, a familiar friend of ours, opposed himselfe directly, and said: That *ζῆντες*, in this place of *Homer*, signifieth not meere wine of it selfe, without water, but hot wine, as if the primitive word *ζῆν*, were derived *ζῆν* *ἵσ* *ζῆν* *ἵσ* *ζῆν*, that is to say, vitall heat and ebullition: And therefore meet it was (quoth he) that (seeing his good friends were in place) there should be filled out for them, a cup of fresh wine, new drawn, and full of life and sparkling spirites; like as we our selves use to do, when as we powre out and offer unto the gods, our sacred libations: but *Soficles* the poet, calling to minde, and alledging a sentence of *Empedocles*, whose words be these, speaking of the generall mutation of the universall world,

*What thing beforemost simple was and pure,  
Became now \* mixt by compound temperature.*

said: That the philosopher meant by the word *ζῆν*, as much as *temperatur*, that is to say, well tempered: Neither see I (quoth he) any thing to the contrary, but that *Achilles* might bid *Patroclus* to prepare and dresse a cuppe of wine, so tempered as it should be drunke: neither must you thinke it a strange phrase or manner of speech, if he said, *ζῆντες* for *ζῆν*; for we are wont likewise, to put *ζῆντες* in stead of *ζῆν*; as also *ζῆντες* for *ζῆν*: for received now it is, by ordinarie custome, to use the comparatives of some words for the positives. Then *Antipater*, a friend of ours there present, said: That in olde time they were wont to call the yeere by the name of *ζῆν*, and (as) in composition with other words, signifieth as much as the greaunesse of a thing, so that olde wine, that had lien many yeeres in this place, *Achilles* called *ζῆντες*. As for my selfe, I inferred thus much, and put them in mind: That some thinke *ζῆντες* signifieth [hotter,] and by hotter, the meane quicker, sooner, or with more speed; for in that sense other-whiles we bid our servants to bestirre themselves more hotly about their worke, meaning they should make more haste, and dispatch their businesse. But in the end, I declared unto them, that their disputation and arguing about this point, was but childith, in case they were afraid to confesse, that *ζῆντες* betokened that which was more pure and of it selfe, without tempering or delaying; as if (forsooth) *Achilles* had committed here, some incongruie or absurditie, as *Zoilus* the Amphipolitan would seeme to tax him; who considered not first and formost: that *Achilles* (saw *Phoenix* and *Ulysses*, two ancient personages, who tooke no great pleasure to have much water in their wine, no more than all other olde men, who love to drinke it meere and pure; in regard of whose age, he gave commandement to delay it lesse for them: againe, having beene (as he was) the scholar of *Chiron*, and learned of him, the regiment of health, as one not ignorant what diet

\* For so he interpreth ζῆντες ὁ νέμεϊν.

\* ζῆντες.

was meet for mens bodies, he thought thus with himselfe, that those bodies which are at repose and ease, having beforetime bene used to travell, required a more remisse, soft and tender temperature, as that which is fitter and meeter for them; for so he caused among other forrage and provender, his horses to be served with smallch; for that feedes standing idle in the stable, and doing nothing, will be troubled with the paines in their feet; for which infirmities this smallch is a soveraigne remedie: neither should yee find (and reade the *Iliad* throughout) that smallch or any such kinde of fodder was given to other horses than to those who stood still, and laboured not. *Achilles* therefore being well scene in physicke, was both carefull about his horses to provide for them, as the time required, and also considerat and respectiue to his owne body, for to ordeine the lightest diet, (as most holosome) for himselfe who tooke his ease, and was not employed in bodily exercise; whereas he did not in that manner intertaine those personages, who all the day had bene in the field, and performed martiall exploits, and warlike service, but gave order to powre out for them, stronger wine and lesse delaied. Now that *Achilles* otherwife of himselfe greatly loved not wine, for that he was by nature lower and implacable, appeareth by these verses of the same poet:

*For gentle nature he had none,  
he was not soone appeas'd,  
But irefull, fierce, and violent,  
and once more d'hardly pleas'd.*

And in one place, speaking liberally of himselfe, he said:

*That many nights he slept no winke,  
Of sundry matters he did so thinke.*

Now who knoweth not, that short sleepes agree not to those that drinke meere wine, neither will they serve their turne: also when as he contested with *Agamemnon*, and reviled him, at the first word hee gave him the tearme *Oinobates*, wine-bibber or drunkard; as if drunkennesse and wine-bibbing were the vice which his heart abhorred most: And therefore to conclude, considering all these circumstances, great reason he had, that seeing right honourable personages were come unto him, and those of good yeeres, he should be well advised to take order, not to temper wine for them, as his manner was for himselfe; because the same had bene too small, and not agreeable for their persons.

## THE FIFTH QUESTION.

*Of those who invite many guests to supper.*

Vpon my returne from *Alexandria*, all my friends one after another feasted me, for my welcome home, and to beare me company, they invited with me, as many as they thought, in regard of kindred or friendship, were any way toward me; in such sort, as by reason of the multitude of guests, our meetings were ordinarily more tumultuous, and sooner dissolved than they had wont to be: the disorder therefore of sitting at such feasts, gave us occasion to discourse much of that matter. But *Onesiphates* the physician when hee feasted me in his turne, as others did; bad not very many, but those onely whom he knew to be my speciall friends, and most familiar with me: whereupon I called to minde a sentence written by *Plato*, as touching a citie, and thought with myselfe, that it might very well be applied unto a feast: for like as a citie which still groweth and augmenteth, in the end becomes no more a citie; for that there is a certaine bignesse prefixed & limited unto it, which it must not outgrow; even so there is a just proportion in the greatnesse of a feast, within the which it is still a feast; but if it passe and exceed the same, (I meane) in the number and multitude of guests, so as they cannot satiate and speake one to another conveniently, they have no meanes to cheere up and drinke one to another reciprocally, nor exercise their mutual knowledge kindly; surely it is no more to be called a feast: for there should not be at a feast, as in a campe, messengers and curriers betwene; nor after the manner of a great galley, speciall servitors, going from one to another, to cheere them up, and bidde them be merie; but the guests ought to speake and talke one with another, for that a feast must be disposed after the manner of a daunce, so as he who sits lowest may heare him that is highest. After I had thus much said, my grandfather *Lamprias* began to speake, and that with so loud a voice and so strong, that all the companie might heare him: There is then (quoth he) a kinde of meane and moderation, whereof we had need, not onely in eating and drinking

drinking at a feast, but also in the bidding and inviting of guests; for surely there may be an excess in unmeasurable curtesie and humanitie, when it cannot omit nor leave out any of those with whom a man heerebefore hath feasted or made merrie, but draweth all of them, as if the case were to goe for to see a plaie, behold solemne sights, or to heare musike: and for mine owne part I thinke that the good man of the house, or master of a feast, is not so much woorthy to be blamed or laughed at, for being at a fault of bread or drinke for his guests; as when hee hath not roome enough to place them; of which he ought to make provision with the largest, not onely for those who are formally invited, but also for commers in, and such as bid themselves, for strangers also that passe by: moreover, if there chaunce to be some want of bread or wine, the fault may be laid upon the servants, as if they had made it away, or plaid the theeves; but if there be no roome left, it cannot chuse but be imputed to the negligence and indiscretion of him who invited the guests: *Hesiodus* is wonderfully much commended for writing thus:

*At first no doubt it was so cast,  
That there might be a Chaos vast.*

For in the beginning of the world, requisite is was that there should bee a void place for to receive and comprehend all those things that were to be created: Not (quoth hee) as my sonne yesterday made a supper, according to that which *Anaxagoras* said: All things were huddled and jumbled together pell-mell, confusedly: and admit that there bee place and roome enough, yea, and provision of meat sufficient, yet nevertheless, a multitude would be avoided, as a thing that bringeth confusion, and which maketh a societie unfociable, and a meeting unmeet and not affable: certes, lesse harme it were, and more tolerable a great deale, to take from them who are bidden to our table, their wine, than their communication and fellowship of talk; and therefore *Theophrastus* called (merrily) barbars shops, dry banquets without wine; for the good talke that is betwene a number of persons sitting there one by another: but they who bring a fort together into one place, thrumbling them one upon another, deprive them of all conference, and discourfing reciprocally, or rather indeed they bring it so to passe, that but verie few can commune & converse together; for by that meanes they fort themselves apart, two by two, or three by three, for to have some talke: as for those who are set farder of, hardly they can not discern, no nor know them, being distant and remooved a funder, as a man would say the length of an horse race:

*Some, where Achilles tents are pitcht  
close for to make their stay:*

*And some, where Ajax quarter is,  
as farr another way.*

Thus you shall see how some rich men heereby, otherwhiles shew their foolish magnificence to no purpose, in building halles, and dyning chambers, containing thirtie tables a piece in them, yea, and some of greater capacite than so: and verily this manner of preparation for to make suppers and dinners, is for folke that have no amitie nor societie one with another, when there is more need of some provost of a field to marshal the, than an vsher of an hall to see good order among them: but these men may in some fort well be pardoned for doing so; because they thinke their riches no riches, but that it is blinde, deafe, lame also, or shut up, that it cannot get forth, unlesse it have a number of witnesses, like as a tragedie, many spectators: but as for us, this remedie we have of not assembling so many at once together; namely to bidde often, and to make divers suppers; to invite (I say) our friends and well-willers at sundrie times, by few at once, and so by this meanes we may make amends for all, and bring both ends together: for they that feast but seldom, and as they say *si aliquando*, that is to say, by the cart loades, are forced to put in the roll all those that any way belong unto them, either by kinned, friendship or acquaintance whatsoever: whereas they who ordinarily picke out three or fouer at a time, and doe so oft, make their feasts as it were little barks, to discharge their grete hulkes, and the same to goe light and nimble: moreover, when a man considereth continually with himselfe the cause why he inviteth his friends; it maketh him to observe a difference and choise in that great multitude of them: for like as for every occasion & businesse that we have, we assemble not all sorts of people, but such onely as be meet for each purpose; for if we should have need of good counsell, we call for those who be wise; if we would have a matter pleaded, we send for eloquent orators; if a voyage or journey performed, wee seeke for such as will take up with short meales, and who have little else to doe, and be best at leisure; even so in our invitations

and feasts, we must have regard ever and anon to chuse those who are meet, and will fort well together: meet men I call these for example sake: if he be a prince or great potentate who we invite to supper, the fittest persons to beate him company, be the head officers, the magistrates and principall men of the citie, especially if they be friends, or already acquainted: if we make a marriage supper, or a feast for the birth of a childe, those would be bidden who are of kindred and affinity; and in one word, as many as are linked together by the bond of *Jupiter Hordinos*, that is to say, the protectour of consanguinitie: and in all these feasts and solemnities, we ought evermore to have a carefull eie to bring them together who are friends or well willers, one to another: for when we sacrifice unto some one god, we make not our prayers to all others, although they be worshipped in the same temples, & upon the same altars; but if there be three 10 cups or boules brought full unto us, we powre libations out of the first to some, the second we offer to others, and the last we bestow likewise upon a third sort: for there is no envie abideth in the quire ordance of the gods: semblably, the daunce and quire of friends is divine, in some sort, if so be a man know how to distribute and deale his courtesie and kindnesse decently among them, and as it were to goe round about with them all.

### THE SIXTH QUESTION.

*What is the cause that guests at the beginning of a supper sit close together at the table, but afterwards more at libertie?* 20

These words thus passed, and then immediately a new question was mooved; namely, What the cause might be, that men commonly at the beginning of dinner or supper, sit at the table very straight and close, but toward the end more at large; whereas it should seeme by all reason, that they should doe cleane contrary, for that then their bellies be full? Some of the company attributed this unto the forme and posture of their bodies, as they sit; for that ordinarily men sit to their meat, directly at their full breadth, groveling forward, and put their right hands straight forth upon the table; but after they have well supped, they turne themselves more to a side, & sit edge-wife, taking up no place now, according to the superficies 30 of the body, not sitting (as a man would say) by the squire, but rather by the line and the plumb: so like as therefore the cockal bones occupie lesse room when they fall upon one of their sides, than if they be couched flat; even so every one of us at the first sitteth bending forward, and fronteth the table with his mouth and eies directly upon it; but afterwards hee chaungeth that forme, from front to flanke, and turneth sidelong to the boord. Many there were who ascribed the reason of this, to the yeelding of the couch or bed, whereon men sit at their meat; for being pressed downe with sitting, is stretched broader and wider, like as our shooes with wearing and going in them, grow more slacke and easie for us by little and little, untill in the end they be so large, that we may turne our feet in them. Then the good old man spake merrily and said: That one and the same feast had alwaies two presidents and governors different one from another: 40 at the beginning hunger, which cannot skill of keeping any good order; toward the end, *Bacchus*, and him all men know very well, and confesse to have bene a very sufficient capitaine, and an excellent leader of an armie: like as therefore *Epaminondas* (when as other capitaines by their ignorance and unskillfulnesse had brought the armie of the Thebanes into a place so narrow that all was thrust together, and the ranks and files came one upon another, and crushed themselves) tooke upon him the place of a commaunder, and not onely delivered it out of those streights, but also reduced it into good order of battell; even so god *Bacchus* surnamed *Lyau*, 50 and *Choreus*, that is to say, a deliverer, and master of daunces, finding us at the beginning of supper thrusting one another, and having no elbow room, by reason of hunger that throumbleth us together like a sort of dogges, bringeth us againe into a decent order, whereby wee sit at ease and libertie enough like good fellows.

### THE SEVENTH QUESTION.

*Of those who are said to bewitch with their eies.*

Here grew some question upon a time, at the table, as touching those who are reported to be cie-biters, or to bewitch with their eies; and when others (in manner all) passed it over with

with laughing, as a frivolous and ridiculous thing: *Mertius Flavius*, who had invited us to his house, tooke the matter in hand, and said: That the effects or events rather, which daily we doe observe, do make marvellous much to the brute and voice that goeth of the thing; but for want of yeelding a good reason thereof, and setting downe the true cause, the report many times of such matters wanteth credit: But unjustly. (quoth he) and wrongfully in mine opinion; for an infinit number there be of other matters, that have a real essence, and are notoriously knowne to be so, although we are ignorant of their cause; and in one word, whose ever seeketh in each thing for a probable reason, overthroweth miracles and wonders in all; for where wee faile to give reason of a cause, there begin we to doubt & make question, & that is as much to say, as to play the philosophers: so as we may inferre consequently: They that discredit things admirable, 10 do in some sort, take away and abolish all philosophie: but we ought (quoth he) in such things as these, to searce \* Why they are so, by reason; and learne \* That they are so, by historie and relation; for histories do report unto us many narrations of like examples. Thus we know, that there be men, whose by looking wistly and with fixed eies upon little infants, doe hurt them most of all; for that the habit and temperature of their bodies which is moist, tender, and weak, soone receiveth alteration by them, and changerth to the worse; whereas lesse subiect they be to such accidents, when their bodies are better knit, more strong and compact. And yet *Philarchus* writeth in his historie of a certeine nation and people inhabiting the realme of 20 *Pontus* in times past, called Thybiens, who were by that meanes pestiferous and deadly, not onely to yong babes, but also to men grown; for looke how many either their eie, their breath or their speech could reach unto, they were sure to fall sicke, and pine away: and this harme was felt and perceived (as it should seeme) by merchants, who resorted unto those parts, and brought from thence, slaves to be solde. But as for these, the example peradventure is not so strange and wonderfull, because the touching, contagion, and familiar conversing together, may yeeld a manifest reason and cause of such accidents: and like as the wings of other fowles, if they be laied together with those of the eagle, perith, consume, and come to nothing, for that the plume and downe of the feathers fall off and putrifie; even so, there is no reason to the contrary, but that the touching of a man should be partly good & profitable, and in part hurtful and 30 prejudiciall: many, that folke should take harme by being seene onely, and looked upon, as an accident which (as I said before) we know to be; but for that the cause thereof is so difficult & hard to be hunted out, the report of it is incredible: Howbeit (quoth I then) you wind the cause already; you have met (in some sort I say) with the tracts and footing thereof, and are in the very way of finding it out, being come already to those defluxions that passe from bodies; for the sent, the voice, the speech and breath, be certeine defluxions and streames (as it were) flowing from the bodies of living creatures, yea, and certeine parcels thereof, which move and affect the senses, when as they suffer by the same, lighting and falling upon them: and much more probable it is, that such defluxions, proceed from the bodies of living creatures, by the means of heat & motion; namely, when they be enchaufed and stirred; as also that the vitall spirits then doe beat strongly, and the pulses worke apace, whereby the body being shaken, casteth from it continually, certeine defluxions, as is before said; and great likelihood there is also, that the same should 40 passe from the eies, more than from any other conduit of the bodie: for the sight being a sense very swift, active and nimble, doth send forth and disperse from it, a wonderfull fierie puiffance, together with a spirit that carrieth and directeth it; in such sort, that a man by the means of this eie-sight, both suffereth and doth many notable effects, yea, and receiveth by the objects which he seeth, no small pleasures or displeasures; for love (one of the greatest and most vehement passions of the minde) hath the fource and original beginning at the \* eie; in so much, as he or she that is surprised therewith, doth even resolve and melt with beholding the beautie of those persons whom they love, as if they would run and enter into them: and therefore, a man may verie well marvel at those, who confessing that we suffer and receive hurt by the eie, thinke it a strange 50 matter to doe harme by the same; for the very aspect and regard of such persons as are in the flower of their beautie, and that which passeth from their eies, whether it be light or flowing of of the spirits, doth liquefie and consume those who be enamoured on them, with a certeine pleasure mingled with paine, which they themselves call Bitter-sweet: for nothing so much are they wounded or affected, either by hearing or feeling, as by seeing and being seene, so deepe is the penetration, and so strong the inflammation by the eie; which maketh mee other-whiles to thinke, that no experience and prooffe they have ever had what love is, who wonder at the *Medi-* 60 *an Xaphtha* neere to *Babylon*, that it should burne and catch a flame, being a great way off from

\* Sometime  
for the Laniar.

the fire; for even so, the eyes of faire and beautifull creatures, kindle fire within the very hearts and soules of poore lovers, yea, though they looke not upon them but a farre off: but we know full well, and have often seene the remedy of those who are troubled with the jaundice; namely, that if they can have a sight of the bird \* *Charadrius*, they are presently cured; for this bird hath such a nature and temperance, that it draweth to it selfe, and receiveth the maladie passing from the patient, as it were a fluxion, and that by the conduir of the eyes; which is the reason that these birds are never willing to see a person who hath the jaundice, neither can they endure so to doe, but turne aside and avoid it all that ever they can, by closing their eyes together, not envying (as some thinke) the cure of that disease by them, but fearing to be hurt and wounded themselves; and of all other maladies, it is well known, that they who converse with them whose eyes be inflamed and bleered, are soonest and most of all infected therewith, so quicke a power and so ready hath the sight to set upon another, and inflict the contagion of that infirmitee. Then *Patroclus*: True it is that you say (quoth he) in bodily passions and diseases; but as for those which be more spirituall, and concerne the soule, doe cast their eyes upon others, how can it be, and how is it possible, that the only cast and regard of the eye should transmit any noisance or hurt into the bodie of another? Why? know you not (quoth I) that the soule (according as it is disposed) doth likewise affect and alter the bodie? the very conigitation of *Pennis*, causeth the flesh to rise; the ardent heat in couragious mastives and band-dogges, which are put upon wilde beasts for to encounter them when they are baited, dimmeth their eye-sight, and oftentimes makes them sturke blinde; sorrow, avarice, and jealousy, alter the colour and complexion of the face, drie up the habit and constitution of the bodie; and envie no lesse subtile than the rest, and piercing directly to the very soule, filleth the body also with an untoward and badde disposition, which painters lively doe represent in those tables which containe the picture of envies face: when as therefore they who be infected with envie, doe cast their eyes upon others, which because they are seated neere unto the soule, doe catch and draw unto them verie easilie this vice, and so shoot their venomous raies, like unto poisoned darts upon them; if such chance to be wounded and hurt thereby, whom they looke upon, and wistly behold: I see no strange thing, nor a matter incredible; for venile the biting of dogges is much more hartfull and dangerous when they be angry than otherwise; and the sperme or naturall seed of men doth sooner take effect, and is more apt for generation, when they meddle with women whom they love; and generally the passions and affections of the soule, doe fortifie and corroborate the powers, and faculties of the bodie: and heereupon it is, that those preservatives against witchcraft called *aglazoules*, are then thought to do good against envie, when the eye-sight of the envious person is withdrawn and turned away by some filthy and absurd object, that it cannot make so strong an impression upon the patient whom he would hurt: Lo seigneur *Florus* (quoth I) heere is mine escot for our good cheere at this meeting, in ready coine paid downe upon the naile head: VVell done (quoth *Soclarus*) but first before you goe, we must allow the money for good and currant; for I assure you, there be some pieces that seeme counterfet; for if we suppose that to be a truth, which is commonly reported, as touching those who are thus bewitched and eye-bitten; it is not I am sure unknown to you, that many are of opinion, that there be of their friends and kinsfolke, yea, and some of their fathers also, who carrie about them witching eyes; in such sort as their very wives will not so much as shew unto them their owne babes, nor suffer such to looke upon them any while together: how then should this effect of witcherie proceed from envie? Nay what will you say to those (I pray you) who are named for to eye-bite and bewitch their owne selves? You have heard I am sure thus much; or at leastwise you have read this Epigram.

*Faire was sometime Eutelidas,  
His face and haire full lovely was;  
But see, one day when needs he would  
(Unhappy man) himselfe behold  
In river stream that softly ran,  
His beautie, than hee soone began  
Soto admire, that for envie  
Bewitcht he was by his owne eye,  
And fell anon by malady,  
To pine away and so to dy.*

For it is reported of this *Eutelidas*, that looking upon himselfe in the river water, he was so farre

in love with his owne beautie, and so deeply affected with the sight thereof, that he fell sicke, and so both beautie and the good plight of his bodie went away at once: but see now what shift you can make to salve these absurdities? or what answer you will devise to avoid them? As for that (quoth he) I shall doe it at some other time sufficiently: but now drinking thus as you see me, out of so great and large a boule, I dare be bold to averre, and that confidently, that all perturbations and passions of the minde, if they settle and continue long in the soule, doe ingenerate therein evill habitudes; & these, after they have in proceesse of time gotten the strength and become another nature, upon every small occasion, are stirred, and oftentimes drive men perforce, and even against their willes to those familiar and accustomed passions: for doe but marke timorous and fearefull cowards, how they be affrighted even with such things as be safe, and doe preserve them; cholericke persons are angrie many times, and fall out with their best friends; lascivious wantons can not containe, but in the end they will offer abuse and villanie to the most holy & sacred bodies that be: for custome hath a wonderfull power to conduct & carry the habit unto that vice which is familiar unto it; & looke who is apt to take a fall, will stumble at every small hob that lies in his way: and therefore it is not a matter to make a woonder of, if they who have gotten in themselves habit of envie, and bewitching, bee incited and mooved according to the particular propertie of their passion, even against those who are most deare unto them; and being once mooved and stirred, they doe not that which they will themselves, but that whereunto they are so inclined and disposed; for like as a round bowle or ball runneth like it selfe; and semblable a roller or cylander moveth as a roller or cylander, both of them after the different figure thereof; even so, whosoever they be that have thus contracted an habitude of this eye-biting envie, their disposition mooveth and driveth them enviously upon all things; howbeit it carrieth a great likelihood that they should hurt them, who are most familiar unto them, and best beloved than any other: and therefore that good *Eutelidas* and all other such as he, who are faine to charme and bewitch themselves, incur this hard extremity, not without great appearance of reason: for as *Hippocrates* saith in his aphorismes: The good habit or plight when it is at the height is dangerous; and bodies when they are come to the highest point, they can not hold and stand so, but presently must incline and bend to the contrarie: when as men therefore are grown suddenly all at once, and see themselves in a better state than they hoped for; in so much as they wonder & behold themselves with admiration, then be sure the body is neere unto some change, and then being carried according to their habitude to the woofe, they bewitch themselves: and this is wrought the rather, by means of those fluxions which rest upon waters, looking-glasses, or any such mirrors by way of repercussion; for that they rebound backe, & breath as it were againe upon those who looke in them, so, that the hurt & damage which they have done to others, lighteth upon themselves: this haply befalling many times to little children, doth impure (though fallily and unjustly) the cause to these that looke upon them. When I had finished my speech, *Caim* the sonne in law of *Florus*, began to speake in this wise: Why then belike the images that *Democritus* speake of, are of no reckoning nor account, no more than the idols of *Aegina* and *Megara*, as the proverbe goes; for this philosopher saith: That there goe fourth certaine images out of the eyes of envious persons, and those not altogether without a kinde of sense and inclination, but rather full of their malice and envious witcherie who send them forth; with which, when the said images come to settle, remaine, and rest upon those who are envied, they trouble and offend the bodie, soule and understanding: for this I take to be the meaning of that great philosopher, and that hee hath delivered his opinion to this effect, under those divine and magnificent words: So he doth no doubt (quoth I) but I marvel much, how you perceived not that I have taken nothing from those defuxions, but onely life and will; which I did, for feare lest if now (being farre within night, and very late) I had talked of spirits, idols, and apparitions, having sense and understanding, I should have put you into some fright, and feared you with them: and therefore, if you thinke it so good, let us referre and put off the consideration of these thing untill to morrow morning.

## THE EIGHT QUESTION.

*What is the reason that the poet Homer called the Apple-tree, ἀγαλματῶν, that is to say, bearing fruit; and Empedocles named Apples, ὑψηλοῖς, that is to say, flourishing.*

**A**s we were merry together at a feast one day, in our citie *Charonea*, we were served with all sorts of fruits in great abundance; by occasion whereof, it took one of the companie in his head to pronounce these verses out of *Homer*:

οὐκ ἐν τῇ γυναικὶ δὲ μήλαι ἀγαλματῶν  
καὶ ὀλῖβαι τρεῖς δόοναι.

That is to say:

*The sweet Fig-trees and apple-trees that beare a fruit so faire,  
The Olive-trees likewise all greene ----*

whereupon arose some question, why the poet gave unto apple-trees the attribute of *bearing faire fruit*? and *Tryphon* verily the physician, answered: That it might be spoken of the said tree, by way of comparison; which being but small to speake of, and making as little shew, bringeth forth so faire, so great, and so goodly fruit. Another said: That compounding (as he did) beautie or goodnesse, of all parts and in every respect, he could not see the same in any other fruits covered with a rinde, but onely in this: for to touch and feele, it is as smooth and net as the violet, so as it doth not staine or soile the skin, filling with a sweet sent, him that handleth it; in taste, it is pleasant; to smell unto, most delectable; and to the cie, as lovely; so as contenting thus as it doth, all the senses in a manner, by good right it is so praised and commended. We liked well of this discourse, and said, it was sufficient to solve the question. But whereas *Empedocles* hath writt thus:

ὕψικον ὑψηλοῖς τε στήλαις ὑψηλοῖς μέλαι.

*Why pom granates so late doe grow,*

*And apples beare a lovely show?*

I understand well (said I) this epithite ὑψηλοῖς, given unto στήλαις, that is to say, pomgranates, because the fruit commeth not to maturitie or ripenesse, untill it be about the end of Autumne, when as now the extreame heats be decayed and gone; for their moisture, so thin, feeble and waterish as it is, the sunne will not suffer it to thicken, or grow to any consistence, unless the aire begin to change and incline unto coldnesse; and therefore *Theophrastus* saith, that it is the onely tree that doth ripen and concoct her fruit, best & soonest, in the shade. But I doubt in what sense this wise philosophicall poet giveth this addition of ὑψηλοῖς, unto apples? considering that the man is not wont to imbelish and adorne the matters and things whereof he treateth, with the gaisht and most glorious adjectives, as with fresh and lively colours, to enrich and beautifie his stile, or to set out his verses; for there is not an epithite that he useth, but serves for to represent and expresse either the substance or els some facultie and vertue of the thing. Thus he calleth our bodie environing the soule, γῆρας ἀμφιέσσον, that is to say, earth circummortal; the aire he termeth, νεφεληγερέτω, that is to say, gathering clouds; as also, the liver, πολυμήμων, that is to say, full of blood. When I had thus put this doubt to question, there were certeine Grammarians in place, who said: That *Empedocles* called apples, ὑψηλοῖς, in regard of their vigor: for poets by this verbe ὑψηλοῖς, understand thus much; namely, to be grown apace to the vigor, flower, and full strength. And the poet *Antimachus* in this sense, teamed the city of the Cadmeans, εὐώδης ἐπὶ γένεσις, that is to say, flourishing with store of fruits. Semblably, *Aratus* speaketh of the Canicular Starre, δῆμιος, in this wise:

καὶ πᾶσι ὑψίστην, ἥ δ' ἔστιν ἄκρον ποταμῶν.

That is to say:

*In some he did confirme their vigour,  
And mark'd in others all their verdure.*

In which place, he calleth the viriditie or greenesse, and the verie flower or beautie of fruits, εὐώδης. They added moreover, and said: That among the Greeks, some there were, who sacrifice to *Bacchus*, surnamed εὐώδης. Forasmuch as therefore, the apple mainteineth it selfe longest in viriditie and vigour, of all other fruits, therefore the philosopher named it, ὑψηλοῖς. But *Lampricus* my grandfather said: That this adjection or preposition ὑψηλοῖς, signifieth not only, much, & greatly

greatly, but also, above, or with-out forth: for in this acception, the head or lirtell of a doore, we name ὑψηλόν, that is to say, above the doore; and likewise, an upper-roome, chamber, or loft, ὑψηλόν: and *Homer* the poet, meaneth the outward flesh of a beast sacrificed, by the word ὑψηλός; like as the inward, by the vocable ἔνθεον. Consider then (quoth he) whether *Empedocles* had not a respect hereunto, by attributing this said epithite unto an apple; that whereas other fruits are inclosed & covered within a certeine barke as it were, which in Greeke is called γλοιός, and have without-forth, those that we terme λεπίδες, καύκη, ὑψηλός, that is to say, shelles, rindes, cods and pannicles to cover them, that barke or shell (if I may so say) which the apple hath, lieth within; namely, a glutinous and smooth tunicle or coat, which we call the core or the corque, wherein the pepins or seeds lie contained; but the fleshy part or meat thereof for to be eaten, is all without the said core, in which respect, it may by good right be named ὑψηλόν.

## THE NINTH QUESTION.

*What is the cause that the Figge-tree, being of all other trees most bitter and sharpe in taste, yeeldeth a fruit most sweet?*

**A**fter this, demanded it was, why the figge, so fat and sweet a fruit as it is, groweth upon a tree most bitter? for the very lease of a figge-tree by the reason of the asperitic and roughnesse that it hath, is called *Thurion*, and the wood is full of juice; so that when it burneth, you shall see it cast up a most eager and bitter smoke, and when it is burnt, the ashes make a leie very strong, and marvellous detersive, because of the acrimonie and sharpenesse thereof: yea, and (that which is most admirable) whereas all other trees and plants clad with leaves and bearing fruit, put forth a flower before, onely the figge-tree never sheweth blossome: and if it be true which is moreover said; that it is never blatted, or smitten with lightning, a man may attribute and ascribe it to the bitterness and evill habitude of the stocke; for it should seeme that lightning and thunder never touch any such things, no more than the skinn of a sea-calf, or of the beast *Hyena*. Heere the good old man (our grandfire) taking occasion to speake, said: No marvell then, if all the sweetness be found in the fruit, the rest of the tree be harth and bitter: for like as when the cholericke humour is cast into the bagge or bladder of the gall, the proper substance of the liver it selfe remaineth very sweet, even so the figge-tree having sent all the sweetness and famesse it had into the fruit, remaineth it selfe disurnished of it; for that within the trunk of the said tree there is otherwise some sweetness and good juice, though it be but a little; I make an argument from the herbe rue; which they say: If it grow under or neere a figge-tree; becommeth more pleasant in smell, and in taste more milde, by receiving and enjoying some small sweetness from it; whereby that excessive, strong and odious qualitie of rue is abated and extinct; unless peradventure a man will reason cleane contrary, and saie, that the figge-tree drawing somewhat from rue, for the owne nouriture, taketh from that herbe some part of the bitterness and acrimonie thereof.

## THE TENTH QUESTION.

*Who be they who according to the common proverbe, are said, μετὰ λαναι κύμινον, that is to say, about the salt and cummin? and so by the way, why the poet Homer nameth salt divine.*

**F**lorus asked us one day when we were at supper in his house, who they were whom we teamed by an usuall by-word, to be about the salt and cummin: *Apollophanes* the grammarian, one of our companie, solved the question readily in this manner: They (quoth he) who are such friends and so familiar that they luppe together, with salt and cummin, are meant by this common speech. But then we mooved a new question, namely: How it came to passe, that salt was so highly honoured? for that *Homer* directly saith:

*And then anon when this was done,*

*He strewed salt divine upon.*

And *Plato* affirmeth, that the bodie and substance of salt by mans lawes, is most sacred and holie: The difficultie of this question he enforced full, and augmented the more; for that the Aegyptian



Aegyptian priests who live chaste, abstaine altogether from salt, inasmuch as their verie bread which they eat is not seasoned with salt: And if it were (quoth he) so divine and holy, why have they it in so great detestation? Then *Florus* willed us to let the Aegyptians goe with their superstitious fashions; and to alledge somewhat of the Greeks as touching this subject argument: Whereupon I began and said: That the Aegyptians themselves were not heerein contrarie to the Greeks; for the sanctimonie and profession of chastitie, forbiddeth procreation of children, laughing, wine, and such like things; which otherwise be good, and not to be rejected: and as for salt, haply those who have vowed to live a chaste and pure life, doe forbear it, for that by the heat which it hath, (as some thinke) it provoketh those who use it, unto lecherie: and probable it is besides, that such votaries doe refuse salt, because of all other meats, it is most delicate; & a man may well say: That it is the viand of viands, & the sauce as it were to season all others: and therefore some there be who attribute unto these salts, the very tearme of Chari-tes or the Graces; for that they make that which is necessarie for our food, to be pleasant & acceptable unto us: Shall wee say then (quoth *Florus*) that salt was called divine in this respect? And if we did so (quoth I) wee have no slender reason to induce us thereunto; for men are wont to attribute a kinde of divinity unto things which are passing common, and the commoditie whereof reacheth farre (as for example) to water, light, & the seasons of the yeere; as for the earth, her above the rest, they repute not onely divine, but also to be a goddess: & there is none of all these things rehearsed, that salt giveth place unto, one jot, in regard of use and profit; being as it is a fortification to our meats within the bodie, and that which commetheth them unto our appetite: but yet consider moreover, if this be not a divine propertie that it hath, namely, to preserve and keepe dead bodies free from putrefaction a long while, and by that means to resist death in some sort, for that it suffereth not a mortall bodie wholly to perish, and come to nothing: but like as the soule being the most divine part of us, is that which mainteineth all the rest alive, and suffereth not the masse and substance of the bodie to be dissolved, and suffer colligation; even so, the nature of salt, taking hold of dead bodies, and imitating heerein the action of the soule, preserveth the same, holding and staying them that they runne not headlong to corruption, giving unto all the parts an amitie, accord & agreement one with the other: and therefore it was elegantly said by some of the Stoicks: That the flesh of an hogge was even from the beginning no better than a dead carion, but that life being diffused within it, as if salt were strewed throughout, kept it sweet, and so preserved it for to last long. Moreover you see, that wee esteeme lightning, or the fire that commeth by thunder, celestiall and divine, for that those bodies which have bene smitten therewith, are observed by us to continue a great while unpurtrified and without corruption: What marvel is it then, if our auncients have esteemed salt, divine, having the same vertue and nature, that this divine and celestiall fire hath? Heere I staied my speech, and kept silence. With that, *Philinus* followed on and pursued the same argument: And what thinke you (quoth he) is not that to be held divine, which is generative, and hath power to ingender, considering that God is thought to be the originall authour, creator, and father of all things? I vowed no lesse, and said it was so: And it is (quoth he) an opinion generally received, that salt availeth not a little in the matter of generation, as you your selfe touched ere-while, speaking of Aegyptian priests: they also, who keepe and nourish dogs for the race, when they see them dull to performe that act, and to doe their kinde, do excoite and awaken their lust and vertue generative, that lieth (as it were) asleepe, by giving them as well as other hot meats, salt flesh, and fish both, that have lien in brine & pickle: also, those ships & vessels at sea, which ordinarily are freight with salt, breed commonly an infinit number of mice and rats; for that (as some hold) the females or does of that kinde, by licking of salt onely, will conceive and be bagged without the company of the males or bucks: but more probable it is, that saltneesse doth procure a certaine itching in the naturall parts of living creatures, and by that means provoketh males & females both, to couple together: and peradventure this may be the reason that the beauty of a woman which is not dull and unlovely, but full of favor, attractive, and able to move concupiscence, men use to name *αλμυρή και δειμή*, that is to say, saltish or well seasoned: And I suppose that the poets have fained *Πρωίμω* to have bene engendred of the sea, not without some reason; and that this tale, that she should come of salt, was devised for the nonce, to signifie and make known under those covert tearmes, that there is in salt a generative power: certes, this is an ordinarie and generall thing among those poets, to make all the sea-gods, fathers of many children, and very full of issue. To conclude, you shall not finde any land-creature,

ture, or flying fowle, for fruitfulnessse, comparable to any kinde of fishes bred in the sea; which no doubt this verse of *Empedocles* had respect unto:

*Leading a troupe, which senselesse were and rude,  
Even of sea-fish, a breeding multitude.*



## THE SIXTH BOOKE OF SYMPOSIAQUES OR BANQUET-QUESTIONS.

### The Summarie.

- 1 **W**hat is the reason, that men fasting, be more at hirsh than hungrie.
- 2 Whether it be want of food that causeth hunger and thirst, or the transformation and change of the pores and condits of the bodie, be the cause thereof.
- 3 How commeth it, that they who be hungrie, if they drinke, are eased of their hunger; but contrariwise, those who are thirsty, if they eat, be more thirsty.
- 4 What is the reason that pit-water, when it is drawen, if it be left all night within the same aire of the pit, becommeth more cold.
- 5 What is the cause that little stones, and plates or pellets of lead, if they be cast into water, cause it to be the colder.
- 6 Why snowe is preserved, by covering it with straw, chaffe or garments.
- 7 Whether wine is to run thorow a strainer.
- 8 What is the cause of extraordinary hunger or appetites to meat.
- 9 Why the poet Homer, when he speaketh of other liquors, useth proper epithits, onely oile he calleth moist.
- 10 What is the cause that the flesh of beasts slain for sacrifice, if they be hunged upon a fig-tree, quickly become tender.

## THE SIXTH BOOKE OF Symposiaques or banquet-questions.

### The Proëme.



**L**ato being minded to draw *Timotheus* the sonne of *Conon* (ὁ Σοφιστὴς *Senecio*) from sumptuous feasts and superfluous banquets, which great captaines commonly make, invited him one day to a supper in the Academie, which was philosophicall indeed and frugall, where the table was not furnished with those viands which might distemper the bodie with feaverous heats and inflammations, as *Ion* the poet was wont to say; but such a supper I say, upon which ordinarily there follow kinde and quiet sleeps, such fancies also, and imaginations as ingender few dreames, and those short; and in one word, where the sleeps do testifie a great calmnesse and tranquillitie of the bodie. The morrow after, *Timotheus* perceiving the difference betwene these suppers and the other, said: That they who supped with *Plato* over-night, found the pleasure and comfort thereof the next day; and to say a truthe, a great helpe and ready means to a pleasant and blessed life, is the good temperature of the body, not drenched in wine, nor loaden with viands, but light, nimble, and ready, without any feare or distrust to performe all actions and functions

of the day-time. But there was another commodity no lesse than this, which they had, who supped with *Plato*, namely, the discussing and handling of good and learned questions, which were held at the table in supper time: for the remembrance of the pleasures in eating and drinking, is liblerall and unbecoming men of worth, transitorie besides, and loone at an end; like unto the odor of a perfume and sweet ointment, or the smell of roste in a kitchen a day after; whereas discourses philosophicall, and disputations of learning, when they be remembered afterwards, yeeld alwaies new pleasure and fresh delight unto those that were at them, yea, and cause them who were absent and left out, in hearing the relation thereof, to have no lesse part of learning and erudition, than they who were present: for thus we see, that even at this day, students and professors of learning, have the fruition, and enjoy the benefit of *Socrates* his banquets, no lesse than they themselves who were personally present, and had their reall part of them at the time: 10 and verily, if corporall matter, as dainty dishes and exquisite fare, had so greatly affected and delighted their minds with pleasure; *Plato* and *Xenophon* should have put downe in writing, and left unto us the memoriall, not of the discourses there held, nor of the talke which then passed, but rather of the furniture of the table, & have made a note of the delicate viands, pastrie works, confections and junkets served up in *Callias* or *Agathus* houses: whereas now of all such matters there is no mention at all, as if they were of no account, nor worth the naming, notwithstanding very like it is, there was no want of provision, no spare of cost, nor defect of diligence in that behalfe: but on the other side penned they have most exactly, and with great diligence the discourses of good letters and philosophy, which then and there passed merrily; and those they have commended unto posterities, to give us example, that we ought not onely to devise and reason together when we are at the boord, but also to call to minde afterwards, what good talke had passed and to keepe the same in memorie.

### THE FIRST QUESTION.

*What is the reason, that those who be fasting are more thirstie than hungry?*

NOW send I unto you *Sextus Senecio*, this sixth booke of banquet discourses; whereof the first question is: Why those who be long fasting, are more thirstie than hungry? for it may seeme contrary unto all reason; that thirst rather than hunger should ensue much fasting; 30 for that the want of dry food, would seeme by course of nature to require a supplie of nutriment by the like. Then began I in this manner to argue, before the companie there in place: That of all things within us, and whereof we consist, our naturall heat either alone or principally, had need of nouriture and maintenance: for thus verily wee doe observe in outward elements, that neither aire, water, nor earth, desire nutriment; neither doe they consume whatsoever is neere unto them; but it is fire onely that requireth the one, and doth the other; which is the reason that all young folke doe eat more than elder persons; for that they be hotter; yea and old men and women can endure to fast better, because their naturall heat is already decayed and feeble in them; like as it is in those living creatures which have but little blood: for small need have they of nouriture, for default of naturall heat. Moreover, thus much we may observe in everie one of our selves, that our bodily exercises, our loud outcries and such like matters, as by motion doe augment heat, make us to take more pleasure in our meat, and to have a better appetite to eat: now the principall, most familiar and naturall food of heat, in mine opinion, is moisture, as we may see by daily experience, that burning flames of fire increase by powing oile thereto; & of all things in the world, ashes are the driest, because the whole humiditie is burnt up and consumed; but the terrestriall substance destitute of all liquor, remaineth alone: 40 feebly, the nature of fire is to separate and divide bodies, by taking away the moisture which held them fodered and bound together: when as therefore wee fast long, our naturall heat draweth forcibly unto it; first, all the humours out of the reliques of our nourishment; which done, the inflammation thereof passeth farther, and setteth upon the very radish humour within our flesh, searching every corner for moisture to feed and nourish it: there being caused therefore a wonderfull drinnesse in our bodie, like as in earth or clay that is parched with heat; our thirst by consequence commeth to stand more in need of drinke than of meat, untill such time as we have taken a good draught; by means whereof our heat being well refreshed and fortified, worketh and procureth appetite to solide and dry nourishment.

THE

### THE SECOND QUESTION.

*Whether it be want of food that causeth hunger and thirst, or rather the transformation and change of the conduits and passages within our bodies?*

THIS discourse being thus ended, *Philo* the physician went about to impugne and overthrow the first position; mainteining, that thirst proceeded not from default of any nourishment, but was to be imputed unto the change of the forme in certaine passages of the body: 10 and for demonstration hereof, hee alledged of the one side this experience: That they who be a thirst in the night, if they sleepe upon it, lose their thirstinesse, although they drinke never a drop: on the other side, that they who have the ague, if their fit decline, or be off them, or in case the feaver be cleane past and gone, presently they are eased of their drought: likewise there be many, who after they have bene bathed, yea, and beleeve me, others when they have vomited, are ridde of thirstinesse; and yet they get moisture neither by the one nor the other; but they are the pores and petie conduits of the body that suffer mutation, because they be altered and transformed into another state and disposition; and this appeareth more evidently in hunger: for many sicke folke there be, who at one time have need of nourishment, and yet want appetite to their meat; some there are againe, who let them eat and fill themselves 20 never so much, have never the lesse appetite to meat, nay, their greedie hunger encreaseth the more: semblable, you shall have many of those who lothed their meat, to recover their stomacke and appetite quickly, by tasting a few olives or capres, condite with salt pickle: whereby it appeareth plainly; that hunger is not occasioned by default of nourishment, but through the said alteration or passion of the pores and conduits of the body: for surely such meats as those, although they diminish the want of nourishment, by addition of more food, yet neverthelesse cause hunger; and even to the point acrimonie of these salt viands, contenting the taste and pleasant to the mouth, by knitting, binding, and strengthening the stomacke; or contrariwise, by relaxing or opening the same, do procure unto it, and breed therein a certeine gnawing and a disposition to the liking of their meat, which we call appetite. The reason of these arguments 30 seemed unto me very wittily devised, and framed pretily, for to carrie a good shew of probability; howbeit, to be contrary unto the principall end of nature, to which the appetite doth leade and conduct every living creature, desirous to supplie that which is wanting, to fill that which is empty, and pursuing alwaies that which is meet for it and familiar, but yet defectuous: for to say, that the thing wherein principally a living creature differeth from a livelesse bodie, was not given unto us for the tuition, maintenance and preservation of our health and safetie, even as it were of our eyes that be so proper and familiar to the body, and to feare such occurrences as be adverse thereto; but to thinke that the same is onely a passion, change, and alteration of the pores occasioned according as the same be made either bigger or smaller; is (to speake plainly) the fashion and part of those who make no reckoning at all of nature. Moreover, to confesse, that 40 to quake for colde, hapneth unto our bodie for want of heat familiar and naturall unto it, and with one breath to denie, that hunger and thirst proceed not from defect of moisture and nourishment, is very absurd: and yet, more unreasonablen and monstrous it were to affirme, that nature desireth evacuation, when the feebleth her selfe charged with fulnesse, and withall, hath a desire to repletion; not because the findeth her selfe over-emptie, but upon some other passion comming I know not how, nor which way. Certes, these needs and repletions in the bodies of living creatures, resemble properly the accidents that fall out in agriculture and husbandry: for the earth suffereth many such defects, and requireth as many helpes and remedies: against drought, we seeke to moisten by watering; for burning with heat, to coole moderately; when things are frozen, to heat them againe, and keepe them warme, by laying (as it were) many coverings over; and looke what is not in our power to doe, we pray unto the gods for to helpe 50 and furnish us therewith; namely, sweet and milde dewes, pleasant and comfortable winde; so that nature alwas seeketh supplie of that which is defectue, for to preserve her state and temperature. And in my conceit, this word *ἄνιστον*, which signifieth nourishment, seemeth to import as much as *μεσότης*, that is to say, preserving nature; & preserved it is in plants verily, & trees insensibly (as *Empedocles* said) by the aire about them, when they are refreshed and watered thereby in convenient manner, as need requireth: but as for us, our appetite causeth us to seeke and

and procure that, for default whereof, we have not our kinde temperature. But let us consider better, ech one of those reasons by it selfe, which have bene delivered, and how untrue they be; for first and formost, those viands which have a quicke, sharpe and pleasing taste, by reason of their acrimonie, procure no appetite at all in those parts, which be capable of nouriture, but only a certeine biting or gnawing in them, much like unto that itching, when something is applied unto the skin, that doth plucke and fret it: and say, that this passion or affection (whatsoever it is) procureth appetite, it standeth to great reason, that by such sharpe and quicke viands, those matters which caused fullnesse, comming to be attenuated and made more subtil, are dissolved, dissolved, and so dissipated as they ought to be; by which meanes, consequently there followeth a want and defect; not for that the pores and passages be altered or changed into another forme, but rather, because they be now voided, cleere and purged; considering that those juices which be sharpe, eager, quicke, piercing and salitish, by attenuating and making tender the matter that they meet with and worke upon, do dissolve, disgregate and scatter the same, in such sort, as they ingender and procure a new appetite. To come now unto those who sleepe upon their thirstinesse, they be not the pores which by their transformation allay thirst, but by reason that they receive humiditie from the fleshie parts, and are filled with a vapourous moisture from thence: and as for vomits, in casting up one thing which is adverse to nature, they give her meanes to enjoy another which is friendly and familiar thereto: for thirst is not a desire so much of an exceeding great quantitie of moisture, as of that which is kinde and familiar; and therefore, although a man have within him great abundance of that moisture which is unnatural, yet neverthelesse, he wanteth still; for that his thirst giveth place to no other humiditie, but unto that which is proper and naturall, and whereof it is desirous: neither cometh mans bodie into a good temper againe, before such time as that humiditie be removed and gone, which was enemy to nature; and then the waies and passages receive willingly that moisture which is friendly and familiar unto her: as to the ague before said, it driveth indeed the moisture inwardly into the center (as it were) of the bodie; for when the middle thereof is all on a fire, thither runneth and retireth all the humiditie, where it is thrust together and retained; and by reason that there is such store thereof, pressed and pent in, it falleth out often times, that many being sicke of the ague, do cast and vomit it up, for to be discharged thereof, and be exceeding thirstie withall, for want of moisture, and for the driness that is in other parts of the bodie, which call for humiditie: when as then the fever either declineth or hath intermission, so as the ardent heat within, is gone from those interior parts in the center and middle of the bodie, the moisture returneth againe into the outward habit, it spreadeth (I say) and is dispersed thorowout, according to the naturall course thereof; so as at once it bringeth ease to the parts within, and withall, causeth the flesh and skin without, to be smooth, soft and moist, whereas before it was rough, hard and drie; yea, and many times it moveth sweats; whereby it cometh to passe, that the want which before caused thirst, now ceaseth and is gone, while the moisture is returned from the place wherein before it was streightly pressed and kept in, unto that which is desirous and hath need of it, and where it is at large and more at libertie: for like as in an orchard or garden, although there be a pit containing plentie of water, unlesse a man draw some out of it, and therewith water the ground, it can not chuse but the herbs, plants and trees will be as one would say, athirst, and at a fault for nourishment; even so it fareth in our bodies; if all the moisture be gotten to one place, no marvell if the rest do want and become exceeding drie, untill such time as it run againe, and that there be a new diffusion thereof; like as it falleth out with those who are sicke of an ague, when the fit is past, or the fever hath left them, and to those who sleepe upon thirst; for in these, sleepe bringeth backe the moisture from the center and middle of the bodie, distributing it to all the members and parts thereof, and so maketh an equall distribution and supply thorowout.

But this transformation and change of the pores from which it is said that hunger and thirst doth proceed; what kinde of thing is it I would gladly know? For mine owne part, none other differences see I, but of more and lesse, and according as they be either stopped or opened; when they bee obstructed or stopped, receive they cannot either drinke or meate; when they be opened and unstopped, they make a void and free place; and surely that is nothing els but the want of that which is proper and naturall: For the reason (my good friend *Philo*) why clothes which are to be died, be dipped first in alome water, is because that such water hath a piercing, scouring, and absterive vertue, by meanes whereof, when all the superfluous filth in

in them is consumed and rid away, the pores being opened, receive more surely the tincture which is given unto the clothes, onely because they receive the same better, by reason of the emptinesse occasioned by want.

### THE THIRD QUESTION.

*What is the cause that when men be hungry, if they drinke, are delivered from their hunger: but contrariwise, when they be athirst, if they eat, are more thirstie than before?*

WHEN those discourses were thus passed; he who invited us to supper, began in this wise: It seemeth unto me (my masters) that this reason as touching the voidance and repletion of pores, carrieth with it a great apparence of truth, and namely in the solution of another question besides, to wit: Why in them who be hungry, if they drinke, their hunger ceaseth immediately? and contrariwise, they who are a thirst, if they eat, are still more thirstie? I am of opinion (quoth he) that those who alledge and urge these pores and their effects, doe render the reason and cause of this accident, very easilie, and with exceeding great probability: however in many points, they enforce the same not so much as probably: for whereas all bodies have pores, some of one measure, and symmetry, others of another; those which be larger than the rest, receive food solid as well as liquid both together; such as be narrower and more streight admit drinke; the avoidance and evacuation of which, causeth thirst, like as of the other, hunger: and therefore if they who be a thirst doe eat, they finde no succour and benefit thereby, because the pores by reason of their streightnesse, are not able to receive drie and solid nutriment, but continue still indigent and destitute of that which is their due, and fit for them: whereas they who be hungry, in case they drinke, finde comfort thereby, for that the liquid nouriture entering into those large pores, and filling those concavities of theirs, doe flake and diminish mightily the force of their hunger.

As touching the event and effect (quoth I) true it is (as I thinke) but I cannot accord and give my consent to the supposition of the cause pretended: For if (quoth I) a man should hold, that with these pores and conduits (upon which some stand so much, so greatly embrace and mainteine so stoutly) the flesh is pierced, and by meanes thereof full of holes; surely he would make it very loose, quavering, flaggie, and so rotten, that it would not hang together: moreover, to say that the same parts of the body doe not receive meate and drinke together, but that they doe passe and runne (as it were) thorough a streiner or canvafe bolter, some one way and some another; me thinks is a very strange position, & a meere devised fiction: for this verie mixture of humiditie, tempering and making tender the meats received, together with the cooperative helpe of the inward naturall heat, and the spirits, doth cut, subtilize, and mince the foode, with all manner of incisions, shreddings, and divisions, no tooles, no knives, nor instruments in the world so fine and small; in such as every part and parcell of the said nourishment is familiar, meet & convenient for each part & member of the bodie; not applied & fitted as it were to certeine vessels and holes to be filled thereby; but united & perfectly concorporate to the whole, and every part thereof: but if this were not so, yet the maine point of the question is not alioiled for all that; for they who eat, unlesse they also drinke to it, are so farre off from allaying their thirst, that contrariwise they increase the same; and to this point there is not yet a word said. Consider now (said I) whether the positions & reasons which we set downe, are not probable & apparent? first we suppose, that moisture being consumed by driness, is cleane perished & gone; & that driness being tempered & softened by moisture hath certeine diffusions, & exhalations: secondly we hold, that neither hunger is a general & universal want of dry food, nor thirst, of moisture, but a certeine scantnesse and defect of the one and the other, when there is not enough and sufficient; for those who altogether doe want the same, bee neither hungrie nor thirstie, but die presently: Let these supposalls be laid for grounds, it will not be from henceforth hard, to know the cause of that which is in question: for thirst increaseth upon them that eat, because meats by their driness doe gather together, sucke and drinke up the humidity dispersed, and which is left but small and feeble, in all the bodie, causing the same to evaporate away; like as we may observe without our bodies, how dry earth and dust, do quickly snatch, dispatch, and consume quite the liquor or moisture that is mingled therewith: contrariwise, drinke necessarily slacketh hunger; for by reason that moisture drenching and foking that little meat which is findeth dry and hard, raiseth from it certeine vapors and moist exhalations, and those it doth elevate and carrie up into all the body, applying the same to the parts that stand

in need : and therefore *Erasistratus* not improperly termed moisture, the wagon of the viands: for being mixed and tempered with such things as otherwife of themselves by reason of their drinckesse or other euill disposition, be idle, and heavy, it raiseth and lifteth up : and hereupon it commeth, that many men who haue bene exceeding hungry, onely by bathing or washing themselves, without any drinke at all, haue wonderfully awaged and allayed their hunger : for the moisture from without, entering into the body, causeth them to be more succulent and in better plight; for that it doth enlarge the parts within, so that it doth mitigate the fell mood, and appeale the cruell rage of hunger. To conclude, this is the reason that they who are determined to pine themselves to death by utter abstinence from all solid meats, live and continue a long time if they receive but water onely, even untill the time that all be quite evaporate, spent 10 and dried up, which might nourish and be united unto the bodie.

### THE FOURTH QUESTION.

*What is the cause that pit or well-water being drawn, if it be left all night within the aire of the pit, becometh colder than it was?*

**W**HE had a certaine guest who lived delicatly, and loved to drinke cold water; for to please and content whole appetite, our servants drew up a bucket of water out of the pit or well, and so let it hang within the same (so that it touched not the top of the water) all the night long; 20 and so let it hang within the same (so that it touched not the top of the water) all the night long, wherewith he was served the morrow after at his supper, and he found it to be much colder than that which was newly drawn: now this stranger, being a professed scholar and indifferently well learned, told us, that he had found this in *Aristotle* among other points, grounded upon good reason, which he delivered unto us in this wise: All water (quoth he) which is first heat, becometh afterwards more colde than it was before; like to that which is provided and prepared for kings: first, they set it on the fire untill it boile againe; which done, they burie the pan or vessell wherin it is, within snow; and by this device it proves exceeding colde: no otherwise than our bodies, after that we have bene in the stoupe or baines, be cooled much more by that meanes: for relaxation occasioned by heat, maketh the bodie more rare, and causeth the pores to open, and so by consequence, it receiveth more aire from without, which environeth the bodie, 30 and bringeth a more sudden and violent change: when as therefore water is first chafed (as it were) and set in an heat by agitation and stirring within the bucket whiles it was in drawing, it groweth to be the colder by the aire which environeth the said vessell round about. This stranger and guest of ours, we commended for his confident resolution and perfect memory; but as touching the reason that he alledged, we made some doubt: for if the aire in which the vessell hangeth be colde, how doth it inchafe the water? and if it be hot, how cooleth it afterwards? for beside all reason it is, that a thing should be affected or suffer contrarily from one and the same cause, unlesse some difference come betwene. And when the other held his peace a good space, and stood musing what to say againe: Why (quoth I) there is no doubt to be made of the aire; for our very senses teach us, that colde it is, and especially that which is in the bottome of pits; and therefore impossible it is, that water should be heat by the cold aire: but the truth is this rather, 40 although this cold aire can not alter all the water of the spring in the bottome of the well, yet if a man draw the same in a little quantitie, it will do the deed, and be so much predominant as to coole it exceedingly.

### THE FIFTH QUESTION.

*What is the reason that little stones and small plates or pellets of lead, being cast into water, make it colder?*

**Y**OU remember I am sure (doe you not, said I) what *Aristotle* hath written, as touching pib- 50 ble stones and flints, which if they be cast into water, cause the same to be much colder and more astringent: And you remember (quoth he) aswell, that the philosopher in his Problems hath onely said it is so; but let us assay to finde out the cause, for it seemeth very difficult to be conceived and imagined: You say true indeed (quoth I); and a marvell it were if we could hit upon it: howbeit, marke and consider what I will say unto it: First to begin withall; doe you not thinke that water is sooner made colde by the aire without, if the same may come to enter into it?

it also, that the aire is of more force and efficacie, when it beatech against hard flints, pibbles or whetstones? for they will not suffer it to passe thorow, as vessels either of bras or earth; but by their compact soliditie, resisting and standing out against it, they put it by from themselves, and turne it upon the water; whereby the coldnesse may be the stronger, and the water thorowout be fully affected therewith: and this is the reason, that in Winter time, running rivers be much colder than the sea; for that the cold aire hath greater power upon them, as being driven backe againe from the bottome of the water; whereas in the sea it is dissolved, and passeth away, by reason of the great depth thereof encountering there nothing at all, upon which it may strike and beat: but it seemeth there is another reason, that waters, the thinner and cleerer they be, suffer 10 the more from the colde aire; for sooner they be changed and overcome, so weake and feeble they are: now hard whetstones and little pibbles, doe lubricate and make the water more thin, in drawing to the bottome where they be, all the grosse and terrestriall substance that trouble it; in such sort, as the water by that meanes, being more fine, and consequently weaker, sooner is vanquished and surmounted by the refrigeration of the aire. To come now unto lead: cold of nature it is, and if it be soaked in vinegar, and wrought with it, maketh ceruse of all deadly poisons, the coldest. As for the stones aforesaid, by reason of their soliditie, they have an inward coldnesse conceived deeply within them; for as every stone is a piece of earth gathered together and congealed (as it were) by exceeding colde, so the more compact and massive that it is, the harder is it congealed, and consequently, so much the colder: no marvell therefore it is, if 20 both plummets of lead and these little hard pibbles aforesaid, by repercussion from themselves, enforce the coldnesse of water.

### THE SIXTH QUESTION.

*What is the reason that men use to keepe snowe within chaffe, light straw and clothes?*

**V**PON these words, that stranger and guest of ours, after hee had paused a while: Lovers (quoth he) above all things, are desirous to talke with their paramours; or if they can not so doe, yet at leastwise they will be talking of them; and even so it fareth at this time betwene me and snowe; for, because there is none heere in place, nor to be had, I will speake of it; and 30 namely, I would gladly know the reason why it is wont to be kept in such things as be very hot; for we use to cover and swaddle it (as it were) with straw and chaffe, yea, and to lap it within soft clothes, unshorne rugges, and shaggie frize; and so preserve it a long time in the owne kinde, without running to water: A wonderfull matter, that the hottest things should preserve those which are extreame colde! And so will I say too (quoth I) if that were true: but it is farre otherwise, and we greatly deceive our selves, in taking that by and by to be hot it selfe, which doth heat another; and namely, considering that we our selves use to say, that one and the selfe same garment in Winter keeps us warme, and in Summer cooleth us; like as that nourish in the tragedy, which gave sucke unto *Antibes* children:

*With mantles course, and little blankets warme,  
She warme's and coole's her pretie babes, new borne.*

The *Almains* verily put on garments onely for to defend their bodies against the rigour of cold: the *Aethiopians* weare them not, but to save themselves from soultie heat: wee in *Greece* use them for the one purpose and the other; and therefore why should wee count them to be hot, because they warme us, rather than cold, for that they coole us? yet of the twaine, if wee would be judged by the outward sense, wee might repute them rather cold than hot: for when we put on our shirts or inner garments first, our naked skinn findes them cold; and so when we goe into our beds, wee feele the sheetes and other clothes of themselves as cold; but afterwards they helpe to heat us; but how? being themselves full of heat, which commeth from us, 50 they hold in our heat, and withall, keepe off the cold aire from our bodies. Thus you see how they that be sicke of the ague, or otherwise, burne with heat, change continually their linnens and other clothes about them, because ever as any fresh thing is laid upon them, they feele it cold and take comfort therein; no sooner is it cast over them, & lien a while, but it becometh hot, by reason of the ardent heat of their bodies: like as therefore a garment being warmed once by us, doth warme us againe; even so, if it be made cold by snow, it keepeth it cold reciprocally; but made cold it is by snow, for that there ariseth from it a subtil spirit, or vapour which doth it; & the same so long as it abideth within, holdeth it together concrete and solid in the owne nature;

ture; contrariwise, when it is gone, snowe melteth and turneth to water; then that white fresh colour vanisheth away, which came by the mixture of the said spirit & humiditie together, causing a kinde of froth: when as snowe therefore is lapped within clothes, both the cold is held in thereby, and the outward aire kept out, that it cannot enter in, to thaw and melt the substance of the snow thus gathered and congealed together; now to this purpose they use such clothes as have not yet come under the fullers hand, nor bene dressed, buried, thorne, and pressed; and that for the length and driness of the flaggie haire and flocks, which will not suffer the cloth to lie heave and presse downe the snow, and crush it being so spongyous and light as it is: and even so the straw and chaffe, lying lightly upon it, and softly touching it, breaketh not the congealed substance thereof; and otherwise besides, the same lieth close and fast together, whereby it is a cause that neither the coldnesse of the snow within, can breath forth, nor the heat of the aire without enter in. To conclude that the excretion and issuing out of that spirit, is the thing that causeth the snowe to fore-give, to fret, and to melt in the end, is apparent to our outward senses, for that the snow when it thaweth engendreth winde.

### THE SEVENTH QUESTION.

*Whether wine is to runne thorough a streiner before it be drunke?*

**N**iger one of our citizens left the schooles, having conversed but a small while with a most excellent and renowned philosopher; yet so long, as in that time he had not learned any good thing at his hands, but stollen from him ere he was aware, that, whereby he was offensive and odious unto others; and namely, this bad custome he had gotten of his master, boldly to reprove and correct in all things, those who were in his company: when as therefore we were upon a time with *Ariston* in his house at supper together, he found fault generally with all the provision, as being too sumptuous, curious, and superfluous; and among other things, hee flatly denied: That wine ought to passe through a streiner before it be powred forth and filled to the table; but he said: It should be drunke as it came out of the tunne, as *Hesiodus* said, whiles it hath the strength and naturall force, and as nature hath given it unto us; for this manner of depuration and clarifying of it by a streiner, first doth enervate and cut as it were the sinewes of the vigour and vertue, yea and quench the native heat that it hath; for it cannot chuse, but the same will exhale, evaporate, and flie away with the spirit and life thereof being so often filled and powred out of one vessell into another: Again, (quoth he) it bewraich a certaine curiositie, delicacie, and wastfull wantonnesse, thus to consume and spend the good and profitable, for that which is pleasant onely and delectable: for like as to cut cocks for to make them capons, or to geld sowes and make them gualts, that their flesh may be tender, deintie, & (against the nature of it) effeminate, was never surely the invention of men, found in judgement, and of honest behaviour, but of wastfull gluttons, and such as were given over to belly cheere; even so verily they that thus straine wine, doe geld it, they cut the spurres and pare the nailes thereof; if I may be allowed so to speake by way of Metaphor, yea and doe effeminate the same; whiles 40 they are not able either to beare it by reason of their infirmities and weaknesse, nor drinke it in measure, as they should because of their intemperance: but surely this is a sophisticall device of theirs, and an artificiall trick to helpe them for to drinke more, and excuse them for powring it downe to merrily; for by this meanes the force of wine they take away, leaving nothing but bare wine; much like unto those who give water boiled unto sicke & weak folke, who cannot endure to drinke it cold, & yet beyond measure desire it; for the very edge of wine they take off, & looke what strength & vertue was in it, the same they rid away and expell quire: that in so doing they marre it, for ever: this may bee a sufficient argument, that wine thus misused, will not last nor continue long in the owne nature, but turne quickly to be very dregs; it loseth (I say) the verdure thereof presently, as if it were cut by the roote, from the owne mother, which are the lees thereof. Certes in old time they were wont directly to call wine it selfe *νινος*, that is to saie, Lees: like as we use to tearme a man by a diminutive speech, a soule or an head, giving unto him the denomination of those principall parts onely; and even at this day wee expresse the gathering of the vine fruit, by the verbe *νινω*: Also in one place *Homer* called wine *δυναμωιον*, and as for wine it selfe, it was an ordinary thing with him, to call it *αἶμα καὶ ἐρυθρον*, that is to say, blackish and redde, not pale and wanne, by often straining and clensing, such as *Ariston* heere ferret us with: heereat *Ariston* laughing at the matter: Not so my good friend (quoth he) pale,

pale, bloudlesse and discoloured: but that which at the very first sight sheweth it selfe pleasant, milde, and lovely, where as you would have us to ingurgitate and drench our selves with a wine as blacke as the night, thicke, grosse, and dusky, like a darke cloud: the clarifying and purification thereof you condemne, which in truth is nothing else, but the casting up as it were by vomit of all the choler that it had, and the discharging it of that which is heavy, heady in it, able to make men sicke and drunken, to the end that being more light, cheerefull, and lesse cholerick, it might go into our bodies for to be intermingled with us, even such as *Homer* saith: those worthies and demi-gods, at the warre of *Troy*, used to drinke: for *Homer* when he named wine *αἶμα*, meant not blackish and thicke, but transparent, neat and bright; for having before attributed unto brasse, these epithites, *αἶμα*, and *αἶμα*, that is to say, meet for men, & resplendent, he would not have called it *αἶμα* afterwards, if hee had not meant blacke and dusky by that attribute. Like as therefore, the sage *Anacharsis*, when he reproved some other fashions among the Greeks, commended yet their char-coales, for that leaving the smoake without doores, they brought the fire into the house; even so you my masters, that are wise men and great scholars, may haply blame us in other respects, if you list: but in case when we have rejected and dispatched away that which was turbulent, cholericke and fustious in wine, we make it then looke cleere, and taste pleasant of it selfe, without any sophistication; if we do not (I say) turne or take off the edge quite, and grinde out all the Steele (as it were) but rather scouring away rust and canker, 20 foubish and glaze it, and so present it unto you for to drinke; what hainous fault (I pray you) have we committed? but you will say (forsooth) it hath more strength in it when it is not thus clarified with straining: and so (by your leave, good sir) hath a franticke, lunaticke, and madde man, when he is in his fits; but after that he is well purged with Ellebor, or by good regiment in diet, brought to be staid, and reduced into his right minde and senses againe, that violent and extraordinary force is gone, but the true naturall strength of his owne, and his settled tempera- 30 ture remaine still in his bodie, together with his right wits; even so this cleansing and clarifying of wine, by ridding away that headnesse which troubleth the braine, and causeth rage, bringeth it to a milde habit and holosome constitution. Certes, for mine owne part, I holde there is a great difference betweene affected curiositie, and simple neatnesse or elegancie: for those women that paint themselves, perfume and besmeere their bodies with costly odours, and balmes, or otherwise glitter in their ornaments of golde, and go in their rich purple robes, are by good right thought to be curious, costly, and wanton dames; but if a woman use the bath, wash her skin, annoint her selfe with ordinary oile, yea, and wear the tresses of her owne haire, disposed and laied in order decently, no man will finde fault with her for it. This distinction in womens dressing and attire, the poet *Homer* hath elegantly and properly expressed, in the person of *Juno*, when she dressed and trimmed her selfe, in this wise:

*With pure Ambrosia she fit, her corps  
immorall, from all soile  
And filth, she cleanses it, then if she did  
anoint with glibber oile.*

40 Thus fare forth, there is nothing to be scene in her, but carefull diligence and matronlike cleanlinesse; marie when she comes to carquans, chaines, borders, and buttons of gold, when she hangs on herpendant earerings most curiously and artificially wrought, and not staying there, proceeds in the end to take in her hand that enchanting tiffue and girdle of *Venus*; beleeve me, heere was superfluous sumptuositie, heere was vanitie and wantonnesse in deed, not becoming a wife or dame of honour; semblably, they that colour their wine with the sweet wood of alooe or cinomon, and otherwise give it a tincture and pleasant aromatization with saffron, doe even as much as those who curiously trick up and set out a woman, for to bring her to a banquet, and to prostitute her as a courtesan; whereas they that do no more but purge out of it, the grosse filthinesse, and that which is good for nothing, make it by that meanes pure, holosome and 50 medicinale: for otherwise, if you admitt not this, you may aswell say, that all things that you see heere, is nothing but needlesse superfluitie, and affected curiositie, beginning even at the verie house and the furniture thereof: for why is it (will you say) thus pargetted and laied over with a coat of plaister? why is it open and built with windowes on that side especially, where it may receive the purest aire and freshest windes, or where it may enjoy the light of the sunne tending Westward toward his setting? why are these pots and drinking cups, every one of them rubbed and scoured on every side, so neat and cleane, that they glitter and shine againe, so as a man may see himselfe in them? And ought (good sir) these boules and goblets to be kept cleane with-



out all filth, or sweet without euill sent; and must the wine which we drinke out of them, be full of filthie dregges, or otherwise stained with any ordure and corruption? but what need I runne thorow all the rest? the very workmanship and painefull labour about the wheat whereof our bread heere is made, what is it els (I beseech you) but cleansing and purging? see you not what a doe there is about it before it be brought to this passe? for there must be not onely threshing, fanning, winnowing, riddling, grinding, lifting, fersing and boulding out the branne from the slowre, while it is in the nature of come and meale; but also it requireth to be kneed and wrought, that no roughnesse remaine behind in the dough; so that being thus united and concorporat into a lump of paste, it may be made bread fit for our eating: what absurditie then is there in this, if straining and cleansing of wine ridde it from that feculent and dreggie matter, as if it were 10 course brannes or grosse grounds, especially seeing the doing of it, is not any wife chargeable nor laborious?

## THE EIGHTH QUESTION.

*What is the cause of that extraordinarie hunger, called Bulimie?*

Here is a solemne sacrifice used among us, received by tradition from our ancestors, which the provost or chiefe governour of the city for the time being, performeth at publicke the altar, but other private citizens besides, in their own houses: and this solemnity is called, The banishment of *Bulimos*, that is to say, of hunger or famine: and the manner is at such a time, for everie master of an house, to take one of his slaves, and when he hath swung him well with weeds of the withie called Chast-tree, to thrust him out of the doores by the head and shoulders, saying withall: Out with \* *Bulimos*, but come in wealth and health. Now that yeere wherein I was provost, many there were at my sacrifice, invited to the feast; and after we had performed all ceremonies and complements therto belonging, and were set at the table, some question there was moved, first, as touching the vocable it selfe *Bulimie*, what it should signifie, and afterwards of the words uttered unto the slave when he is driven out; but most of all, of that maladie so called, and of the accidents and circumstances thereof. As for the tearme *Bulimos*, every man in manner, was of opinion, that it betokened a great and publicke famine, but especially we Greeks of *Aeolia*, who in our dialect use the letter \*  $\pi$  for  $\beta$ , for we commonly do not say, *Bulimos*, but *Pulimos*, as if it were *Polylimos* or *Polilimos*, that is to say, a great famine, or a generall famine thorowout the cite: and it seemed unto us, that *Bulimie* was another thing different from it; and namely, by a sound argument which we had from the Chronicles penned by *Metrodorus*, as touching the acts of *Ionia*, wherein thus much he writeth: That the *Smyrniens* who in old time were *Aeolians*, use to sacrifice unto *Bulrosia*, a blacke bull, as an holocaust or burnt offering, which they cut into pieces with the hide, and so burne it all together. But forasmuch as all manner of hunger resembleth a maladie (and principally, this called *Bulimie*) which commeth upon a man when his bodie is affected with some unkind and unnaturall indisposition, it seemeth that by great reason, as they oppose wealth to poverie, so they set health against sicknesse: & like as 40 the heaving and overturning of the stomacke, a disease when as men are said *Nauisui*, tooke that name first upon occasion of those who are in a ship, & when they faile or row, fall to be stomack sicke, and are apt to cast: but afterwards by custome of speech, whosoever feele the like passion of the stomacke, and a disposition to vomit, are said *nausai*, that is to saie, to be sea sicke; even so the verbe *Bulimie*, and the nounce *Bulimos*, taking the beginning as is before said, there is come unto us, and signifieth a dogs-appetite or extraordinary hunger. And to this purpose wee all spake, and made a contribution as it were of all our reasons, to make out a common supper or collation: but when we came to touch the cause of this disease, the first doubt that arose among us was this; that they should most be surprized with this maladie, who travell in great snowes: like as *Brutus* did of late daies; who when he marched with his army from *Dyrrhachium* to *Apollonia*, was in danger of his life, by occasion of this infirmity: it was a time when the snowe lay 50 very deepe; in which march he went such a pace, that none of those who had the carriage of victuals overtooke him, or came neere unto him: now when as he fainted for feeblenesse of stomacke, that he now swooned and was ready to give up the ghost; the souldiers were forced to runne in haste unto the walles of the city, and to call for a loafe of bread, unto their very enemies, warding and keeping the watch upon the walles, which when they had presently gotten, therewith they recovered *Brutus*: whereupon afterwards, when he was master of the towne, hee grievously

\* That is to say, hunger and famine: it seemeth by that which followeth, that they put poverie also before *Bulimos*, in opposition to health.  
\* p. for b.

grievously intreated all the inhabitants, for the courtesie which he had received from thence. This disease hapneth likewise to horses and asses, especially when they have either figges or apples a load: but that which of all the rest is most wonderfull, there is no manner of food or sustenance in the world, that in such a case so soone recovereth the strength, nor of men onely, but of labouring beasts also, as to give them bread, so that if they eat a morsell thereof, bec it never so little, they will presently finde their feet, and be able to walke.

Hereupon ensued silence for a while; and then I (knowing well enough, how much the arguments of ancient writers are able to content and satisfie such as are but dull and flow of conceit; but contrarywise unto those that be studious, ripe of wit and diligent, the same make an over- 10 ture and give courage and heart to search and inquire further into the truth) called to minde and delivered before them all a sentence out of *Aristotle*, who affirmeth: That the stronger the cold is without, the more is the heat within our bodies, and so consequently, causeth the greater colligation of the humours in the interior parts. Now if these humours thus resolved, take a course unto the legges, they cause lassitudes and heavinesse; if the rheume fall upon the principall fontaines and organs of motion and respiration, it bringeth faintings and feeblenesse. I had no sooner said, but as it is wont in such cases to fall out, some tooke in hand to oppugne these reasons; and others againe to defend and mainteine the same: and *Soclarus*, for his part: The words (quoth he) in the beginning of your speech were very well placed, and the ground surely laid; for in truth the bodies of those who walke in snow, are evidently cold without, 20 exceedingly closed fast and knit together; but that the inward heat occasioned thereby, should make such a colligation of humours, and that the same should possesse and seize upon the principall parts and instruments of respiration, is a bold and rash conceit, and I cannot see how it should stand: Yet rather would I thinke, that the heat being thus kept in, and united together, and so by that means fortified, consumeth all the nourishment; which being spent, it cannot chule, but the said heat also must needs languish even as a fire without fwell; and hereupon it is, that such have an exceeding hunger upon them, and when they have eaten never so little, they come presently to themselves againe; for that food is the maintenance of natural heat: Then *Clemenes* the physician: This word *nausai*, that is to say, hunger (quoth he) 30 in the compound *Bulimos*, signifieth nothing else, but is crept into the composition of it I know not how, without any reason at all; like as in the verbe *xyphos*, which betokeneth to devour, or swallow downe solid meat, *xyphos*, that is to say, to drinke, hath no sence or congruities at all; no more than *xyphos*, that is to say, to bend downward, or fall groveling, hath any thing to doe in the verbe *xyphos*, that signifieth to rise aloft, or to hold up the head as birds doe in drinking; for surely *Bulimos* or *Bulimie*, seemeth not unto me to be any hunger, as many have taken it; but it is a passion of the stomacke, which concurring indeed with hunger, engendreth a fainting of the heart, and an aptnesse to swoone: and even as odors and smells doe fetch againe and helpe those that be in a swoone; so bread doth remedie and recover those who are feeble and faint, by this *Bulimia*, not for that such have need of sustenance; (for let it be never so little that they take, they are revived and refreshed thereby) but because it fetcheth the spirits againe, 40 and recalleth the power and strength of nature that was going away. Now that this *Bulimos* or *Bulimia*, is a faintnesse of the heart, and no hunger at all, appeareth evidently by an accident that we observe in those draught beasts, whereof we spake before, subject to this infirmity; for the smell of figges and apples worketh not in them any defect or want of nourishment; but causeth rather a gnawing in the mouth of the maw, a plucking (I say) and contention in the brim of the stomacke. As for me, on the other side, although I thought these reasons indifferently well alledged; yet I was of opinion, that if I went another way to worke, and argued from a contrarie principle, I could mainteine a probability; and uphold, that all this might proceed rather by way of condensation, than rarefaction: for the spirit of breath that passeth from the snowe in manner of subtile aire, is the most cutting edge, and finest decision or scale, coming 50 from the concretion of that meteor or congealed substance, which I wot not how, is of so keene and piercing a nature, that it will strike thorough, not flesh onely, but vessels also of silver and brasse: for we see that they are not able to containe and hold snowe in them, but when it commeth to melt, it consumeth away, and covereth the outside of such vessels, glazed over with a moist subtile moisture, as cleere as ice, which no doubt the said spirit, breath, aire, or edge, (call it what you will) left behinde it, when it passed through those insensible pores of the said vessels; this spirit then thus penetrative and quicke as a flame, when it limiteth upon their bodies who goe in snowe, seemeth to scorch and singe the superficiall outside of the skine, in cutting

cutting and making way thorough into the flesh in manner of fire; whereupon ensueth a great rarefaction of the body, by meanes whereof, the inward heat flying forth, meeteth with the cold spirit or aire without in the superficies which doth extinguish and quench it quite, and thereby yeeldeth a kinde of small sweat or dew, standing with drops upon the outside, and so the naturall strength of the bodie is resolved and consumed: now if a man at such a time stirre not, but rest still, there is not much naturall heat of the bodie that passeth thus away; but when motion by walking or otherwise doth quickly turne the nutriment of the bodie into heat, and withall the said heat flieth outward thorough the skinn thus rarefied; how can it otherwise be, but all at once there should ensue a great eclipse (as it were) and generall defect of the naturall powers? And that true it is, that the same doth not alwaies close, knit, and binde together the bodie, but otherwise melt and rarefie the same, it appeareth manifestly by this experience; that in sharpe and nipping winters, many times plates or plummetts of leade are known to sweat and melt: this observation also, that many do fall into this infirmite called *Bulimia*, who are not hungrie, doth argue rather a defluxion and dilatation, than a constipation of the bodie; which no doubt in Winter is rarefied by that subtiltie of the spirit, whereof I spake, and especially, when travell and stirring, doth sharpen and subtilize the heat within the body: for being thus made thin, and wearied besides, it flieth forth in great abundance, and so is disperfed thorough the body. As for those figs and apples, it is like, that they do exhale and evaporate such a spirit, as doth subtilize and dissipate the naturall heat of labouring beasts that carrie them: for it standeth by good reason in nature, that as some be revivred and refreshed with one thing, and some with another; so contrariwise, some things do dissipate the spirits in one, and others in another.

### THE NINTH QUESTION.

*Why the poet Homer to other liquors giveth proper epithites and attributes, and oile onely he calleth moist?*

There was a great question also another time: What might the reason be, that there being so many liquors as there are, the poet *Homer* is wont to adorne every one of the with their severall and proper epithites, and namely, to call milke, white; hony, yellow; and wine, red; but oile alone he ordinarily noeth by an accident common unto them all, and termeth it moist: to which, this answer was made: That as a thing is named, Moist sweet, which is altogether sweet; and Moist white, which is altogether white; (now you must understand, that a thing is said to be such and such altogether, when there is nothing mixed with it of a contrary nature) even so we are to call that Moist, which hath not one jot of drinck mingled among, and such a qualitie doth properly agree unto oile: for first and foremost, the polished smoothnesse that it hath, doth shew that the parts thereof be all uniforme and even thoroughout; and feeble it wheresoever you will, you shall finde it equall in every respect, and one part accordeth with another so, as the whole agreeth to withstand both mixture and colde: besides, to the eie sight it yeeldeth a most pure and cleere mirror to behold the face in; for why? there is no roughnesse nor ruggednesse in it, to dissipate the reflexion of the light; but by reason of the humiditie or moisture thereof, all the light (how little soever it be) doth rebound and returne againe upon the sight: whereas contrariwise, milke alone, of all other liquors, sendeth backe none of these images and resemblances, like as a mirror or looking-glasse doth, for that it hath a great deale of terrestriall substance in it: moreover, of all liquid matters, oile onely maketh the least noise when it is stirred or shaken, for that it is so moist thoroughout; whereas in other liquors, the parts which be hard and earthy, in running, flowing, and moving, do encounter, smite and hit one another, and so consequently make a noise, by reason of their weight and soliditie: and that which more is, it remaineth simple of it selfe, without admitting any mixture or composition with any other liquor whatsoever, for that it is so firme, compact, or fast; and good reason, for it hath no wandering holes here and there, betwene terrene and hard parts, which might receive any other substance within: moreover, all the parts of oile, for that they be so like one unto the other in a continued union, do joine passing well together, however they will not fort with other liquors; and by reason of this tenuitie and continuitie, when oile doth froth or some, it suffereth no winde or spirit to enter in: furthermore, this humiditie of oile, is the cause that it feedeth and nourisheth fire, for maintained it is with nothing that is not moist, and this is the onely liquor that may be burned, as we may see evidently in the wood which we dayly burne; namely, that the aire sub-

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stance therein, flieth up in smoake; that which is terrestriall, turneth into ashes; and there is nothing but that, which is moist or liquid, that flameth out, burneth light, and is consumed cleane: for why? fire hath no other sustenance to feed upon; and therefore, water, wine, and other liquors, stand much upon a feculent, muddie & earthy matter, which is the cause that if a man do cast them upon a fire or flame, by their asperitie, they disgregate, and by their weight, choke & quench it; but oile, (for that most properly and sincerely it is moist, and by reason also that it is so subtil) soone receiveth alteration, and being overcome by the fire, is quickly inflamed: but the greatest argument to prove the moisture of oile, is this, that a little thereof will spread and go a great way; for neither hony, nor water, nor any other liquid thing whatsover, in so small a quantitie can be dilated and drawn so far as oile, but for the moist part, they are spent and gone by occasion of their siccity: and verily, oile being so pliable and ready to be drawn every way, soft also and glib, is apt to run all over the body, when it is anointed, it floweth and spreadeth a great way, by meanes of the humiditie of all parts which are so moveable, in such sort, as it continueth a long time, and hardly will be rid away, it sticketh and cleaveth so fast: for a garment, if it be dipped and drenched all over in water, will soone be drie againe; but the spots and flaines with oile, require no small adoe to be scoured out and cleaned, for that it taketh so deepe an impression; and all because it is so fine, subtil and exceeding moist: and *Aristotle* himselfe saith, that even wine also being deliaed with water, if it be gotten into a cloth, is hardly fetched out, for that now it is more subtile than before, and pierceth farther within the pores thereof.

### THE TENTH QUESTION.

*What is the cause, that the flesh of beasts killed for sacrifice, if it be hung upon a fig-tree, becometh more tender within a while?*

*Ariston* had a cooke commended highly by those who used to sup with his master, for singular skill in his art; and namely, for that among all other viands which he handled and dressed passing well, hee served up a cooke unto the table before us, newly killed and sacrificed unto *Hercules*, the flesh whereof did eat as short and tender as if he had hung by the heeles a day or two before: and when *Ariston* said that it was an easie matter so to doe; and that there needed no more, but presently when his throat was cut, to hang him upon a fig-tree, we tooke occasion thereby to search into the cause of this effect: Certes, that there passeth from the figge-tree a sharpe aire and strong spirit, our verie eiesight will testifie; as also the common speech that goeth of a bull, who if he be tied to a fig-tree, how wilde, savage and fell soever he was before, will soone be meeke and quiet, abide to be handled, and in one word, lay downe his furious rage, as if it were cleane daunted: But the principall cause hereof was attributed to the acrimonie and sharpe qualitie of the wood, for the tree is more succulent than any other; inasmuch as the verie figge it selfe, the wood also and the leafe, be all full of juice; also whiles it burneth in the fire, there ariseth from it a bitter biting smoake, very hurtfull to the eies; and when it is burnt, there is made of the ashes a strong leie, very deterlive and scouring, which bee all signes of heat: and moreover, whereas the milkie juice of the fig-tree will cause milke to turne and cruddle, (some say,) it is not by the inequality of the figures of milke, which are comprehended and glewed as it were therewith, namely, when the united and round parts thereof are cast up to the superficies, but for that the foresaid juice by meanes of heat, doth resolve the waterie substance of the liquor, which is not apt to gather consistence and be thickened: moreover, this is another signe thereof, that notwithstanding the juice be in some fort sweet, yet it is good for nothing, and maketh the woofst and most unpleasant drinke in the world; for it is not the inequality thereof, that causeth the smooth parts to gather a crud, but the heat which maketh the cold and cruddie partes to coagulate. A good proove of this we have from salt, which serveth to this purpose, because it is hot; but it impeacheth this interlacing and glutinous binding pretended, for that by nature it doth rather dissolve and unbinde. To come againe therefore unto the question in hand; the fig-tree sendeth from it a sharpe piercing and incisive spirit: and this is it, that doth make tender, and as it were concoct the flesh of the saide foule: and as great an effect should one see, if he had put him in a heape of wheat or such corne, or covered him all over with salt nitre; and all by reason of heat: and that this is true that wheat is hot, may be gathered by the vessels full of wine, which are hidden within a heape of wheat; for a man shall soone finde that the wine will be all gone.



## THE SVENTH BOOKE OF SYMPOSIAQUES OR BANQUET-DISCOURSES.

### The Summarie.

- 1 **A**gainst those who reprove Plato for saying, that our drinke passeth thorough the lungs.
- 2 What is that which Plato calleth *Kecocoros*? and why those feedes which fall upon beefes bones, become hard in concoction?
- 3 Why the middle part in wine, the highest in oile, and the bottome of hony is best?
- 4 Wherefore the Romans in oldtime observed this custome; never in any case to take away the table cleane, nor to suffer a lampe or candle to goe out?
- 5 That we ought to take great heed of those pleasures, which naughty musike yeeldeth, and how we should beware of it?
- 6 Of those guests who are called shadows, and whether a man may goe to a feast unbidden, if hee be brought thither by those who were invited? when? and unto whom?
- 7 Whether it be lawfull and honest to admit she-minstrels at a feast or banquet?
- 8 What matters especially it is good to heare discoursed upon at the table?
- 9 That to sit in counsellor consult at a table, was in oldtime the custome of Greeks, as well as of Persians.
- 10 Whether they did well that so consulted at their meat?

## THE SEVENTH BOOKE OF Symposiaques or banquet-discourses.

### The Proëme.



He Romans have commonly in their mouthes, & *Sofius Senecio*, the speech of a pleasant conceited man and a courteous, whosoever he was, who when he had supped alone at any time, was wont thus to say: Eaten I have this day, but not supped; shewing thereby, that meales would never be without mirth and good companie, to season the same, and to give a pleasant taste unto the viands. *Euenus* verily used to say: That fire was the best sauce in the world: and as for salt, *Homer* called it divine; and most men gave it the name of the Graces; for that being mingled or otherwise taken with most of our meates, it gives a kinde of grace, and commendeth them as pleasant and agreeable to the stomacke. But to say a truth, the most divine sauce of a table or a supper, is the presence of a friend, a familiar, and one whom a man knoweth well; not so much for that he eateth and drinketh with us, but rather because as he is partaker of our speeches, so he doth participate his owne unto us, especially in such reciprocall talke there be any good discourses, and those which be profitable, fit, and pertinent to the purpose; for much babling indeed and lavish speech that many men use at the boord; and in their cuppes, bewraie them their vaine folly, driving them oftentimes into inconsiderate and passionate fits, and to perverse lewdnesse; and therefore no lesse requisite it is, and needfull, to make choise of speeches, than of friends to be admitted to our table: and in this case we ought both to thinke, and also to say,

contrary

contrary unto the auncient Lacedæmonians; who when they received any young man or stranger into their guild-halles, called *Phiditia*, where they used to dine and suppe in publicke together, would shew unto them the dores of the place and say: Out at these there never goeth word: but we acquainting our selves with good words, and pertinent speeches at the table, in our discourses, are willing and content, that the same should go forth all, and be fet abroad to all persons whosoever; for that the matters and arguments of our talke are void of lascivious wantonnesse, without backbiting, slandering, malice, and illiberall scurrilitie, not befitting men of good education: as a man may well judge by these examples following in the Decade of this seventh booke.

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### THE FIRST QUESTION.

Against those who reprove Plato, for saying: That our drinke passeth by the lungs.

**I**T happened one day in summer time, that one of the company where I was at supper, came out with this verse of *Alcaeus*, which every man hath readily in his mouth, and pronounced it with a loud voice:

*Ἦγαν μέλιτος οἶνον, ὃ δὲ ἐστὶν μετὰ τὰς πνεύματι.*

That is to say:

Now drinke and wet thy lungs with wine,

For why? the hot Dogge-starre doth shine.

No marvell (quoth *Nicias*) then, (a physician of the city *Niceopolis*): if a poet as *Alcaeus* was, were ignorant in that, which *Plato* a great philosopher knew not: and yet *Alcaeus* in some sort may be borne out in saying so, and relieved in this wise; namely, that the lungs being so neere as they are unto the stomacke, enjoy the benefit of the liquid drinke, and therefore it was not improperly said: That they be wetted and soaked therewith: but this famous philosopher by expresse words hath left in writing, that our drinke directly passeth for the most part, thorough the lungs: so that he hath given us no means of any probabilite in the world, to excuse and defend him, would we never to faine, so grosse is his error, and ignorance so palpable: for in the first place, (considering it is necessary, that the drie nourishment should be mingled with the liquid) plaine it is, that there ought to be one common vessell, which is the stomacke, for to receive them both together: to the end, that it might transmit and send into the bellie and panch beneath, the meat well soaked and made soft: besides, seeing that the lungs be smooth and every way compact and solide, how is it possible, that if a man drinke a supping or grewell, wherein there is a little meale or flowre, it should get thorow, and not stay there? for this is the doubt that *Erasistratus* objected very well against *Plato*. Moreover, this philosopher having considered most parts of the bodie, and searched by reason, wherefore they were made; and being desirous to know (as became a man of his profession) for what use nature had framed every one, he might have thought thus much: That the wezill of the throat, otherwise called *Epiglottis*, was not made for nothing and to no purpose; but ordeined for this, that when we swallow any food, it might keepe downe and close the conduit of the winde-pipe, for feare that nothing might fall that way upon the lights; which part no doubt, is woonderfully troubled, tormented, and torne (as it were) with the cough, when any little thing is gotten thither, where the breath doth passe to and fro: Now this wezill above said, being placed just in the middes, and indifferent to serve both passages, when we speake, doth shut the mouth of that conduit or wezand that leadeth to the stomacke; and as we either eat or drinke, falleth likewise upon the winde-pipe that goeth to the lungs, keeping that passage pure and cleere, for the winde and breath to go and come at ease, by way of respiration. Furthermore, thus much we know by experience: That those who take their drinke leasurly, letting it go downe by little and little, have moister bellies than those who powre their liquor downe at once; for by this means the drinke is caried directly into the bladder, passing away apace and with violence, making no stay; whereas otherwise, it resteth longer with the meat, which it soaketh gently, and is better mingled and incorporate into it: but wee should never see the one or the other, if at the first, our drinke and meat went apart, and had their severall waies by themselves, when wee swallow them downe; for wee conjoin our meat and drinke together, sending them both one after another, to the end that the liquor might serve in stead of a waggon, according as *Erasistratus* was wont to say, for to carrie and convey the meat and the nourishment into all parts.

After

After that *Nicias* had made this discourse, *Protagenes* the Grammarian added moreover, and seconded him in this wise, saying: That the poet *Homer*, first of all other, saw well enough; and observed, that the stomacke was the proper receptacle and vessell to receive our food, as the winde-pipe, which they called in olde time, *σπυγξ*, to admit the winde and the breath: and hereupon it came, that they used to call those who had big and loud voices, *σπυγεσθης*, that is to say, wide-throated, meaning by the throat, the winde-pipe, and not the gullet, wezard or gorge: and therefore when he had said of *Achilles*, charging *Hector* with his launce:

*Herean him through his\* gorge at first,  
A speeding wound and deadly thrust.*

A little after he added, and said:

*His\* winde-pipe yet he went beside,  
And did not in twaine divide.*

He meaneth by *σπυγξ*, the proper instrument of the voice and conduit of the breath, which he cut not quite in sunder as he did the other, named *λαρυγία* or *λαρυγία*, that is to say, the wezard or gullet.

Upon these words, all was hush for a time, untill *Florus* tooke upon him to speake in the behalfe of *Plato*: And shall we thus indeed suffer this philosopher (quoth he) to be condemned; when he is not heere in place to answer for himselfe? No (said I) that we will not; but we will joine unto *Plato*, the poet *Homer* also, and put them both together; who is so farre off from averting and turning away the liquor from the wind-pipe, that he sendeth both drinke and meat together out of it; for these be his words to that effect:

*There gush't out of his\* winde pipe, wine good store,  
And gobbs of mans-flesh, eaten new before.*

Unlesse peradventure some one will dare to say, that this *Cyclops Polyphemus*, as he had but one eye in his head, so likewise he had no more but one conduit for his meat, drinke, and voice; or els mainteine that in this place the poet, by *σπυγξ*, meaneth the stomacke, and not the winde-pipe or wezill pipe, which hath bene named so, by all men generally, as well ancient as moderne writers: and this cite I not for want of testimonies, but as induced thereto for the truth sake: for there be witnesses enough to depose on *Platoes* side, and those of good credit and authority: for let *Empolis* the comical poet go by, if you please, who in his comedie named *Colaces*, that is to say, Flatterers or Parasites, thus saith:

*For why? this rule and precept streightly gave  
Protagoras: To drinke; that men might have  
Their lungs well wet and drenched with liquor cleere,  
Ere that in skie the Dog-starre doth appeere.*

And passe-by, if you will, that elegant and sweet conceived poet *Eratosthenes*, whose words be these:

*With good meere-wine do not forget  
The bottome of thy lungs to wet.*

*Euripides* verily, who in expresse termes writeth thus in one tragedie,

*The wine fough't all the conduit round about,  
And so did passe the lung-pipes cleane through out.*

Sheweth evidently, that he was quicker sighted than *Erisistratus*, and saw further into the thing than he did; for well he knew that the lungs have many pipes in them, and be (as it were) bored thorow with many holes, by which the liquor passeth: for our winde or breath had no need of such conduits and small pipes to send it out; but the lungs were made spongy and full of cavernosities or holes, in manner of a colander or strainer, for liquors, yea, and other matters that go downe together with the liquors: neither is it more unmeet (my good *Nicias*) for the lungs to transmit and give passage unto meale, or any good thicke growell, than for the stomacke; for our stomacke or gullet is not, as some thinke, smooth and slipperie, but hath a kinde of roughnesse and certaine rugged wrinkles, of which by all likelihood, some small crummes and parcels of our meat doe take holde, and sticking thereto, are not at once swallowed downe, and caried away: but a man is not able indeed to affirme Categorically, either the one or the other; for nature is so wittie and industrious in all her operations, that no eloquence will serve to expresse the same; neither is it possible to explicate and declare sufficiently the exquisit workmanship and perfection of those principall instruments which she useth, I meane those that serve for the spirit or breath and the heat: howbeit, in the favour of *Plato* I am willing to cite more witnesses,

nesses, to wit, *Philisition* the Locrien, a very auncient writer, and renowned for his excellencie in your arte of physicke; and *Hippocrates* of *Cos*: for these men have allowed no other way nor passage for our drinke than *Plato* hath: and as for the wezill that you stand so much upon, and have in such reputation, *Dioscippus* was not ignorant of it: but he saith, that about it, the humidity or liquor in swallowing is divided and fevered, and so glideth or slippeth into the winde-pipe; but the meat rolleth into the stomacke, and within the said winde-pipe, there falleth no part of the meat; howbeit the stomacke receiveth together with the dry food some part also of the drinke or liquor mingled among; and this seemeth to stand well with reason: for the wezill is set before the winde-pipe as a fence or liddle, to the end that by little and little, the drinke

might gently runne as by a streiner into it, not suddenly and at once with a violence, for feare that if it were in that manner powred in, it would either stop or else fore trouble and impeach the breath; which is the reason that birds have no such flappe or wezill, and nature hath ordered none for them, for they neither draw in by gulpes, nor lappe their drinke, but dipping their bills let it downe softly, and so wet their throat: And thus much may serve for witnesses in the behalfe of *Plato*. To come now unto reason: First and foremost our very sense doth confirme the same that he hath said: for let the said wezill-pipe be wounded, no liquor will goe downe, but as if a conduit pipe were cut in sunder, we may see all of it to breake forth and run out at the wound, notwithstanding the wezard or stomacke be found and whole: moreover we all know by experience, that upon the malady called *Peripneumonia*, that is to say, the inflammation of the lungs, there followeth a most ardent thirst, by occasion of drought or heat, or else

some other cause, which with the said inflammation engendreth also an appetite to drinke: furthermore, there is another argument, stronger and more evident than this, namely; that those creatures which have either no lights or verie smal, have no need of drinke, nor desire it; for every part of the body hath a certaine naturall appetite to doe that worke or function, unto which it is ordeined; and looke what creatures so ever have no such parts, neither have they use for them, nor any desire to that operation which is performed by them: In sum, if it were not so as *Plato* saith; it may seeme that the bladder was made in vaine; for if the stomacke receive drinke as well as meat, & sende it downe into the belly, what needed the superfluitie or excrement of the liquid food, that is to say drinke, any peculiar receptacle or passage by it selfe; for sufficient it

had bene to have had one common, as well for the one as the other, to discharge the excrements of both, by one spout as it were into the same draught: but now it is otherwise: the bladder is by it selfe, and the guts apart by themselves; for that the one nutriment goeth from the lungs; the other from the stomacke, parting immediately, and taking their severall waies at the very swallowing. And heerupon it is that in the liquid superfluitie which is wine, there appeareth nothing of the drie, resembling it either in colour or sent; and yet naturall reason would, that if it were mixed and tempered with it in the belly and the gutes, it should bee filled with the qualities thereof, and could not possibly be excluded out of the body so pure and voide of ordure. \* Again, it was never known, that a stone hath bene ingendred in the paunch or

guts; and yet good reason it were, that moisture there should congeale or gather to a stone as it doth within the bladder; if true it were that all our drinke descended into the belly and the guts, by passing thorough the stomacke onely: but it seemeth that the stomacke incontinently when we begin to drinke, sucketh and draweth out of that liquor which passeth along by it in the wezill pipe, as much onely as is needfull and requisite for it, to mollifie and to convert into a nutritive pap or juice the solid meat; and so it leaveth no liquid excrement at all: whereas the lungs, so soone as they have distributed both spirit and liquor from thence, unto those parts that have need thereof, expell and send out the rest into the bladder: Well, to conclude, more likelihood there is of truth by farre, in this, than in the other: and yet peradventure the truth in deed of these matters lieth hidden still and incomprehensible; in regard whereof, it is not meet to proceed so rashly and insolently to pronounce sentence against a man, who as well for his owne sufficiency, as the singular opinion of the world, is reputed the prince and chiefe of all philosophers, especially in so uncerteine a thing as this, and in defence whereof there may bee so many reasons collected out of the readings and writings of *Plato*.

## THE SECOND QUESTION.

*What is meant in Plato by this word κρεσβαίον, and why those seeds which in sowing light upon oxen horns, become hard and not easie to be concocted.*

There hath bene alwaies much question and controversie about κρεσβαίον, and Απιδάμ, not who or what is so called (for certene it is, that seeds falling upon ox horns, according to the common opinion, yeeld fruite, hard and not easly concocted; whereupon by waie of Metaphor, a stubborne and stiffo-necked person, men use to tearme κρεσβαίον, and Απιδάμ) but 10 as touching the cause, why such graine or seeds hitting against the horns of an ox, should come to be so untoward: And many times refused I have, yea, and denied my friends to search into the thing; the rather for that Theophrastus hath rendered so darke and obscure a reason, raunging it among many other examples which he hath gathered and put downe in writing of strange and wonderfull effects, whereof the cause is hard to be found; namely: That an henne after that she hath laid an egge, turneth round about, and with a fecture or straw seemeth to purrifice and halow her selfe, and the egge also; that the sea-calfe or seale \* consumeth the pinc, and yet swalloweth it not downe; semblably, that staggas hide their horns within the ground and burie them; likewise, that if one goat hold the herbe Eryngium, that is to say, sea-holly in his mouth, all the rest of the flocke will stand still: Among these miraculous effects, Theophrastus 20 (I say) hath put downe the seeds falling upon the horns of an ox; a thing known for certene to be so, but whereof, the cause is most difficult, if not impossible to be delivered. But at a supper in the citie Delphi, as I sat one day, certene of my familiar friends came upon me in this manner, that seeing not onely, according to the common saying:

*From bellie full best counsell doth arise,  
And surest plot men in that case devise.*

but also we are more ready with our questions, and lesse to seeke for answers, when as wine is in our heads, causing us to be forward in the one, and resolute in the other; they would request me therefore to say somewhat unto the foresaid matter in question: howbeit, I held off still, as being well backed with no bad advocates, who tooke my part, and were ready to defend my cause; 30 and by name, Euthydemus my colleague or companion with me in the sacred totall dignitie, and Patroclus my sonne in law, who brought forth and alledged many such things, observed as well in agriculture, as by hunters; of which sort is that which is practised by those who take upon them skill in the foresight and prevention of haile; namely, that it may be averted and turned aside, by the blood of a mould-warpe, or linnen ragges, stained with the monethly purgations of women: Item, that if a man take the figs of a wilde fig-tree, and tie them to a tame fig-tree of the orchard, it is a meanes that the fruit of the said fig-tree shall not fall, but tarrie on, and ripen kindly: also that stags weepe salt teares, but wilde bores shed sweet drops from their eies, when they be taken: For if you will set in hand to seeke out the cause hercof (quoth Euthydemus) then presently you must render a reason also, of smallach and cumin; of which, the former, if it be 40 troden under foot and trampled on in the comming up, men have an opinion it will grow and prosper the better; and as for the other, they sow it with curses and all the fowlest words that can be devised, and so it will spring and thrive best. Tush (quoth Florus) these be but toies and ridiculous mockeries, to make sport with: but as touching the cause of the other matters above specified, I would not have you to reject the inquisition thereof, as if it were incomprehensible. Well (quoth I) now I have found a medicine and remedie, which if you do use, you shall bring this man with reason to our opinion, that you also your selfe may solve some of these questions propounded: It seemeth unto me therefore, that it is colde, that causeth this rebellious hardnesse as well in wheat and other corne, as also in pulse; namely, by pressing and driving in, their solid substance, untill it be hard againe; for heat maketh things soft and easie to be dissolved: 50 and therefore they do not well and truly, in alledging against Homer, this versicle:

*Not ripe yett deere,  
The yeere, not field,  
Doth beare and yeeld.*

For surely those fields and grounds which are by nature hot, if the aire withall afford a kinde and seasonable temperature of the weather, bring forth more tender fruits: and therefore such corne or seed which presently and directly from the husbandmans hands, lighteth upon the ground,

ground, entering into it, and there covered, finde the benefit both of the heat and moisture of the soile, whereby they soone sprout and come up; whereas those which as they be cast, do hit upon the horns of the beasts, they meet not with that direct posture or rectitude called Ευθυσία, which Hesiodus commendeth for the best, but falling downe (I wot not how) and missing of their right place, seem rather to have bene flung at a venture, than orderly sown; & therefore the cold comming upon them, either marreth and killeth them outright, or els lighting upon their naked husks, causeth them to bring forth that proveth hard and churlish, as drie as chips, and such as will not be made tender & sidow, without they be steeped in some liquor, as having not bene covered but with their owne bare coats: for this you may observe ordinarily in stones, that 10 those parts and sides which lie covered deeper within the ground, as if they were of the nature of plants, be more firm and tender, as being preserved by heat, than those outward faces which lie ebbe or above the earth; and therefore skilfull masons digge deeper into the ground for stones which they meane to square, worke and cut, as being melowed by the heat of the earth; whereas those which lie bare aloft and exposed to the aire, by reason of the cold, prove hard and not easie to be wrought or put to any use in building: semblably, even corne, if it continue long in the open aire, and cocked upon the stacks or threshing floores, is more hard and rebellious, than that which is soone taken away and laid up in garners; yea, and oftentimes the very winde which bloweth whites it is fanned or winnowed, maketh it more tough and stubborne, and all by reason of cold: whereof the experience, by report, is to be seene about Philippi a citie in Macedonia, 20 where the remedie is, to let corne lie in the chaffe: and therefore you must not thinke it strange, if you heare husbandmen report, that of two lands or ridges, running directly one by the side of another, the one should yeeld corne tough and hard; the other, soft and tender: and that which more is, beanes lying in one cod, some be of one sort, and some of another, according as they have felt (more or lesse) either of cold or of winde.

## THE THIRD QUESTION.

*What is the cause, that the mids of wine, the top of oile, and the bottome of honie, is best?*

MY wives father Mexican, one day laughed at Hesiodus, for giving counsell to drinke wine 30 insultrie, when the vessell is either newly pierced or runneth low; but to forbear, when it is halfe drawn; his words are these:

*When tierce is full, or when it draweth low,*

*Drinke hard; but spare, to mids: when it doth grow.*

For that the wine there, is most excellent: For who knoweth not (quoth he) that wine is best in the middle, oile in the top, and honie in the bottome of the vessell? but Hesiodus (forsooth) adviseth us to let the mids alone, and to stay untill it change to the woofe and be lowe; namely, when it runneth low and little is left in the vessell. Which words being passed, the companie there present, bad Hesiodus farewell, and betooke themselves into searching out the cause of this 40 difference and diversitie in these liquors. And first, as touching the reason of honie, we were not very much troubled about it, because there is none in maner, but knoweth that a thing, the more rare or hollow the substance of it is, the lighter it is said to be; as also, that solid, massive, and compact things, by reason of their weight, do settle downward; in such sort, that although you turne a vessell up-side-downe; yet within a while after, each part returneth into the owne place againe; the heave sinks downe, the light floats above; and even so, there wanted no argument, to yeeld a found reason for the wine also: for first and formost, the vertue and strength of wine, which is the heat thereof, by good right gathereth about the middes of the vessell, and keepeth that part of all others best; then the bottome for the vicinitie unto the lees is naught: 50 lastly, the upper region, for that it is next to the aire, is likewise corrupt; for this we all know, that the winde or the aire is most dangerous unto wine, for that it altereth the nature thereof; and therefore we use to set wine vessells within the ground, yea, and to stop and cover them with all care and diligence, that the least aire in the world come not to the wine; and that which more is, wine will nothing so soone corrupt when the vessells be full, as when it hath bene much drawn and groweth low, for the aire entrench in apace proportionably to the place that is void; the wine taketh winde thereby and so much the sooner chaungeth; whereas if the vessells be full, the wine is able to mainteine it selfe, not admitting from without much of that which is adverse unto it, or can hurt it greatly.



But the consideration of oile put us not to a little debate in arguing: One of the companie said: That the bottome of oile was the woorst, because it was troubled and muddy with the leis or mother thereof: and as for that which is above, he said: It was nothing better than the rest, but seemed onely so, because it was farthest removed from that which might hurt it: Others attributed the cause unto the soliditie thereof, in which regard, it will not well be mingled or incorporate with any other liquor, unlesse it be broken or divided by force and violence; for so compact it is, that it will not admit the very aire to enter in it, or to be mingled with it, but keepeth it selfe a part, and rejecteth it by reason of the fine smoothnesse, and continuencie of all the parts, so that lesse altered it is by the aire, as being not predominant over it: nevertheless, it seemeth that *Aristotle* doth contradict and gainsay this reason, who had observed (as he saith himselfe) that the oile is sweeter, more odoriferous, and in all respects better, which is kept in vessels not filled up to the brim; and afterwards ascribeth the cause of this meliority or betternesse unto the aire: For that (saith he) there entereth more aire into a vessell that is halfe empty, and hath the more power: Then I wot not well (saith I) but what and if in regard of one and the same facultie and power, the aire bettereth oile, and impairth the goodnesse of wine? for we know that age is hurtfull to oile, and good for wine; which age the aire taketh from oile, because that which is cooled continueth still yoong and fresh; contrariwise that which is pent in and stufed up, as having no aire, soone ageeth and waxeth old: great apparence there is therefore of truth, that the aire approaching neere unto oile, and touching the superficies thereof, keepeth it fresh and yoong still: And this is the reason, that of wine the upmost part is woorst, but of oile the best, because that age worketh in that, a very good disposition, but in this, as badde:

#### THE FOURTH QUESTION.

*What was the reason that the ancients Romans were very precise, not to suffer the table to be cleane voided and all taken away; or the lampe and candle to be put out?*

**F**lorus a great lover of antiquitie, would never abide, that a table should be taken away empty, but alwaies left some meat or other standing upon it: And I know full well (quoth he) that both my father and my grandfather before him, not onely observed this most carefully, but also would not in any case permit the lampe after supper to be put out, because for sparing of oile, and that thereby none should be wasted vainly. But *Eustrophus* the Athenian being upon a time a time at supper with us, hearing *Florus* making this relation: And what good gat they by this (quoth he) unlesse they had learned the cunning craft of *Epicarmus* our fellow-citizens, who as he said himselfe, having studied a long time how he might keepe his boyes and servants about him, from filching and stealing away his oile, hardly, and with much ado at the last, found this meanes: for presently after that the lampes were put out, he filled them full againe with oile; and then the next morning, he would come and see whether they were still full. This speech made *Florus* to laugh: But seeing (quoth he) this question is so well solved, let us search I pray you into the reason: Why in old time, as it should seeme, our \* ancients were so religious and precise, as touching their tables and lampes: first therefore they began with lampes and lights. And *Casernius* his sonne in law said: That those ancients as he thought, tooke it to be an ominous matter, and a very abomination indeed; that any fire whatsoever should be put out, for the likenesse and kinned that it had with that sacred fire which is alwaies kept inextinguible: for two waies there be (as I take it) whereby fire (like as we men) may die; the one violent, when it is quenched and put out by force, the other natural when it goeth out & dieth of it selfe: as for that sacred fire, they remedied both the one & the other, in mainteining and looking to it continually with great care and diligence; the other which is common, they neglected and suffered to goe out of it selfe, without any more ado; for so, they themselves quenched it not perforce, nor caused it to die, grudging and envying that it should live, as a beast that doth no good; they passed for it no more, nor made any further reckoning. Then *Lucius* the sonne of *Florus* said: That he liked well of all the rest which was said; but as concerning the sacred fire, he supposed, that our ancestors chose it not to reverence and adore, because they thought it more holy or better than others: but like as among the Aegyptians, some worshipped the whole kind of dogs; others, wolves likewise or crocodiles; but they nourished (with any especial respect) but one of every kinde; so to wit, some, one dogges; others, one wolfe, and others againe, one crocodiles; for

that impossible it was to keepe them all; even so heere in this case, the vigilant care and devotion which they employed in saving and keeping the sacred fire, was a signe and solemne testimoniall of the religious observance which they carried respectively to the whole element of fire; the reason was, because there is nothing in the world that more resembleth a living creature, considering that it moveth, stirreth, and feedeth it selfe; yea and by the shining light that it giveth, (in manner of the soule) laicth all things open, and maketh them to bee seene; but most of all it sheweth and prooveth the power that it hath, not to be without some vitall feed, or principle, in the extinguishing and violent death thereof; for when it is either quenched, suffocated, or killed by force, it seemeth to give a cry or scricke, struggling as it were with death, like unto a living creature when the life is taken away by violence. And in uttering these words; casting his eyes upon me: What say you (quoth he) unto me, can you alledge any thing better of your owne? I cannot (saith I) finde any fault with you, in all that you have delivered; but I would willingly adde thus much moreover; that this fashion and custome of mainteining fire, is a very exercise and discipline training us to great humanitie: for surely I hold it not lawfull to spoile our meats and viands after we have eaten thereof sufficiently, no more than I doe for to stop or choke up a spring or fountaine after we have drunke our fill of the pure water thereof, or to take downe and demolish the markes that guide men in navigation, or waiting, upon the land, when we have once served our owne turne with them: but these and such like things we ought to leave behinde us unto posteritie, as meanes to do them good that shall come after us, & have need of them when we are gone: and therefore I hold it neither seemely nor honest, to put out a lampe for mechanicall miserie, so soone as a man himselfe hath done withall; but he ought to mainteine & keepe it burning still, that what need soever there should be of fire, it may be found there ready, and shining light out; for a blessed thing it were in us, if possibly we so could, to impart the use of our owne sight, our hearing, yea and of our wisdom, strength and valour unto others for the while, when we are to sleepe or otherwise to take our repose: consider moreover, whether our forefathers have not permitted excessive ceremonies and observations in these cases, even for an exercise and studious meditation of thankfulness, as namely; when they revered so highly the oakes bearing acornes as they did. Certes the Athenians had one fig-tree which they honored by the name of the holy and sacred Fig-tree; and expressly forbid to cut downe the \* mulberie tree: for these ceremonies I assure you, doe not make men inclined to superstition as some thinke, but frame & traine us to gratitude & sociable humanitie one toward another, when as we are thus reverently affected to such things as these, that have no soule nor sense. And therefore *Hesiodus* did very well, when he would not permit any flesh or meates to be taken out of the pots or cauldrons for to be set upon the table, unlesse some thing before had gone out of them, for an assay to the gods; but gave order that some portion thereof should be offered as first fruits unto the fire; as it were a reward and satisfaction for the ministry and good service that it hath done: The Romans also did as well, who would not when they had done with their lampes take from them that nourishment which they had once allowed, but suffered them to enjoy the same, still burning and living, by the meanes thereof. After I had thus said: Now I assure you (quoth *Eustrophus*) hath not this speech of yours made the overture and given way to passe forward to a discourse of the table? for that our ancients thought there should be alwaies somewhat left standing upon it after dinner and supper, for their household servants and children; for surely glad they be, not so much to get wherewith to eat, as to have it in this order communicated from us and our table unto them: and therefore the Persian kings by report, were wont alwaies to send from their owne boord certaine dishes, as a luraion not onely to their friends and minions, to their great captaines and lieutenants under them, to their chiefe pensioners also and squires of the body; but they would have their slaves, yea and their very hounds and dogs to be served daily, and have their ordinary allowance set even upon their table: for their will and meaning was, that whosoever did them any service, & were employed in their ministry, should if it were possible be partakers of their table and fire also: for surely the most fell or savage beasts that bee, are made tame by such communication and fellowship in their feeding. Heereat I could not chafe but laugh: And why then doe we not (quoth he) my good friend, put in practise the old order, and bring abroad the fifth laid up for store, according to the common proverbe, as also the Chenix or measure that *Pythagoras* so much talketh of, & upon which he forbiddeth a man to sit: giving us thereby a lesson, that wee should learne to leave somewhat for the next day, and on the even to remember and thinke upon the morrow. We Boeotians have this by-word amongst us, common in every mans mouth: Leave some-

what for the Medes: ſince time that the Medes overran and forſeized the whole province of *Phocia*, and waſted the frontiers and marches of *Baria*: but ſurely we ſhould have evermore ready at hand this ſaying: Save ſomething alwaies for ſtrangers and gueſts, that may come in unlooked for: And to ſpeake what I thinke; for mine owne part, I milike utterly that hungry table that *Achille* kept, which evermore was found bare and void: For when as *Ulyſſes* came embassage unto him, they found no meat at al ſtirring; whereupon he was forced even then to kill ſomewhat, and to dreſſe the ſame out of hand for their ſuppers: Another time alſo being minded to entertaine king *Priamus* friendly; when he came unto his pavilion:

*He then beſtir'd himſelfe, and caught up ſoone,  
A good white ſheepe, whoſe throas he cut anon.*

but about cutting it up, quartering, jointing, ſeething and roſting, he ſpent a great part of the night: whereas *Eumais* a wiſe ſcholar of as wiſe a maſter, was nothing at all troubled at the ſudden and unexpected comming of *Telemachus*; but preſently willed him to ſit downe, made him good cheere, ſetting before him platters full

*Of good ſheſh meats, which were of former ſtore,  
All ready raſt, and left the night before.*

But if you thinke that to be but a ſmall matter, and lightly to be regarded, yet I am ſure confeſſe you will; that this is not a thing of little importance; namely to refrain and containe the appetite, when as there is enough yet before a man; to provoke and ſatiſfie it, for thoſe who are wont to abſteine from that which is preſent, have leſſe deſire to that which is abſent: Then *Zucius* added thus much, that he remembered how hee had heard his grandmother ſay: That the table was a ſacred thing: Which if it be ſo (quoth he) there ought no thing that holy is, to be empty; and for mine owne part, I am of this minde: That the table is a representation and figure of the earth; for beſides that, it feedeth us, round it is, and ſtandeth firme and ſure; in which regard, ſome have called it properly, *Peſta*; and like as we would have the earth to beare and bring forth alwaies ſome thing or other for our profit; ſo we thinke, that we ſhould never ſee the table void, nor left without ſome viands upon it.

## THE FIFTH QUESTION.

*That we ought eſpecially to beware of the pleaſures which we take in naughtie muſicke, and how we ſhould take heed thereof.*

AT the ſolemnity of the Pythicke games, *Calliſtratus* the ſuperintendent, deputed by the high commiſſion and counsell of State, named *Amphyctiones*, for to overſee and keepe good order, put backe a certaine miſtrel, who plaid upon the flute, though he were a country man of his and a friend, becauſe he came not in time to preſent himſelfe for to be inrolled among thoſe that were to contend for the prize, which he did according to the ſtatutes and lawes of thoſe games provided in that behalfe: but one evening when he had invited us to ſupper, he brought him forth into the banquet among us, ſet out and adorned in his faire robes and chaplets magnificently, as the maner is to be ſcene at ſuch games of prize, and attended beſides with a goodly daunce and quire of fingers, well and trimly appointed; and I aſſure you, a brave ſhew it was at the firſt entrie, and a pleaſant paſtime worth the ſeeing and hearing: but after that hee had tried and founded the whole companie there met, and perceived many of them how they were inclined, and that for their delight and pleaſure which they preſently tooke, they would be carried away, and ſuffer him to do what he liſt himſelfe; namely, to play laſcivious tunes, and in geſture to repreſent the ſame accordingly; then he ſhewed himſelfe openly, and gave us an evident prooffe and demonſtration; that muſicke will make thoſe more drunke, and diſtemper their braines woofe (who in conſideratly at all times, and without all meaſure exceedingly give themſelves unto it) than all the wine that they can drinke. For now by this time, they could not be content as the were ſet at they table, to houre and hollow with open throat, and withall, to keepe a clapping with their hands one at another; but in the end, the moſt part of them leapt from the boord, and began withall, to daunce and to foot it, yea, and otherwiſe to ſhew diſhoneſt and filthy geſtures, farre unbecoming gentlemen, but yet ſutable to the tunes hee founded, and the ſongs that hee chanted; but afterwards, when they had made an end, and that the banquet (as it were after a fit of furious madneſſe) was come againe to it ſelfe, and better ſetled, *Lamprias* was deſirous to have ſaid ſomewhat; and rebuked in good earneſt, this miſrule and diſorder of the

the youth, but that he feared withall, that he ſhould be thought too rigourous, and give offence unto the companie; untill ſuch time as *Calliſtratus* himſelfe gave him his hint, and incited him ſo to do, by ſuch a ſpeech as this: For mine owne part (quoth he) even I alſo, do acquire them of intemperancie, the ſimple deſire of hearing muſicke, and ſeeing ſports: howbeit, I am not altogether of *Ariſtoxenus* opinion, when he ſaith, that theſe be the onely pleaſures that be woorth a whoope, and at the end whereof, a man ſhould ſay, *Kαὶ οὕτως*, that is to ſay, Oh, well and trimly done! For ſurely, men are wont to attribute ſo much unto certaine daintie meats and ſweet perfumes and ointments, calling them trim and fine, and giving this praife unto them, that they be well dreſſed and conſected; yea, and it is an ordinary ſpeech to ſay: That it is well with us, when we have bene at a delicate and coſtly ſupper. I ſuppoſe alſo, that *Ariſtote* himſelfe alledged not a ſufficient cauſe, that the ſolace and pleaſure by faire ſights and ſweet muſicke, and generally, the contentment that we have by the eie and the eare, is to be exempted from the crime of intemperancie, becauſe as he ſaith, theſe be the onely delights proper unto man; whereas in all others, brute beaſts do communicate with us, and have the benefit of them: for I ſee that there be manie creatures which have no uſe of reaſon, and yet take pleaſure in muſicke; as for example, ſtags, in flutes and pipes; and at the time when mares are to be covered with ſtallions, there is a certaine ſound of the hautboies and a ſong to it, named thereupon, *Hypoboros*: and *Pindarus* ſaith in one place, that he was moved with the ſong,

*Like as the dolphin ſwimmes apace,  
Directly forward to that place  
Whereas the pleaſant hautboies ſound,  
And whence their miſt doth ſome nere bound;  
What time, both winds and waves do lie  
At ſea, and let no harme.*

And as they daunce, they beare up their heads and eies aloft, as joying in the object which they ſee of others likewiſe dauncing; for they ſtrive to imitate and counterſeit the ſame, ſtirring and wagging their ſhoulders to and fro: I cannot ſee therefore, what ſingularitie by it ſelfe there is in theſe pleaſures, becauſe they onely are reſpective to the ſoule, and others belong unto the bodie, and do ſeize and reſt in the bodie; whereas tunes, meaſures, daunces, and ſongs, paſſing beſides and beyond the ſenſe, doe ſaſten their delight and tickling pleaſure, upon the very joy and contentment of the minde; which is the reaſon that none of theſe delectations are hidden, nor have need either of darkeneſſe to cover them, or of walles to environ, encloſe, and keepe them in, as women are wont to ſay by other pleaſures; but contrariwiſe, built there are for theſe delights of the eie and eare, cirques and races, theaters and ſhew-places; and the greater company that there is with us to ſee or heare any of theſe, the greater joy we take, and the thing it ſelfe is more ſtately: but this is plaine, that deſirous we are, not of a number of witneſſes to teſtifie our intemperance and naughtie pleaſure, but we care not how many ſee our honeſt exerciſes and civill ſports or recreations.

After that *Calliſtratus* had ended his ſpeech, *Lamprias* perceiving that thoſe favourers and maintainers of ſuch eaſe ſports, tooke better heart, and became more audacious by theſe words; ſet in hand to ſpeake now in deed as he meant before; in this maner: This is not the cauſe, good ſir *Calliſtratus*, the ſonne of *Leon*; but in mine opinion, our ancient forefathers have not done well, to ſay that *Bacchus* was the ſonne of Oblivion; for they ſhould rather have ſaid, that he was his father; conſidering, that even now by his means you have forgotten, that of thoſe faults and miſdemours which are committed by occaſion of pleaſures, ſome proceed from intemperance; others from ignorance or negligence: for where the hurt and damage is evident, there men (if they ſinne) doe it becauſe their reaſon is forced and overcome by intemperance; but looke where the hire and reward of incontinencie and looſeneſſe doth not directly enſue, nor preſently upon the committing of a fault, there all their delinquencie is to be aſcribed unto ignorance, for that ſuch leaſd acts, they both approve and perpetrate, becauſe they wiſt not what hurt would follow: and therefore ſuch as doe exorbitate and miſgovern themſelves in eating or drinking exceſſively, as alſo in the immoderate uſe of women; which enormities be ordinarily accompanied with many maladies, much expence, decay of eſtate, loſſe of goods and an ill name beſides; we uſually call looſe, diſſolute, and intemperate perſons: ſuch an one was that *Theodectes*, who being diſeaſed in his eies; whenſoever hee eſpied his ſweet heart whom he kept as his harlot, would ſalve her in theſe tearmes, *καὶ οὕτως οὐκ ἔστιν*:

*All haile my sweet and lovely light,  
T be onely joy of mine eie-light.*

And such another was *Anaxarchus of Abdera*:

*Who (by report) knew well what miseries  
He lived in, but yet his nature was  
Inclined so to pleasure, which men wise,  
And sages dread most part; that he also  
Was thereby drawn and caried unto sin,  
Out of that way which judgement set him in.*

But those who hold out manfully, and stand upon their owne guards, for feare they bee caught 10  
and overcome with the grosse pleasure of the belly, and the parts under it, of taste and of  
smelling; and yet neverthelesse suffer themselves to be circumvented and surprized by other de-  
lights, which secretly forelay them, and lie in ambush, hidden close within their eies and cares;  
these men (I say) although they be nothing lesse passionate, dissolute, and incontinent than  
the others, yet we rearme them not so for all that: and why so? because they know not the dan-  
ger wherein they stand; they runne on headlong through ignorance, thinking they shall bee  
masters over their pleasures, yea, though they taried at the theater all the long day, from mor-  
ning to night, to see and heare plaies and other pastimes, without bit of bread or drop of drinke;  
as if forsooth an earthen vessell or pitcher should boast it selfe and stand much upon this, that it  
is not stirred and taken up by the belly or the bottome, and yet easily removed and caried from 20  
place to place by the two cares: and therefore *Arceflam* was wont to say: That it skilled not  
which way one committed filthinesse; for behind and before, was all one: so that we ought to  
feare that wantonnesse and pleasure which tickleth us in our cares and eies both: neither are we  
to thinke a citie impregnable, which having all other gates fast made with strong locks, fortified  
also with crosse barres, & portcullisses, if the enemies may enter in at one other gate; nor to  
take our selves to be invincible & unconquered by pleasures, for that we be not caught & taken  
within the temple of *Venus*; in case we suffer our selves to be taken in the chappell of the Muses,  
or else at some theatre: For surely such a passion may overtake and captivate our soule as well  
here as there, yea, & betake it unto pleasures, for to hale & pull, carie & harie us as they list: and  
these verily doe infuse and powre into our spirits, poisons more eger and piercing, yea, and in 30  
greater varieties, I meane of songs, daunces, muscicall accords and measures, than all those be,  
which either cooks, confectioners, or perfumers can devise: by the strength whereof, they leade  
and carie us whither they will, yea, and corrupt us so, as that we cannot chuse but convince  
and condemne our selves by our owne testimonie against us: For as *Pindarus* said very well:

*We cannot charge, nor yet blame-worthy binke,  
What ever, for our present meat and drinke  
The sacred earth to us affordeth bath,  
Or sea, with windes, that is so fell and wrath.*

And to say a truth, there is no daintie cates, no delicate viands, fish or flesh; no nor this passing  
good wine which we drinke, that for any pleasure & contentment which they yeeld unto us, car-  
rieth us to set up any such noises, like as ere while, the found and playing of the flutes did, which 40  
filled (I say) not this house onely, but I beleve well, the whole citie, with outcries, utas, clap-  
ping of hands, and alarms: and therefore we are to stand in great feare and dread of such plea-  
sures as these; for exceeding forcible they be, and most powerfull, as those who stay not there,  
as those doe which affect either taste, feeling, or smelling; to wit, in the unreasonable part of  
the soule, without passing any farther; but they reach unto the very judgement, and discoure  
of reason: moreover, in other delights and pleasures, although reason should faile and not be  
able to withstand them, but give over in plaine field: yet there be other passions a good many  
which will resist and impeach them: for say there be some daintie and delicate fish to be bought  
and sold in the market; nigardise oftentimes holdeth backe a gluttons fingers from drawing 50  
out his purse-strings, who otherwise would bee buse and readie enough to helpe his deintie  
tooth: covetousnesse likewise otherwhiles turneth away a wanton leacher and whoremaster  
from meddling with a deare and costly courtesane, who holdes her-selfe at an exceeding high  
price; like as *Menander* in one of his comedies bringeth in a pretie pageant of this matter:  
for when as a certaine baud had brought unto a banquet where divers youtnes were drinking,  
and making merrie together, a passing faire wench, younge withall, and trimly set out in every  
point,

point, for to entice and allure them, they

*Cast downe their heads, and like good merry mates,  
Fell so their junkets hard, and deintie cates.*

For when it stands upon this point, that a man must take up money at interest, or els goe with-  
out his pleasure; certes, it is a shrewd punishment to bridle his lust and incontinence; for we  
are not alwaies so willing and ready to lay our hand to our purses: now the eies and cares of  
such as love musicians and minstrels, and other such gentleman-like sports, and recreations as  
we call them, satisfie their furious appetites & affections, in founding musick, plaies, & shewes,  
for nothing and without any cost: for why? such pleasures as these, they may be sped with, and  
enjoy in many places, at the publicke and sacred games of prize, in theaters, and at feasts, and all  
at other mens charges; and therefore an easie matter it is to meet with matter enough for to  
spoil and undoe them quite, who have not reason to governe and direct them. Heereat hee  
made a pause, and so there was some silence for a while: And what would you have (quoth *Cal-  
listram*) this reason, either to doe or say for to succour and save us? for she will not fasten round  
about our cares, those little cales or bolsters to cover our cares with, which *Xenocrates* speaketh  
of, neither will she cause us to rise from the table so soone as we heare a musician to tune his lute  
or prepare his pipe: No in truth (quoth *Lamprias*) but looke how often soever as wee fall into  
the danger of these pleasures, we ought to call upon the muses for to succour us; we must flee  
into that mountaine *Helicon* of our ancients: for such an one as is enamoured upon a sumptu-  
ous and costly stumper, we cannot tell how to match by and by with a *Penelope*, nor marrie  
unto *Panthea*; but if one take pleasure in bawdy ballades, lascivious songs, and wanton daunces,  
we may soone divert him from thence, by setting him to reade *Euripides*, *Pindarus*, or *Menan-  
der*; and so wash a filthie care, and furred all over with salt (as *Plato* saith) with a sweet and pota-  
ble lotion of good sayings and wise sentences: for like as magicians command those who are  
possessed or haunted with evill spirits, to rehearse and pronounce apart by themselves Ephe-  
sian letters, or words for a counter-charme; even so when we are among these vanities, where min-  
strels play their parts, and moriske dauncers their may-games, fetching their frisks and gait-  
bols,

*Shaking themselves in furious wise,  
With strange allarmes and hideous cries:  
Wagging and stinging every way  
Their necks and heads all while they play.*

Let us then call to remembrance the grave, holy and venerable writings of those ancient Sages,  
and conferring them with these sottish sonets, ribaud rimes, and ridiculous reason-  
s, we shall not be endangered by them, nor turne side (as they say) and suffer our selves to be  
carried away with them downe the streame.

## THE SIXTH QUESTION.

40 *Of such guests as be named shadowes; and whether he that is called by one, may go unto another  
to supper; if he may, when, and to whom.*

**H**omer in the second booke of his *Ilias*, writeth of *Menelaus*, how he came of his owne ac-  
cord unbidden, to a feast that his brother *Agamemnon* made unto the princes and chiefe  
commanders of the armie:

*For why? he well conceived in his minde,  
That \* troubled much, his brother he should finde.*

And as he would not neglect and oversee thus much, that either the ignorance or forgetful-  
nesse in his brother, should be otherwise scene; so he was lesse willing to discover it himselfe in  
50 failing for to come; as some froward and peevish persons are wont to take holde of such over-  
sights and negligences of their friends, being better content in their hearts thus to be negle-  
cted, than honoured, because they would have advantage, and somewhat to complaine of. But  
as touching such as are not invited at all to a feast, nor have no formall bidding (whom now a-  
daies, we call shadowes) and yet are brought in by those who were invited, there arose one day a  
question, how this custome first came up and tooke beginning. Some were of opinion that *Sa-  
crates* began it, who perswaded *Aristodemus* upon a time, being not bidden to goe with him to a  
feast at *Agathons* house, where there fell out a pretie jest and a ridiculous; for *Aristodemus* tooke  
no

\* And there-  
fore might  
forget his  
owne bro-  
ther.

no need when he thither came, that he had left *Sorster* by the way behinde him, and so himselfe entred before into the roome; which is as much as the shadow before the bodie, and the light coming after: but afterwards, at the feasting and entertainment of friends that are travellers, and passe by as strangers, especially, if they were princes or great governours, because men knew not who were in their traine, and whom they deigned this honour, for to sit at their owne table, and to eat and drinke with them; the custome was to request themselves, for to bring with them whom they would, but withall, to set downe a determinate number; for feare lest they should be so served as one was, who invited to a supper, *Philip* king of *Maedonie*, into the countrey: for he came unto his hostes house with a great retinue after him, who had not provided a supper for many guests: *Philip* perceiving that his friend was hercupon in great perplexitie, and knew not what to doe, sent unto every one of his friends that he brought with him, a servitour of purpose to round them secretly in the eare, that they should fo eat of the viands before them, as that they reserved a piece of their stomacke for a daintie tart or cake that was to come in: by which meanes, whiles they looked evermore when the said dish should come to the table, and did eat more sparily in hope of it, of those meats which stood before them, there was sufficient for them all. But whiles I seemed thus to play upon the point before the company there present, *Florus* thought good that this question ought to be handled in good earnest, and more seriously; namely, as touching those shadowes abovesaid: Whether it might stand with honesty and good manners, to follow or goe with them who were bidden? As for *Cesernius* his sonne in law, he utterly condemned that fashion: For a man ought (quoth he) to obey the counsell of

*Liciodus*, who writeth thus:

*Above all others, to thy feast,  
Invite thy friend who loves thee best.*

If not so, yet be sure at leastwise to bid thy familiars and those of thine acquaintance, for to participate with thee in thy sacred libations and thanksgivings to the gods at the table, in discourses there held, in the courtesies passing to and fro; and namely, in drinking one to another: but now a daies it is with men that make feasts, as with those who keepe ferrie-barges or barks to transport passengers; for when they take in men aboard, they permit them to cast into the vessell what fardels or baggage they have besides; for even so, we making a feast for some especial persons, give them leave to fill the place with whomsoever they please; whether they be honest men & of worth or no, it makes no matter. And I would marvell much, if a man of quality, and one that knoweth good manners, would come thus bidden (as it were) at the second hand, which is all one as unbidden, being such an one, as many times the master of the feast himselfe knoweth not; and if he be one of his acquaintance and knowledge, and yet unbidden, surely it were more shame now to go unto his house, as it were, to upbraid him and cast in his teeth, as if he came unto his feast without his good will, and yet would take his part thereof, even by violence and strong hand. Moreover, to go before or tarrie after him, who would seeme to bid one to another mans table, carrieth some shame with it, and would make a modest and honest man dismaied and blanke: neither is it a decent thing to have need of witnesses, and a warrant (as it were) betwene him and the master of the house, to insinuate thus much, that he is come indeed, not as one formally bidden to supper, but as the shadow of such and such a man: besides, to daunce attendance upon another, and observe when he hath bene in the stoupe, is anointed and washed, waiting the houre when he will goe, sooner or later; this in my simple judgement is a very base and mechanicall thing, favouring strongly of the bonfon or parasit *Gnaibo*, if ever there were such a small-feast as *Gnaibo*, who haunted mens tables where it cost him naught: furthermore, if there be no time or place, where in a mans tongue may be better permitted to say thus:

*Art thou dispos'd to boast, to cracke and brave  
In measure? speake out hardly; good leave have.*

than at a banquet, where commonly there is most libertie allowed and intermingled in all that is done and said, and every thing is well taken, as in mirth; how should a man behave and governe himselfe at such a place, who is not a lawfull and naturall bidden guest indeed; but as a man would say, a bastard and subreptitious crept in, and intruded I wot not how into a feast, without all order of inviting? for say that hee doe speake freely at the boord, or say he doe not, lie open he shall both for the one and the other, to the calumniation of them there present: neither is it a small inconvenience to be made, a mark for scurrile tearmes, and a meere laughing stocke, namely; when a man putteth up, and endureth the base name of a shadow, and will be content to answer thereunto? for I assure you, to make small account of unseemely words,

words, is the next waie to leade men unto undecent and dishonest deedes, and to acquaint them therewith by little and little: wherefore when I invite others to a feast or supper unto mine owne house, I allow them otherwhiles to bring their shadowes with them (for the custome of a citie is much, and may not well be broken) but surely, when I have my selfe beene called upon, to goe with others to a place where I am not bidden, I have ever yet denied, and could not for any thing be brought unto it. Upon which words ensued silence for a time, untill *Florus* began againe in this wise: Certes this second point is more difficult and doubtfull than the other; for when wee are to entertaine strangers that be travellers (as hath beene said before) we must of necessitie invite them in this order: the reason is, because it were  
10 incivillitie and discourtesie, to part them and their friends in a strange place, whom they were wont to have about them; and againe, it is no easie matter to know, whom a man hath in his company. See then (quoth I) whether they who have given libertie unto them that make a feast, thus to invite guests, that they may take others unto them (as you say) permit not them also whom they would bring, as their shadowes, to obey, and so to come unto a feast; for it standeth not with honesty, to graunt and give that, which is not meet for to demand or give; nor in one word to sollicite or exhort one to that, whereunto he would not willingly be solicited, either to doe or give his consent: but as for great States and rulers, or strangers travelling by the way, there is no such inviting or choise to be made; for entertained they must be whom  
20 soever they bring with them: but otherwise, when one friend feasteth another, it were a more friendly and courteous part, for himselfe to bid the familiars or kinsfolke of his said friend, knowing them so well as he doth; for by this meanes greater honour he doth unto his friend, yea, and winneth more thanks at his hands againe, when the partie invited shall know that he loveth them best, that most willingly he desireth to have their companie, as taking pleasure that they be honored and intreated to come as well, for his sake; and yet for all this, it would otherwhiles be wholly referred unto his discretion that is bidden: like as those who sacrifice unto some one god, doe honour likewise and make vowes unto those who are partakers of the same temple and altar in common, although they name them not severally by themselves, \* \* For there is neither wine, daintie viands, nor sweet perfumes, that give such contentment and pleasure at a feast, as doth a man whom one loveth and liketh well of sitting by his side or neere  
30 unto him at the table: moreover, to aske and demand of the man himselfe, whom one would feast, what viands or what banquetting dishes or pastry works he loveth best; as also to seeke and enquire of the diversitie of wines and pleasant odors he delighted in, were a very uncivill and absurd part: but when a man hath many friends, many kinsfolks & familiars, to request such an one to bring with him those especially whose companie he liketh best, & in who he taketh greatest pleasure, is no absurditie at all, nor a thing that can be offensive: for neither to faile in one ship, nor to dwell in the same house, ne yet to plead in the same cause, with those whom we are not affected well unto, is so displeasing & odious, as to sit at a supper with them against who our heart doth rise; and the contrary is as acceptable: for surely the table is a very communion and societie of mirth and earnest, of words and deeds; and therefore if men would be merry there,  
40 and make good cheere, I see no need, that all manner of persons indifferently should meet, but those onely who have some inward friendship, and private familiaritie one with another: as for our meates and fauces that come up to the boord, cooks I confesse doe make them of all manner of sapours, different as they be, mixing them together, and tempering, harsh, sowe, milde, sweet, sharpe, subtil, and biring, one with another: but a supper or feast, is nothing acceptable and contenting, unlesse it be composed of guests who are of the same humour and disposition: and for that, as the Peripateticke philosophers doe affirme, that there is one *Primum mobile*, above, or principall moover in nature, which mooveth onely, and is not mooved; and another thing beneath, and in the lowest place, which is mooved onely, and mooveth not; but  
50 betweene these two extremities, there is a middle nature, that mooveth one and is mooved by another; even so, (say I) there is the same proportion among three sorts of men; the first of those who invite another; the second of such as are invited onely; and the third of them that doe invite others, and are invited themselves: and now because wee have spoken already of the first and principall feast-maker, who inviteth, it were not a misse to say somewhat now of the other two folks: He then who is bidden, and yet hath leave to bidde others; ought in great reason (as I thinke) to be careful and take heed, that he forbear to bring with him a great number or multitude, lest hee should seeme to make spoile of his friends house, as of an enemies territory, and as it were to forage there for all those that belong unto him; or to doe as those who

come to occupie and inhabit a new countrey, that is to say, by bringing with him so many of his owne friends, discale, or at leastwise exclude and put by his guests, who invited him, and so by that meanes the masters of the feasts might be served as they are, who set fourth suppers unto *Hecate* or *Proserpina*, and to those avertucan gods, or *apotropai*, whom men call upon, not to doe good, but to avert evill, for they themselves nor any of their house lick their lips with any jot of all that cheere; onely they have their part of all the smoke and troubles belonging thereto: for otherwise they that alledge unto us this common saying:

*At Delphi when one hath done sacrifice,*

*Must buy his owne viands, if he be wise.*

speake it but merily and by way of jest; but certainly it befallth even so in good truth and earnest unto those who intertaine either strangers or friends so rude and uncivill, who with a number of shadowes, as if there were so many harpies or cormorants and greedy guls, consumed and devoured all their provision: secondly, a friend that is himselfe solemnly invited, must be careful, that he take not with him, for to goe unto another mans house, those that he first meeteth or that come next hand, but such especially, as he knoweth to be friends, and of familiar acquaintance with the feast-maker, as if he strived a vie to prevent him in bidding of them; if not so, to have those with him, of his owne friends, whom the master of the feast himselfe could have wished and made choise of, to have bidden; as for example, if he be a modest man and a civill, to sort him with modest and civill persons; if studious and learned, to furnish his table with students & good scholars; if he have bene beforetime in authority, to fit him now with personages of power & authority; and in one word, to acquaint him with those, whom he knoweth he would be willing to salute, and entertaine with speech and communication; for this is a wise kinde of courtiesie and great civilitie, to give unto such a personage occasion and meanes, to salute, embrace, and make much of them: whereas hee who commeth to a feast with such about him as have no conformitie at all unto the feast-maker, but seeme meere aliens and strangers; as namely, with great drunkards, to a sober mans house; to a man that is a good husband, wary, and thrifty in his expences, with a sort of dissolute rustians and swaggering companions; or unto a yong gentleman, that loveth to drinke heartily, to laugh, to jest, and to be merie, with grim fires, and severe ancients, such as in their talke are grave, and by their long beards, may be taken for sages and profound clearks; such an one (I say) is a very absurd fellow, thus to requite the hospitall courtiesie of his friend, with such impertinent incongruity: for he that is invited, must be as careful to please the first inviter, as the feast-maker, his guest; and then acceptable shall hee be and welcome indeed, if not himselfe onely, but those also who come with him or for the love of him, be of good carriage and lovely behaviour. As for the third person, who remaineth to be spoken of, to wit, who is bidden and brought in by another; if he take pepper in the nose, and can not abide to be called a shadow; certainly hee is afraid of his owne shadow: but in this case, there would be very great circumspection had; for it is no point of honestie and good manners, to be soone intreated, and ready to follow every one indifferently at his call; considered it would be, and that not slightly, what he is who moveth thee to go with him to such a feast; for if he be not a very familiar friend, but one of these rich magnificoes and portly personages, who would (as it were) upon a scaffold make a shew unto the world of a number of favourites and followers to guard and attend him at his heeles; or such an one as would seeme to doe much for thee, or to grace and honour thee greatly by taking thee in this order with him, thou oughtest flatly to denie him, and refuse such courtiesie: well, say that he be a friend and familiar person, yet must not thou by and by for all that, bee ready and obey, but then onely, when there is some necessarie occasion for to commune or speake with the master of the feast or with the other partie, and that otherwise thou canst meet with no good opportunitie for to doe it; or if he be newly returned from some long voiage, when he hath bene a great time away, or els about to depart, and so seeme (for very good will) desirous of thy companie at supper; or if it appeare that he meaneth not to take with him many, nor those strangers and unknownen, but either thy selfe alone, or some few others of his familiars; or after all these considerations, if thou maiest perceive, that by this occasion and opportunitie of thy companie, he doth practise to contract some beginning of farther acquaintance, friendship and amity, and namely, if he be reputed an honest man, and woorthy to be loved and regarded, who thus is desirous of thy companie, and earnest with thee to go with him; for wicked and leaud persons, the more they seeme to claipe and take hold, and hang upon us, the more we ought to shake them off as burres, or els to leape over them as briars and brambles: nay, admit that they be honest enough, who would have our companie, and

and bring us to a man that is not honest, we ought not to go with them, lest we chance to take poison with honic, that is to say, get the acquaintance of a naughtie man, by the meanes of an honest minded friend: moreover, absurd it is, to goe unto a mans house whom we know not at all, or with whom we never had any manner of dealing and acquaintance, unless he be a personage of great make for singular vertue, as we have before said, or that this occasion may serve as a foundation or ground-woke of some farther love and amitie; for then it were not amisse to be easily intreated, and to go willingly without any ceremoniall complement unto him, under the wing and shadow of another. As for those who be already our familiars, unto such above all others we may be bolde to goe at the motion of another; for by that meanes we give reciprocal libertie and leave unto them for to repaire likewise unto us at the request of others. There was one *Philip* indeed, a buffon and scurrile jester, who was wont to say: That to go unto a feast, formally invited, was simply more ridiculous, than to come as a shadow by the bidding of another: but in truth, more honourable and pleasant it is for honest men and good friends, to resort unto their friends, who be likewise honest and vertuous, in seasonable time (without being invited or expected) with other friends; for thereby they both reioice the heart of those that enterteine them, and doe honour unto such as bring them: but above all, most undecent it is, to goe unto princes, rulers, rich men and great States, when we are not invited by themselves, but brought by others; for in any case avoid we must, the imputation and note not undeserved, of impudencie, incivilitie, want of good manners, or ambitious insolence.

## THE SEVENTH QUESTION.

*Whether it be a lawfull and decent thing, to admit minstrell-wenches to a feast, for to play and sing?*

**I**n our citie *Cheronea*, there was held a great discourse one day at the table, where *Diogenianus* the Pergamian was present, as touching the care-sports which were to be admitted at a banquet; and much adoe we had to defend our selves, and to confute a long bearded philosopher that was there, one of the Stoicks sect forsooth, who alledged against us, *Plato*, blaming and condemning those who brought into their feasts, minstrell-wenches, to pipe and sing, and to be heard, as if they were not able themselves to enterteine good speeches one with another; and yet present there was, a scholar, out of the same schoole, *Philp* a Prusian, who said: That such personages were not to be named in this question, who are brought in as speakers at *Agathons* boord, for that their speeches sounded more sweetly and melodiously, than all the flutes and citrons in the world: no marvell it was therefore, that these minstrels had no audience at such a feast, but rather, that the guests sitting there at the table, forgot not altogether to eat and drinke, for the great pleasure and contentment which they tooke in hearing such discourses. And yet *Xenophon* was not allhamed to endure in the presence of *Socrates*, *Antisthenes*, and other such personages, a pleasant conceited jester named *Philippus*; no more than *Homer* to teach men: That an onion was a good sauce to draw on wine: And *Plato* having inserted in manner of an interlude or comedie within his Banquet, the speech of *Aristophanes* as touching love: at the last setting as it were the backe doores of the hall wide open, brings in a pageant, fuller of varietie and vanitie than all the rest, to wit, *Alciades* little better than drunke, crowned with chaplets and garlands of flowers, and marching in a maske or mummerie: then follow the altercations and debates with *Socrates* as touching *Agathon*, and that encomiasticall praise of *Socrates* (O blessed saint *Cherites*!) that even *Apollo* himselfe (were it lawfull for to say) if he had entred in place with his harpe ready strung and tuned for to play, the company would have requested him to stay his hand; untill the foresaid speech had bene finished and brought to an end: And did these personages indeed (quoth hee) notwithstanding they had so great grace in their discourses, use nevertheless these pleasant sports and pastimes betwene, garnishing their feasts therewith, and all to make the companie to laugh and be merry? And shall wee being intermingled with persons managing affaires of State, with merchants, occupiers, and with many (it may so fall out) altogether untutored, and somewhat rustically, banish out of our feasts and banquets this amiable delight and pastime; or else rise from the table and be gone, as if we would die from such Sirenes as soone as ever wee seee them comming? It was thought a strange and woonderfull matter in *Clitomachus* the campion and professour of performing games of priue; that so soone as ever there was any talke begun of love matters, hee would leave the companie and depart: and when a grave philosopher avoideth the sound of the flute, and goeth out



\* For they sit upon pallers and beds at meat, and did off their shoes for the time.

of the feast, and as if he were afraid of a minstrell wench, preparing her selfe to sound and sing, putteth on his shoes, and calleth incontinently to his page for to light his torch; shall he not in so doing be thought woorthie to bee hissed at, and laughed of every one, for taking offence, and abhorring these harmelesse pleasures; like as these bettills which flie from perfumes and sweet odors? For if there be any time or place allowed for these disports, it is at feasts and banquets principally: Then (I say) and there are wee to give our minds to such delights; all while we sacrifice unto *Bacchus*: For mine own part *Euripides*, howsoever otherwise he pleaseth me verie well, doth not satisfie me heerein, when he ordeineth as touching musick, that transferred it should be from feasts and banquets, unto sorrowes and pensive sadnesse: for in these cases, there would be some good, sober and wise remonstrance at hand (like as a physitian with sicke folke) to helpe al: but otherwise we are to mingle these delights of musick with the gifts of *Bacchus*, in manner of a sport and recreation: Certes a pretie speech it was of a Lacedemonian, who being at *Athens* one time, when new tragedies were to be acted, and the authours of them to contend for the best games, seeing the sumptuous furniture and provision of those who were the masters of the revils, and such pastimes, together with the painfull labour in teaching and prompting of parts, and what adoe there was in ordering of the dances and shewes thereto belonging: whiles one strived to goe beyond another: Oh, what a foolish citie is this (quoth he) to imploy so much travell and serious studie in idle plaies and disports! For to say a truth, when we are at our plaies, we must doe nothing else but play, and not to buy so deare (with such cost and dispendes, yea, and with the losse of time, which were better bestowed about other good affaires) an idle sport: marie at the table, when our spirit is sequestred from other busynesse, we may taste a little of such delights, and in the meane while, consider withall, what profit such solace may afford.

## THE EIGHTH QUESTION.

What Acroames or Ear-Sports, are especially to be used at supper time?

When these words had passed, the sophister above-said, would gladly have replied againe: but I for to interrupt and stay his speech, began first and said: Nay rather *Diogenianus*, I thinke it better to consider upon this point; that seeing there bee many care-delights to content our hearing, which of them is most meet and fit? and if you thinke so good, let us referre the matter to this wise man heere in place, and request him to give his judgement: for being as he is, inflexible, and a man subject to no passions, we shall never need to feare that he wil so much trip, as to preferre a thing that is more pleasant, before that which is better. Then he at the request and exhortation of *Diogenianus* and us, without any delay: As for other pastimes (quoth he) at theaters, exhibited upon the stage and scaffold of plaiers and dauncers, I reject and banish them all; onely I admit one kinde of sport to delight the eare, which not long since came to be taken up at *Rome*, in feasts and banquets, and it is not yet divulged abroad in every place: For you know well (quoth he) that among the dialogues of *Plato*, some there be which containe a continued narration, of a thing done or said, others againe consist of certain devised personages, talking and discoursing together: of these personall dialogues, those that be easiest; children use to learne, and con them without booke, together with expressing the gestures agreeable to the qualitie, manners, and nature of the persons, who are feigned and brought in; a confirmation also and framing of the voice, yea, and a countenance and disposition every way answerable to the words that they pronounce: this manner of pastime hath bene wonderfully well accepted among grave persons, and men of honour; but such as bee effeminate or have daintie & delicate eares, by reason that they are rude, illiterate, and ignorant what is good and honest; and who, as *Aristoxenus* was wont to say, will be ready to cast up their gorge, and vomit yellow cholour, when they heare any good harmony, mislike them and would not abide the hearing: and I would not marvell verily, if they reject and condemne them utterly, being so possessed with womanish deintinesse. *Philip* then perceiving some there in place, not to take these words well: Stay there (quoth he) my good friend, and forbear in this wise to raile upon us, for we were the first, who were offended with this manner and fashion, when it began at *Rome*, yea, & was reprooved those who would have *Plato* serve the turne, for to make folke merry at the boords; and laboured all they could, that *Plato*s dialogues forsooth should bee rehearsed and heard, amid tartes, march-paines, comfitures, and sweet perfumes: considering

considering, that if some verses of *Sappho*, or *Anacreons* odes should be rehearsed: Me thinks I ought for very shame and reverence, set the cup downe out of my hand, if I were about to drinke: many more things to this effect I have in my head, which I am afraid to utter for feare I might be thought of purpose to make head, and to dispute against you: and therefore to this friend heere of ours, together with the cup as you see, I give the charge, for to with a salueth eare (as they say) with potable liquor of pleasant speech: then *Diogenianus* receiving the cuppe at his hand: But (quoth hee) I heare no other yet but all good sober speeches; so that it seemeth that the wine doth not worke in our heads, nor overcome our braines; and I feare mee, that I my selfe shall bee capitulated and articked against; howbeit, if I must speake to my minde, I am of opinion, that many of these matters which are presented unto our eares, for to tickle and please them, ought to bee cut off; and namely, tragedies above all others, as being a thing (iwis) not very well befitting a feast, for that it speaketh in too grave and bafe a voice, representing besides, such arguments and acts, as moove the hearers to pitie and compassion. I reject also, out of our daunces, that which is called *Pyladon*, as being over-stately, and too full of pompe, exceeding pathetical besides, and requiring many persons and actours: but if we may admit any of those country kinds, which *Socrates* recounteth, when he speaks of daunces, I receive that which is called *Babylonian*, which of it selfe beareth a lower port, and soundeth much like to the rusticke daunce, called *Cordax*, or resembling *Echo Pan*, or some Satyre dancing amorously and wantonly with *Cupid*: as for the comedie, that which was called *Petus*, that is to say, the ancient kinde first used, it sorteth not well with the table, nor would be acted before men when they be drinking and merrie; in regard of the inequality thereof: for that earnestnesse and libertie of speech, used in those glancing digressions, called *megealos*, is too free and over vehement; also, the facilitie and readinesse to scoffe, flout and jibe, is too full and common, over-broad and plaine besides, full of undecent and dishonest verbs, and as full of filthy and lascivious nownes. Moreover, like as at the feasts of great princes and potentates, there standeth alwaies waiting by every one of them that sit at the boord, a cuppe-bearer, to give him drinke when he calleth for it; even so there had need to be some Grammarian or other at hand continually, for to expound ever and anon, the meaning of divers termes used in these comedies; to wit, what signifieth in *Eupolis* the poet, this word *Lalmodias*; also, what the poet *Plato* meanes by *Cinefus*, in his comedies; and what is meant by *Lampon*, in *Cratinus*; likewise one or other for the purpose, to give the hearers to understand, who they be whom the actours let flie their scurrile scoffes at: so that by this meanes, our feast must be like a Grammar schoole, or els all the frumps and mocks that be flung and discharged, will light in vaine, and lose their grace, for want of being understood. But to come unto the new comedie, what should a man say any thing of it but this, that it is so incorporate in feasts and banquets, that a man may better make a supper without wine, than without *Alexander*? for why? the phrase or manner of speech in these comedies is sweet, pleasant, and familiar, the matter such, as neither can be despised of the sober, nor offensive to the drunken; besides, the vertuous and contentious sayings therein, delivered in simple and plaine tearmies, runne so smooth, that they are able to soften and make pliable evrie way; the stiffest and hardest natures that be, by the meanes of wine, like as barres of yron in the fire, and to reduce them to humanitie. To be short, the temperature thoroughout of mirth and gravitie together, is such, as it seemeth that this comedie was devised first for nothing els, but both to pleasure and profit those who had taken their wine liberally, and were now well disposed to mirth: moreover, even the amorous objects therein presented, are not without a singular use and benefit, for those who being already set in an heat with wine, are within a while after to goe to bed and sleepe with their wedded wives: neither shall you finde among all his comedies, as many as he hath written, any filthy love of a young faire boy; and as for the deflowing of young maidens and virgins, about which there is such adoe in his comedies, they ordinarily doe end in marriages and all parties be pleased. As touching the love of harlots and professed courtesans, if they be proud, disdainfull and presumptuous queanes, certainly our wanton affection that way, is well cooled and danted, by certaine chastisements or repentances of young men, who are represented in these comedies, to come againe unto themselves, and acknowledge their follies; but as for those kinde harlots, which are of good natures, and for their parts doe answer againe in true love, either you shall have in the end their owne fathers found, who may provide them husbands, or els there is some measure of time set out for to gage their love, which at the last after a certaine revolution and course run, turneth unto civill and bashfull behavior. I know well, that all these matters and observations, unto those who are otherwise occupied and busied

in affaires, be of no importance; but at a table, where men are set of very purpose to be merrie and to solace themselves, I would wonder, if their dexterity, delight, and good grace, doth not bring with it some amendment and ornament into the minds and conditions of those who take heed unto them, yea, and imprint a certaine zeale and emulation, to frame and conforme themselves unto those that be honest and of the better sort.

At these words, *Diogenianus* paused a while, were it for that he had made an end of his speech, or to take his winde, and breathe himselfe a little: and when the fopfisher beganne to replice and came upon him againe, saying, that in his opinion there should have bene some places and verses recited out of *Aristophanes*. *Philip* speaking unto me by name: This man (quoth he) hath his desire satisfied, now that he hath so well recommended his friend *Menander*, in whom he taketh so great delight, and in comparison of whom, he seemeth to have no care nor regard at all of any other: but there remaine yet, many other matters, which wee are wont to heare for our pleasure, which hitherto have not bene examined; and yet very willing I am, to heare some discourse of the: as for the pretty works of imagers, who cut out & grave in small living creatures, if it please this stranger here & *Diogenianus*, we will put over the controversie & the decision thereof untill to morrow morning, when we are more sober. Then began I to speake, and said: There be yet, other kinde of sports and plaies, named *Mimi*, of which, some they call *Hypotheses*, as it were mortalities and representations of histories; others, *Paggia*, that is to wit, ridiculous fooleries; but neither of them both, doe I take meet for a banquet; the former, both because they require so long time in the acting, and also, for that they require so costly furniture and preparation; the other, are too full of ribaudry, of filthy and beaulty speeches, not well becoming the mouthes of pages and lackies, that carry their masters slippers and pantofles after them, especially, if their masters be honest and wife men: and yet many there are, who at their feasts, where their wives sit by their sides, and where their young children be present, cause such foolish acts and speeches to be represented, as trouble the spirits and disorder the passions of the minde more, than any drunkenesse whatsoever. But for the play of the harpe, which is of so great antiquitie, and ever since before *Homers* time, hath bene a familiar friend and companion with feasts, and alwaies entertained there, it were not meet nor honest for to dissolve that ancient friendship, and of so long continuance; but we would request those minstrels that play and sing to the harpe, to take out of their songs those dolefull plaints, dumps, and sorrowfull lamentations, which be so ordinary in them, and to chaunt pleasant ditties and fresh galliards, meet for those who are met to be merrie and jocund. Moreover, as touching the flute and hautboies, they will not be kept out, do what a man will, from the table; for if we do but offer our libations, by powring our wine in the honour of the gods, we must needs have our pipes, or els all were marred, yea, and chaplets of flowers upon our heads; and it seemeth that the gods themselves doe sing thereto and accord: moreover, the sound of the flute doth dulce the spirits, it entrench into the eares with so milde and pleasant a tune, that it carrieth with it a tranquillitie and pacification of all motions, even unto the soule, in such sort, that if there did remaine in the understanding and minde, any grieft, any care or anxietie, which the wine had not dissolved and chased away, by the gracious and amiable noile thereof, and the voice of the musician singing thereto, it quieteth it, and bringeth it asleepe: provided alwaies, that this instrument keepe a meane and mediocritie, so that it move not the soule too much, and make it passionate, with so many tunes and notes that it hath, at what time as the laid soule is so drenched and wrought soft with wine, that it is ready to be affected therewith: for like as sheepe and other cattell, understand not any articulate language of a man, carrying a sense and understanding therewith; howbeit, with certaine whistles or chirps, done by lips or hands, or with the sound of some pipe or shell, the shepheards and other herdmen can tell how to raise them, or make them lie downe and couch; even so, the brutish part of our soule, which hath no understanding, nor is capable of reason, may be appeased, ranged and disposed as it ought to be, by songs and sounds, by measures, tunes and notes, as if it were charmed and enchanted by them: but to speake what I thinke, this is my conceit, that neither sound of flute, nor lute and harpe, by it selfe, without mans voice and song to it, can make merrie the companie met together at a feast, so much as a good speech, well and properly fitted; for so we must accustom our selves in good earnest, to take our principall pleasure and delight in speech, as to spend the most part of that time in discourse and communication: as for song and harmony, we are to make (as it were) a sauce to our speech, not to lick them up and swallow them downe alone by themselves: for like as no man will reject and refuse the pleasure that cometh by wine & viands taken for the necessitie of our nouriture, and bringing therewith commoditie

of

of our health; but that which entrench by sweet feasts and perfumes is not necessarie, but superfluous & delicate, *Socrates* sent away (as it were) with a box of the eare; even so we ought not to heare the sound of a flute or plalterie, which striketh and beareth upon our eares onely, but if it follow or accompanie our speech, which doth feast and exhilarate the reason that is in our soule, we may well admit and receive the same. And verily, for mine owne part, I thinke, that the reason why in old time *Apollo* punished that presumptuous *Marsyas*, was this, that when he had closed up his mouth with his pipe and muzzel together, he presumed to contend and strive (having nothing but the bare sound of the naked flute) against him, who together with the sound of the harpe, had the song also and musicke of the voice: let us therefore in this one thing especially, beware and take heed, that in the companie of those men, who by their speech and learned discourses are able to delight and pleasure one another, we bring not in any such thing to enter in at their eares, which may be an impeachment and hinderance rather of their delight, than a delectation it selfe: for not onely they be foolish and ill advised, as *Euripides* saith:

*Who having of their owne at home  
enough themselves to save,  
Will seeke els where, and from abroad,  
their remedie to have.*

but also, that they being provided sufficiently of meanes in themselves, to make their recreations of, and to solace their hearts, labour neverthelesse all that ever they can, to have their delights from others. For the magnificence of that great king of *Persia*, wherewith he meant to entertaine *Amalides* the Lacedæmonian, seemed (I assure you) very grosse, absurd and impertinent, namely, when he dipped and wet a chaplet of roses, saffron, and other odoriferous flowers, intermingled together, in a precious oile, and so sent it unto him, doing injurie by that meane to the flowers, and utterly quenching and marring that native beautie and fragrant sweetnesse of their owne; seembly, no lesse absurditie it were, when a feast hath mirth and musicke enough in it selfe, to goe about for to enchant and encharme it with other minstrellie from abroad, and so for a strange and borrowed delight, to bereave the guests of their owne and proper, and as one would say, change the principall for the accessorie. I conclude therefore, that the fittest season for such amusement and occupying of the eares is, when the feast beginneth a little to grow turbulent, and to fall into some contentious debate and braule, by heat of opinionative arguing, for to alay and quench all, that it breake not out, to opprobrious tearmes; or to repress a disputation, which is like to passe the bounds of reasoning, and to grow unto an unpleasant and fopfish alteration; yea, and to stay all litigious wrangling and vehement invectives, becoming rather pleas at barre, or the orations in the publicke hall of a city, untill such time as the banquet be reduced into the former calme and tranquillitie.

## THE NINTH QUESTION.

*That to consult at the table, while men are drinking wine, was an ancient custome among the Greeks as well as Persians.*

*Nicostratus* upon a time invited us to a supper; and when we were set, there arose some speech as touching certaine matters, upon which the Athenians were the morrow after to sit in counsell, and to debate in a generall assemblie of the citie: now, as one of our companie cast out this word, and said: This is the Persian fashion, my masters, thus to consult and holde a counsell at the board. And why Persian rather than Grecian (quoth *Glaucias*) for a Grecian I am sure he was, that said:

*Tas eis auto masins, boudi zi qum aqumov.*

That is to say,  
From bellie full, best counsell doth arise,  
And surest plots men in that case devise.

And Greeks they were, who under the conduct of *Agamemnon* held *Troy* besieged; who as they were eating and drinking together,

*The good old Nestor first began,  
Wisely upon the point to lean.*

who also was himselfe the author of this meeting, and advised the king to invite his nobles, and the principall captaines of the armie to a dinner, for to sit in counsell in these tearmes:

Sff 3

Make

*Make now a feast, I you advise my lord,  
And bid your auncient peeres; who when as boud  
They be all set; make who gives counsell best,  
Obey his need, and see therein your self.*

And therefore the most nations of Greece which were ruled under the best lawes, and most constantly retained their auncient ordinances and customes, laid the first foundation of their government and counsell of State upon wine: for those guilds and societies in Candy, which they called *Andreia*, as also the *Phiditia* in Sparta, were instituted and held for privie counsels and assemblies of senators; like unto that, if I be not deceived, which even in this citie heere of Athens goeth under the name of *Prytanion*, and *Thestrotbesion*; and not farre different from these, in that night assemble of the principall personages, and most politicke States-men whereof Plato speaketh in his books, unto which he referreth the causes and affaires of most importance, which require greatest consultation: those counsellors of State also in Homer:

*Who offer wine to Mercurie,  
the last of others all,  
It has time as now, bed-time it is,  
and them to sleepe doth call.*

doe not they I pray you joine wine and words together? when they are about therefore to depart, and retire themselves into their bed-chambers, the first thing that they do, is to make their prayers, and powre out their libations of wine, unto the wisest God of all others, as if he were present with them, and their superintendent to oversee them: but they who were indeed the most auncient of all others, called even *Bacchus* himselfe \* *Eubulus*, as if they had no need at all of *Mercurie*, and in regard also of him, they attributed unto him the name of \* *Euphrone*.

## THE TENTH QUESTION.

*Whether they did well who sat in consultation at the table?*

WHEN *Glaucias* had spoken these words, we all thought that these turbulent and litigious debates had bene well appeased and laid asleepe; but to the end that they might so much the rather die and be buried in oblivion; *Nicofratrus* provided another question and said: At the first (quoth he) I made no great matter of this custome, nor regarded it much, taking it to be a meere Persian fashion; but now seeing it is discovered to be an order also among the Greeks, requisite and necessarie it is to render some reason thereof, for to defend it against an evident absurditie, which at the first sight presenteth it selfe; for that the discourse of reason in manner of the crie, is hardly to be governed by us, and untoward for to be brought to performe her worke in a great quantitie of moisture, and the same as yet stirring and waving: and besides, all odious griefes, which on every side appeere and come forth to wine, like as snakes, lizards, and such like serpents, are brought to light and shew themselves to the sunne, cause the minde to be wavering, inconstant, and irresolute: as therefore a bed or pallet is better than a chaire, for them that are disposed to drinke and make merry, for that it containeth the body at full, and exempteth it from all maner of motion; even so the best way is, to keepe the soule quiet and in repose altogether; and if that may not be, to do by it as men doe by children that can rest and stand on no ground, but be evermore stirring; namely to give unto it, not a sword or a javelin, but a rattle or a ball, like as *Bacchus* putteth into the hands of drunken folke the *ferula balke* (a most light weapon and instrument either to offend or defend withall) to the end that as they be readie to strike, so they might be least able for to hurt: for the faults that bee committed in drunkenness ought to passe lightly in mirth, and go away with a laughter, and not to be lamentable tragical, and bringing with them great calamities. Moreover, that which is the chiefe and principall thing in consultation of great affaires, to wit, that hee who for want of wit and knowledge in the world, should follow the opinion of those who are of great conceit, deepe judgement, and long experience, this meanes wine bereaveth us of; inasmuch as it seemeth hereupon to have taken the name *avos* in Greeke; because as *Plato* saith, it causeth them drinke it freely, \* *avos*, that is to say, to have a good conceit and weening of themselves, as if they were very witty and wise: for how ever they take themselves to be eloquent, faire, or rich, as ordinarily they doe all of them; yet they esteeme better of their owne wit and wisdom,

dome, than of any thing else: and this is the reason that wine is talkative and full of words; it filleth us with lavish speech, and the same unseasonable; yea, it maketh us to have a marvellous good opinion of our selves in each respect, as if we were woorthy to command and prescribe unto others, more meet to be heard than to heare, and fitter to leade and goe before, than to follow & come after: But (quoth *Glaucias* then) an easie matter it is for any man to collect and alledge much tending unto this point, considering how evident and plaine the thing is: it were good therefore to heare a discourse to the contrary, if haply any person, young or old, will stand up in defence of wine. Then our brother, full cunningly and sliely, like a crafty sophist: Why (quoth he) thinke you that any man is able so presently and upon a sudden to devise and 10 speake unto the question in hand, all that may be said probably thereto? And why (quoth *Nicofratrus*) should not I so thinke, considering for many learned men in place, and those who love wine well enough? at which word the other smiled and said: Are you in deed sufficient, even in your owne conceit, to discourse upon this point before us, and yet indisposed, and altogether unable to consider upon State matters, and affaires of government, because you have taken your wine well? and is not this all one, as to thinke that he who hath drunke freely, seeth well enough with his eies, and howsoever he heareth not perfectly with his eares those whom hee speaketh and talketh with, yet for all that he hath the perfect hearing of those who either sing or play upon the flute? for as it is likely, and standeth to great reason, that good and profitable things should affect and draw the outward senses more unto them, than those which are 20 gaudie onely and fine; even so no doubt, such matters make the minde also more intente: and if a man for that he hath plied his drinking overmuch, cannot haply comprehend well the difficult subtilties of some high points in philosophic, I nothing marvell therat; but if the question be of matters and affaires of State, great likelihood there is, that if he be called away thereto, he should gather his wits more close together, and be more vigorous; like as *Philip* king of Macedonia, who having plaid the foole, and made himselfe ridiculous at *Cheronea*, after the battell there, both in word and deed, upon his liberrall drinking, presently assoone as hee fell to treatie of peace and articles of agreement, hee compoised his countenance to gravitie, knit his browes, and cast behinde him all vaine fooleries, wanton gestures and unseemly behaviour, and so gave unto the Athenians a sober, discreet, and well advised answer. And verily one thing it is to drinke well, and another thing to be starked drunke: such as be so farre gone and overseene with drinke, that they know not what they do or say, ought as we thinke, to take their beds and sleepe; as for those who have taken their wine in deed too much, and be scarce sober (howbeit, otherwise men of wit and understanding) we shall never need to feare that they will faile in judgement, yea, and forget their experience, considering that we daily see these dancers, singers and minstrels performe their parts no worse at feasts, for all their liberrall drinking, than in the publicke theaters: for the skill and knowledge, whereof they have gotten the habit, is evermore so present and readie with them, that it maketh their bodies active and nimble, able to performe those parts and functions directly, yea, and to answer the motions of the minde accordingly with confidence. Many there be also, in whose heads and hearts 40 wine so worketh, that it putteth into them an assured boldnesse and resolution, which helpeth them much to the performance of any great actions, and the same is nothing insolent and outrageous, but milde and gracious. And thus we read of *Aeschylus* the poet, that he endited and wrote his tragedies when he was thorowly set in an heat with wine; in such sort, as that they all were conceived by the influence of *Bacchus*, and not as *Ovidius* saith, that one of them, and namely, the greatest (intituled, *The seven prizes before Thebes*) was begotten (as it were) by *Mars*. For wine being of power to enchaife the bodie and minde both, according as *Plato* saith, causeth the bodie to be perspirable, quicke and active, opening all the pores and passages thereof, giving way unto the fantasies and imaginations easily to runne forth, drawing out together with them, the assurance of reason and boldnesse of speech: for you shall have men, whose invention naturally is good enough, in whom (when they be sober and fasting) the same is colde, timorous, and in manner frozen; let them once be well plied with wine, cup after cup, you shall see them evaporate and smooke out, like as frankincense doth by the heat of fire. Furthermore, the nature of wine, chafeth away all feare, which is as contrarie unto those who sit in consultation, as any thing in the world; it quencheeth also, many other base and vile passions, such as mallice and rancour; it openeth the double plaies and folds of the minde, displaying and discovering the whole disposition and nature of a man, by his very words; yea, it hath a vertue to give franke and liberrall speech; and consequently, audacie to utter the truth; without which, neither

\* *avos* that is, a wit and prudent counsellor.  
\* *avos* that is, inventive or confident.


\* Wine of weening.

ther experience nor quickenesse of wit availeth ought : for many there be, who putting in practice, and making use of that which commeth quickly into their heads, speed better, and have greater successe, than those who warily, cautelously, and with much subtiltie, seeme to conceale and keepe in that which presenteth it selfe unto them, and be very lateward in delivering their opinion : we are not therefore to feare wine in this regard, that it stirreth up the passions of the minde; for it inciteth not the worst, unless it be in the wickeddest men, whose counsell is at no time sober: but as *Theophrastus* was wont to call barbars (hoppes, drie bankets without wine; even so, there is a kind of winelesse drunkenesse, and the same, fowre and unpleasant, dwelling continually within the mindes of men that be vicious and without good bringing up; troubled and vexed alwaies with some anger, with grudge, malice, envie, emulation, contention, or illiberal basenesse; of which vices, wine abating the edge of a great part, rather than sharpening them, maketh men not forth fooles, and blockish dolts, but ready and apt, and yet circumspect, cautelous, and wary; not supine and negligent in matters concerning their profit; but yet indoltrous, and making choise of that which is good and honest: but such as tearme wily-craftinesse, by the name of fine wit, and take erroneous opinion and mechanickall nigardie, for wisdom, may even aswell and with as good reason say, that as many as when they be drinking at the table, speake their mindes roundly, and utter with libertie what they thinke, be senselesse fooles: but contrariwise, our ancients called *Bacchus*, *Endeides* and *Amor*, which is as much to say, as Deliverer and Freer; being of opinion, that there was to be ascribed unto him, a great part of divination, not for that he was furious, raging & mad, as *Euripides* said, but because he delivereth the minde, and freeth it from all servile feare, diffidence and cowardise, giving us freedome and libertie to speake the truth, and use franknesse of speech one to another.



## THE EIGHTH BOOKE OF SYMPOSIAQUES OR TABLE-DISCOURSES.

### The Summarie.

- 1  *Those daies, upon which were borne certeine notable and famous persons; and withall, as touching that progenie, which is said to descend from the gods.*
- 2 *In what sense Plato said, that God alwaies exerciseth Geometrie.*
- 3 *What is the reason that sounds be more audible in the night, than in the day.*
- 4 *What is the cause, that of the sacred games, some have this Garland, and others that, but all, the date-tree branch; as also, why the great daies be called Nicolai.*
- 5 *Wherefore they that saile upon the river Nilus, draw up water for their use, before it be day.*
- 6 *Of those that come late to supper; and therewith, whereupon came these names of refectious, *ἀκίνητος*, *ἀετος*, and *δίνωτο*.*
- 7 *Of certeine Pythagorean precepts, by which forbidden we are to entertaine swallows within our houses; and when we are newly risen out of our beds, to ruffle the clothes.*
- 8 *What might be the motive that induced the Pythagoreans among all other living creatures, to abstaine most from fish.*
- 9 *Whether it be possible, that by our meats there should be engendred new diseases.*
- 10 *What is the cause that we take least heed of our dreames in Autumne.*

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## THE EIGHTH BOOKE OF SYMPOSIAQUES OR TABLE-DISCOURSES.

### The Proëme.



Hey that chase philosophie out of feasts and banquets (*Sofism* *Senecio*) do not the same, but worke farre, than those who take away the light from thence; for that when the lampe is gone, such persons as be made temperate and well disposed, will be nothing the worke therefore, making as they doe, more account of a reverent regard, than of the mutual sight one of another: whereas, if rudenesse, ignorance and leaudnesse be joined with wine, the very golden lampe of *Minerva*, if it were there, could not possibly make the feast or banquet lovely, gracious, modest, and well ordered: for that men should feed and fill themselves together in silence, without a word saying, were the fashion that favoured very much of stil swine at their drasse, and perhaps a thing impossible: but whosoever reserveth speech in a feast, and withall, admitteth not the wife and profitable use thereof, is more worthy to be laughed at, than he who thinketh verily, that guests should be ever eating and drinking at a supper, but not filletth unto them, wine undelaied, unseasoned, and which is meere of it selfe; or setteth before them, viands unseasoned, without salt or sauce, and the same not cleanly dressed; for that there is no meat or drinke so unfavorie, unpleasant and hurtfull, for want of good and orderly handling, as words carried unseemly, and without discretion, at a banquet: which is the reason, that philosophers when they reproove drunkenesse, call it a doting by wine; and surely, this dotage is no other thing, but raving or vaine, foolish and undiscreet using of words: now when disordinate babling and foolish talke, meeteth once with wine in a banquet, it can not chuse but the issue thereof will be reprochfull contumelie, insolencie, brainicke follie and villanie, which of all others, is a most unpleasent end, and farthest from all mufes and graces: and therefore it is no foolish ceremonie and absurd fashion, which the women in our countrey observe at their feasts called *Agronia*, where they make semblance for a while, as if they sought for *Bacchus*, being fled out of the way, but afterwards give over seeking, and say that he is gone away, and run to the mufes, and there lurketh, and lieth hidden among them: and anon, when supper is ended, they use to put forth darke riddles, and propose questions one to another, hard to be solved: the mysterie whereof, teacheth us thus much, that both we, ought at the table, to use such speech as doth containe some good learned speculation and erudition; and also, that when those discourses are joined with wine and drunkenesse, then they be the mufes who hide and cover all furious outrage and enormitie, which also is willing to be deteined and kept by them.

### THE FIRST QUESTION.

*As touching those daies which are enabled by the nativitie of some renowned persons; and withall of that progenie or race which is said to be derived from the gods.*

This book then, which is the eighth in order of our symposiaques or discourses at the table, shall containe in the first place, that which not long since we chanced to heare and speake, that day whereon we celebrate the feast of *Platoes* nativity: for having solemnized the birth day of *Socrates* upon the sixth of February; the morow after, which was the seventh of that month, we did the like by *Plato*; which gave us occasion, and ministred matter first to enter into a discourse fitting the occurrence of these two nativities; in which *Diogenianus* the Pergamian, began first in this manner: *Ion* the poet (quoth he) said not amisse of fortune, that being as he was, different from wisdom in many things, yet she brought forth effects not a few like unto her; and as for this, it seemeth that she hath caused it to fall out very well and fitly, and not without some skill, (raih though she be otherwise) not only for that these two birth-daies jumpe so nere one unto the other, but also because, that of the master who was of the twaine more ancient, commeth also in order before the other. Whereupon it came into my head also to alledge many

many examples of occurrents happening likewise at one and the same time; and namely, as touching the birth and death of *Euripides*, who was borne that very day whereon the Greeks fought the navall battell of *Solanis* at sea with the king of *Perſia*, and whole fortune it was to die the same day that *Dionys* the elder tyrant of *Stelle* was borne; as if fortune of purpose (as *Timæus* saith) had taken out of the world a poet, who represented tragicall calamities, the very same day that she brought into the world the actour thereof. Mention also was made of the death of king *Alexander* the Great, which fell out just upon the same day that *Diogenes* the Cynicke philosopher departed this life: and by one generall voice accorded it was, that king *Attalus* left his life, the very day that hee celebrated the memoriall of his nativitie: and some there were who said, that *Pompey* the Great died in *Aegypt*, the same day of the yere that he was born; though others affirmed that it was one day sooner: semblably, there came into our remembrance at the same time *Pindarus*, who being borne during the solemnitie of the Pythicke games, composed afterwards many hymnes in the honour of that god, for whom those games were solemnnized. Then *Florus* said, that *Carnæus* was not unworthy to be remembered upon the day of *Platoes* nativitie, considering he was one of the most famous pillars that supported the schoole of Academics; and both of them were borne at the festivall times of *Apollo*; the one in *Athens*, what time as the feast *Thargelia* was holden; and the other, that very day when as the Cyrenians solemnnized it, which they call *Carnæ*; and both of them fell out just upon the seventh day of Februarie; on which day you my masters, who are the prophets and priests of *Apollo*, doe say that himselfe was borne, and therefore you call him *Hedamagenes*: neither doe I thinke, that they who attribute unto this God, the fatherhood of *Plato*, doe him any dishonour, in that he hath begotten and provided for us a physician, who by the meanes of the doctrine of *Socrates*, even another *Chiron*, cureth and healeth the greater infirmities and more grievous maladies of the soule. Moreover, it was not forgotten, how it was held for certeine, that *Apollo* appeared in a vision by night, unto *Ariston* the father of *Plato*, and a voice besides was heard, forbidding him expressly not to lie with his wife, nor to touch her for the space of ten moneths. Hereupon *Tyndares* the Lacedæmonian seconded these words, and said, that by good right we were to sing and say thus of *Plato*:

*He seemed not the sonne of mortall might;  
Some god for fire, he may avouch by right.*

I howbeit, for my part, I am afraid, that to beget repugneth no lesse with the immortalitie of the deitie, than to be begotten; for surely, even the act of generation, implieth also a mutation and passion: and king *Alexander* the Great signified no lesse one time, when he said, that he knew himselfe principally to be mortall and subject to corruption, by having companie with a woman, & by his sleep: for that sleepe is occasioned by a relaxation proceeding from feebleness: and as for all generation, performed it is by the passage of some portion of ones selfe into another; and to much therefore is lost & gone from the principall: and yet on the other side, I take heart againe, and am confirmed, when I heare *Plato* himselfe to call the eternall God, who never was borne nor begotten, Father and Creatour of the world, and of other things generable; not that God doth engender after the manner of men, by the meanes of naturall seed; but by another power doth ingenerate and infuse into matter, a vertue generative, and a principle, which altereth, moveth, and transmuteth the same:

*For even by windes that female birds inspire,  
Conceive they be, when they to breed desire.*

Neither doe I thinke it any absurditie, that a god companying with a woman, not as man, but after another sort of touching & contraction, and by other meanes, altereth and replenisheth her, being a mortall creature, with divine and heavenly seed: And this is (quoth he) no invention of mine: for the Aegyptians hold that their *Apis* is in that manner engendred by the light of the moone, striking upon his dam, whereby she is conceived; and generally they admit thus much, that a god of the male sex, may deale with a mortall woman: but contrariwise, they thinke not that a mortall man is able to give unto any goodesse the beginning of conception or birth; for they are of opinion, that the substance of these goddesses, consisteth in a certeine aire, and spirites, yea and in certeine heats and humors.

THE

## THE SECOND QUESTION.

*How Plato is to be understood, when he saith: That God continually is exercised in Geometry.*

After these words, there ensued some silence for a while; and then *Diogenianus* beginning againe to speake: How thinke you masters (quoth he) are you contented & well pleased, considering that we have had some speech already of the gods, and that on the day wherein we solemnize the nativitie of *Plato*, that we make him partaker also of our conference, and take occasion thereby, to consider upon what intention and in what sense he hath said, that God continually practiseth Geometry, at leastwise if we may presuppose and set down, that he it was who was the author of this sentence: Then said I: Written it is not in any place of all his bookes; howbeit, held to be a saying of his, and it favoureth much of his stile and maner of phrase. Whereupon *Tyndares* immediately taking the words out of his mouth: Thinke you (quoth he) *Diogenianus*, that this sentence covertly and in mysticall teames, signifieth any darke subtiltie, and not the very same, which *Plato* himselfe hath both said and written in praising and magnifying Geometry, as being the thing which plucketh those away who are fastened unto sensible objects, and averteeth them to the consideration of such natures, as be intelligible and eternall; of the contemplation whereof is the very end of philosophie, even as the view and beholding of the secret sacred things, is the end of religious mysteries: for the naile of pleasure and paine, which fasteneth the soule unto the bodie, among other mischiefs that it doth unto man, worketh him this displeasure as it should seeme aboveall, that it causeth sensible things to be more evident unto him, than intellectuall, and forceth his understanding to judge by passion more than by reason: for being accustomed by the sense and feeling of extreame paine, or exceeding pleasure of the body, to be intentive unto that wandring, uncerteine, and mutable nature of the bodie, as seeming a thing subsistent, blinded he is, and loseth altogether the knowledge of that which is essentiall indeed, and hath a true being, forgoing that light and instrument of the soule, which is better than ten thousand bodily eies, and by which organe alone, he might see the deitie and divine nature: for so it is, that all other sciences which we name mathematicall, as in so many mirrors, not twining and warping, but plaine, smooth, and even, there appeere the very tracts, prints, and images of the truth of things intelligible: but Geometry especially which *Philo* calleth the mother citie, and mistress commanding all the rest, doth divert and gently withdraw by little and little, the minde purified & clesed from the cogitation of sensittive all things: and this is the reason that *Plato* himselfe reprooved *Eudoxus*, *Architas*, and *Menæchmus*, who went about to reduce the duplication of the cube or solide square into mechanicall instruments, and artificiaall engines, as if it had not bene possible, (if a man would set unto it) by demonstration of reason to finde out and comprehend, two middle lines proportionall; for he objected unto them: That this was as much as to destroy and overthrow the best thing in Geometry, when by this meanes they would have her turne backe againe unto sensible things, and keepe her from mounting up aloft, and embracing those eternall and incorporall images; upon which God being continually intentive, is therefore alwaies God.

After *Tyndares*, *Florus* a familiar friend of his, and one who made semblant alwaies by way of sport and gave it out in word, that he was timorous of him: Well done of you (quoth hee) in and that you would not have this speech to be your owne, but a common saying of every man, and that you would seeme to argue and prove, that *Plato* sheweth how Geometry is not necessary for you would seeme to argue and prove, that *Plato* sheweth how Geometry is not necessary for the gods, but for men: for God hath no need of any mathematicall science, as an engine or instrument to turne him from things engendred, and to bring about and direct his intelligence and understanding unto those that be of an eternall essence: For why? In him, with him, and about him they be albut take heed rather, & see whether *Plato* hath not covertly under these dark words lipt and signified somewhat that is pertinent and proper unto you, which you have not marked and observed, in that hee joineeth *Lycurgus* with *Socrates*, no lesse than *Pythagoras*, as marked and observed, in that hee joineeth *Lycurgus* with *Socrates*, no lesse than *Pythagoras*, as *Diocarymus* was of opinion: for *Lycurgus* as you know very well, chased out of *Lacedæmon*, arithmetically proportion as a popular thing, turbulent and apt to make commotions; but hee brought in the Geometricall, as befitting the civill and modest government of some few wise sages, and a lawfull roialtie and regall dominion: for the former giveth equally unto all according to number; but the other unto every one, by reason and with regard of desert and worthinesse; this proportion (I say) maketh no confusion of all together, but in it there is an appa-

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rent discretion and distinction between the good and the bad, dealing alwaies unto every one their owne, not by the balance or los, but according to the difference of vice and vertue: God therefore useth this proportion, and applieth it unto things: and the same it is (my good friend *Tyndares*) which is called *Dice* and *Nemesi*; teaching us there by, that we ought to make of justice, equalitie, and not of equality, justice; for the equalitie which the common sort seeketh after, and is indeed the greatestt injustice that may be, God taketh out of the world, and as much as possibly may be, observeth that which is fit and meet for every one according to desert and worthinesse, going heerein Geometrically to worke, by reason and law defining and distributing accordingly.

When we had praised this exposition and interpretation of his, *Tyndares* said: That he envied such commendation, exhorting *Autobulus* to set against *Florus*, to confute him, and correct that which he had delivered. That he refused to do; howbeit, he opposed and brought forth a certeine opinion and conceit of his owne: Thus it is (quoth he) Geometrie is not a speculative skill of mens manners and behaviour, nor yet occupied about any subject matter whatsoever, but the symptomes, accidents, and passions of those extremities or termes which accomplish bodies: neither hath God by any other meanes framed and made the world, but only by determining or making finit that matter which was infinit in it selfe, not in regard of quantitie, greatnesse, and multitude; but for that being as it was, inconstant, wandering, disorderly, and unperfect, our auncients were wont to call it infinit, that is to say, undetermined and unfinished: for the forme and figure is the terme or end of every thing that is formed and shapen; the want whereof made it of it selfe to be shapelesse and disfigured: but after that numbers and proportions come to be imprinted upon the rude and formelesse matter, then being tied and bound (as it were) first with lines, and after lines, with superficies and profundities, it brought forth the first kinds and differences of bodies, as the foundation and ground-woke for the generation of aire, earth, water, and fire: for impossible it had beene, and absurd, that of matter so wandering, so errant, and disorderly, there should arise equalities of sides, and similitudes of angles, in those solide square bodies, which were called *Octaedra* and *Eicosaedra*, that is to saie, with eight and twentie baces: likewise in pyramidals and cubes, unless there had been some worke-man to limit, ordeine, and dispose every thing Geometrically; thus a limit or terme being given unto that which was infinit; all things in this universall world, composed, ordered, and tempered accordingly in excellent manner, were first and made, and are made now every day; notwithstanding the said matter striveth and laboureth daily to returne unto her infinit estate, as very loth and refusing to be thus geometrized, that is to say, reduced to some finit and determinate limits; whereas reason on the contrarise, restraineth and comprehendeth her; distributing her into divers *Ideas*, from which all things which are ingendred, take their generation and constitution.

He had no sooner thus said, but he requested me to contribute somewhat also of mine owne unto this discourse and question in hand: but I for my part, commended highly their opinions, thus delivered, as being naturally and directly devised by themselves and their owne proper inventions, saying withall: That they caried with them sufficient probabilitie: But for that (quoth I) you should not be displeased and offended with your selves, nor altogether have your eie abroad and looke unto others, listen and heare what meaning and interpretation of the said sentence, was most approoved unto our masters and teachers: for there is among the propositions, or positions rather, and theoremes geometrically, one above the rest, to wit; When two formes or figures are given and put downe, to set a third thereto, equall to the one, and semblable to the other; for the invention whereof, it is said, that *Pythagoras* sacrificed unto the gods: for this *Theorem* without all doubt is more gallant, witty, and learned, than that, by which he did demonstrate, and proove that the slope line *Hypotenus*a, avaieth as much as the two laterales, which make a right angle in a triangle: Well said of you (quoth *Diogenamus*) but what serveth this for the matter now in question? You shall understand soone (quoth I) in case you will call to memory that division in *Timaeus*, whereas the philosopher made a tripartite distribution of those principles, whereby the world had the beginning of generation; of which, the one he called by a most just name, God; the second Matter; and the third Forme or Idea: So the matter of all subject things is most difordinate; the Idea of all mouldes and patterns, most beautifull; but God of all causes simply the best: Thus would not he admit, or leave any thing, as farre forth as possibly might otherwise be, infinit and undeterminate; but adorne nature with proportion, measure, and number, making of all subjects one thing, in quantitie

quantity equall to the matter, & in quality semblable to the forme, setting therefore before him this proposition, having already twain a third to it he made, doth make and preserve for ever, equal to the matter, & semblable to the forme, to wit, the world; which being alwaies in regard of that inbred necessitie of a bodie, subject to generation, alteration, & all kinds of passion, is aided and succoured by the creatour and father thereof, who determineth the subsistence by reason of just proportion, according to the image of the patron, whereby the pourprife and circuit of this universall world is more beautifull, being thus vast and great, than if it had beene lesse and competent.

### THE THIRD QUESTION.

*What is the reason that the night is more resonant or resounding than the day?*

As we sat at supper one evening in *Athen*; with *Ammonius*, we heard a great tumult & nois which rang all the house over, of people in the street without, crying aloud; Capitaine, capitaine: now was *Ammonius* then the third time prator or capitaine of the cite: Hee sent forth immediately some of his men about him, to see what the matter was; who presently appeased the hurly, and dismissed those who had raised this outcry: upon which occasion wee in the meane while entred into question: Why those who are within house heare them very well that cry without; but they that are abroad heare not so easily those within, crying as loud? *Ammonius* incontinently made answer and said, that this question had already beene solved by *Aristotle* in this wise: For that the voice of those within being once gotten forth and flowen into a wide place of much aire, vanishest away, and is dissipated immediately; whereas the voice of them without, when it is entred in, doth not the like, but is retained and kept close, and so by consequence more easie to be heard: But there is another thing (quoth hee) which requireth rather to have a reason rendred thereof; namely: Why in the night season all voices doe resound greater than in the day time, and besides the greatnesse, are more cleere, distinct, articulate, & audible? For mine owne part (quoth he) I am of this minde, that the divine providence hath in great wisdom ordeined, that our hearing should be more fresh and quicke, when as our sight serveth us in little or no stead at all; for seeing that the aire of the night which according to *Empedocles*,

*Wandereth alone, and solitary,  
And doth blind eyes about her carry.*

is obscure and darke, looke how much defect it maketh in our sight, so much it supplieth and requiteth in our eares: but for that of things also which necessarily are done by nature, the causes ought to be fought out, and the proper & peculiar office of a philosopher and naturalist, is to busie himselfe in seeking after the materiall causes, & instrumentall principles; which of all you will first come forth with some probable reason, as touching this matter? whereupon there being some pause & silence for a time, *Boetius* said thus: VVhen I was my selfe a yong man, and a student, I made use otherwhiles of those principles which are in Geometrie called Positions: and certeine propositions I supposed as undoubted truthe, without any need of demonstration: but now will I use some of those which heere tofore have beene proved by *Epicurus*, as for example: Those things which be, are caried in that which is not, nor hath any being: for much vacuities or voidnesse there is stored as it were, and intermingled among those atomes or indivisible little bodies of the aire, which when it is spread abroad in spacious capacities, and by reason of the raritie and thinnesse thereof, runneth too and fro round about: there be a number of small, void, and emptie places, among those little motes or parcels scattered here and there, and taking up the whole region: but contrariwise, when they are pent in, and a restraint and compression made of them, being thrust together into a little space; these small bodies being huddled perforce one upon another, leave a large void space, to vague and range abroad: and this doth the night by reason of cold; for heat doth loosen, disgregate, scatter and dissolve all thicke things, which is the reason why those bodies which either boile, thaw, or melt, occupie more room: contrariwise, such which gather, congeale, and beefrozen, come together close, and be united, leaving an emptie place in those vessels wherein they were contained, and from which they be retired: The voice therefore coming among, and lighting upon many of these bodies thus scattered and dispersed thicke everie where, either is drowned altogether at once or disgregated and broken as it were in pieces, or else intercepted with many impeach-

ments to withstand and stay it: but where there is a space void, and wherein there is not a bodie, it having a free and full course, and the same not interrupted, but plaine and continued, cometh so much the sooner unto the eare, and together with that swiftnesse, retaineth still the articulate, expresse, and distinct sound of every word in speech: for you see how emptie vessels, if a man knocke upon them, answer better to every stroke, and carrie the sound and noise a great way off; yea, and many times they yeeld a sound that goeth round about, and continueth a good while, redoubling the noise; whereas let a vessell be filled either with solid bodies, or els with some liquor, it is altogether deafe and dumbe, if I may so say, and yeeldeth no sound againe; for that it hath no place nor way to passe thorow. Now among solid bodies, gold and stone, because they be full and massie, have a very small and feeble sound, that will be heard any way, and that little which they doe render, is soone gone: contrariwise, brasse is verie vocall, resonant, and (as one would say) a blab of the tongue; for that it hath much emptinesse in it, and the substance or masse thereof, is light and thinne, not compact of many bodies, huddled together, and thrust one upon another; but hath soison and plentie of that substance mingled together, which is soft, yeelding and not resisting the touch or the stroke, which affordeth easinesse unto other motions, and so entreteining the voice gently and willingly, sendeth it untill it meet something in the way which stoppeth the mouth; for then it staith and ceaseth to pierce any further, because of the stoppage that it findeth. And this is it (quoth he, in mine opinion) that causeth the night to be more resonant, and the day lesse; for that the heat in day time which dissolveth the aire, causeth the intervalles betwene the atomes or notes above said, to be the smaller: this onely I would request, that no man here doe oppose himselfe to contradict the premises and first suppositions of mine: Now when as *Ammonius* willed me to say somewhat, and replie against him: As touching your formost supposals, friend *Boerhus* (quoth I) about the great emptinesse, let them stand, since you will have it so; but whereas you have set downe, that the said emptinesse maketh much for the motion and easie passage of the voice, I like not well of that supposition; for surely, this qualitie not to be touched, smitten, or made to suffer, is rather proper unto silence and still taciturnitie; whereas the voice is the striking and beating upon a sounding bodie; and a sounding bodie is that which accordeth and correspondeth to it selfe, moveable, light, uniforme, simple and pliable, like as is our aire; for water, earth and fire, be of themselves dumbe & speechlesse; but they found & speake all of them, when any spirit or aire is gotten in, then (I say) they make a noise: as for brasse, there is no voidnesse within it; but for that mixed it is with an united and equall spirit, therefore it answereth againe to claps and knocks, and therewithall resoundeth: and if wee may conjecture by that which our eie seeth and judgeth, yron seemeth to be spongeous, and as it were worne-eaten within, full of holes, and hollowed in maner of hony-combs; howbeit, a metall it is of all other, that hath the worst voice, and is most mute: there was no need therefore to trouble the night so much in restraining, compressing, and driving in the aire thereof so close of the one side, and leaving so many places and spaces void on the other side; as if the aire impeached the voice, and corrupted the substance thereof, considering it selfe is the very substance, forme and puissance of it: over and besides, it should follow thereupon, that unequall nights, namely, those that be foggie and mistie, or exceeding colde, were more resonant than those that be faire and cleere; for that in such nights, those atomes are clunged close together, and looke where they come, they leave a place void of bodies: moreover, (that which is easie and evident to be seene) the colde Winter night ought by this reckoning to be more vocall and fuller of noise, than the hot Summers night; whereof, neither the one nor the other is true: and therefore (letting this reason, such as it is, goe by) I will produce *Anaxagoras*, who saith: That the sunne causeth the aire to move and stirre after a certaine trembling motion, as if it did beat and pant; as it may appeare by those little mores and shavings (as it were) in maner of dust, which flutter and flie up and downe thorow those holes; whereas the sunne-shine passeth, such as some Greeks call *πλάσι*: which (saith he) chirming (as it were) and making a humming in the day time, cause by their noise, any other voice or sound not so easie to be heard; but in the night season, as their motion ceaseth, so consequently, their noise also is gone.

After I had thus said, *Ammonius* began in this wise: We may be deemed haply ridiculous (quoth he) to thinke that we can refute *Democritus*, or to go about for to correct *Anaxagoras*; howbeit, we must of necessitie take from these little bodies of *Anaxagoras* his devising, this chirming noise before said, which is neither like to be so, nor any waies necessarie: sufficient it will be to admit the trembling motion and stirring of them, dancing as they doe, in the same light, and by

by that meanes disgregating and breaking the voice many times, and scatter it to and fro: for the aire (as hath bene said already) being the very body and substance of the voice, if it be quiet and settled, giveth a direct, united and continued way unto the small parcels and movings of the voice, to passe along a great way: for calme weather and the tranquillitie of the aire, is resonant, whereas contrariwise, tempestuous weather is dumbe and mute: according to which, *Simonides* hath thus written:

*For then, no blasts of winde arose on hie,  
Shaking tree-leaves; that men need once to feare  
Lest they might breake sweet songs and melodie,  
Stopping the sound from passage to their eare.*

For often times the agitation of the aire, permitteeth not the full, expresse and articulate forme of the voice, to reach unto the sense of hearing; howbeit, somewhat it carrieth alwaies thorow from it, if the same be multiplied much and forced aloud: as for the night, in it selfe it hath nothing to stirre and trouble the aire; whereas the day hath one great cause thereof, to wit, the sun, as *Anaxagoras* himselfe hath said.

Then *Thrasylus* the sonne of *Ammonius*, taking his turne to speake: What should we meane by this I pray you in the name of *Jupiter* (quoth he) to attribute this cause unto an invisable motion of the aire; and leave the agitation, tossing and division thereof, which is so manifest and evident to our eies: for this great ruler and commander in the heaven, *Jupiter*, doth not asier an imperceptible maner, nor by little and little, stirre the smallest parcels of the aire, but all at once, so soone as he sheweth his face, excitieth and moveth all things in the world,

*Giving forth with a signall in such wise,  
As men thereby unto their works may rise.*

which they no sooner see, but they obey and follow; as if together with the new day, they were regenerate againe, and entred into another manner of life, as *Democritus* saith; letting themselves unto their businesse and affaires, not without some noise & effectual cries: in which sense *Ithyca* called not impertinently the morning, or dawning of the day *Chytus*, for that now we begin to heare others, yea, & to speake aloud our selves: whereas the aire of the night being for the most part calme and still, without any waves and billowes, for that everie thing is at rest and repose, by all likelihood conveyeth the voice entier and whole unto us, nor broke nor diminished one jot. At these words, *Aristodemus* of *Cyprus*, who was one of our companie: But take heed *Thrasylus*, (quoth he) that this which you say be not convinced and refused by the battels and marches of great armies in the night season, for that upon such an occasion the noise and outcries be no lesse resounding and cleere, how troubled and waving soever the aire be, than otherwise: and peradventure there is some cause thereof, proceeding also from our selves; for the most part of that which we speake in the night season, is of this nature, that either we command some body after a turbulent manner, as if a passion urged us thereto, or if we demand and aske ought, we crie as loud as we can; for that the thing which wakeneth and maketh us to rise at such a time (when as we should sleepe and take our repose) for to speake or doe any thing, is no small matter or peaceable, but great and important, halting us for the urgent necessitie thereof unto our businesse, in such sort, that our words and voices which then we utter, go from us in greater force and vehemency.

## THE FOURTH QUESTION.

*How it comes to passe, that of the sacred games of prize some use one maner of chaplet, and some another, yet all have the branch of the date tree? Also why the great dates bee called Nicolai?*

During the solemnitie of the Isthmick games, at what time as *Sophs* was the judge and directour thereof now the second time: other feasts of his I avoided; namely, when as hee invited one while many strangers together; and otherwhiles a number of none else but citizens, and those one with another; but one time above the rest, when as hee feasted those onely who were his greatest friends, and all, men of learning, I my selfe also was a bidden guest, and present among them; now by that time that the first service at the table was taken awaie, there came one unto the professed orator and rhetorician *Herodes*, who brought unto him from a scholar and familiar of his, who had wonne the prize, for an encomiasticall or laudatorie

torie oration that he had made, a branch of the date tree, together with a plaited and broided coronet of flowers; which when he had curteously received, he returned them backe to him again, saying withall: that hee marvelled why some of these sacred games had for their prize this crowne, and others that, but generally all, a branch of date tree: For mine owne part (quoth he) I cannot perswade my selfe that this ariseth upon that cause which some alledge; namely, the equality and uniformitie of the leaves, springing and growing out as they doe, alwaies even and orderly, one just against another directly, wherein they seeme to contend and strive a vie, resembling thereby a kinde of combat; and that victorie it selfe tooke the name in Greeke *Núñ*, as it were *not given*, that is to say, not yeelding nor giving place: for there be many other plants which as it were by weight and measure, distribute nourishment equally unto their boughes and branches growing opposite in that manner, and heerein observe exactly a wonderfull order and equality: but in my conceit, more probabilitie and apparence of reason they alledge, who imagine & suppose, that our auncients made choice of this tree, because they tooke a love to the beautie, tallnesse, and streight growing thereof; and namely *Homer*, who compareth the beautie of *Nausicaa* the Phæocian queene, unto the plant or stem of a faire date tree: for this you all know verie well, that in old time they were wont alwaies to cast upon those victorious champions who had wonne the prize, roses, and rose champion flowers; yea and some otherwhiles apples and pomegranates, thinking by this meanes to recompence and honour them: but there is nothing else so much in the date tree, to commend it so evidently above other trees: for in all Greeke fruit it beareth none that is good to be eaten, as being imperfect and not ripe enough; and if it bare here as it doth in *Syria* and *Aegypt*, the date which of all fruits for the lovely contentment of the eie, is of all sights most delightfome, and for the sweetnesse of taste, of all banquetting dishes most pleasant, there were not a tree in the world comparable unto it: and verily the great monarch and emperor *Augustus* by report, for that he loved singularly well, one *Nicolaus* a philosopher Peripateticke, in regard that he was of gentle nature and sweet behaviour, tall and slender withall of stature, and besides of a ruddy and purple colour in his visage, called the fairest and greatest dates, after his name, *Nicolai*, and to this day they beare that denomination.

In this discourse, *Herodes* pleased the company no lesse with the mention of *Nicolaus* the philosopher, than he did with that which he had spoken to the question: And therefore (quoth *Sossius*) so much the rather ought we every one to devise for to conferre unto this question propounded, whatsoever hee is perswaded concerning it: Then I for my part first, brought forth mine opinion as touching the superiouritie of this date tree at the sacred games, because the glorie of victours and conquerors, ought to endure and continue incorruptible, and as much as possibly may be not age and waxe old: for the date tree liveth as long as any plant whatsoever that is longest lived: and this is testified by these verses of *Orpheus*:

*Living as long as plants of date trees tall,  
Which in the head be greene and spread withall.*

And this is the onely tree in manner, which hath that propertie indeed, which is reported though not so truly, of many others: And what is that? namely, to carie the leaves firme and fast, so as they never fall off; for we do not see, that either the lawrell or olive tree, nor the myrtle, nor any other trees which are said to shed no leafe, keepe alwaies the same leaves still; but as the first fall, others put forth, and by this meanes they continue alwaies fresh and greene, living evermore as cities and great townes doe; whereas the date tree never loseth any of those leaves which once came forth, but continueth still clad with the same leaves; and this is that vigour as I take it which men dedicate and appropriat especially to the force or strength of victorie.

When *Sossius* had made an end of this speech, *Protagenes* the Grammarian calling by name unto *Praxiteles*, the discourser and historian: Shall wee suffer these oratours and rhetoricians (quoth he) alter their usuall maner and profession, to argue thus by conjectures and likely probabilities; and can we alledge nothing out of histories pertinent directly unto this matter? and verily for mine owne part, if my memorie faile me not, I have not read long since in the Attique annales, that *Thestes*, who first let out games of prize in the isle *Delos*, brake & plucked from the sacred date tree, a branch, which thereupon was called *Spadi*; and *Praxiteles* said as much: But some men (quoth he) might aske of *Thestes* himselfe, what reason induced him (when he proposed the prize of victorie) to pull a branch from the date tree, rather than from the laurell or olive tree? and what will you say, if this be a Pythicke prize? for that the *Amphyctones* honored first

first at *Delphos*, the victours, with a branch of date tree and laurell, in honour of *Pythius Apollo*, considering that the maner was not to consecrate unto that God, the laurell or olive onely, but also the date tree; like as *Nicias* did, when in the name of the Athenians, he defraied the charges of games, in *Delos*; and the Athenians, at *Delphi*; and before them, *Cypselus* the Corinthian; for otherwise, this God of ours hath evermore loved those games of prize, yea, and was desirous to win the victorie, having strove personally himselfe in playing upon the harpe, in singing, and flinging the coit of brasse; yea; and as some some say, at hurl-bats and fist-fights; favouring men also, and taking their part at such combats; as *Homer* seemeth to testifie, when he bringeth in *Achilles*, speaking in this wise:

Two champions now, who simply are  
Of all the armie best,  
My pleasure is, shall forth advance;  
And looke who is so best,  
And favoured at buffet-fight,  
By god Apollos grace,  
As for to win the victorie,  
And honour, in that place.

Also when he speaketh of archers, he saith expressly, that one of them who invocated upon *Apollo*, and praied unto him for helpe, had good successe, and carried away the best prize; but the other, who was so proud, and would not call upon the god for his aid, missed the marke & scope whereat he shot. Neither is it likely or credible, that the Athenians dedicated their publicke place of exercise, unto *Apollo*, for nothing, and without good cause; but surely thus they thought, that the same God unto whom we are beholden for our health, giveth us also the force and strong disposition of bodie, to performe such games and feats of activitie. But whereas, some combats there be, sleight and easie; others, hard and grievous: we finde in writing, that the Delphians sacrificed unto *Apollo*, by the name of *Pythes*, that is to say, the champion at fist-fight: but the Candians and Lacedæmonians offered sacrifice unto the same God, surnamed, the Runner. And seeing as we do, that the maner is to present in his temple within the citie of *Delphos*, the prizes or dedications of the spoiles and bootie gained from the enemies in war, as also to consecrate unto him the Trophæes; is not this a great argument and testimonie, that in this God it lieth most to give the victorie and conquest? And as he went forward, and was minded to say more, *Cephisus* the sonne of *Theon*, interrupted his speech, saying: These allegations (beleeve me) favour not of histories, nor of Cosmographicall books; but being fetched immediately out of the minds of those Peripateticall discourses, are handled and argued probably to the purpose: and besides, whiles you take up the fabricke or engine, after the maner of tragedian plaiers, you intend as it should seeme, to afright by intimating the name of *Apollo*, those that contradict and gainsay your opinions: and yet (as well becometh his goodnesse and bountie) he is indifferent and alike affected unto all, in clemencie and benignitie: but we following the tracts & steps of *Sossius*, who hath led us the way very well, keepe our selves to the date tree, which affordeth us sufficient matter to discourse thereof againe: for the Babylonians doe chaunt and sing the praises of this tree; namely, that it bringeth unto them three hundred and threescore sorts of fundrie commodities; but we that are Greeks, have little or no profit thereby: howbeit, good philosophie may be drawn out of it, for the better instruction of champions and such as are to performe combats of prize, in that it beareth no fruit with us: for being a right goodly, faire, and very great tree, by reason of the good habit and disposition thereof, yet is it not here among us, fruitfull; but by this strong constitution that it hath, it implотиeth and spendeth all nouriture to feed and fortifie the bodie, after the maner of champions, by their exercise, so as there remaineth but a little behinde, and the same not effectually for feed: over and above all this, one qualitie it hath, proper, and peculiar to it selfe alone, and that which agreeth not to any other tree, the which I intend to shew unto you: For the woodie substance of this date tree aloft, if a man seeme to weigh and presse downe, with any heavey burden, it yeeldeth not, nor stoupeth under the poise, but curbeth upward archwise, as withstanding that, wherewith it is charged and pressed; and even so it is with those combatants in sacred games: for such as through feeblenesse of bodie, or faintnesse of heart seeme to yeeld, those, the said exercises doe bend and keepe under; but as many as stoutly abide, not onely with their strong bodies, but also with magnanimous courage, these be they that are raised up on high, and mount unto honour.

## THE FIFTH QUESTION.

*What is the cause that they who saile upon the river Nilus, draw up water for their use, before day-light?*

One there was, who demanded upon a time the reason, why the water-men who saile and row upon the river *Nilus*, provided themselves of that water which they drinke, in the night, and not by day. Some said, it was, because they feared the sunne, which by enchaunting and heating the water, maketh it more subject to corruption and putrefaction: for whatsoever is warmed or made hot, the same is alwaies more ready and disposed to mutation, and doth soone alter, by relaxation of the proper and native qualitie that it hath: whereas colde, by restraining, seemeth to containe and keepe each thing in the owne kinde or nature; and water, especially. Now, for the truth of this, that the coldnesse of water hath vertue to preserve, the snowe is a sufficient testimonie, which keepeth flesh a long time sweet, and without corruption; but contrariwise, heat causeth all things to goe out of their owne nature, yea, even honie it selfe; for being once boiled, marred it is; but if it continue raw, it not onely keepeth it selfe well enough, but helpeth to preserve other things: and for a further prooffe of this matter, the water of lakes and pooles is a principall thing to confirme the same; for as potable it is, and as good to drinke in Winter, as any other waters; but in Summer, the same is starke naught, and breedeth diseases: and therefore, since the night answereth to Winter, and the day to Summer, those water-men of *Nilus* above said, are of this opinion: That water will continue longer before it turne and corrupt, if it be drawn in the night season. To these allegations, which of themselves seemed to carry probabilitie enough, reason also includeth as an evident & inartificiall prooffe to strengthen and confirme the experience and beleefe of these water-men; for they said, that they drew water, while the river was yet still and quiet; for in the day time, many men either saile upon it, or otherwise, fetch water from it; many beasts also, passe to and fro in it; whereby it is troubled, thicke and muddie; and such water will soone putrefie: for whatsoever is mixed, more easily taketh corruption, than that which is pure and simple, considering that mixture maketh a fight, and fight causeth change and alteration. Now, who knoweth not that putrefaction is a kinde of mutation? which is the cause that painters call the mixtures of their colours, by the name of *phlegma*, that is to say, faulnes and infect: the common use also of our speech carrieth it, to call that which is unmixed and meere of it selfe, *ἀσύντακτος* is *ἀσύντακτος*, that is to say, incorrupt and sincere: but principally, if earth be mingled with water, it changeth the qualitie, and marreth the nature of it quite for ever, for being potable and good to drinke: and therefore it is, that dormant and dead waters, which stand in hollow holes, are more subject to corruption than others, as being full of earthie substance; whereas, running streames escape this mixture, and repell the earth which is brought into them: good cause therefore, had *Hesiodus* to commend

*The water of some lively spring,  
that alwaies runnes his course,  
And which no muddie earth among,  
doth trouble and make worse.*

For holsome we holde that which is incorrupt; and incorrupt we take that to be, which is all simple, pure and unmixed: and hereto may be adjoined, for to confirme this opinion of theirs, the fundrie kinds and differences of earth: for those waters which run thorow hillie and stonie grounds, because they carrie not with them, much of the earth or soile, are stronger and more firme, than such as passe along marishes, plaines and flats. Now the river *Nilus* keeping his course within a levell and soft country; and to speake more truly, being (as it were) bloud tempered and mingled with flesh, is sweet doublelesse, and full of juices that have a strong and nutritive vertue; but ordinarily, the same runneth mixed and troubled; and so much the rather, if it be stirred and disquieted; for the moving and agitation thereof, mixeth in the terrestriall substance with the liquid humour; but when it is quiet and at repose, the same felleth downe to the bottom, by reason of the weight. Thus you see why they draw up their water in the night-season; and withall, by that meanes they prevent the sun-rising; which alwaies doth catch up and corrupt that which is in all waters most subtle and light.

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## THE SIXTH QUESTION.

*Of those who come late to supper; where, discourse it is, from whence be derived these names of refections in Greeke ἀσύντακτος, αἰνός, and δειπνός.*

MY younger sonnes upon a time had staid longer at the theater, than they should, to see the sights, and heare the care-sports which there were exhibited; by occasion whereof, they came too late to supper; whereupon *Therapion* sonnes called them in mirth & sport *αυτοσύντακτος* and *συντακτικός*, as one would say, supper-letting, and night-supping-lads, with other such like names; but they, to be meet & quit with them againe, gave them the tearme of *αὐτοσύντακτος*, that is to say, runners to supper. Heere with one of the elder forth there present, said: That hee who came late to his supper, ought rather to be called *αὐτοσύντακτος*, because he maketh more haste with an extraordinary pace, for that he hath seemed to staie too long: to which purpose he related a pretie tearme of *Bastus*, the buffon or pleasant jester to *Cesar*, who was wont to call those *αυτοσύντακτος*, that is to say, desirous of suppers, who at any time came tardie: For (quoth he) although they have businesse to call and keepe them away, yet for the love of good cheere and sweet morcels, they refuse not to come (late though it be) whensoever they are invited. Heere came I in with the testimonie of *Polycharmus*, one of the great oratours, who managed the State of *Athens*: in an oration of his, where making an apologie of his life unto the people in a frequent assembly, he spake in this wise: Loe, my masters of *Athens* how I have lived: but besides manie other things which I have already alledged, take this moreover: that whensoever I was bidden to any supper, I never came last, for this seemed to be very popular and plausible; whereas contrariwise, men are wont to hate them as odious persons, and furlly lords, who come late, and for whom the rest of the companie are forced to staie. Then *Sostratus* willing to defend the young boies: But *Aleam* (quoth he) called not *Pittacus*, *Zephadorpidas*, because he supped late in the night, but for that it was ordinary with him to delight in none other guests, and table companions, but base, vile, and obscure persons; for to eat early or betimes, was in old time counted a reproch; and it is said, that this word *αὐτοσύντακτος*, that is to say, a breakfast, was derived of *ἀσύντακτος*, that is to say, intemperance. Then *Theron* interrupting his speech: Not so (quoth he) but we must give credit rather unto those who report the auncient manner of life in old time: for they say, that men in those daies being laborious, painfull, and temperate in their living withal, tooke for their repast early in the morning, a peece of bread dipped in wine, and no other thing, and therefore they called this breakfast of theirs, *Ακρασίμα*, of *Ακρατον*, which is meere and pure wine: and as for *δείπνον*, it significeth those viands which were prepared for repast in the evening; for *δείπνον*, betokeneth late in the evening, at what time their manner was to suppe; namely, after they had dispatched their other affaires. Heere occasion was given to demand from whence were derived these words *δειπνός*, that is to say, supper, and *αἰνός*, dinner: and thought it was that *Ariston* and *Ακρασίμα*, signified both one thing: and for prooffe heereof, they reported them to *Homer*, who saith: That *Eumaeus* provided *Ariston* by the breake of day, as appeareth by this verse:

*No sooner did day light appeere,  
But they prepared their owne dinner.*

And it seemeth very probable that this repast *αἰνός*, tooke the name of the morn-tide, and is as much to say, as *δειπνός*, now for the refection called *δειπνός*, that is to say, supper, it was so called, in *τῶν νυκτῶν διασύντακτος*, because it gave repose from their labours; for men used to take their supper after they had done some businesse, or else in the very time that they were about the same; this also may be shewed by the testimonie of *Homer*, who saith:

*But what time as the woodman minding rest,  
From hewing trees, his supper soone had rest.*

Unlesse a man will haply say, that *Ariston*, that is to say, a dinner or breakfast, tooke that name, because folke use to dine or breake their fast, with that which first came to their hands, without any labour or dressing thereof in the kitchen: and *δειπνός*, that is to say, supper, was so called, because there was some labour employed about the dressing thereof; and therefore *αἰνός*, is as much to say, as *δειπνός*, that is to say, very easily, and soone provided; but *δειπνός*, as one would say, *δυσχερὲς*, that is to say, done with much paine and travell. But our brother *Lamprias*, who naturally was given to scoffing, and loved a life to be merry and to laugh: Since that (quoth hee) we are allowed

allowed so great libertie for to prate thus and talke so idly as we doe, I am able to proove unto you, that the Romane words are ten thousand times more properly devised, and expresse these things better than the Greeke: for they called a supper, *Cena*, which is as much as *meate*; for the good fellowship and companie of those that supped (as it were) in common together: for the olde Romans, howsoever they dined or brake their fast ordinarily by themselves alone, yet they supped ever with their friends about them. Now their dinner, they called, *Prandium*, of the houre or time thereof, as if they would say *prandium* for *prandium* is as much as *dinner*, that is to say, morning or noone-tide at the farthest; and to repose or rest after dinner, is expressed by the word *exsilium*: or els perhaps, *Prandium* significeth a breakfast or morning repast, when as men do eat before they be *exsilium*, that is to say, before they have any need or want of victuals: and now to say nothing of many things, which they expresse by meere Greeke words; as for example, how they call beds, *Strata*, of *stratus*; wine, *Vinum*, of *vinum*; oile, *Oleum*, of *oleum*; honny, *Mel*, of *mel*; to taste, *Gustare*, of *gustus*; to drinke one unto another, *Propinare*, of *propinare*; who can denie, but their word, *Comessatio*, that is to say, Banqueting, is derived of our Greeke word *comessatio*; and *Misce*, that is to say, to temper and mixe wine, of *mixeo* in Greeke? for thus saith *Homer*:

*She sooke the cup, and once againe,  
In it she tempered pleasant wine.*

also a table, they called *Menfa*, because it stood *in mensa*, that is to say, in the mids; and bread, *Panis*, for that it flaked *panis*, that is to say, hunger; also a chaplet or garland of flowers, *Corona*, of the word *corona*, an helmet, or *corona*, the head; for in one place, *Homer* called an helmet or head piece, *corona*, that is to say, *Corona*, a coronet; likewise, *Cadere*, that is to say, to beat or kill, of *cadere*; and *Dentes*, that is to say, teeth of *dentes*; and last of all, *Labra*, that is to say lips, of *labra*; *Labrum*, that is to say, receiving and taking in meat with them. To conclude therefore, either we are to heare such derivations as these, without laughing thereat; or els we must not give them to easie access (as it were by undermining) unto words, as unto walles; partly to overthrow and beat downe some, and in part to batter and breake others.

## THE SEVENTH QUESTION.

*Of certaine Pythagorean precepts, for bidding in any wife to admit swallows into the house, and commanding to ruffle the bed clothes, so soone as a man is risen.*

*Sylla* of *Carthage*, upon my returne to *Rome*, after I had bene long absent, invited me to a supper for my welcome home; for so the Romans termed such a courtesie; and to beare mee companie, he had other friends, and those not many in number; among whō was one *Lucius* of *Tuskane*, a disciple of the Pythagorean philosopher, *Moderatus*: this *Lucius* perceiving that our *Philinus* did eat of nothing which ever had life (as the usuall maner of him and other Pythagoreans was to doe) fell into speech as touching *Pythagoras* himselfe, and affirmed that a *Tuskane* he was, not as some others, because his father, and his ancestours, were *Tuskans*, from whom he was descended; but for that he was himselfe borne, reared, brought up, and taught in *Tuscanie*; which he proved principally, by certaine symbollicall and allegoricall precepts of his; as for example, among others, that he commanded those who were new risen out of their beds, to ruffle the clothes together; also that the print of a pot or cauldron, should not be left upon the ashes, after it is taken away, but that the ashes ought to be stirred together; *item*, that no swallows should be admitted into the house; likewise, that no man should step over a before, nor keepe within house; those creatures which had hooked claws: For these rules, and such like (quoth he) which the Pythagoreans deliver in word, and set downe in writing, the *Tuskans* onely observe and keepe in deed. Which when *Lucius* had said, strange it was thought, and absurd above the rest, to chafe and keepe out of the house, fillic swallows, harmlesse and gentle creatures, as well as those that have crooked clees, which are the most bloudy and cruell of all others: for whereas some ancient interpreters gave the solution and exposition onely, as if covertly it implied thus much, that we should avoid the companie of secret whisperers, backbiters and slanderers; *Lucius* himselfe approved not thereof; for the swallow whispereth not at all; it chattering in deed and talketh (as one would say) loud enough; and yet not more than pies, partridges and hennies. But what thinke you by this (quoth *Sylla*) that in regard of the tale that goes of *Progne*, who killed her yong sonne *Irys*, they hate \* swallows for that abominable act, and therefore would seeme to cause us for to detest a furr off, such infamous cases, for which they

say, both *Terem* and the women, partly did perpetrate, & in part suffered horrible and unlawfull things; whereupon, to this very day, these birds be called *Daulides*? But *Gorgias* the sophist, by occasion that a swallow mewted over his head, and squirted her dung upon him, looking up unto her: These be no faire casts (quoth he) *Philomela*; or is this also common to the rest? For the Pythagoreans doe not exclude or banish out of house the nightingale, \* which beareth a part in the same tragedies, and is faultie with the rest. Peradventure (quoth I then) there is as much reason in the one as the other (ô *Sylla*) but consider, and see whether the swallow be not odious and infamous with them for the same cause, that they reject and wil not enterreine those creatures which have hooked talions; for she likewise feedeth upon flesh, and besides, killeth and devoureth especially, grasshoppers, which are sacred and muscical: moreover, she flieth close by the ground, hunting and catching little fillic creatures (as *Aristotle* saith) furthermore, she is the onely creature of all the other, that be under the same rouse with us, which lodgeth there of free cost, living without contributing ought, or paying any rent: yet the stork which hath no covert by our house, nor warmth by our fire, ne yet enioyeth any benefit, pleasure, or helpe at all by our meanes, giveth us otherwhiles some tribute and custome (as it were) for marching onely upon the ground; for up and downe she goes, killing roades and serpents, mortall enemies to mankind, and lying in wait for our lives; whereas the swallow having all those commodities at our hands, no sooner hath nourished her yong ones, and brought them to some perfection, but away she goes and is no more to be seene, so disloyal and unthankfull she is: and that which of all others is worst, the flie and the swallow bee the onely creatures haunting our houses as they doe, that never will be tamed, nor suffer a man to touch and handle them, nay they will not admit any fellowship, societie, or communion with him, either in worke or play: the flie indeed hath some reason to be afraid of us, for that she susteineth harme by us, and is chased and driven away so often: but the swallow hateth man naturally, she will not trust him, but remaineth alwaies suspicious and untamed: now if wee are to take these and such like speeches, not directly according to the litterall sense, and as the words onely doe imply, but rather by way of an oblique reflexion, as the resemblances of things appearing in others: certes *Pythagoras* propoeth unto us heerein, the very pattern of an unthankfull and faithlesse person, admonishing us not to receive unto our familiar acquaintance and amitie, those who for the time, and to serve their owne turne, draw neere unto us, and retire themselves under the rouse of our house, and that we ought not to make them inward with us, communicating with them, our house, our domestical altar, and those things which are in stead of most sacred obligations. When I had thus said, it seemed that I had given the companie encouragement and assurance to speake, for they began boldly to apply unto the other symbollicall precepts, their morall expositions: And *Philinus* for his part said, that in commanding to confound the forme of the pot or cauldron imprinted in the ashes, they taught us this lesson, not to leave any marke or apparent impression of anger; but after it hath once done boiling what it will, and is fetled and cooled againe, to ridde away all ranckor and malice, yea and to burie all in perpetual oblivion. As for the shuffling of the bed clothes together, when we are newly risen, some thought there was no hidden matter meant thereby, but signified onely, that it was not seemely or honest, that the make or print in the bed should remaine as an expresse image to be seene, of the place, wherein man and wife had lien together: But *Sylla* guessed otherwise and conjectured that heerein was contained a dehoration to divert us from sleeping on bed in the day time, when as even in the very morning the preparation and meanes to sleepe was so immediately taken away: for that we ought to take our rest and repose in the night, but in the day time to be stirring and about our businesse, not suffering to remaine in our beds so much as the tract of our bodie; for a man lying asleepe, is good for nothing, no more than when he is dead: and heere to seemeth to allude and accord, another precept of the Pythagoreans which they give unto their friends, for bidding them not to ease any man of his burden, but rather to lay on more, and seeme to surcharge him still, as not approving any sloth or idleness whatsoever: now for that during these discourses, *Lucius* neither approved nor disapproved ought that was said, but sat still, heard all, said nothing, and pondered every thing in himselfe: *Empedocles* calling unto *Sylla* by name, said as followeth:

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\* For *Philomela*, *Terem* was turned (as the poets faine) into a swallow, who perished, after fifty a *Terem* to kill her own child, by *Terem*, and there it up before him as a dish of meat, to the house, for that he had defouled the land *Philomela*.

For *Philomela*, (as the poets faine) was turned into a swallow, who perished, after fifty a *Terem* to kill her own child, by *Terem*, and there it up before him as a dish of meat, to the house, for that he had defouled the land *Philomela*.



THE EIGHTH QUESTION.

Why the Pythagoreans, among all other living creatures, abstaine most from eating fish.

**I**F *Lucius* our friend (quoth he) be offended, or take no pleasure in our sayings, it is high time that we should give over and make an end: but if these things fall within the compasse of their precept for silence; yet this I thinke ought not to be concealed, but may well be revealed and communicated unto others, namely: What the reason is, that the Pythagoreans abstained principally from eating fish? for so much we finde written of the auncient Pythagoreans: *10* I my selfe have fallen into the company and conference of certaine disciples of *Alexicrates*, a man of our time; who fedde a litle sometimes of other living creatures, yea and sacrificed them unto the gods; but for no good in the world would they so much as taste of a fish: not as I take it for that cause which *Tyndares* the Lacedæmonian alledged, who thought that this was done for the honour they had to silence; in regard whereof, the philosopher *Empedocles* whose name I beare, who was the first that ceased to reach Pythagorically, that is to say, to give rules and precepts of hidden wisdom, calleth fishes *Ellapas*, as having *ἑλπίαν ἐν αὐτοῖς*, that is to say, their voice tied and shut up within; but for they thought, taciturnitie to be a singular and divine thing, and in one word, that even the gods themselves doe shew by deeds and effects, without voice or speech unto wise men, what their will and pleasure is: Then *Lucius* mildly and simply *20* answered: That the true cause indeed might peradventure lie hidden still and not be divulged: howbeit, there is nothing to hinder or let us, but that we may render one reason or other which carrieth with it some likelihood & probability: so *Theon* the grammarian began first to discourse upo that point saying: it was very difficult to shew & prove that *Pythagoras* was a Tuscan born; but for certaine known it was, that he had made his abode a long time in *Aegypt*, & conversed with the sages of that countrey, where he approved, embraced, and highly extolled manie of their religious ceremonies, and namely, that as touching beanes: for *Herodotus* writeth, that the *Aegyptians* neither sowe, nor eat beanes, no nor can abide so much as to looke upon them: and as for fishes, we are assured that their priests, even at this day, abstaine from them, and living as they doe, chaste and unmarried, they refuse salt likewise; neither will they endure to eat *30* it as a meat by it selfe, nor any other viands wherein any sea salt commeth; whereof divers men alledge divers & sundry reasons: but there is one true cause indeed, & that is the enmitie which they beare unto the sea, as being a savage element, a meere alien, & estranged fro us, or to speak more truly, a morall enmitie to mans nature; for the gods are not nourished therewith, as the Stoicks were of opinion: that the furies were fed from thence: but contrariwise, that in it was lost the father and favour of that countrey of *Aegypt*, which they call the delux or running out of *O'iris*, and in lamenting his generation on the right hand, and corruption on the left, covertly they give us to understand, the end and perdition of *Nilus* in the sea: In which consideration, they are of opinion, that lawfull it is not, once to drinke of the water, as being not potable; neither doe they thinke, that any thing which it breedeth, bringeth forth, or nourisheth, is *40* cleane and meet for man; considering that the same hath not breath and respiration common with us, nor food and pasture agreeable unto ours; for that the very aire which nourisheth and mainteineth all other living creatures, is pernicious and deadly unto them, as if they were engendred first, and lived afterward in this world against the course of nature, and for no use at all: and marvell we must not, if for the hatred they beare unto the sea, they hold the creatures therein, as strangers, and neither meet nor worthy to be intermingled with their blood or vitall spirits: seeing they will not deigne so much as to salute any pilots or mariners whensoever they meet with them, because they get their living upon the sea.

*Sylla* commending this discourse, added moreover, as touching the Pythagoreans, that when they sacrificed unto the gods, they wuld especially tast of the primices or parcels of flesh which they had killed: but never was there any fish that they sacrificed or offred unto the gods. Now when they had finished their speech, I came in with mine opinion: As for those *Aegyptians* (quoth I) many men there be as well learned, as ignorant, who contradict them, & plead in the behalfe and defence of the sea, recounting the manifold commodities thereof, whereby our life is more plentifull, pleasant, and happie: as touching the surcease as it were of the Pythagoreans, and their forbearing to lay hand upon fishes, because they are such strangers unto us, it is a very absurd and ridiculous device, or to say more truly, it is a cruell and inhumane part, and favoring

favoring much of a barbarous *Cyclops*, seeing that to other living creatures they render a reward and recompence, for their kinred, coulénage and acquaintance, by killing, eating, and consuming them as they doe: and verily reported it is of *Pythagoras*, that upon a time hee bought of the fishiers a draught of fish; and when he had so done, commanded that they should be all let out of the net into the sea againe: surely this was not the act of a man, who either hated or despised fishes as his enemies or strangers; considering that finding them prisoners as he did, he paid for their ransom, and redeemed their liberty, as if they had bene his kinsfolke & good friends: and therefore the humanitie, equitie, and mildnesse of these men, induceth us to thinke and imagine cleane contrary, that it was rather for some exercise of justice, or to keepe themselves in ure and custome thereof, that they spared and pardoned those sea-creatures; for that al *10* others, give men cause in some sort to hurt them; whereas poore fishes offend us in no maner: and say their nature and will were so disposed, yet cannot they execute the same: moreover, conjecture we may and collect, by the reports, records, and sacrifices of our auncients, that they thought it an horrible & abominable thing, not onely to eat, but also to kill any beast that doth no hurt or damage unto us: but seeing in proceesse of time how much pestered they were, with a number of bealls that grew upon them, and overspred the face of the earth; and withall being as it is said, commaunded by the oracle of *Apollon* at *Delphos*, to succour the fruits of the earth, which were ready to perish; they began then to kill them for sacrifice unto the gods: yet in *20* so doing, they seemed to tremble and feare, as troubled in minde, calling this their action *ἱερὸν καὶ σέβειν*, that is to say, to doe or perpetrate, as if they did, and committed some great deed in killing a creature having life; and even till at this day they observe a ceremony with all religious precisenesse, not to massacre any beast before it hath given a nod with the head, after the libations and effusions of wine upon it, in signe and token of consent; so strict they were and wary to commit no unjust act. Certes, to say nothing of other bealls, if all men had forborne to kill and eat no more, but pullen and conies, within short time they should not have bene able to have dwelt within their townes or cities, nor enjoyed any fruits of the earth: & therefore although necessitie at the first had brought in the use of eating flesh; a very hard matter it were now, in regard of pleasure, to put down & abolish the same: whereas the whole kind of sea-creatures using neither the same aire and water with us, nor comming neere unto our fruits, but being *30* (as a man would saie) comprised within another world, & having distinct bounds and limits of their owne, which they cannot passe, but immediately it costeth them their life, for punishment of their trespassse, given unto our belly none occasion or pretence at all, more or lesse, to runne upon them: so that the whole hunting, catching, and running after fish, is a manifest worke of gourmandise and daintie feeding; which without any just or lawfull cause, troubleth & disquieteth the seas, and descendeth into the very bottome of the deepe; for we have no reason at any time to call the red sea-barbell *ἰσχυρὸν*, that is to say, come devourer; nor the guilt-head *πυρρὸν*, that is to say, vine waster, or grape eater, nor yet any mullets, lubins, or sea-pikes, *σπυρμακίδες*, that is to say, seed gatherers, as we name divers land bealls, noting them thereby for the harme and annoiance they doe unto us: neither can we impute unto the greatest fish *40* in the sea, the least wrong or shrewd turne, wherewith wee charge, in our exceeding neerenesse and parsimonie, some cat or wezill, a \* mouse, or rat which haunt our houses: in which regard, they precisely condemning themselves, not for feare of law onely, to doe wrong unto men, but also by the very instinct of nature, to offer no injurie unto any thing in the world that doth them no harme, nor displeasure, used to feed on fish lesse than on any other meat: & admit there were no injustice in the thing, all busie courtesie of men in this point, being so needlesse as it is, bewraeth great intemperance and wastfull gluttony: and therefore *Homer* in his poeme deviseth this, that not onely the Greeks encamping upon the streight of *Helle'spont*, abstained wholly from eating fish, but also that the delicate and daintie toothed Phacians, the wanton and licorous woers likewise of lady *Penelope*, dissolute though they were otherwise, and all *50* islanders were never served at their tables with any viands or cates from the sea: no nor the companions of *Ulysses* in that great and long voiage of theirs which they had at sea, ever laid hooke, leape, or weele, or calt net into the sea for fish, so long as they had a bit of bread, or handfull of meale left:

But when their ship had vintails none,  
But all therein was spent and gone.

even a litle before that they laid hands upon the kowes of the sunne, then began they to fish; not in wis for any deintie dishes, but even for necessary food:

With

\* Some reade mice, a mice.

*With bended hookes, for now their man,  
Great hunger bit, and guts did gnaw.*

So that for extremer need they were forced to eat fish, and to kill the sunnes kine : whereby wee may perceive that it was a point of sanctimonie and chastitie, not onely among the Aegyptians and Syrians, but the Greeks also, to forbear feeding upon fish ; for that beside the injustice of the thing, they abhorred as I thinke, the superfluous curiositie of such food.

Hereupon *Neslor* tooke occasion to speake : And why (quoth he) is there no reckoning made of my countrey-men and fellow-citizens, no more than of the Megarians ? and yet you have heard me to say often times, that the priests of *Neptune*, whom we call *Hieromnemones*, never eat fish : for this god is surnamed *Phytalmios*, that is to say, the President of breeding and generation in the sea; and the race descending from that ancient *Hellen*, sacrificed unto *Neptune*, by the name and addition of *Patrogenios*, that is to say, the stock-father and principall Progenitor, being of opinion, that man came of a moist and liquid substance, as also, be the Syrians, which is the very cause that they worship and adore a fish, as being of the same kinde, generation, and nouriture with themselves ; philosophizing and arguing in this point, with more appearance and shew of reason, than *Anaximander* did, who affirmed not, that men and fishes were bred both in the same places ; but avouched that men were first engendered within fishes themselves, and there nourished like their yong frie ; but afterward, when they became sufficient and able to shifte and helpe them, they were cast forth, and so tooke land : like as therefore, the fire catcheth the wood, whereby it was kindled and set a burning, though it were father and mother both unto it ; according as he said, who inserted the marriage of \* *Ceryx* among the works of *Hesiodus* ; even so *Anaximander* in pronouncing, that fish was both father and mother unto men, taxeth and condemneth the feeding thereupon.

## THE NINTH QUESTION.

*Whether it be possible, that new diseases may be engendered by our meats ?*

*Philo* the physician constantly affirmed, that the leprosie, called *Elephantiasis*, was a disease not known long since ; for that none of the ancient physicians made any mention of this maladie ; whereas they travelled and busied their braines, to treat of other small trifling matters, (I wot not what) and yet such subtilties as the common sort could hardly comprehend. But I produced and alledged unto him for a witnesse out of philosophie, *Athenodorus*, who in the first booke of his Epidemiall or popular diseases, writeth, that not onely the said leprosie, but also *Hydrophobie*, that is to say, the feare of water, occasioned by the biting of a mad dogge, were first discovered in the daies of *Aesclepiades* : now as the companie there present, marvelled that these maladies should newly then begin, and take their consistence in nature ; so they wondered as much on the other side, how so great and grievous diseases could be hidden so long, and unknown to men : howbeit, the greater part inclined rather to this second & later opinion, as being more respective and favourable to man ; for that they could not be perswaded, that nature in such cases should in mans bodie (as it were in some citie) studie novelties, and be evermore inventing and working new matters. As for *Diogenianus*, he said, that the passions and maladies of the soule, held on their common course, and went the accustomed way still, of their predeceffours : And yet (quoth he) wickednesse is very manifold in sundry sorts, and exceeding audacious, to enterprise any thing : and the mind is a mistress of herselfe, and at her owne command ; having puissance to turne and change easilly as she thinketh good : and yet that disordinate confusion of hers, hath some order in it ; keeping a measure in her passions, and containing herselfe within certaine bounds, like as the sea, in the flowings and tides ; in such sort, as that she bringeth forth no new kinde of vice, such as hath not bene knownen unto those in olde time, and of which they have not written : for there being many different sorts of lusts and desires ; infinite motions of feare, as many kinds of paine, and no fewer formes of pleasure ; which would require great labour to reckon up, and not to give over.

*These neither now nor yesterday  
Began, but all have lived ay :  
And no man knowes, nor can say well,  
Since when they first to men befell.*

nor yet whereupon any new maladie or moderne passion hath arisen in our body ; considering

it hath not of it selfe the beginning of motion properly as the soule hath, but is knit and conjoined with nature by common causes, and composed with a certaine temperature : the infinite varietie whereof, wandereth notwithstanding within the pourprife of set bounds and limits ; like unto a vessell which lying at anchor in the sea, nevertheless doth wave, and is tossed within a round compasse : for neither the fester constitution of a disease is without some cause, bringing into the world irregularly and against all law of nature, a generation and power from that which hath no being at all : nor an easie matter is it for a man to finde out a new cause, unless withall, he do set downe a new aire, strange water, and such meats as our forefathers never tasted of, imagining, that they are run hither to us now and never before, out of (I wot not what) other worlds ; or imaginative inter-worlds and spaces betwene ; for sicke wee fall by meanes of the same things whereof we live ; and no peculiar and proper seeds therbe of diseases ; but the naughtinesse and corruption of such things whereby wee live, in regard of us, and our owne faults and errors besides, about them, are they which trouble and offend nature : these troubles have perpetually the same differences, though the same many times take new names ; for these names are according to the ordinance and custome of men ; but the maladies themselves are the affections of nature : and so those diseases of themselves finite, being varied & diversified by these names infinite, have deceived and beguiled us : and as there is not lightly and upon a sudden, committed in the Grammaticall parts of speech, or in the Syntaxis, and construction thereof, any new barbarisme, solecisme, or incongruities ; even so the temperatures of mens bodies, have their falles, errors and transgressions, which be certaine and determinate, considering that in some sort, even those things which are against nature, be comprised and included in nature : and this is it, that the witty inventors and devisers of fables, would signifie in saying : That when the giants made warre against the gods, there were ingendered certaine strange and monstrous creatures every way, at what time as the moone was turned cleane contrary, and arose not as she was wont : and verily, their meaning was, that nature produced new maladies, like unto monsters, but withall, imagine and devise a cause of such change and alteration, that is neither probable nor yet incredible ; but pronouncing and affirming, that the augmentation more or lesse of some diseases, causeth that newnesse and diversitie in them, which is not well done of them (my good friend *Philo* :) for this intention and augmentation may well addetherto frequency and greatnesse ; but surely it transporteth not the subject thing out of the first and primitive kinde : and thus I suppose the leprosie or *Elephantiasis* to be nothing els, but the vehemencie of these scurvie and scabbie infections ; as also the *Hydrophobie*, or vaine feare of water, no other but an augmentation of the passions of stomacke or melancholie : and verily, a wonder it were, that we should not know how *Homer* was not ignorant hereof ; for this is certaine, that he called a dogge *λυσιπτερος*, of this raging accident whereto he is subject : and hereupon men also, when they are in a rage, be said likewise *λυσιπτεροι*. When *Diogenianus* had thus discoursed, *Philo* himselfe, both seemed somewhat to answer and refuse his reasons ; and also requested me to speake in the behalfe of the ancient physicians, who were thus challenged and condemned for their ignorance or negligence in these principall matters, in case it were true, that these maladies were not of a later breed and more moderne than their age. First therefore, it seemed unto me, that *Diogenianus* put not this well downe for a good supposal, that tensions and relaxations, according to more or lesse, make no differences, nor remove the subject matters out of their kinde : for by this meanes we should likewise say, that vineger differed not from wine that is souring, nor bitternesse from stypticitie or sourenesse, nor damell from wheat, ne yet garden mints from the wilde mint : but evident it is, that these do degenerate, yea, and become altered in their very qualities ; partly by relaxations, as the things doe languish and lose their heart ; and in part, by tension, as they be reenforced, and take vigor : for otherwise, we must be forced to say, that the flame differeth not from a white or cleere winde, nor a light from a flame, nor frost from dew, nor haile from raine ; but that all these be but the inforcements onely and tensions of the same things ; and so constantly we shall be driven to affirme, that blindness and dimme sight differ not, and inordinate passion of vomiting, called *Cholera*, is nothing different from a keekish stomacke and a desire to cast, but onely according to augmentation and diminution, more or lesse : and all this is nothing to the purpose ; for if they admit and say ; that this very tension and augmentation in vehemencie, came but now of late, as if this novelty were occasioned by the quantitie and not the qualitie, yet the absurditie of the paradox remaineth nevertheless : moreover, seeing that *Sophocles* (speaking of those things, which because they had not bene in times past, men would not beleeve to be at this present) said very well in this wise :

*All kind of things both good and bad,  
Once at the first their being had.*

This also seemeth very probable and to stand with great reason, that maladies ran not forth all at once, as if the barriers had bene set open for the race, and they let out together: but some came alwaies successively behinde at the taile of others, and each one tooke the first beginning at a certaine time: And a man may well conjecture and guesse (quoth I) that such as arose of want and indigence, as also those that came of heat and colde, were the first that assailed our bodies; but repletions, gluttonies, and delicate pleasures, came afterwards together with sloth and idleness; which by reason of abundance of victuals, caused great store of superfluities and excrements, from whence proceeded sundry sorts of maladies; the complication whereof and intermixture one with another, bringeth evermore some new thing or other: for every naturall thing, is orderly, and limited; because that nature is nothing els but order it selfe, or at leastwise the worke of order: whereas disorder (like to the fame that *Pindarus* speake of) is infinit, and can not be comprised within any certaine number; so that whatsoever is unnaturall, the same immediatly is unlimited and infinit: for, the truth we can not deliver but one way; marie to lie, a man may finde an infinit number of meanes, by occasion of innumerable occurrents; also accords muscical and harmonies, stand upon their certaine proportions; but the errors that men commit in playing upon the harpe or other instrument, in song, and in dauncing, who is able to comprehend? although *Phrynichus* the tragedian poet said of himselfe thus:

*In dance I finde as many sorts  
And formes of gestures and disports,  
As waves in sea, and billowes strong  
Arise by tempest all might long.*

And *Chrysippus* writeth that the divers complications of ten propositions, which they call *Axioms*, and no more, surmount the number of ten hundred thousand: but *Hipparchus* reprooved this, and taught that the affirmative doth containe of connexed propositions, one hundred thousand, and besides, one thousand fortie and nine; but the negative of the same propositions comprehendeth three hundred and ten thousand, with a surplusage of nine hundred, fiftie and two: and *Xenocrates* hath set downe, that the number of syllables, which the letters in the alphabet, being coupled and combined together, do afford, amount to the number of one hundred millions, and two hundred thousand over: why should it therefore bee thought strange and wonderfull, that our body having in it so many faculties, and gathering still daily, by that which it eateth and drinketh, so many different qualities, considering withall, that it useth motions and mutations, which keepe not one time nor the same order alwaies; the complications and mixtures of so many things together, bring evermore new and unusuall kinds of maladies, such as *Thucydides* wrot, was the pestilence at *Athens*, conjecturing that this was no ordinarie and usuall maladie, by this especially, for that the beasts of prey, which otherwise did eat of flesh, would not touch a dead bodie: those also who fell sicke about the red sea (as *Agathircides* maketh report) were afflicted with strange symptoms and accidents, which no man had ever read or seene, and among others, that there crawled from them certaine vermin like small serpents, which did eat the calves of their legs and the brawnes of their armes; and looke whensoever a man thought to touch them, in they would againe, and winding about the muskles of the flesh, ingendered inflammations and impostumes with intolerable paine. This pestilent disease, no man ever knew before, neither was it ever seene since by others, but by them alone, like as many other such accidents; for there was a man who having bene a long time tormented with the disurie or difficultie of his urine, delivered in the end by his yard, a barley straw knotted as it was with joints: and we know a friend and guest of ours, a yong man, who together with a great quantitie of naturall seed, cast forth a little hairie worme or vermin with many feet, and therewith it ranne very swiftly: *Aristotle* writeth also, that the nourse of one *Timon of Cilicia*, retired her selfe for two moneths space every yeere, and lurked in a certaine cave all the while, without drinke or meat, or giving any other apparence of life, but onely that shee tooke her breath: certes recorded it is in the Melonian books, that it is a certaine signe of the liver diseased, when the sicke partie is verie busie in spying, seeking, and chafing the mice and rats about the house; a thing that now a daies is not seene: let us not marvell therefore, if a thing be now engendered that never was seene before, and the same afterward cease as if it had never bene; for the cause lieth in the nature of the bodie, which sometime taketh one temperature, and one while another: but if *Diogenianus* bring in a new aire, and a strange water, let him alone, seeing he

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he is so disposed: and yet we know well that the followers of *Democritus* both say, and write, that by the worlds which perish without this, and by the strange bodies which from that infinitie of worlds runne into this, there arise many times the beginnings of plague and pestilence, yea and of other extraordinary accidents: we will passe over likewise the particular corruptions which happen in divers countries, either by earthquakes, excessive droughts, extreme heats, and unusuall raines, with which it cannot be chozen, but that both winds and rivers which arise out of the earth, must needs be likewise infected, diseased, and altered: but howsoever those causes wee let goe by, yet omit we must not, what great alterations and changes be in our bodies, occasioned by our meats and viands, and other diet and usage of our selves; 10 for many things which before time were not wont to bee tasted or eaten, are become now most pleasant dainties; as for example; the drinke made of honie and wine; as also the delicate dish of a farrowing swines shape or wombe; as for the braine of a beast, it is said, that in old time they were wont to reject and cast it from them, yea, and so much to detest and abhorre it, that they would not abide to heare one to name it; and for the cucumber, the melon or pompion, the pomecitron and pepper, I know many oldfolke at this day, that cannot away with their taste: credible it is therefore, that our bodies receive a woonderfull change and strange alteration by such things in their temperature, acquiring by little and little a divers qualitie, and superfluities of excrements farre different from those before: sensibly wee are to beleieve that the change of order in our viands, maketh much heereto; for the services at 20 the boord, which in times past were called the coldtables, to wit, of oysters, sea-urchings, Greene fallads of raw lettuce, &c such other herbs, as it were the light forerunners of the feast, as transferred now by *Plato*, from the rearward to the forefront, and have the first place, whereas before in old time, they came in last: a great matter there is also in those beavers or fore-drinkings called *Propomatus*, for our ancients would not drinke so much as water before they did eat; and now a daies, when as men are otherwise fasting &c have eat nothing, they will be in maner drunke, & after they have well drenched their bodies, they begin to fall unto their meats, and whiles they be yet boiling, they put into the stomacke those things that bee attenuant, incisive and flatuic, for to provoke and stirre up the appetite, and still fill themselves up full with other viands: but none of all this hath more power to make mutation in our bodies, nor to breed new maladies, 30 than the varietie of sundry fashions, of bathing of flesh: for first & formost it is made soft, liquid, and fluid as iron is by the fire, and afterwards it receiveth the temper and tincture of hard Steele, by cold water: so that methinks if any one of those who lived a little before us should see the dore of our stoupes and baines open, he might say thus:

*Heere into runneth Achéron,  
And fire-like burning Phlegethon,*

Whereas in our forefathers daies, they used their bathes and hot-houses, so milde, so kinde, and temperate: that king *Alexander the Great*, being in a fever, lay and slept within them: yea the Gauls wives, bringing thither their pots of pottage, and other viands, did eat even there with their children, who bathed together with them: but it seemeth in these daies, that those who 40 are within the stoupes and baines, be like unto those that are raging madde, and baile as dogs, they puffe and blow like fed swine, they lay about them and tosse every way; the aire that they draw in, as it were mingled with fire & water, suffereth no piece nor corner of the body in quiet and rest, it shaketh, tosseth, and remooveth out of place, the least indivisible parcell thereof, untill such time as we come to quench and allay the same thus inflamed and boiling as they doe: There is no need therefore ô *Diogenianus* (quoth I) of foren and farre fetched causes from without, neither of those new worlds and intervals betwene: for to goe no further than to our selves, the very change onely of the fashion of our diet, is a sufficient meane both to breed, and also to abolish and cause to ease any maladie in us.

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## THE TENTH QUESTION.

*What is the reason that we take least heed of dreames in the end of Autumne, and give small credit unto them?*

**F**ORasmuch lighting upon physcally problemes or naturall questions of *Aristotle*, which were brought to *Thermopyla*, for to passe the time away, filled both himselfe with many doubts, as ordinarily men do, who are by nature studious, and also put as many into the heads of others, giving testimony heereto: *Aristotle* who saith: That much knowledge breedeth many occasions

fions of doubt; as for other questions, they afforded unto us no unpleasant pastime and recreation, in the day time as we walked in the galleries abroad; but that probleme concerning dreams, (namely, that they be uncertein, lying, & false, especially during those months whē trees shed their leaves) was let on foot again (I wot not how) after supper by *Phavorinus*, when he had done with other discourses: As for your familiar companions my children, they were of opinion, that *Aristotle*, himselfe had sufficiently solved the question, & there needed no farther enquire into the matter, nor any speech more to be made thereof, but even to attribute the cause, as he did, to the new gathered fruits of that season: for being as they were, fresh and Greene still in their strength and full of vigour, they engendred in our bodies many ventosities and bred much trouble and agitation in the humours: for likely it is not, that new wine alone doth worke, 10 boile, and chaufe, nor that oile onely, being new drawn and pressed, yeeldeth a noise as it burneth in lampes, by occasion that the heat causeth the windinelle and spirit thereof to evaporate and walme out: but we see that come also newly inned, & all fruits of trees presently upon their gathering, are plump, full, and swelled againe, untill such time as they have exhaled forth all that is flatusous, and breathed out the crudities thereof: now that there be certeine meates that cause troublefome dreames, and engender turbulent visions and fancies in our sleepe, they brought in and alledged for their testimony the instance of beanes, and the head of the pulpe or pour-cuttle fish, which they are bidden to abstaine from, who would divine and foretnew things that come by dreames. As for *Phavorinus*, howsoever he was himselfe at all times wonderfully affected & addicted to *Aristotle*, and one who attributed unto the Peripateticks schole 20 this singular commendation, that their doctrine carried more probabilitie and resemblance of the truth, than other philosophers whatsoever; yet at this present he came out with an old rustie reason of *Democritus*, taken out of the smoake (where it had gathered a deale of thicke foot) for to furbish, scoure, and make it bright againe: for this was the vulgar opinion which *Democritus* put downe for a supposition: That certeine images doe enter and pierce deepe into our bodies thorough the pores, which as they rise againe from the bottome, cause those visions which appear unto us as we sleepe; that these came out of all parts wandering, as presented from utensils, habillemens, & plants, but principally from living creatures, for that they moove & stir much, and besides are hot, having not onely the expresse similitudes and fundry formes of bodies imprinted in them, as *Epicurus* thinketh (who thus farre forth followeth *Democritus*, and leaveth 30 him there) but also drawing therewith the apperances of the motions of the minde, of counsel, of uttall milde affections, as also of vehement passions, wherewith they entring in, doe speake as if they were living things, and distinctly carie unto those that receive the same, the opinions, the words, the discourses and affections of such as transmit the same, if in their entrance they reteine still the expresse figures and nothing confused; which they doe especially, all while that their way and passage thorough the aire, cleere and united, is speedy, quick, and not empeached by any hinderance: considering than, that the aire of the Autumnall quarter, in the end when as trees doe cast their leaves, hath much asperitie and inequality, it turneth aside and putteth by diversly those images, causing their evidence to be feeble and transitorie, as being 40 darkened by the tardity and slownesse of their pace in the way: whereas contrariwise, when they runne forth in great number, and swiftly out of those things that swell with fulnesse, and burne, as it were, with desire to be delivered of them, then as they passe they yeeld their resemblances all fresh and very significant. After this, calling his eie upon *Autobulus*, and smiling withall: Me thinks (quoth he) that I perceive you, and whose about you, to adresse your selves already for to maintaine a kinde of fight against these images, & that you meane to fasten with your hands and catch hold of this old opinion, as if it were some rotten picture, to doe it some violence: Goe to (quoth *Autobulus*) will you never leave these fashions, to play with us in this manner for wee know well enough iwis, that you hold and approve the opinion of *Aristotle*, and that for to give a lustre thereunto, you have set this of *Democritus* by it, as a shadow 50 and foile: that conceit therefore of *Democritus*, we will turne over and put by, and take in hand for to impugneth this reason of *Aristotles*, which imputeth all to these new fruits, and unjustly without all reason, blaming & discrediting that which we all love so well; for both Summer & Autumn will beare witness, that when we eat these fruits, more fresh and Greene, even at such time as they are most succulent, and verdant: (as *Antimachus* said) our dreames are lesse lying and deceitfull: but these months which we name, the Fall of the leafe, pitching their tents as it were, and taking up their standings close to the Winter, have reduced already, both come of the field, and also the fruits of trees, which remaine uneaten by their perfect concoction, to this

this passe that they looke slender, and in some fort rived, as having lost by this time, that violent, beady, and furious force which was in them. As touching new wine, they that drinke it soonest, doe it in the moneth \* *Anthisteron*, that is to say, Februarie, presently after winter, and that day upon which they begin to taste it, we in our country call *ephebe shuaves*, that is to say, the day of good fortune; but the Athenians name it, of opening their tunnes or wine vessels, *Pithagias*: but so long as the Must or new wine is working still, and in the heat, we see, that all men even the very artificers and labourers are afraid to taste of it, and to meddle withall: let us forbear therefore to slander and blame the good gifts of the gods, and goe we rather another way to worke for the inquisition of the cause, unto which the very name of the season, and of these 10 windic and vaine dreames doth lead us: for this time is called *anthisteron*, that is to say, the fall of the leafe, to wit, the end of Autumne; when by reason of cold, and drinessse, trees shedde their leaves, unlesse it be some which are hot and fatty, by nature, as the olive, the lawrell, and the date trees, or very moist, as the ivie and myrtle; for such as these, their temperature helpeth, others not, by reason that this glutinous humour which holdeth the leaves upon the tree, continueth not; because that their naturall humiditie is congealed with cold, or else dried up, being so feeble and little withall: to flourish therefore, to grow, and to be fresh, in plants, and much more in living creatures, commeth of moisture and heat; and contrariwise, cold & drinessse are deadly enemies: & therefore *Homer* very properly, is wont to call men who are fresh and lusty *shups*, that is to say, moist and succulent; as also to joy and be merry, he expresseth by the verbe *laibos*, that is to say, to be hot; contrariwise, that which is dolorous and fearefull, he termeth *ephebe* or *ephebe*, that is to say, stiffe & starke for cold; a bodie that is dead, he termeth *chthon*, that is to say, without moisture; as also *chthon*, that is to say, a verie anatomy, died in the smoake, or against the sunne; which are two words devised to traduce & note their extreme drinessse: moreover, blood which is the thing within us, of principall strength & vertue, is both hot and moist; but old age is destitute both of the one and the other: now it seemeth that the later end of Autumne is the very age of the yere, having performed his revolution; for as yet the moisture is not come, but the heat is gone already, or at leastwise is very feeble, & that (which is a great signe of cold & drinessse) this season causeth bodies to be disposed unto diseases. This being laid on a ground, necessary it is that the soule should have a sympathy & fellow 30 feeling of the indispositions of the bodie, & that when the spirits be incaffate & thickened, and the powre and facultie of divination or foreseeing future things, must needs be dimmed and dulled, much like as a mirrour or looking glasse, overcast with some thicke mist: no marvell therefore if it send and transmit nothing in phantasie and imaginations, that is plaine, expresse, articulate, evident, and significant, so long as it is rough and unpolished, not smooth and resplendent.



## THE NINTH BOOKE OF SYMPOSIAQUES OR BANQUET-DISCOURSES.

The Summarie or principall chapters thereof.

- 10 1. *Of verses which have beene cited and alledged in good season or otherwise.*
2. *What is the cause that the lesser Alpha, or A, standeth first in the alphabet, or A, b, c.*
3. *In what proportion hath beene composed and ordeined, the number of vowels and semi-vowels?*
4. *Whether hand it was of Venus, that Diomedes wounded?*

VVV 3

5 What

- 5 What was the reason of Plato, when hee said, that the soule of Ajax, came in the 20. place to the lot?
- 6 What is covertly signified by the fable wherein Neptune is feigned to be vanquished? and why the Athenians put out of their kalender the second day of August?
- 7 What is the cause that the accords in musicke are divided into a ternarie?
- 8 Wherein differ the intervals, melodious, and accordants in musicke?
- 9 What is it that maketh accord or symphony? and what is the reason that when a man striketh two strings accordant together, the melodie is more base?
- 10 How it cometh to passe that the ecliptick revolutions of sunne and moone, being in number equal, yet the moone is seene to be oftner eclipsed than the sunne?
- 11 Thus we continue not alwaies one and the same, for that our substance evermore passeth still away.
- 12 Whether is more probable of the ruaine, that the starres be in number even or odd.
- 13 A question of contrary lawes and covenants, drawen out of the third booke of the Rhapsodie of Homers Iliad.
- 14 Of the number of the Muses, cerseine discourses and reasons, not after a vulgar and common manner delivered.
- 15 That there be three parts of dauncing, \* motion, gesture, and shew; and what each of these is: also what communie there is betwene the art of poetrie, and the skill in dauncing.

## THE NINTH BOOKE OF Symposiaques or banquet-discourses.

### The Proëme.



His ninth booke of Symposiaques (so *Sofus Senecio*) containeth the discourses held at *Athens*, during the festivall solemnities of the Muses; for that this number of nine, forth and agreeth well with the said Muses. Now if the number of questions handled in this booke, surmount the ordinarie Decade of the former books, you are nothing to marvell thereat, because we ought to render unto the Muses all that apperteineth unto the Muses, without taking away or deteinuing ought from them, no more than from holy sacrifices; considering that we owe unto them many things besides, and the same more beautifull than this.

### THE FIRST QUESTION.

Of verses cited and pronounced in season and to good purpose, or otherwise.

**A**mmunius being captaine of the citie of *Athens*, was desirous in favour of *Diogenius* to take view and knowledge, how the young men profited, who were students in Grammar, Geometrie, Rhetoricke and Musicke; whereupon he invited to supper, the most famous regents and masters, that were thoroughout the whole citie. There met also with them, and were present, many other learned and studious persons, in great frequentie, yea, and in maner all his friends and familiars: As for *Achilles*, verily, at the funerall games and solemnities of *Patroclus*, he had onely those to sup with him, who had fought hand to hand in single combat to the utterance, with this intent (as it is said) that if haply there had bene any choler or heat of revenge inkindled and inflamed betwene these men, while they were in armes, they should now lay downe and quit the same, meeting thus at one feast, eating and drinking together at one table: but it hapned the same contrary at this time unto *Ammonius*; for the jealousie, contention, and emulation of cleane contrary at this time unto *Ammonius*; for the jealousie, contention, and emulation of these schoolemen and masters of art aforesaid, became the hotter, and grew to the height amid their cups; for by this time, they fell to argue, yea, and to challenge and defie one another, reasoning, and disputing without all order or judgement: whereupon, at the first he commanded the musician *Eraton*, to sing unto the harpe; who began his song in this wise, out of the works of *Hesiodus*:

Of quarrell and contention,  
There were as then, more sorts than one.

for which I commended him, in that he knew how to applie the dittie of his song so well unto the present time; which gave occasion afterwards unto *Ammonius* of this argument; namely, to discourse of verses in season, and to good purpose pronounced; saying: That herein there appeared not onely a good grace, but also ensued otherwhiles great commoditie thereof. And presently every mans mouth was full of that Rhapsodian poet; who at the marriage of king *Proteus*, when he espoused his owne sister, and was thought herein to commit a strange and unlawfull act, began his song with these verses out of *Homer*:

- 10 Great Jupiter, to Juno then, did call  
His sister deere and wedded wife withall.  
as also another, who being to sing after supper before king *Demetrius*, at what time as he sent unto him his sonne *Philip*, being as yet a very infant, came readily forth with these verses:  
Thy child, see that you well bring up  
in vertuous discipline;  
As fits the race of Hercules,  
and keepe a some of mine.

*Anaxarchus* likewise, when *Alexander* at supper time flung apples at him, arose from the boord, rehearsing this verse out of *Euripides*:

- 20 Some god one day, in veritie  
By mortall hand shall wounded be.

But most excellently of all others, a Corinthian lad, who being led away prisoner, as the citie was forced and lost, when *Ammonius* taking a survey of those children who were free borne, commanded as many of them as had any knowledge in literature, for to write before him, wrote extempore these verses:

Thrice and foure times those Greeks were blest, I say,  
Whose hap it was, to die before this day.

And by report *Ammonius* took such ruth and compassion heereat, that he shed teares, and for this youtnes sake, set at libertie as many as were of his kined and alliance. There was remembered also, the wife of *Theodorus* the tragedian, who when the time drew neere, that such poets and actors were to strive for the best game, would not suffer him to lie with her; but after he was returned home from the theater, where he had gotten the victorie, and gained the prize, when he came toward her, she kissed and welcomed him home with these verses:

O noble sonne of Agamemnon, now  
To do with me your will, good leave have you.

Semblably, some there were in place, who heereupon inferred many other verses as unfitly alledged, and altogether out of season; for that it was not thought amisse or unprofitable, both to know the same, and to beware thereby; and namely, that which is reported concerning *Pompeius Magnus*, when he returned from a great expedition and warlike voiage, unto whom his little daughter was presented by her schoolemaster; and for to shew unto him how he had profited in learning, when a booke was brought unto her, the said schoolemaster opened it, and turned to this place for her to reade, which beginneth thus:

From warre thou art returned safe and sound,  
Would God, thou hadst bene there lefthead on ground.

Also, when uncerteine newes (without any head or author) was brought unto *Cassius Longinus*, that his sonne was dead in a strange country, so as he could neither know the truth, nor yet do away the doubtfull suspition thereof, there came an vaine bruit and headlesse rumor, raised (no doubt) by some malicious person; as if you neither had knowen nor read this sentence:

- 50 No publicke fame, nor vox populi  
Was ever known in vaine to die.

As for him, who when a Grammarian in the idle of *Rhodes*, called for a theame, to varie upon, and to shew thereby his learning before the people in a frequent theater, gave him this verse:

Arise out of this isle, I do thee read,  
Most wicked wretch that lives, and that with speed.

it is hard to say, whether he did it of purpose, contumeliously, to deride this poore Grammarian.



rian, or committed an error against his will? But to conclude this discourse of verses inserted aptly and otherwise alleged, did very pretily appease the stirre and tumult among the regents and masters of art above said.

## THE SECOND QUESTION AND THE THIRD.

*What is the cause why Alpha, (or A) was ranged first of all other letters? as also, what proportion, the number of vowels and semi-vowels hath bene composed and ordained?*

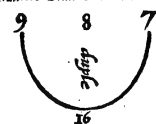
Whereas the use and custome was at *Athens*, during the foresaid feasts in the honour of the Muses, that lots should be carried round about the city, and they that chaunced by drawing to be matched together, propound one unto another questions of learning: *Ammonius* fearing lest some professors of one and the same art, should be committed in opposition together, tooke this order, and ordeined, that without any lottery at all, a Geometrician might propose a question unto a Grammarian; the Rhetorician unto a Musician, and so reciprocally answer them againe by turnes: Heereupon *Hermias* the Geometrician put forth first unto *Protagoras* the Grammarian, a question, urging him to tell the cause, why, *A* was set foremost of all the letters? who rendred unto him a reason which goeth for currant in the schooles: For this is certaine (quoth he) that vowels may claime by a most just title, the place before all consonants, whether they be mute or semi-vowels: and seeing that of vowels some be long, others short, and a third sort doubtfull, and as they say, of a double time: these of the last kinde, ought by good right to be esteemed of greater worth and puissance than the rest; and of them, that is, to have and hold the place of a capitaine, which in composition and making of a diphthong, goeth alwaies before the other two, and never commeth behinde; and that is *Alpha*, which neither secondeth *iota*, or *upsilon* so, as that it will in such composition yeeld or helpe to make one syllable of those twaine: but in a kinde of anger and indignation, leape backe againe unto her proper place: contrariwise, set *Alpha* with whether you will of the other two, so as the may goe before, she will accord very well, and both together will make one entire syllable, as we may see in these words, *αἰώνιος*, *αἰώνιος*, as also in *αἰώνιος*, and an infinit number of others: thus in these three respects she hath the victorie, and carrieth the prize, like unto those champions who are winners in *Quinquettum*, or the five severall games, for she hath the vantage above the multitude of other letters, in that she is a vowel above vowels, because she hath two times, as being one while long, and another while short, and even of these double timed vowels she hath the preeminence, by reason that she standeth alwaies before, and never followeth or commeth behinde others.

When *Protagoras* had made an end of his speech, *Ammonius* called unto me by name and said: How now *Plutarch*, wilt thou say *Cadmus*, being (as you are) a Boeotian as he was? for it is said, that he placed *Alpha* before all other letters, for that *Alpha* in the Phœnician language signifieth a bee, reputed among them, not in the second or third place, according to *Hesiodus*, but 40 even the very first and principall of necessarie mooveables belonging to a man: Nor I (quoth he) for I am bound to succour (what I can) mine owne grand-father, rather than the very grand-fire of *Bacchus*; for my grand-father *Lamprus* was wont to say: That the first distinct and articulate voice which a man pronounceth, is by the power of *Alpha*; seeing that the breath and spirit within the mouth, is formed principally by the motion of the lips, which as they are opened and divided a sunder, yeeld by that simple overture this voice first, which of all others likewise is most simple, and performed with least adoe, calling neither for the tongue to helpe it, nor waiting for the use thereof, but issueth forth; even when it lieth still and stirreth not out of the owne place: and therefore it is the first voice that infants utter: heereupon also commeth this word *αἰώνιος* in Greeke, which signifieth as much as to heare any voice, for that alwaies such a sound as *A* is usually heard: yea, and many other like vocables, as *αἰώνιος*, that is to say, to sing; *αἰώνιος*, that is to say, to pipe; and *αἰώνιος*, to cry or holla; yea and these words *αἰώνιος* to elevate or lift up, and *αἰώνιος*, that is to say, to open: not without good cause tooke these names upon the deduction and lifting up of the lips, whereby such a sound as *A*, is let forth, and falleth out of the mouth, and therefore the names of other mute consonants, all save one, are helped by this *A*, which serveth as a light to cleere their blindness: for there is but *Phi*, or *P* only

only, wherein the power of this letter or sound is not employed: as for *Phi* and *Chi*, the one of them is *P*, and the other *K*, pronounced with (*h*) or an aspiration.

Heereunto when *Hermias* said, that he approved well of both reasons: Why doe not you then (quoth I) expound and deliver unto us, what is the proportion if there be any, in the number of letters; for in mine opinion there is, which I collect by this argument, in that the multitude of mute consonants and semi-vowels, in regard one of another, as also in respect of vowels, ariseth not so by chance, but according to the first proportion which we call Arithmetically, for there being 9 and 8. it commeth to passe that the middle number betweene, as it is surmounted one, so it is equally surmounted of the other, and the two extremes being brought together, the greater in respect of the lesse, beareth the just proportion of the number of mutes, to that of *Apollo*; for 9. is attributed to the muses, like as 7. to *Apollo*, which being joined together, make the duple of that which is in the middes, to wit, of 8. and that by good reason; for that the semi-vowels betweene both, doe participate the power and efficacy of the extremes, to wit, mutes and vowels; according to the figure here represented:

Mutes. Semi-vowels. Vowels.



*Mercurie* (quoth hee) was the first god who found our letters in *Aegypt*: therefore the *Aegyptians* when they would represent the first letter, doe paint *Ibis*, a fowle dedicated to *Mercurie*: but not well in my judgement, thus to give the precedence and superiority of all other letters unto a beast that uttereth neither voice nor sound at all: Moreover, unto *Mercurie* is consecrated of all numbers, the quaternarie especially, and many there be who have written, that borne he was upon the fourth day of the month: now if you multiply fowre by fower, you arise to sixteene, the just number of those first letters which were called Phœnician, invented first by *Cadmus*. Of the other letters which afterwards were added to the rest, *Palmides* devised one fowre; and *Simonides* put thereto another fowre: moreover, the first perfect number of all others is 3. as having a beginning, a middle, and an end: after it the number of 6. because it is known very well to be equal in all the parts thereof: of these now, if 6. be multiplied by 4. and the first quadrat or cube (8) by the first perfect number (3) they bring forth 24. the full number of all the letters in the alphabet. Whiles he thus spake still, *Zopyrion* the Grammarian was perceived evidently to laugh at him and mumble somewhat betweene his teeth secretly: but so soone as he had made an end of speech, he could hold no longer but out hee spake and said: That all this was nothing else but frivolous bibble-babble: For that (quoth *Zopyrion*) there can no sound reason at all be given, but even by adventure and chaunce it fell out, that so many letters there were, and those placed in such order as they be: Like as (quoth he) that the first verse of *Homer's Iliad*, should containe so many syllables just, as the first of his *Odyssea*: and againe, that the last of the one, should answer in number of syllables even, to the last of the other, is altogether a casual thing, hapning so by meere fortune and not otherwise.

## THE FOURTH QUESTION.

*Whether hand it was of Venus that Diomedes wounded?*

After this, when *Hermias* addressed himselfe to propose unto *Zopyrion* a question, we inhibited and staied him. But *Maximus* the Rhetorician, came with a long fetch a farre off 50 out of *Homer*, and demanded of him: Whether hand it was of *Venus* that *Diomedes* wounded? With that *Zopyrion* to quit him againe, asked him presently: Of whether legge king *Philip* haulted? The case quoth *Maximus* is not all one and the same: for *Demosthenes* hath left unto us no meanes for to answer this question: but if you confesse once that you know not, others there be who will shew you the very place where *Homer* telleth them who have any wit to conceive, which hand of hers was hurt? *Zopyrion* at this speech seemed to be astonied and stand in a maze: whereupon whiles he held his peace, we requested *Maximus*, to point unto us the place afore said:

aforesaid: First and formost (quoth *Maximus* then) considering that the verses runne in this wife:

*Then leapt aside bold Tidesus sonne,  
and traversing his ground,  
stept so, and with sharpe pointed speare,  
her hand aloft did wound.*

It is plaine and evident; that if he had meant to have smitten her left hand; hee needed not to have leapt at one side; for he had the left hand of *Venus* just opposite unto his owne right hand, when he directly affronted her: and more propable it is, and stands to greater reason, that his intent was to hurt the stronger hand, and that which held *Aeneas* her sonne, whom shee seemed with violence to carie away, and which being wounded, the might be forced to forgoe her hold, and let his body goe. Secondly, when *Venus* was returned up into heaven, *Minerva* by way of scoffing, laughed at her, and said to *Jupiter* in this wife:

*No doubt, faire Venus hath suborn'd  
some Greekeish dame to love,  
And follow one of these Tröy knights,  
whom she affects above  
All other wights: and whiles she stroak't  
this lady gently, see,  
Her soft hand met with some gold clasp,  
and so came ras'd to bee.*

And verily I suppose, that even your selfe good sir, an excellent regent and professour as you are, if at any time you would seeme in making much of one of your scholars; to stroke and softly to handle him, will not doe it with your left hand, but with the right; and even so, verie like it is, that *Venus*, the most gentle and courteous goddesse of all others, in this manner dealt with the Grecian ladies, when she perswaded them unto her minde.

### THE FIFTH QUESTION.

*What is the reason that Plato said, how the soule of Ajax came to the lot, in the 20. place.* 30

**T**His prettie discourse aforesaid, pleased the whole company, and made them all merrie, but one Grammarian named *Hylas*, whom *Sofus* a professour in Rhetoricke, seeing to sit all silent, sad and heavy, (for that in deed he had spied not very well, whensoever he made prooffe of his scholars proceedings) came out with these verses aloud:

*Ajax soule, the sonne of Telamon,  
Remained still, and all alone.*

and the rest of the verses following, he delivered in an higher note than ordinat, and rehearsed them aloft unto him, in this wife:

*But now good sir come hither, that  
my words you may well heare,  
Repreſſe your ire, this anger quench,  
and tame your moodie cheere.*

But *Hylas* grumbling still in anger, bewaierd no lesse by his crosse and impertinent answer, saying: That the ghost of *Ajax* in hell, tooke her turne in the 20. place, and her lot was according to *Plato*, to be transmuted into the nature of a lion: But for mine owne part (quoth he) I thinke many times of the old mans saying in the comedie:

*Better it were an asse to bee  
Indeed, than for a man to see  
Those live prefer'd in worldly pelfe,  
Who are for woorth behinde himselfe.*

Heereat *Sofus* laughing heartily: But I beseech you good *Hylas* (quoth hee) meane while that we are turning into asses, and taking pack-saddles on our backs (if you regard and respect any thing the honour of *Plato*) declare unto us the reason, why hee said: That the soule of *Ajax* (him I meane who was *Telamons* sonne) came in the twentieth place to have her choice from the lottery? Which when *Hylas* flatly refused to doe, (for he thought that they made a mock-

ing flocke of him, because he had but bad successe in his former trials:) my brother tooke the matter in hand: And what say you (quoth he) to this? may it not bee, for that *Ajax* caried the name alwaies for beautie, greatnesse and valour,

*Next after Peleus sonne (I say.)*

*Who was sent peere for prowess ay?*

And you know that twentie makes up the second decade; and the decade or number of ten is of all numbets principall and most puissant, like as *Achilles* was among the princes of the Greeks. With that we al set up a laughter: Then *Ammonius*, Well (quoth he) *Lamprias*, you are disposed thus to jest and play with *Hylas* butface of your owne accord, you have undertaken the charge,

to deliver the cause hereof, let us intreat you to impart it unto us; not by way of sport and merriment, but in good earnest. *Lamprias* was at the first not a little troubled at this challenge; but after he had paused, and thought upon the matter a while, in the end he spake to this effect: It is an ordinary thing (quoth he) with *Plato*, to play with us many times merrily, by certeine devised names that hee useth: but whensoever hee inserteth some fable in any treatise of the soule, he doth it right soberly, and hath a deepe meaning, and profound sense therein: for the intelligent nature of heaven, he calleth, a Chariot volant, to wit, the harmonick motion and revolution of the world: and heere in this place whereof we are now in question (to wit, in the end of the tenth booke of his Common-wealth) he bringeth in a messenger from hell, to relate newes of that which he had there himselfe seene; and calleth him by the name of *Era*, a Pam-

phylian borne, and the sonne of *Armenius*, giving us covertly (by an ænigmaticall conveyance) thus much to understand: That our soules are engendred by harmonie, & so joined to our bodies, but when they be disjoined, and separate from them, they runne together all into aire from every side, and so returne againe from thence unto second generations: what should hinder then but this word \* *ερασ*, was put downe by him, not to shew a truth whereof he spake, but

rather *ερασ*, as a probable speech, and conjectural fiction, or else, a thing spoken (as it should seeme) to a dead bodie, and so uttered \* vainly and at a venture in the aire: for *Plato* alwaies toucheth three causes, as being the philosopher who either first knew, or principally understood how fatal destiny is mingled with fortune: and againe, how our freewill is wont to be joined with either of them, or is complicate with both: and now in this place before cited, hee sheweth excellently well, what power each of these causes hath in our humane affaires, attributing the choice and election of our life unto free will, (for vertue and vice befree, and at the command of no lord) and trying to the necessitie of fatal destiny, a religious life to Godward in them, who have made a good choise, and contrariwise in those who have made a choise of the worst: but the cadences or chaunces of lots, which being cast at a venture, and lighting here and there, without order, befall to every one of us, bring in fortune, and preoccupare or prevent much of that which is ours, by the sundry educations or governments of common-wealth, wherein it hapneth each of us to live: for this I would have every one of you to consider, whether it bee not meere folly and without all reason, to seeke for a cause of that which is done by fortune and casually; for if lot should seeme to come by reason, there were to be im-

puted no more to fortune or adventure, but all to some fatal destiny or providence.

30 While *Lamprias* delivered this speech, *Marcus* the Grammarian, seemed to count and number (I wot not) what upon his fingers to himselfe apart: but when he had made an end, the said *Marcus* named aloud all those soules or spirits which are called out in *Homers Nereys*: Among which (quoth he) the ghost onely of *Eupenor* wandering still in the middle confines, is not reckoned with those beneath in another world, for that his bodie as yet is not interred and committed to the earth: as for the soule of *Tiresias* also, it seemeth not to be numbered with the rest,

*To whom now dead Proserpina,  
above the rest did give,  
This gift alone right wise to be,  
although he did not live.*

as also the power to speake with the living, and to understand their state and affaires, even before he had drunke the blood of sacrificed beasts: If then (quoth hee) *Lamprias* you substract these two, and count the rest, you shall finde that the soule of *Ajax* was just the twentieth of those which presented themselves to *Ulysses*; and heereunto alluded *Plato*, as it should seeme by way of mirth, joining his fable together with that evocation of spirits, otherwife called *Nereys* in *Homers Odyssey*.

## THE SIXTH QUESTION.

*What is covertly meant by the fable, wherein Neptune is feigned to have bene vanquished: as also, why the Athenians take out the second day of the moneth, August?*

NOW when the whole company were grown to a certeine uprore, *Menephyllus* a Peripateticke philosopher calling unto *Hylas* by name: You see (quoth he) now, that this question was not propounded by way of mockerie and contumelious flouting: but you my good friend (leaving this froward and mal-contented *Ajax*, whose name as *Sophocles* saith, is ominous, and of ill presage) betake your selfe unto *Neptune*, and side with him a while; who is wont to recount unto us himselfe, how he hath bene oftentimes overcome; to wit, in this city, by *Minerva*; at *Delphi*, by *Apollo*; in *Argos*, by *Juno*; in *Aegina*, by *Jupiter*; and in *Naxos*, by *Bacchus*; and yet in all his repulses, disfavours, and infortunities, he bare himselfe alwaies mild, and gentle, caring no ranckor or malice in his heart: for prooffe heereof, there is even in this city a temple common to him and *Minerva*, in which there standeth also an altar dedicated to Oblivion: Then *Hylas* who seemed by this time more pleasantly disposed: But you have forgotten (quoth he) *Menephyllus*, that we have abolished the second day of the moneth, *August*, not in regard of the moone, but because it was thought to be the day upon which *Ægeus*, *Lamprias* and *Minerva* pleaded for the feignorie of this territorie of *Attica*. Now I assure you (quoth *Lamprias*) *Ægeus* was every way much more civill and reasonable than *Thrasibulus*, in case being not a winner as the other, but a loser, he could forget all grudge and malice.

A great breach and defect there is in the Greeke originall, wherein wanteth the farther handling of this question, as also 5. questions entier following, and a part of the 6. to wit.

- 7 Why the accords in musike are divided into three? 30
- 8 Wherein differ the intervals or spaces melodious, from those that be accordant?
- 9 What cause is it that maketh accord? and what is the reason that when one toucheth two strings accordant together, the melody is ascribed to the base?
- 10 What is the cause that the ellipticke revolutions of sunne and moone being in number equall, yet we see the moone ofner eclipsed than the sunne?
- 11 That we continue not alwaies one and the same, in regard of the daily deflux of our substance.
- 12 Whether of the twaine is more probable, that the number of starres is even or odde?

Of this twelfth question thus much remaineth as followeth.

*Isander* was wont to say: That children are to be deceived with cockall bones, but men with lothes: Then *Glaucias*, I have heard (quoth he) that this speech was used against *Polyrates* the tyrant; but it may be, that it was spoken also to others: But whereby do you demand this of me? Because verily (quoth *Sophus*) I see, that children snatch at such bones, & the Academiques catch at words: for it seemeth unto me, that these stomachs differ in nothing from them, who holding out their clutched filts, play at handy dandy, & aske whether they hold in their close hand even or odde: Then *Protagoras*, arose, and calling unto me by name: What aile we (quoth he) and what is come unto us that we suffer these Rhetoricians and oratours thus to brave it out, and to mocke others, being demanded nothing in the meane time, nor put to it for to contrabute their skot and part unto this conference and these discouries? unless peradventure they 50 will come in with this plea, that they have no part of this table talke, in drinking wine, as being those who admire and follow *Demoisthenes*, who in all his life time never dranke wine: This is not the cause (quoth I) but the reason is, because we have spurred them no questions: but if you have no better thing to aske, I will propose unto them a case of repugnancie in contrarie lawes or condicions, and the same drawn out of *Homer*.

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## THE THIRTEENTH QUESTION.

*A question as touching repugnant lawes, taken out of the third Rhapsodie or booke of Homers Ilias.*

AND what is that case, demanded he againe? I will tell you (quoth I) and withall propose it unto these here: and therefore let them give attentive eare: *Alexander Paris*, in the third booke of *Homers Ilias*, giveth defiance to *Menelaus*, and chalengeth him to a single fight, 10 with certaine conditions protesting in this maner:

*Let us betwene both armies meet without,  
My selfe I meane and Menelaus fount:  
To try in single fight upon this plaine  
To which of us by right shall appertaine  
Dame Helene, with her goods: For looke who shall  
Make good his ground, and quit himselfe withall  
So bravely, that the victorie he gaine,  
Have he her selfe, and jewels in domaine.*

*Hector* againe publishing unto all, and declaring as well to Greeks as Trojanes the same chalenge and defiance of his brother *Paris*, useth in maner the verie same words, saying: 20

*His meaning is, that Greeks and Trojanes all  
Besides should for the time surcease and quite  
Lay downe all armes upon the ground withall,  
Whiles he and Menelaus harry knight,  
For Helen faire, and all her jewels fight:  
And he that shall the better hand overeine,  
With him both lady shall and goods remaine.*

Now when *Menelaus* had accepted of these conditions, and both sides were sworne to the articles accorded, *Agamemnon* to ratifie the same by his roiall assent, spake in this wise:

30 *If Alexander in plaine fight,  
Shall Menelaus kill:  
Dame Helene he may leade away,  
and her goods at his will:  
But say that Menelaus brave,  
doe Alexander slay  
The woman then and what she hath,  
let him streight have away.*

Now for that *Menelaus* vanquished *Paris* indeed, but yet bereft him not of his life; either side had good plea to defend their cause opposite unto their enemies: for the Greeks pretended a 40 right claime unto *Helena*, for that *Paris* was overcome: and the Trojanes impleaded and denied to redeliver her, because he was not left dead in the place: how shall this case then be decided and judged atight in so great a difference and contrarietie? Certes it belongeth not to Philosophers nor Grammarians alone; but it is for Rhetoricians also to determine heereof, who are both learned in Grammar and good letters; and withall, well scene in Philosophie, as you be. Then *Sophus* gave his opinion and said: That the cause and plea of the defendant challenged, was farre better and stronger, as having the law directly on his side: for the assailant and challenger himselfe, denounced under what conditions the combat should be performed; which seeing the defendant accepted of, and yielded unto, it lieth not in their power any more to adde ought thereto: for the condition comprised in the chalenge, caried no words imply- 50 ing slaughter or death of any sides; but the victory of the one, and the discomfiture of the other; and that with very great reason: for by right the lady belonged to the better man, and more valiant; and the more valorous man is he who vanquisheth: for otherwise it falleth out many times, that valiant and hardie men are slaine by very cowards; as afterwards *Achilles* himselfe chaunced to be killed by *Paris* with the shot of an arrow: neither will any man (I trow) say, that *Achilles* thus slaine, was the lesse valiant, or call this the victorie; but rather the good fortune of *Paris* unjustly dealt, whose happie it was to shoot so right; whereas on the other side, *Hector* was vanquished by *Achilles*, before he was slaine, for that he would not abide his comming, but 60

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for

for feare abandoned his ground and fled: for he that refuseth combat and runneth away, is in plaine termes vanquished, & hath no excuse to palliate or cloake his defeatures; but flatly confesseth his enimie to be his better. And therefore *trus*, comming at first to *Helena* for to give her intelligence of this combat, saith unto her:

*They will in combat fight it out  
with long speares now for thee:  
And looke who winnes the victory,  
his wife thou nam'st shalt be.*

And afterwards *Jupiter* himselfe adjudged the prize of victorie unto *Menelaus* in these words: 10  
*Now plaine it is, the champion bold,  
for Menelaus hight,  
Hath quitted himselfe a man, and wonne  
the prize in single fight.*

For it were a ridiculous mockerie to say: That *Paris* had conquered *Achilles*, because he stood behind a farre off, & with the shot of an arrow wounded him in the foote, who never was ware of him, nor so much as looked for any such thing; & that now when he refused combat, distrustful of himselfe, & ran out of the field like a coward, to shroud & hide himselfe within the bosome, & betweene the armes of a woman, being as a man would say disarmed and despoiled of his weapons, even whiles he was alive, his concurrent should not deserve to carie away the victorie, 20  
showing himselfe the conquerour in open field; even according to the conditions offered by *Paris* the challenger. Then *Glauco* taking the matter in hand, impleaded and argued against him thus: First (quoth he) in all edicts, decrees, lawes, covenants and contracts, the last are reputed alwaies of greater validitie, and doe stand more firme than the former: but the second covenants and the last, were they which were declared and published by *Agamemnon*; in which was comprised, expressly death for the end of the combat, and not the discomfiture or yielding of the partie conquered: moreover the former capitulation of covenants, passed onely by parole & bare words; but the other which followed after, was sealed & confirmed with an oath, yea & a curse and execration was set therupon, for whosoever should transgresse the same: neither was it approved & ratified by one man alone, but by the whole army together in such sort 30  
as this latter paction and covenant, ought properly and by right, to be so called; whereas the former was nothing else but the intimation of a challenge and defiance given; in testimonie whereof, *Priamus* also after the articles of combat were sworne unto, departed out of the field saying:

*Great Jupiter and other gods  
immorall now doe know,  
Whose destiny it is to die  
upon his overthrow.*

For he wist well enough that the covenants of combat were capitulated and accorded upon this condition: and therefore it was, that a little while after, *Heitor* saith: 40

*God Jupiter aloft in heaven  
who sits upon his throne,  
The covenants sworne hath not perform'd  
which were agreed and sworne.*

For as yet the combat remained unatched and unperfected, neither had it a certaine and doubtlesse conclusion, considering neither the one nor the other of the champions was slaine: so that in mine opinion, there is no contrarietie here at all, because the former articles and conditions were comprised in the second: for no doubt, he that killeth hath overcome; but it followeth not, that he who vanquisheth hath killed his enimie: but to say a truth, wee may well plead thus: That *Agamemnon* did not reverse or annul the challenge or defiance pronounced by *Heitor*, but explained and declared it; neither altered he it, but added rather the principall point thereof, setting downe expressly, him for victour who killed his enimie; for this indeed is a complet and absolute victory; whereas all others have evasions, pretended excuses and oppositions, such as this of *Menelaus*, who wounded not his enimie, nor so much as pursued and followed after him: like as therefore in such cases wherein there is an evident contradiction of lawes indeed, the judges are wont to pronounce award and sentence, according to that which is most expressly and cleerely set downe, leaving that which is doubtfull and obscure, even so in this present case now in question; that covenant which hath an evident conclusion, 50  
and

and admitteth no tergiversation at all, we ought to esteeme more firme and effectual: furthermore, that which is the chiefe and most principall point of all, even he himselfe who is supposed to be the victour, in that he retired not backe, nor gave over seeking for him that fled, but went up and downe, to and fro among the troupes searching all about,

*If haply of this gallant knight  
Sir Paris he might have a fight.*

restituted plainly, that his victory was imperfect and of no validitie; considering that his concurrent was escaped out of his hands, which put him in minde of the words which himselfe a little before had said:

10 *The houre of death, to whether of us twaine  
Is come, let him lie dead upon the plaine:  
As for the rest, see every one apart,  
And that with speed, you home in peace depart.*

And therefore it stood him upon necessarily, to seek out *Alexander*, to the end, that having slaine him, he might accomplish the entire execution of the combat, and gaine the end thereof; whereas, neither killing him out of the way, nor taking him prisoner, without all right he demanded the prize of victorie: for in very truth, he did not so much as vanquish him, if we may gather presumptions and conjecturall arguments, even out of his owne words, complaining as he doth of *Jupiter*, and lamenting to himselfe, that he missed of his purpose, in these words:

20 *O Jupiter, in heaven above,  
no God there is againe,  
More sightfull than thy selfe to me,  
now cruel; to be plaine,  
I made account, and so gave out,  
of Paris in this place,  
Revenge'd to be for all his wrongs;  
and working my disgrace:  
But now my sword in hand is but st,  
my javelin launc'd in vaine.  
30 *With force of armes, hath done no hurt,  
nor wrought him any paine.**

For himselfe confesseth, that it was to no purpose, that he pierced thorow his enemies shield, and tooke away his armer that fell from his head, unless he had wounded him therewith, and slaine him outright.

## THE FOURETEENTH QUESTSION.

*As touching the Muses and their number, cerceine point: not after a vulgar and common manner handled.*

40 **T**his discourse being thus finished, we performed our oblations and libaments to the Muses; and after we had sung an hymne to *Apollo*, the leader and conductour of the Muses, we chanted also to the found of the harpe, as *Brutus* plaied thereupon, those verses which *Hesiodus* wrote concerning the generation and birth of the Muses: when our song was ended, *Herodes* the rhetorician began his speech in this wise: Listen lordings (quoth he) you that would distract and plucke from us, *Calliope*: they say (forsooth) that she converse with kings, and not with those who can skill of unfolding syllogismes; or who propose difficult questions to such as speake big, and are of magnificent speech; but those rather who do and effect great matters, the works I meane which concerne orators, politicians & Statesmen: and as for *Clio*, of all the Muses 50  
say, she admitteth and avoweth the encomiasticall orations, wherein are contained the praises of other artizans; for that in old time, our ancestors called praises, *Clea*: and *Polymnia* entertaineth histories; which is nothing els, but the memorial or remembrance of many antiquities: and it is reported, that in some places, and namely, in *Chios*, they name all the Muses *parvia*; that is to say, memories: as for me, I challenge also to my selfe some part of *Euterpe*, if it be as *Sibylla* saith, that she it is, who hath allotted unto her the gift to entertaine meetings and conferences, with pleasure, delectation and grace: for an orator is no lesse affable in familiar conversation, than eloquent in pleading causes at the barre, or in opining and delivering his 60  
minde





\* Odyss. 11.  
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our evils: but the necessitie which is among the gods is nothing intollerable, nor violent, nor hard to be obeyed or perswaded, but to the wicked, no more than the law of a citie, that unto good men is the best thing that is, & which they cannot pervert or transgresse; not because it is impossible for them so to do, but for that they are not willing to change the same. Moreover as touching those Syrenes \* of *Homer*, there is no reason that the fable of them should affright us for (after an enigmaticall and covert sort) even he signifieth very well unto us, that the power of their song and musick, is neither inhumane, nor pernicious or mortall; but such as imprineth in the soules which depart from hence thither, as also to such as wander in that other world after death, a vehement affection to divine and celestiall things, together with a certeine forgetfulness of those that be mortall and earthly, detaining and enchanting them as it were with a pleasure that they give unto them; in such sort as by reason of the joy which they receive from them, they follow after and tume about with them: now of this harmonie, there is a little echo or obscure resonance commeth hither unto us, by the meanes of certeine discourses, which call and leeth unto our soule, and putteth into her minde, such things as then and there are, whereof the greatest part is enclosed and stopped up with the abstractions of the flesh, and passions that are howbeit, our soule, by reason of the generositie wherewith it is endued, doth without stand, yea, and remember the same, being ravished with so vehement an affection thereof, that her passion may be compared properly unto most ardent and furious fits of love, whiles she still affecteth and desireth to enjoy, but is not able for all that, to loosen and free her selfe from the bodie; howbeit, I do not accord and hold with him altogether in these matters: but it seemeth unto me, that *Plato* as he hath somewhat strangely in this place, called the axes and poles of the world and heavens, by the names of spindels, rocks, and distaves, yea & teamed the Syrenes, wherwes: so, to the Muses also he hath given an extraordinarie denomination of Syrenes, as if they related, and expounded unto the soules and ghosts beneath, divine and celestiall things: like as *Ulysses* in *Sophocles* saith, that the Syrenes were come:

*The daughters who of Phorcis were,  
That doth of hell the lawes declare.*

As for the Muses they be assigned unto the eight heavenly spheres: and one hath for her portion the place and region next to the earth: those then which have the presidences & charge of the revolution of those eight spheres, do keepe, preserve and mainteine the harmony and consonance, as well betwene the wandering planers and fixed starres, as also of themselves one to another; and that one which hath the superintendence of that space betwene the moone and the earth, and converseth with mortall and temporall things, bringeth in and insuleth among them, by the meanes of her speech and song (so faire forth as they be capable by nature and apt to receive the same) the perswasive facultie of the Graces, of musickall measures and harmonie: which facultie is very cooperative with civile policie and humane societie, in dulcing and appeasing that which is turbulent, extravagant and wandering in us, reducing it gently into the right way, from blind by-pathes and errors and there sedeth it: but according to *Pyndarus*:

*Whom Jupiter from heaven above  
Vouchsafeth not his gracious love,  
Amaz'd at they be and sue for fence  
When they the voice of Muses heare.*

Whereto when *Ammonius* had given acclamation, alluding (as his maner was) unto the verse of *Xenophanes* in this wife:

*These things doe carry good credence  
And to the truth have reference,*

and withall moved us every one to opine and deliver his advice: I my selfe after some little pause and silence, began thus to say: That as *Plato* himselfe by the etymologie of names (as it were by traces) thought to finde out the properties and powers of the gods; even so let us likewise place in heaven & over celestiall things, one of the Muses, which seemeth of the heaven to be called *urania*. Certes, it standeth to great reason, that these heavenly bodies require not much variety of government; for that they have but one simple cause, which is, nature: but where-as there be many errors, many enormities & trespasses, thither we must transfer those eight: one for to correct one sort of faults and disorders, and another for to amende & reforme another: and for that of our life, one part is bestowed in serious & grave affaires, and another in sport & game; & throughout the whole course thereof, it hath need of a moderate temperature & musickall consent: that which in us is grave & serious shall be ruled and conducted, by *Calliope*, *Chio* and

and *Thalia*, being our guides in the skill and speculation as touching gods and goddesses: as for the other Muses, their office and charge is to support and hold up that which is inclined and prone to pleasure, plaice and disport, not to suffer it through weaknesse and imbecillity to runne headlong into loosenesse and bestiality; but to keepe in, repress and hold it in good and decent order: with dauncing, singing and playing such as hath their measures, and is tempered with harmonie, reason, and proportion: For mine owne part, considering that *Plato* admitteth and setteth downe in every one two principles and causes of all our actions; the one inbred and naturall; to wit, a desire and inclination to pleasures: the other comming from without forth; to wit, an opinion which covereth the best; in somuch, as the one he calleth some time, Reason; and the other, Passion; and seeing that either of these againe admitteth distinct differences; I see certainly, that both of them require a great government; and in verie truth, an heavenly and divine conduct: and first as touching Reason, one part thereof is civill and roiall; namely, that which medleth in policie government, and matters of State: over which is placed as *Hesiodus* saith, *Calliope*; *Chio* is allotted for her part principally, to advance, colland, and encourage, ambition or desire of honour; *Polymnia* ruleth and preserveth the vertue memorative, and the desire of knowledge and learning, which is in the soule: and hereupon it is, that the Sicyonians of those three Muses which they honour, call one, *Polymathia*; and unto *Euterpe*, who attribureth not the skill and speculation of truth in nature, as acknowledging no delights and recreations more pure, beautiful, and honest than it. To come now unto appetites and affections, that which concerneth eating and drinking, *Thalia* maketh civill, sociable, and honest: whereas, otherwise it would be inhumane, beauly, and disorderd; which is the reason that we say; those men doe *banquet*, when they meet together friendly and merrily to make good cheere: but in no wise such as become drunke, and grow to excesse and riotous misdemeanors. As for the accords of love and *Venus*, *Erato* is she that performeth them with her presence; perswading that the action thereof should respect reason and the opportunity of time, cutting off wantonneesse, and quenching the furious heat of luit and pleasure, making it for to determine and rest in faithfull love and amitie, and not to end in dissolute and lascivious intemperance. There remaineth yet the pleasure of hearing and seeing, whether the same belong to reason or to passion; or rather appertene in common to both: the other two Muses, to wit, *Melpomene* and *Terpsichore*, are regents over them, which they compose and order in such sort, that as the one becommeth an honest delight, and not an enchantment of the eares; so the other contenteth the eyes as much, though it doe not bewitch and corrupt the same.

The whole chapter following is so defective and faultie in the original, that we know not by any conjecturall meanes to supply or reforme it.

## THE FIFTEENTH QUESTION.

That in dauncing there be three parts, Motions, Gesture, and Shew: what every of them is? also, what communie there is betwene the art of Poetry and the feat of dauncing.

After this, there was proposed a tart or cake called *Pyramus*, as the prize of victory for children, who daunce best: and for umpiers & judges were chosen *Menissus* the schoole-master, and *Lampyrus* my brother: for before time he had daunced the warlike moriske verie prettily, and was held in the dauncing schooles and places of exercise, to have the best grace in gesticulation with his hands when he daunced, above all other boies whatsoever: now when as many had daunced and shewed therein more affection than elegancie, and more heart than art, some there were of the companie, who having chosen two more expert than the rest, and who affected greatly to observe the rules of art, praised them to daunce *οὐρανία χορεία*, as one would say, motion after motion, or one bout after another. Hereupon *Thrasibulus* the sonne of *Ammonius*, demanded what this tearme *οὐρανία*, that is to say, motion, signified in this place, which ministred matter, and gave occasion unto *Ammonius* to discourse more at large concerning the parts of dauncing; for he said: That there were three parts thereof, namely, *οὐρανία χορεία*, and *δύσις*: For that (quoth he) a daunce is compounded of motions, gestures, or countenances, like as songs standeth upon founds, and times, or rests betwene; for pauses and staves are the ends of motions herein; and verily those motions, professors call *παιδίσ*: but the dispositions and habitudes,

habitudes, *ποιων*, unto which the motions doe tend, and wherein they rest and end; namely, when in the forme and gesture of their body, they represent *Απollo* or *Ραν*, or some of these ranging *Βασche*, so as a man at the first sight may acknowledge their part expressly resembled; as for the third part called *δωρεα*, it is not a feigned imitation, but a lovely and true demonstration of the subject matters in the daunce; for like as the poets when they would plainly and bately name *Αχιλλης*, *υλυσσης*, the Earth or Heaven, use their proper termes to expresse them, and even such as the vulgar know them by; but for the greater emphasie and representation as it were to the life of that which they meane to deliver, they use otherwhiles words of their owne making, and borrowed Metaphors; as namely, when they would signifie the noise of running mates, they are wont to say, they doe *καταβησκειν*, and *προσβαλλειν*; and for to expresse the flight of arrowes, they tell us that they *καταβησκειν* *αυτων*, that is to say:

*What hot desire and haste they make,  
Of flesh and blood their fill to take.*

Also to shew a doubtfull battell, wherein it is hard to say whether part shall have the better hand; they come with these termes:

*Ταυτα ορισιν καταβησκειν  
The fight two heads aloft in view,  
Fronting equally did shew.*

Likewise to expresse that which they would say, they devise and coine many compositions of names in their verses, as for example: *Ευριπιδης* speaking of *Perseus*:

*Then Gorgon-slayer mounting hie,  
In aire of Jupiter did flie.*

Semblably *Pindarus* writing of the horse:

*What time as he with courage fount,  
\* Spur-leffe, his bodie gave so strong,  
To runne a race from bout to bout,  
Upon Alpheus banks along.*

Yea and *Homer* describing a course at horse-running:

*The chariots with brasse and iron,  
bedight upon the plaine,  
And drawne by sure swift-footed steeds,  
were seene to runne amaine.*

Even so it is in dauncing, for that which they call *ποιων*, that is to say, gesture, representeth the forme & the visage: *κινησις*, that is to say, the motion, expresth emphatically some affection, action, or power of the minde; but by the shewes, which they call *δωρεα*, properly and promptly, the very things themselves; as for example: the earth, the heaven, the assistants or standers by; which being done in order, number, and measure, resemble those proper names which otherwhiles in poetrie are used, running roundly with the ornaments of their attributes and epithits in this manner:

*Themis modest, venerable:  
Venus black-eid, amiable:  
Queene Juno with her gold-crowne honoured,  
Fiire Dion and wel-favoured.*

Also:

*From Helen came renowned kings,  
of \* loves protectors grave,  
Sir Dorus, Xanthus, Aeolus,  
\* who joied in horses brave.*

for otherwise if poets should not thus doe, their stile would be very base, and their verses starker naught, and without all grace, as if one should pen them in this sort simply without all epithits:

*From one descended Hercules,  
And from another Iphitus,  
This ladies sire, her husbande eke,  
And sonne were kings all in their course:  
Her brechen also were the like,  
And so were her progenitors.*

*Who first to know what dame she was  
Greece cleaped her Olympias.*

For the like faults and errours are committed at dauncing in the foresaid shewes, if they carry not a probable likelihood and a grace with them, and the same accompanied with decencie and an unaffected simplicitie: in one word, we may fitly transerre the Apophthegme of *Simonides*, from painting unto dauncing, and say thus: That a daunce is a mute poeie, and poeie a speaking daunce; in somuch (quoth hee) as neither painting dependeth upon poeie, nor poeie of painting, as having no need at all, one of the other: whereas betwene dauncing and poetrie, all things are common, are participating one with another in every thing, and representing, both of them, one and the same thing, especially in those songs to daunce, which they call *Hyporchemata*, wherein is performed the most effectuall and lively resemblance, of the one, by gesture, and of the other, by words and names: so that poemes seeme aptly to be compared unto the lines and pouring in a picture, by which the formes of visages are drawn; in somuch, as hee who hath proceeded well in those *Hyporchemata*, and is become excellent in that feat, sheweth plainly, that these two arts, necessarily have need the one of the other: for he who chaunteth out this song,

*αυτις δαδον τινος, η νιντα αμυντα δαδοντι, &c.*

That is to say:

*I play the horse of Theffaly,  
Or els the bound of Amycly.*

following and pursuing with his foot, the measures, and expresseing the winding and turning found of the voice; or this other song,

*\* διος δαδοντος, αμυντα δαδοντι  
δαδοντος καποιν εφελθοντα ποσειδωνος  
ται δ' εν αυτην σφιγαντα κτερον ιγος μιντα μεταυται, &c.*

declareth thereby, that poemes doe in maner provoke the disposition and gesture of dauncing, drawing with the found of verses, as it were with certeine cords, both hands & feet, or the whole bodie rather, stretching out every member thereof in such sort, as when they be pronounced and chanted forth, there is not one of them that can rest in quiet: by occasion whereof, the partie who singeth such songs, is not abashed to praise himselfe no lesse for his sufficiencie in the art of dauncing, than his accomplished skill in poeie; and as if he were rapt with some divine instinct, breaketh out into this note:

*How wilde forever that I be,  
I can get foot is merrily.*

And this maner of dauncing to the measures; they call the Candiot daunce; howbeit, now a daies there is nothing so ill taught, so badly practised, and so much depraved and corrupted, as is this feat of dauncing: and therefore that is befallen unto it, which *Thyrcu* the poet fearing, wrote of himselfe in these verses:

*For honour lost among the gods, I dreid,  
With men alone I shall be honoured.*

For having associated her selfe to (I wot not what) trivial and vulgar poeie, & being fallen from that which was ancient, divine and heavenly, she ruleth and beareth sway onely in foolish and amazed theaters, where like a tyrannesse she hath in subjection a small deale of musicke (God wot) good enough to please and content the vulgar sort; but among wise men and divine indeed, it hath (to say a trueth) lost all honour and reputation.

These were in maner the last philosophical discourses (*δ' Σοφιστου Σενεκιου*) which were held at that time, in good *Communion* his house, during the festivall solemnitie of the Muses.



THE



# THE OPINIONS OF PHILOSOPHERS.

## The Summarie.

**I**nasmuch as in the Preface to the second tome, concerning the Miscellane or mixt works of Plutarch, he spake of these gatherings out of naturall philosophie, and of the fruit that may be reaped thereout, by discerning true opinions from false; we will not rebarge againe here, that which was delivered in that place; but propose onely to the eyes of the reader, the bare titles of every chapter throught these five books, which the author hath joined together, for to shew the opinions of the ancient philosophers, as touching the exposition of the principall points of naturall philosophie.

## Chapters of the first Booke.

- |  |                                  |
|--|----------------------------------|
| 1 What is Nature.  | 15 Of Colours.                   |
| 2 What difference there is betwene a principle and an element.         | 16 Of the section of bodies.     |
| 3 As touching Principles, what they be.                                | 17 Of Mixture and Temperature.   |
| 4 How the world was composed.  | 18 Of Voidnesse.                 |
| 5 Whether All be One.  | 19 Of Place.                     |
| 6 How it commeth that men have a notion of God.                        | 20 Of Time.                      |
| 7 What is God.   | 21 Of the essence of Time.       |
| 8 Of heavenly intelligences or powers called Demons, and of Demi-gods. | 22 Of Motion.                    |
| 9 Of the first Matter.   | 23 Of Generation and Corruption. |
| 10 Of the Forme called Idea.   | 24 Of Necessitie.                |
| 11 Of Causes.  | 25 Of the effects of Necessitie. |
| 12 Of Bodies.  | 26 Of Destinie.                  |
| 13 Of the least indivisible bodies or Atomes.                          | 27 Of the substance of Destinie. |
| 14 Of Figures.   | 28 Of Fortunes.                  |
|  | 29 Of Nature.                    |

## Chapters of the second Booke.

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|---|---|
| 1 Of the world.   | 11 Of heaven, and what is the substance thereof.                      |
| 2 Of the figure of the world.   | 12 The division of heaven, and how many parts it is divided into.     |
| 3 Whether the world be endued with soule, and governed by providence. | 13 What is the substance of the starres; and how they be composed.    |
| 4 Whether the world be incorruptible.                                 | 14 The figure of the starres.   |
| 5 Whereof the world is nourished.                                     | 15 The order and situation of the starres.                            |
| 6 With what element God began to frame the world.                     | 16 The laton or motion of the starres.                                |
| 7 The order of the worlds fabrick.                                    | 17 Whence the starres have their light.                               |
| 8 For what cause the world beneth her copeth.                         | 18 Of the starres called Dioscuri, that is to say, Castor and Pollux. |
| 9 Whether there be any voidnesse without the world.                   | 19 The signification of starres: how commeth winter and summer.       |
| 10 Which is the right side of the world, and which is the left.       | 20 The substance of the sunne.  |

21 The

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|---|--|
| 21 The greatnesse of the sunne.                                   | 28 The illumination of the moone.  |
| 22 The forme of the sunne.  | 29 The eclipse of the moone.   |
| 23 The solstices or sunne-heads, or the conversions of the sunne. | 30 The face or apparence of the moone; and why she seemeth earthly.                |
| 24 The eclipse of the sunne.                                      | 31 The distance that is betwene sunne and moone.                                   |
| 25 The substance of the moone.                                    | 32 Of the yeere; and how much is the great yeere; & the revolution of each planet. |
| 26 The bignesse of the moone.                                     |  |
| 27 The forme of the moone.  |  |

## Chapters of the third Booke.

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| 1 Of the circle Galaxia, or the milke way.   | 10 The forme of the earth.   |
| 2 Of comets or blasing starres; of starres that seeme to shoot or fall; as also of the fire-bolts, or meteors called beames. | 11 The posture or situation of the earth.                                  |
| 3 Of thunder, lightnings, flashings, of the burning winds, called Presteres and Typhons.                                     | 12 The bending of the earth.   |
| 4 Of clouds, raine, snow, and haille.  | 13 The motion of the earth.  |
| 5 Of the rainbowe.   | 14 The division of the earth.  |
| 6 Of rads or strokes in the skie.  | 15 The zones or climates of the earth, how many and how great they be.     |
| 7 Of winds.  | 16 Of earth-quakes.  |
| 8 Of winter and summer.  | 17 Of the sea: how it is coneret; and how it comes to be bitter.           |
| 9 Of the earth: what is the substance thereof: and how bigge it is.  | 18 How come the tides, that is to say, the ebbing and flowing of the seas. |
|  | 19 Of the circle called Halo.  |

## Chapters of the fourth Booke.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1 Of the rising of Nilus.   | on, imaginable, and imagined.   |
| 2 Of the soule.   | 13 Of sight, and how we doe see.  |
| 3 Whether the soule be corporall: and what is her substance.                                    | 14 Of the reflexions or resemblances in mirrors.  |
| 4 The parts of the soule.   | 15 Whether darknesse be visible.  |
| 5 Which is the mistresse or principall part of the soule, and wherein it doth consist.          | 16 Of hearing.  |
| 6 Of the soules motion.   | 17 Of smelling.   |
| 7 Of the soules immortalitie.   | 18 Of tasting.  |
| 8 Of the senses and sensible things.  | 19 Of the voice.  |
| 9 Whether the senses and imaginations be true.  | 20 Whether the voice be incorporall: and how commeth the resonance called echo.               |
| 10 How many senses there be.  | 21 How it is that the soule hath sense: and what is the principal & predominant part thereof. |
| 11 How sense and notion is performed, as also how reason is ingendred according to disposition. | 22 Of respiration.  |
| 12 What difference there is betwene imagination,  | 23 Of the passions of the body: and whether the soule have a fellow-feeling with it of paine. |

## Chapters of the fifth Booke.

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|---|--|
| 1 Of divination or foreknowledge of future things.          | 7 How males and females are engendred.   |
| 2 How dreames come.   | 8 How monsters are ingendred.  |
| 3 What is the substance of naturall seed.                   | 9 What is the reason that a woman accompanying often times carnally with a man, doth not conceive. |
| 4 Whether naturall seed be a body.                          | 10 How twinnes, both two and three at once, be occasioned.   |
| 5 Whether females as well as males doe yeeld naturall seed. | 11 How commeth the resemblance of parents and  |
| 6 After what maner conceptions are.                         |  |

- and progenitours, in children.
- 12 What is the cause that infants be like to some other, and not to the parents.
- 13 How women proove barren, and men unable to ingender.
- 14 What is the reason that mules be barren.
- 15 Whether the fruit within the wombe, is to be accounted a living creature or no.
- 16 How such fruits be nourished within the wombe.
- 17 What part is first accomplished in the wombe.
- 18 How it cometh to passe, that infants borne at seven moneths end, doe live, and are livelike.
- 19 Of the generation of living creatures; how they be ingendered, and whether they be corruptible.
- 20 How many kindes there be of living creatures; whether they all have sense and use of reason.
- 21 In what time living creatures receive forme within the mothers wombe.
- 22 Of what elements is every generall part in us composed.
- 23 How cometh sleepe and death; whether it is of soule or bodie.
- 24 When and how a man beginneth to come unto his perfection.
- 25 Whether it is soule or bodie, that either sleepeth or dieth.
- 26 How plants come to grow, and whether they be living creatures.
- 27 Of nourishment and growth.
- 28 From whence proceed appetites, lusts and pleasures in living creatures.
- 29 How the fever is ingendered; and whether it be an necessarie or symptome to another disease.
- 30 Of health, sicknesse, and olde age.

## THE FIRST BOOKE OF Philosophers opinions.

### The Proæme.



Being minded to write of naturall philosophie, we thinke it necessary in the first place, and before all things els, to set downe the whole disputation of Philosophie, by way of division; to the end that we may know which is naturall, and what part it is of the whole. Now the Stoicks say, that sapience or wisdom is the science of all things, aswell divine as humane; and that Philosophie is the profession and exercise of the art expedient thereto, which is the onely supreme and soveraigne vertue; and the same divided into three most generall vertues; to wit, Naturall, Morall, and Verball: by reason whereof, Philosophie also admitteth a three-folde distribution; to wit, into Naturall, Morall, Rationall or Verball: the Naturall part is that, when as we enquire and dispute of the world and the things contained therein: Morall, is occupied in intreating of the good and ill that concerneth mans life: Rationall or Verball, handleth that which pertaineth unto the discourse of reason and to speech, which also is named Logique or Dialectique, that is to say, Disputative. But *Aristotle* and *Theophrastus*, with the Peripateticks, in manner all, divide Philosophie in this manner; namely, into Contemplative and Active: For necessarie it is (say they) that a man (to attaine unto perfection) should be a spectator of all things that are, and an actor of such things as be seemely and decent, and may the better be understood by these examples: The question is demanded, whether the Sunne be a living creature, according as it seemeth to the sight to be; or no? Hether searcheth and enquireth into the truth of this question, is altogether therein speculative, for he seeketh no farther than the contemplation of that which is; semblably, if the demand be made, whether the world is infinite? or if there be any thing without the purpoise of the world? for all these questions be meere contemplative. But on the other side mooved it may be, How a man ought to live? how he should governe his children? how he is to beare rule and office of State? and lastly, in what manner, lawes are to be ordeined and made? for all these are sought into, in regard of action, and a man conversant therein, is altogether active and practique.

### CHAP.

### CHAP. I.

#### What is Nature?

Since then, our intent and purpose is to consider and treat of Naturall philosophie, I thinke it needfull, to shew first, what is Nature: for absurd it were, to enterprise a discourse of Naturall things, and meane-while to be ignorant of Nature and the power thereof. Nature then (according to the opinion of *Aristotle*) is the beginning of motion and rest, in that thing wherein it is properly and principally, not by accident: for all things to be scene (which are done neither by fortune nor by necessitie, and are not divine, nor have any such efficient cause) be called Naturall, as having a proper and peculiar nature of their owne; as the earth, fire, water, aire, plants, and living creatures. Moreover, those other things which we do see ordinarily engendered, as raine, hawe, lightning, presteres, winds, and such like; for all these have a certaine beginning; and every one of them was not so for ever, and from all eternitie, but did proceed from some originall: likewise, living creatures and plants, have a beginning of their motion; and this first principle, is Nature: the beginning not of motion onely, but also of rest and quiet; for whatsover hath had a beginning of motion, the same also may have an end: and for this cause, Nature is the beginning aswell of rest as of moving.

### CHAP. II.

#### What difference there is betweene a principle and an element.

*Aristotle* and *Plato* are of opinion, that there is a difference betweene a Principle and an Element; but *Thales Milesius* thinketh they be both one: howbeit, there is a great difference betweene the one and the other; for elements be compounded; whereas we holde, that the first Principles neither be compounded, nor are any completer substance: and verily, earth, water, aire, and fire, we terme Elements; but Principles we call other Natures in this respect, that there is nothing precedent or before them, whereof they are ingendered; for otherwise, if they were not the first, they should in no wise be Principles, but that rather were to be so called, whereof they be ingendered. Now certaine things there are precedent, whereof, earth and water, &c. be composed; to wit, the first matter, without all forme and shape; as also the first forme it selfe, which we call *Entelechia*; and thirdly, Privation. *Thales* therefore is in an error, when he saith, that water was both the Element and Principle or first beginning of all things.

### CHAP. III.

#### Of principles or first beginnings, what they be.

*THALES* the Milesian affirmed, that Water was the first principle of the whole world: and this man seemeth to have beene the first author of philosophie: and of him tooke the Ionique sect of Philosophers their name (for many families there were successively of Philosophers) who having studied Philosophie in *Aegypt*, went to *Miletum*, when hee was firste stepped in yeeres, where he maintained this position: That all things were made of Water; so all things were to be resolved againe into Water. The reasons of this conjecture of his, were these: first, because naturall seed is the principle and beginning of all living creatures, and that is of a moist substance; therefore probable it is, that all other things likewise have humiditie for their principle: secondly, for that all sorts of plants be nourished by moisture, which if they want, they wither and fade away: thirdly, considering that the fire or the sunne it selfe, and the starres is nourished and maintained by vapours proceeding from the waters, the whole world also by consequence consisteth of the same: which is the reason, that *Homer* (supposing all things to be engendered of water) saith thus:

*The ocean sea, from whence ebbeth  
Engendred is, and hath beginning.*

But *ANAXIMANDER* the Milesian holdeth: that Infinite is the principle of all: for every thing proceedeth from it, & resolvethe into it againe; & therefore there be engendered infinite worlds; and those vanish againe into that whereof they be engendered: and why is there this Infinite? Because (quoth he) there should never faile any generation, but still have subsistence, howbeit,

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even he also erreth heerein; for that he declareth not what is this Infinitie whereof he speaketh, whether it be aire, water, or any other body? he faileth likewise in this, that he putteth downe a subject matter, but overthroweth the efficient cause: for this Infinitie whereof he talketh, is nothing else but matter; and matter cannot attaine to perfection, nor come into act; unless there be some moving and efficient cause. ANAXIMENES the Milesian, maineineth that aire is the principle of the world; for that all things come of it, and returne unto it: Like as (quoth he) our soule which is aire, keepeth us alive; even so spirit and aire mainteine the Being of the whole world: for spirit and aire be two words, signifying both one thing. But this Philosopher is out of the way as well as the rest, in that hee thinketh that living creatures be composed of a simple spirit, or uniforme aire: and impossible it is that there should be but one principle of all things, to wit, matter; but there ought withall to be supposed an efficient cause: for it is not enough to be provided of silver or gold, for to make a vessell or piece of plate, if there come not unto it, the efficient cause, to wit, the gold-smith: semblably we are to say, of brasse, wood, and all other sorts of matter.

ANAXAGORAS the Clazomenian, is perswaded, and so teacheth: That the principles of the world, and all that therein is, are small like parcels; which hee termeth *Homaomeries*; for hee thought it altogether absurd and impossible, that any thing should bee made of that which is not; or bee dissolved into that which hath no being; for howsoever we take our nourishment simple and uniforme; as for example; eat bread of corne, and drinke water, yet with this nutriment, are nourished, haire, veines, arteries, sinewes, bones, and other parts of the bodie, which being so: Confeffe we must (quoth hee) likewise, that in this food which wee receive are all things which have their Being; and that all things doe grow and encrease of that which hath Being: so that in this nourishment be those parcels which breed bloud, sinewes, bones, and other parts of our body, which may bee comprehended by discourse of reason; for we are not to reduce all unto the outward sense, to shew and prove that bread and water effect these things: but it may suffice, that in them these parts are conceived by reason: Inasmuch therefore as in nourishment there be parcels semblable unto that which they breed, in that regard hee called them *Homaomeries*, affirming them to be the principles of all things; and even so he would have these semblable parcels, to be the matter of all things; and for efficient cause, he setteth downe a Minde or understanding, that ordereth and disposeth al. And thus begetteth he to goe to worke, and reasoneth in this wise. All things at first were consumed and huddled together pell mell; but that Minde or understanding doth sever, dispose, and set them in order: in this one thing yet he hath done wel, and is to be commended, that unto the matter he hath adjoined a workman.

ARCHELAUS an Athenian, the sonne of *Apollodorus*, affirmeth, that the principle of all things was the infinit aire, together with the condensation, and rarefaction thereof; of which the one is fire, and the other water: and these Philosophers, following by continuall succession one upon another after *Thales*, made that sect which is called *Ionique*. But from another head, PYTHAGORAS the sonne of *Mnearchus*, & a Samian borne, the first author of the name of Philosophie: held that the principle of all things were Numbers, and their symmetries, that 40 is to say, the proportions that they have in their correspondency one unto another; which hee calleth otherwise Harmonies: & those elements that be composed of them both, are teamed by him Geometricall: furthermore, hee reckoneth among Principles, unitie, and Twaine infinit; of which, the one tendeth and hasteneth to an efficient and specificall cause, to wit, a Minde, and the same is God; the other unto a passive and materiall cause, namely, the visible world: Moreover, he thought that the Denarie or Ten, was the absolute nature and perfection of numbers; for that all men, as well Greeks as Barbarians, count untill ten, and when they be thither come, they returne backe againe unto unitie: over and besides hee said: That all the power of ten, consisted within fower, and in a quaternarie; the reason is this: that if a man begin at one, and reckon on still, numbering upright unto foure, hee shall make up ten; surpass 50 he once the quaternarie, he is gone beyond the denarie; as for example; one and two make three, three thereto arise to sixe, put thereto foure, and you have ten: inasmuch as number collected by unities, resteth in ten; but the force and puissance thereof lieth in foure. The Pythagoreans therefore were wont to sweare by the quaternarie or number of foure, which they held to be the greatest oath that they could take, as appeareth by this Distichon:

*I sweare by this quaternary,  
That needs our soules fountaine,*

*Which*

*Which of natures eternity,  
Doth seed and root containe.*

And our soule (as he saith) doth consist of the quaternary number; for there is in it, understanding, science, opinion, and fence; from whence proceedeth all manner of art and knowledge, and whereupon we our selves are called reasonable: as for understanding, it is that unity; for that it conceiveth and knoweth not but by unitie; as for example: There being many men, they are not every one in particular subject to our senses, but incomprehensible and infinit; many in our understanding we conceive and apprehend this one man alone, unto whom none is like: and so in our cogitation we consider one man onely; but if they bee considered particularly 10 apart, they are infinit: for all these genders and kindes are in unitie; and therefore when the question is asked of a particular man what he is? we yeeld a generall definition and say: He is a reasonable creature, apt to discourse by reason; and so likewise of this or that horse, wee must answer: That hee is a living creature, having a proprietie to neigh. Thus you see how understanding is unity, whereby we understand these things: but the binary or number of two, is by good right an indefinit science: for all demonstration and proove of any science, yea and moreover, all manner of syllogisme or argumentation, doth collect a conclusion which was doubtfull, of certeine premised propositions, confessed as true: whereby it sheweth easily another thing, whereof the comprehension is science; and so it appeareth, that science by a likelihood is the binarie number: but opinion by good reason may be said, the ternary number by comprehension; for that opinion is of many, and the ternary number implieth a pluralitie or 20 multitude, as we may see by the poet when he saith:

*Thrice happy men,  
Those Greeks were then.*

And for this cause *Pythagoras* made no reckoning of three, whose sect bare the name of *Italiqes*, for that he (not able to endure the tyrannicall dominion of *Polyrates*) departed from *Samos*, his native country, and went to keepe his schoole in *Italy*.

HERACLITUS, and HIPPIASUS the Metapontine, were of opinion, that Fire was the principle and beginning of all: for of fire say they, all things are made, and in fire they shal have an end; and when it is extinct and quenched, the universall world is in this manner engendered and framed: for first and formost the grossest part thereof being condensate and thrust together into it selfe, becommeth earth, and afterwards, when the same earth is resolved by fire, it turneth to be water; which when it doth evaporate, is converted into aire: againe, the whole world, and all the bodies therein contained, shall be one day consumed by fire in that generall conflagration and burning of all: whereby hee concludeth, that fire is the beginning of all things, as that whereof all was made, and the end likewise, for that all things are resolved into it.

EPICURUS the Athenian, sonne of *Necoles*, following the philosophie of *Democritus*, saith: That the principles of all things be certeine Atomes, that is to say, little bodies indivisible, and by reason onely perceptible, the same solide, and admitting no vacuities, not engendered, immortal, eternall, incorruptible, such as neither can be broken, nor receive any forme of the parts, ne yet be otherwise altered: These (quoth he) being perceptible & comprehended by reason, moove notwithstanding in emptinesse, and by emptinesse; & as the same voidnesse is infinite, so the said bodies also be in number infinit: howbeit these three qualities are incident unto them, figure, bignesse, and weight: for *Democritus* allowed them but twaine, to wit, bignesse, and figure; but *Epicurus* added unto them a third, namely poise or ponderositie: For these bodies (quoth he) must of necessitie moove: by the permission of the weight; otherwise they could not possibly stirre: the figures also of their bodies, (hee said) were comprehensible and not infinit; and these were neither hooked nor three-forked, ne yet round in manner of a ring, for such formes are apt to breake: as for the Atomes themselves, they be impassible and 50 infrangible, having certeine figures, no otherwise perceptible, but by reason; and such a body is called *Atomus*, not in this regard, that it is the least of all, but for that it cannot be divided, as being impassible, and admitting no vacuities: and therefore hee that nameth an Atome, saith as much, as infrangible, impassible, and without vacuities: now that there is such an indivisible body called *Atomus*, it is apparent, for that there be elements eternall, bodies void, and an unitie.

EMPEDOCLES an Agrigentine, the sonne of *Meton*, saith: There be foure elements, fire, aire, water, and earth; also two principall faculties or powers, namely, accord, and discord, or amitie

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amitie and enmitie, of which, the one hath puissance to unite, the other to dissolve: and these be his words:

*Four seeds and roots of all things that you see,  
Now listen first, and hearken what they be:  
Lord Jupiter with his benign potence,  
And lady Junoes vital influence,  
Rich Pluto, and dame Nectis weeping ay,  
Who with her teares, our seed-fourse weets away.*

By Jupiter hee meaneth fierie heat, and ardent skie; by Pluto, the earth; by Nectis and this humane fountaine of naturall seed, water.

SOCRATES the sonne of *Sophroniscus*, and PLATO the sonne of *Ariston*, both Athenians, (for the opinions of them both, concerning the world and all things therein, be the same) have set downe three principles, God, Matter, and Idea, that is to say, Forme: God is an universall spirit or Minde: Matter is the first and principall subject of generation and corruption: Idea, an incorporeall substance, resting in the thoughts and cogitations of God, which God; is the generall soule and intelligence of the world.

ARISTOTELIS of *Stagira* the sonne of *Nichomachus*, hath put downe for Principles these three, to wit, a certaine forme called *Entelechia*, Matter, and Privation: for elements, foure, and for a fifth Quintessence, the heavenly bodie which is im mutable.

ZENO the sonne of *Anaxagoras*, a Citiean borne, holdeth for two principles, God and Matter: whereof the one is an active and efficient cause, and the other passive; and besides, foure elements.

### CHAP. III.

*How the world was framed?*

THIS world then, became composed & formed in a round figure, bending and coping after this manner: those Atomes or indivisible bodies, having an accidentarie and inconsiderate motion, stirring continually, and most strictly, happen many of them to encounter one another and meet together; in which regard they differ in figures and magnitudes: now when they are thus gathered and heaped up together in one, the greater sort of them, and such as were most ponderous, settled altogether downward; as many of them as were small, round, even, smooth, and slipperie, those being beaten upon by the encounter of these weightie bodies, were repulsed, driven backe, and forced upward; but when that force which drave them aloft began to faile, and gave over once to send them up higher, not being able to fall downward againe; for that they were impeached, they were of necessitie enforced to retire into those places which were able to receive them: to wit, such as were round about them; unto which, a mightie number of bodies being wound together in an heape, and by meanes of the repercussion, enterlaced one within another, they engendered and brought forth the heaven; and afterwards others of the same nature; yet of divers formes (as hath been said before) being likewise driven up aloft, accomplished the nature of Stars. Moreover, the multitude of those bodies yeelding a vapour and exhalation, did beat forward and drive the aire; which by stirring and motion, being converted into wind, and comprising therewith the Starres, turned them about with it; and so maintained unto this day, that revolution which they have aloft. Of those bodies then, which settled below, was made the earth; and of such as mounted on high, the heaven, the fire, and the aire: part thereof which was more subtile, and of a thinner forme and consistence, gathered round together, and engendered the element of water, which being of a liquid, and flowing nature ran downward to hollow places lying low, which were able to receive and hold them: or else the water of it selfe where it staid and rested, made concavities and hollow places underneath. Thus you see after what manner the principall parts of the world were first engendered and made.

### CHAP. V.

*Whether All be one?*

THE STOICKS Philosophers held opinion that the world was one, which they called *monos*. That is to say, All, and the same of corporall substance.

EMPEDOCLES

EMPEDOCLES affirmed, that the world indeed was one; but All and the world, were not both one: for the world quoth he, is but a small portion of All: and as for the rest beside, it is but an idle and dull matter.

PLATO proveth his opinion, that the world is but one, by conjecture; and guesseth All to be one, by three presumptions or probable arguments. First, for that otherwise the world were not perfect and accomplished, if it comprised not All within it selfe. Secondly, it should not be like unto the pattern, if it were not one and uniforme. Thirdly, it would not be incorruptible, in case there were any thing without it. But wee are to answer PLATO and say against him, that the world is perfect, although it comprehend not all things: for man is perfect enough, and yet all things be not comprised in him. Moreover, there be many examples drawn from one pattern, as we may see in statues, houses, and pictures: and how is it perfect, if any thing may turne without it? Finally, incorruptible neither is it, nor can it be, considering it had a beginning and a kind of Nativitie.

METRODORUS saith: That as it were an absurd and impertinent speech to say, that in a great field there grew but one ear of corne; so it were as strange a matter, that in this infinitie there should be but one world: and that there be in number infinite, it appeareth by this, that there be causes infinite: for if the world were finite, and all the causes infinite whereof it is made, it cannot chuse but of necessitie there should be likewise infinite: for where all the causes be, there must needs the effects follow: now the causes of the world, be either these Atomes or the Elements.

### CHAP. VI.

*From whence it came that Men had the notion of God?*

THE STOICKE Philosophers define the Essence of God in this wise; namely, To be a spirit full of intelligence, and of a fiery nature, having no forme, but transforming himselfe into whatsoever he will, and resembling all things. The notion and apprehension men had of him, first, by conceiving the beautie of those things which are object to their eyes: for no beautil thing hath beene made by chance, and at adventure, but composed & framed by some ingenious and operative Art: now that the heaven is beautilfull, it appeareth by the forme, colour, and bignesse thereof, by the varietie also of the starres disposed therein: moreover, the world is round in manner of a Ball, which figure of all other is principall and most perfect, for it alone resembleth all the parts; for being round it selfe, it hath the parts likewise round. For this cause PLATO said, That our mind and reason (the most divine part of man) is lodged and seated in the head, which cometh neere unto a round figure: as for the colour, it is faire and lovely; for it standeth upon the azure or blew, which being more darke than purple, hath notwithstanding a bright and resplendent qualitie, in such sort, as by the exceeding strength of that light some hew, it cutteth and pierceth thorow so great an intervall and spacioulnesse of the aire, as it may be evidently scene in so mightie a distance: in regard also of the greatnesse thereof, it is right beautilfull; for, of all things that be of one and the same kinde, that which invitroneth and containeth the rest, is ever fairest; as we may see in a living creature, and a tree: besides, to consummate and accomplish the beautie of the world, there be the celestiall signes which appeare unto our eyes: for the oblique circle of the Zodiacke, is embellished with twelve divers and sundry images,

*Wherein the CRAB is to be scene,  
the LION after it,  
The VIRGIN, and two forked \* CLEES,  
the SCORPION with his bir,  
The ARCHER and the CAPRICORNE,  
upon which horned GOAT,  
There follow with the WATER-MAN,  
two FISHES all afloat;  
And after these, en sue in course,  
the RAM and sturdy Bull,  
But last of all, the double TWINNES,  
make up the dozen full.*

\* That is to say, Libra.

Yyy 3

Besides



was by an adulterer and adulteresse surpris'd and murdered treacherously: and *Hercules* one of his race and kinred, after he had ridde and purged the life of man from so many monsters that troubled his repofewas poisoned by *Deianira*, and so by indirect meanes lost his life.

*THALES* saith, that God is the soule of the world.

*ANAXIMANDER* is of opinion, that the starres be celestiaall gods.

*DEMOCRITUS* is perswaded, that God is a minde of a sferic nature, and the soule of the world.

*PYTHAGORAS* affirmeth, that of the two first principles, Unitie was God, and the fove-raigne good; which is the very nature of one, and is understanding it selfe: but the indefinite binarie, is the divell and evil, about which is the multitude materiall, and the visible world.

*SOCRATES* and *PLATO* doe hold, that he is one and of a simple nature, begotten and borne of himselfe alone, truly good: All which tearmes and attributes, tend unto a Minde: so that, this minde is God, a forme separate apart, that is to say, neither mingled with any matter, nor entangled and joined with any thing possible whatsoever.

*ARISTOTLE* supposeth, that this supreme God is an abstract forme, seated upon the round sphere of the universall world, which is an heavenly and celestiaall body, and therefore tearmed by him, the fifth body or *quinta essentia*: which celestiaall body being divided into many spheres coherent by nature, but separate and distinct by reason and understanding, hee thinketh each of these spheres to be a kinde of animall, composed of body and soule, of which twaine, the bodie is celestiaall, moving circularly; and the soule, reason, unmooveable in it selfe, but the cause 20 in effect of motion.

The Stoicks teach after a more generall manner, and define God, to be a working and artificall fire, proceeding methodically and in order to the generation of the world, which comprehendeth in it selfe all the spermatieall proportions and reasons of seed; according to which every thing by fatal destinie, is produced and commeth forth: also to be a spirit piercing and spreading through the whole world; howbeit, changing his denomination throughout the whole matter, as it passeth by transition from the one to the other: Semblably that the world is God, the starres likewise and the earth, yea, and the supreme minde above in heaven.

Finally, *EPICURUS* conceiveth thus of the gods, that they all have the forme of man, and yet be perceptible onely, by reason and cogitation, in regard of the subtile parts, and fine nature 30 of their imaginative figures: he also affirmeth, that those other foure natures in generall be incorruptible, to wit, the atomes, vacuities, infinitie, and resemblances, which also be called semblable parcels and elements.

## CHAP. VIII.

*Of Demons and demy-gods, otherwise named, Heroes.*

**T**O this treatise of the gods, meet it is to adjoine a discourse as touching the nature of Demones and Heroes.

*THALES*, *PYTHAGORAS*, *PLATO*, and the *STOICKS*, hold that these Demones be spirituaall substances: and the *Heroes* soule separate from their bodies; of which sort, there be good and bad: the good *Heroes* are the good soules, and the bad *Heroes* the bad soules; but *EPICURUS* admitteth none of all this.

## CHAP. IX.

*Of Matter.*

**M**atter is the first and principall subject exposed to generation, corruption, and other mutations.

The Sectaries of *THALES* and *PYTHAGORAS*, together with the Stoicks, doe say, that this Matter, is variable, mutable, alterable and fluxible, all wholly thorow the universall world.

The disciples and followers of *DEMOCRITUS* are of opinion, that the first principles be impassible; to wit, the small indivisible bodie, Atomes, Voidnesse, and Incorporall.

*ARISTOTLE* and *PLATO* doe holde, that Matter is corporall, without forme, shape, figure and qualitie, in the owne nature and propertie; but when it hath received formes once, it becommeth

becommeth (as it were) a nurse, a molde, pattern, and a mother. They who set downe for this Matter, water, earth, fire or aire, do not say, that now it is without forme; but that it is a very bodie: but such as affirme, that these Atomes and indivisible bodies be the said Matter, make it altogether formelesse.

## CHAP. X.

*Of Idea.*

**I***Idea* is a bodilesse substance, which of it selfe hath no subsistence, but giveth figure and forme unto shapelesse matters, and becommeth the very cause that bringeth them into shew and evidence.

*SOCRATES* and *PLATO* suppose, that these *Idea* bee substances separate and distinct from Matter, howbeit, subsisting in the thoughts and imaginations of God, that is to say, of Minde and understanding.

*ARISTOTLE* admitteth verily these formes and *Idea*, howbeit, not separate from matter, as being the patterns of all that which God hath made.

The *STOICKS*, such as were the scholars of *Zeno*, have delivered, that our thoughts and conceits were the *Idea*.

## CHAP. XI.

*Of Causes.*

**A** Cause is that whereupon dependeth or followeth an effect, or by which any thing happeneth.

*PLATO* hath set downe three kinds of Causes, and those are distinguished by these tearmes; By which, Of which, and For which; but he taketh the most principall to be that, By which; that is to say, the efficient cause, which is the minde or understanding.

*PYTHAGORAS* and *ARISTOTLE* do hold, that the principall Causes be incorporall; and as for other Causes, either by participation or by accident, they are of a corporall substance: and so the world is a bodie.

But the *STOICKS* are of opinion, that all Causes are corporall, inasmuch as they be spirits.

## CHAP. XII.

*Of Bodies.*

**A** Bodie is measurable, and hath three dimensions, length, bredth and depth or thicknesse. Or thus: A Bodie is a masse that resisteth, touching naturally of it selfe; or that which occupieth a place.

*PLATO* saith, that a Body is neither heavie nor light of it selfe naturally, so long as it abideth in the owne proper place; but being once in a strange place, it hath first an inclination, and upon it a motion and impulsion, either to weight or lightnesse.

*ARISTOTLE* is of opinion, that earth simply is most ponderous, and fire lightest: that aire and water be of a middle or doubtfull nature betweene both, sometime heavie and otherwhiles light.

The *STOICKS* hold, that of the foure elements, two be light; namely, Fire and Aire; other two be heavie; to wit, Water and Earth: for, light is that, which of the owne nature, and not by any compulsion or instigation removeth from the proper middle where it is: heavie also is that, which naturally tendeth to the said middle; but the middle it selfe, is in no wise heavie.

*EPICURUS* saith, that Bodies are not comprehensible; that the first Bodies be simple; but all the compositions of them have their weight and ponderositie: also, that the *ATOMES* doe move, some plumb right downe; others, at one side; and some againe, mount aloft, and that by impulsion and concussion.

## CHAP. XIII.

*Of the smallest Bodies.*

**E***MPEDOCLES* is of opinion, that before the foure elements, there were certeine small parcels or fragments, as one would say, elements before elements; and those were of semblable parts, and the same all round.

HERACLITUS

HERACLITUS cometh in with (I know not what) petie scrapings or shavings, exceeding small, and the same not divisible into parts.

## CHAP. XIII.

*Of Figures.*

A Figure is the superficies, circumscription, and accomplished lineament of a bodie. The PYTHAGOREANS affirme, that the bodies of the foure elements be of a sphericke or round figure; onely the highest of them (to wit, fire) is pyramidall, or sharpe pointed above.

## CHAP. XV.

*Of Colours.*

A Colour is the visible qualitie of a bodie. The PYTHAGOREANS called Colour, the outward superficies of the bodie. EMPEDOCLES defined it to be that which is fit and agreeable to the waies and passages of the sight. PLATO saith, it is a flame sent from bodies, having certeine parcels proportionable to the sight. ZENO the Stoice holdeth, that Colours be the first figurations of any matter. The followers of PYTHAGORAS affirme these to be the kinds of Colours, White, Blacke, Red, and Yellow; and that the diversity of Colours ariseth from a certeine mixture of elements: but in living creatures, the same proceedeth from the varietie of their \* places and sundry aires.

## CHAP. XVI.

*Concerning the Section of Bodies.*

THE sectaries of THALES and PYTHAGORAS, are of opinion, that bodies bee passible and divisible infinitely. DEMOCRITUS and EPICURUS hold, that this section staith either at the Atomes indivisible, or at those small bodies which have no parts, neither doth this division (say they) passe infinitely. ARISTOTLE saith, that divided they be in infinitum, potentially, but actually not.

## CHAP. XVII.

*Of Mixture and Temperature.*

THE ancient philosophers affirme, that this mixture of Elements is by way of alteration: but ANAXAGORAS and DEMOCRITUS, say, it is done by apposition. EMPEDOCLES composeth the Elements of smaller masses, which he supposeth to be the least bodies, and as a man would say, the Elements of Elements. PLATO would have the three bodies (for hee deigneth not them, either to bee called or to be, Elements) to be convertible one into the other, to wit, water, aire, and fire: but as for the earth, it cannot be turned into any one of them.

## CHAP. XVIII.

*Of Voidnesse or Vacuities.*

THE naturall philosophers of THALES his schoole, all untill you come to PLATO, have generally disavowed and reprooved this Vacuities: As for EMPEDOCLES thus he writeth:  
In all the world so spacious,  
Nought is void or superfluous.

LEUCIPPUS

LEUCIPPUS, DEMOCRITUS, DEMETRIUS, METRODORUS, and EPICURUS, hold, that the Atomes be infinit in multitude, and Voidnesse infinit in magnitude. The STOICKS affirme, that within the world there is no Voidnesse, but without there is infinitie.

ARISTOTLE is of opinion, that without the world there is no such Voidnesse, as that the heaven by the meanes thereof, may draw breath, for that it is of the nature of fire.

## CHAP. XIX.

*Of Place.*

PLATO saith, that Place is that which is susceptible of formes, one after another, which is by way of Metaphor or translation, to expresse the first matter, as a nurse receiving and embracing all. ARISTOTLE taketh Place to be the extreame superficies of the continent, conjunct and contiguous to the content.

## CHAP. XX.

*Of Roome or Space.*

THE STOICKS, and EPICURUS doe holde, that there is a difference betweene Voidnesse, Place, and Roome: for Voidnesse (say they) is the solitude or vacuities of a body: Place, that which is fully occupied and taken up with a body: but Roome or Space, that which is occupied but in part; as we may see in a rundlet or barrell of wine.

## CHAP. XXI.

*Of Time.*

PYTHAGORAS saith, that Time is the sphere of that utmost heaven that compriseth all. PLATO thinketh it to be the moveable image of the eternitie, or the intervall of the worlds motion: but ERATOSTHENES affirmeth it to be the course of the sunne.

## CHAP. XXII.

*Of the Essence of Time.*

PLATO saith, that the Essence of Time is the moving of heaven: but many of the STOICKS hold it, to be the moving of it selfe; and most of them affirme, that Time had no beginning of generation. PLATO is of opinion, that engendered it is according to our conceit and capacite.

## CHAP. XXIII.

*Of Motion.*

PYTHAGORAS and PLATO affirme, that Motion is a certeine difference and alteration in matter. ARISTOTLE giveth out, that it is the actual operation of that which is moveable. DEMOCRITUS saith, that there is but one kinde of Motion, to wit, that which tendeth obliquely. EPICURUS maintaineth twaine, the one direct and plumbe, the other side-long. EROPHILUS is of opinion, that there is one Motion perceptible in reason, and another object to sense naturall. HERACLITUS excluded all station, rest and repose out of the world: For this (quoth hee) belongeth unto the dead, but perperuall Motion agreeth to eternall substances; and perishable Motion to substances corruptible.

CHAP.

## CHAP. XXIII.

## Of Generation and Corruption.

**P**ARMENIDES, MELISSUS, and ZENO, rejected wholly all Generation and Corruption; for they thought the universall world to be unmooveable: but EMPEDOCLES and EPICURUS, and all those who held the world to be made of a masse and heape of small bodies huddled together, bring in and admit certaine concretions and dissipations; but in no wise Generations and Corruptions to speake properly, saying, that these come not according to qualitative way of alteration, but according to quantity by collection and heaping together.

PYTHAGORAS, and as many as suppose matter to be passible, hold, that there is properly indeed Generation and Corruption: for they say that this is done by the alteration, mutation and resolution of the elements.

## CHAP. XXV.

## Of Necessitie.

**T**HALES saith, that Necessitie is most potent and forcible, for it is that which ruleth the whole world.

PYTHAGORAS held, that the world was possessed and compassed with Necessitie.

PARMENIDES, and DEMOCRITUS were of opinion, that all things were made by Necessitie, and that destinie, justice, providence, and the Creatour of the world, were all one.

## CHAP. XXVI.

## Of the Essence of Necessitie.

**P**LATO referreth some events to providence, and others he attributeth to Necessitie. EMPEDOCLES saith, that the Essence of Necessitie is a cause apt to make use of the principles and elements.

\* *copied, some*  
side *Empedocles*,  
that is to say,  
corruption.

DEMOCRITUS affirmeth it to be the resistance, the \* lation, motion, and permission of the matter.

P L A T O holdeth it to be one while matter it selfe, and another while the habitude of that which is agent to the matter.

## CHAP. XXVII.

## Of Destinie.

**H**ERACLITUS affirmeth, that all things were done by fatall Destinie, and that it and Necessitie be both one.

P L A T O admitteth willingly this Destinie in the soules, lives, and actions of men; but he inferreth withall a cause proceeding from our selves.

The STOICKES likewise according to the opinion of PLATO, do hold, that Necessitie is a cause invincible, most violent and inforcing all things: also that Destinie is a connexion of causes interlaced & linked orderly: in which concatenation or chaine is therein comprised also that cause which proceedeth from us, in such sort as some events are destined, and others not.

## CHAP. XXVIII.

## Of the substance of Destinie.

**H**ERACLITUS saith, that the substance of Destinie is the reason that pierceeth throughout the substance of the universall world.

P L A T O affirmeth it to be an eternall reason, and a perpetuall law of the nature of the whole world.

CHRYSIPIUS

CHRYSIPIUS holdeth it to be a certaine puissance spiritual, which by order governeth and administred all things. And againe in his booke of definitions hee writeth thus: Destinie is the reason of the world, or rather the law of all things in the world, administred and governed by providence: or else the reason whereby things pass, have beene; things present, are; and future things, shall be.

The STOICKES are of opinion that it is the chaine of causes, that is to say, an order and connexion, which cannot be surmounted and transgressed.

POSIDONIUS supposeth it to be the third after Jupiter: for that Jupiter is in the first degree; Nature in the second; and fatall Destinie in the third.

## CHAP. XXIX.

## Of Fortune.

**P**LATO defineth Fortune to be (in things proceeding from mans counsell and election) a cause by accident, and a verie casual consequence.

ARISTOTLES holdeth it to be an accidentall cause in those things which from some deliberate purpose and impulsion tend to a certaine end, which cause is not apparent, but hidden and uncertaine. And he putteth a difference between Fortune and rash adventure: for that all Fortune in the affaires and actions of this world is adventurous: but everie adventure is not by and by Fortune; for that it consisteth in things without action: againe, Fortune is properly in actions of reasonable creatures; but adventure, indifferently in creatures, as well unreasonabable as reasonable, yea, and in those bodies which have neither life nor soule.

EPICURUS saith, that Fortune is a cause, which will not stand and accord with persons, times, and manners.

ANAXAGORAS and the STOICKES affirme it to be a cause unknowne, and hidden to humane reason: for that some things come by necessitie, others by fatall destinie; some by deliberate counsell, others by Fortune, and some againe by casualitie or adventure.

## CHAP. XXX.

## Of Nature.

**E**MPEDOCLES holdeth that Nature is nothing; only that there is a mixture and divulsion, or separation of Elements: for in this manner writeth he in the first booke of his Physicks:

*This one thing more I will yet say,  
of things that be humane  
And Mortall, that we none there is,  
and deaths end is but vaine.  
A mixture and divulsion,  
of Elements and of all,  
Only there is, and thus is that,  
which men do Nature call.*

Seemably ANAXAGORAS saith, that Nature is nothing else but a concretion and dissipation: that is to say, generation and corruption.

THE SECOND BOOKE OF  
Philosophers opinions.

## The Proöme.



Having now finished the Treatise of PRINCIPLES, ELEMENTS, and such other matters linked and concurring with them; I will turne my pen unto the discourse as touching their effects and works composed of them, beginning first at that which is most spacious and capable of all things.



## CHAP. I.

*Of the World.*

**P**YTHAGORAS was the first who called the Roundle that containeth and comprehendeth all, to wit, the World. *Kosmos*: for the orderly digestion observed therein.

THALES and his disciples held, that there is but one World.

DEMOCRITUS, EPICURUS, and their scholler METRODORUS affirme, that there be innumerable Worlds in an infinite space according to all dimensions and circumstances.

EMPEDOCLES saith, that the course and race of the Sunne, is the verie circumscription of the bounds and limits of the World; and that it is the verie confinement thereof.

SELEUCUS held the World to be infinite.

DIOGENES affirmed, the universallitie to be infinite: but the world finite and determinate.

The STOICKS put a difference betweene universall and whole: for they say, that the universall together with voidnesse is infinite: and that the whole without voidnes is the World: so as these termes, the Whole and the World, be not both one.

## CHAP. II.

*Of the figure and forme of the World.*

**T**HE STOICKS affirme the World to be round: some say it is pointed or pyramidal: others that it is fashioned in manner of an egge; but EPICURUS holdeth, that his Worlds may be round, and it may be that they are apt besides to receive other formes.

## CHAP. III.

*Whether the World be animate, or endued with a soule.*

**A**LLOther Philosophers agree, that the World is animate, &c. governed by providence: but DEMOCRITUS, EPICURUS, and as many as maintaine ATOMES, and with all bring in VACUITY, that it is neither animate, nor governed by providence, but by a certaine nature void of reason.

ARISTOTLE holdeth, that it is not animate wholly and throughout all parts; nor sensitive, nor reasonable, nor yet intellectuall or directed by providence: True it is (quoth he) that celestiall bodies be capable of all these qualities, as being compassed about with spheres both animate and virall; whereas bodies terrestriall and approaching neere unto the earth, are endued with none of them: and as for the order and decent composition therein, it came by accident, and not by prepened reason and counsell.

## CHAP. IIII.

*Whether the World be incorruptible and eternall.*

**P**YTHAGORAS and PLATO affirme, that the world was ingendred and made by God; and of the owne nature (being corruptible) shall perish: for sensible it is, and therefore corporall; howbeit, in regard of the divine providence, which preserveth and maintaineth it, perish it shall never.

EPICURUS saith, that it is corruptible, for that it is engendred, like as a living creature or a plant.

XENOPHANES holdeth the world to be eternall, ingenerable, uncreated and incorruptible.

ARISTOTLE is of opinion, that the part of the world under the moone, is passible; whereas in the bodies also adjacent to the earth, be subject to corruption.

## CHAP. V.

*Whereof the World is nourished.*

**A**RISTOTLE saith, that if the World be nourished, it is likewise corruptible, and wil perish; but so it is, that it hath no need of nouriture, and so by consequence it is eternall.

PLATO

PLATO is of opinion, that the world yeeldeth unto it selfe nouriture of that which perisheth, by way of mutation.

PHILOLAUS affirmeth, that there is a two-folde corruption; one while by fire falling from heaven, and another while by water of the moone, powred forth by the circugyratation and turning about of the aire; the exhalations whereof become the food of the world.

## CHAP. VI.

*At which element began God the fabricke of the world?*

**T**HE Naturalists doe holde, that the creation of the world began at earth, as the very center thereof; for that the beginning of a sphere or ball, is the center.

PYTHAGORAS saith, that it began at fire, and the fifth element.

EMPEDOCLES saith, that the first thing separate apart, was the skie or fifth essence, called *Aether*; the second, Fire; after which, the Earth; of which being thrust close and pressed together by the violence of revolution, sprang Water, from which Aire did evaporate: also, that heaven was made of that Skie or Quintessence; the sunne, of Fire; and of the other elements, were conspitate and felted (as it were) terrestriall bodies, and such as be neere the earth.

PLATO is of opinion, that this visible world was formed to the molde and pattern of the intellectuall: that of the visible world, the soule was first made; and after it, that which is corpulent: that of the fire and earth, first; that which standeth of water and aire, second.

PYTHAGORAS affirmed, that of the five solid bodies, which are also called Mathematically; the Cube (that is to say, a square bodie, with six faces) went to the making of the earth; of the pointed Pyramis, was made fire; of Octoedra or solide bodie with eight bases, the earth; of Icosiedra with twentie sides, the water; of Dodecaedra with twelve faces, the supreamie sphere of the universall world: and himselfe herein also doth Pythagorize.

## CHAP. VII.

*Of the order of the worlds fabricke.*

**P**ARMENIDES imagineth certeine coronets (as it were) enterlaced one within another, some of a rare substance, others of a thicke, and the same mixed of light and darknesse betweene; also that the bodie which contained them all together, was as firme and solid as a wall.

LEUCIPPUS and DEMOCRITUS entwapped the world round about with a tunicle or mbrane.

EPICURUS held, that the extremitie of some worlds were rare; of others thicke; and that of them, some were moveable, others immoveable.

PLATO setteth downe Fire first; secondly, the Skie; then Aire; afterwards, Water; and last of all, Earth; but otherwhiles, he conjoineth the Skie unto Fire.

ARISTOTLE rangeth in the first place, the impassible Aire, which is a certeine fifth bodie; and after it, the Elements passible, to wit, Fire, Aire, Water, and Earth the last: of all which, unto the celestiall bodies he attributeth a circular motion; and (of the others situate beneath them) unto the lighter kinde, the ascent or rising upward; unto the weightier, descent or falling downward.

EMPEDOCLES is of opinion, that the places of the elements are not alwaies steadie and certeine, but that they all interchange mutually one with another.

## CHAP. VIII.

*What is the cause that the world bendeth or creepeth forward.*

**D**IOGENES and ANAXAGORAS affirme, that after the world was made, and that living creatures were produced out of the earth, the world bowed (I wot not how) of it selfe, and of the owne accord, to the Southerne or Meridionall part thereof; haply by the divine providence fo ordering all, that some parts of the world should be habitable, others inhabitable, according to excessive colde, extreme heat, and a meane temperature of both.

Zzz 2

EMPEDOCLES

EMPEDOCLES faith, that by reason that the aire gave place to the violence of the Sunne, the two Beares or Poles \* bended, and inclined: as for those parts which were northerly, they were elevated and mounted aloft; but the southerne coasts were depressed and debased as much; and so accordingly the whole world.

## CHAP. IX.

*Whether without the world, there be any vacuities?*

THE schoole of Pythagoras holdeth that there is a voidnesse without the world, to which, 10 and out of which the world doth draw breath: but the STOICKS affirme that into it, the infinite world by way of conflagration is resolved.

POSIDONIUS admitteth no other infinite, than as much as is sufficient for the dissolution thereof.

In the first booke of vacuities, ARISTOTLE faith, there is voidnesse.

PLATO affirmeth, that there is no empiness at all, either without or within the world.

## CHAP. X.

*What be the right sides, and which be the left, in regard of the world.*

PYTHAGORAS, PLATO, and ARISTOTLE do take the East for the right part, and the 20 West for the left.

EMPEDOCLES faith, that the right side bendeth toward the summers Tropic; and the left toward the Tropic of winter.

## CHAP. XI.

*Of Heaven, and what is the substance thereof.*

ANAXIMENES affirmeth the exterior circumference of Heaven to be earthy. 30  
EMPEDOCLES faith, that Heaven is solid, being made of aire condensate by fire, after the manner of chrystall; and that it containeth the fierie and airie nature in the one and the other hemisphere.

ARISTOTLE holdeth, that Heaven is composed of the fifth body above fire, or else of the mixture of heat and cold.

## CHAP. XII.

*Of the division of Heaven: and namely into how many Circles it is divided.*

THALES, and PYTHAGORAS with his followers doe say, that the sphere of the whole 40 Heaven is parted into five circles, which they call certaine Zones cinctures or girdles; of which circles, one is called the Arctick, and is alwaies to be seene of us; a second the summer Tropic; a third Aequinoctiall; the fourth, winter Tropic; and the fifth the Antartick circle: which is evermore unseene: as touching the oblique or crooked circle, called the Zodiacke, which lieth under the other three middle circles above named, it toucheth them all three as it passeth, and every of them are cut in right angles by the Meridian, which goeth from pole to pole.

PYTHAGORAS was the first (men say) that observed the obliquity of the Zodiack: which invention nevertheless Oenopides the Chian, ascribeth to himselfe, as if he were the author 50 of it.

## CHAP. XIII.

*What is the substance of the Starres, and how they were made and composed.*

THALES affirmeth them to be terrestriall, and nathlesse fierie and ardent.  
EMPEDOCLES holdeth them to be enflamed by that fire, which the skie containing within

within it selfe, did violently strike and send forth at the first excretion. ANAXAGORAS faith, that the sky which environeth, is indeed of the owne essence of a fiery nature; but by the violent revolution of it selfe, snatcheth up stones from the earth, and setting them on fire, they become Starres.

DIODEGENES thinketh, that Starres be of the substance of a pumish stone, as be being the breathing holes of the world: and againe, the same philosopher faith, that they be certaine blind-stones not apparent; howbeit, falling often to the earth, are there quenched, as it happeneth in a place called *aiops norquids*; that is to say, Goats rivers, where there fell sometime a stone-starre in forme of fire.

10 EMPEDOCLES holdeth, that the fixed Starres which wander not, be fastned to the christall skie; but the planets are loofe and at liberty.

PLATO giveth out, that for the most part they be of fire, and yet nevertheless they participate with other elements in maner of glue or foder.

XENOPHANES is of opinion, that they consist of clouds inflamed, which notwithstanding are quenched every day, & afterwards againe be fiered in the night in maner of coles: as for the rising and setting of Starres, they be nothing else but their catching fire and quenching.

HERACLYDES and the PYTHAGOREANS hold, that every Star is a world by it selfe, containing an earth, an aire, and a skie, in an infinit celestiall nature; and these opinions goe current in the verses of *Orpheus*, for they make of every Starre a world. EPICURUS reprooveth 20 none of all this, but holdeth still that old note of his: It may be so.

## CHAP. XIII.

*The forme and figure of Starres.*

THE STOICKS say, that the Starres be sphericke or round like as the world, the sunne and moone. CLEANTHES holdeth them to be pointed and pyramiddall. ANAXIMENES faith, they sticke fast in the christalline skie, like a number of nailes. Others imagine that they be fierie plates, like unto flar pictures.

## CHAP. XV.

*Of the order and situation of Starres.*

XENOCRATES supposeth that the Starres moove upon one and the same superficies: but 30 other Stoicks affirme that there be some afore others in heigh and depth.

DEMOCRITUS raungeth the fixed Starres first; next the planets; and after them, the sunne, the moone, and the day-starre *Lucifer*.

PLATO after the situation of the fixed Starres, setteth in the first place that which is called 40 Phaenon, to wit, the Starre of *Saturne*; in the second, Phaethon, which is the Starre of *Jupiter*; in the third, Pyrois, that is to say, fierie or ardent, and it is that of *Mars*; in the fourth Phosphorus, and that is *Venus*; in the fifth Stilbon, which is *Mercurie*; in the sixth, the Sunne; and last, in the seventh, the Moone. Of the Mathematicians some accord with Plato, others place the Sunne in the middes of them all.

ANAXIMANDER, METRODORUS the Chian, and CRATYS affirme, that the Sunne is placed highest of all, next to him the Moone, and under him the fixed Starres and the Planets;

## CHAP. XVI.

*Of the latitudes and motions of the Starres.*

ANAXAGORAS, DEMOCRITUS, and CLEANTHES, doe hold, that all Starres doe 50 moove from east to west.

ALCMAON and the Mathematicians say, that the planets hold an opposite course to the fixed Starres, and namely from the west to the east.

ANAXIMANDER faith, they be caried by their spheres and circles, upon which they are fastned.

ANAXIMENES is of opinion, that they roll as well toward the earth, as turne about the earth.

PLATO and the Mathematicians hold, that the course of the Sunne, of *Venus*, and of *Mercurie*, is the same and equall.

## CHAP. XVII.

*From whence the Starres have their illumination.*

METRODORUS thinketh, that all the fixed Starres have their light from the sunne. HERACLITUS, and the Stoicks say, that the Starres bee nourished by exhalations arising from the earth.

ARISTOTLE opineth, that the celestiall bodies need no nouriture, for that they are not corruptible but eternall.

PLATO and the Stoicks hold, that all the world and the Starres likewise be nourished of themselves.

## CHAP. XVIII.

*Of the two Starres named Dioscouri, to wit, Castor and Pollux.*

XENOPHANES doth mainteine that the lights like Starres which appeere otherwhiles upon ships, are thinne and subtile clouds, which after a kinde of motion doe shine.

METRODORUS saith, they be certeine glittering sparkels glauncing and leaping out of their eies who behold them with feare and astonishment.

## CHAP. XIX.

*Of the signification of Starres, and how commeth winter and summer.*

PLATO saith, that the tokens & significations both of Winter and Summer, proceed from the rising and setting of Sunne, Moone, and other Starres, as well fixed as wandering.

ANAXIMENES saith, that none of all this is occasioned by the Moone, but by the Sunne onely. EUDOXUS and ARATUS affirme them to bee in common, by meanes of all the Starres: and ARATUS sheweth as much in these verses:

*These radiant starres, and lights, so evident,  
As signes, God hath set in the firmament,  
Distinct, in great foresight, throughout the yeere,  
To shew how all the seasons ordered were.*

## CHAP. XX.

*Of the Sunnes substance.*

ANAXIMANDER affirmeth, that the circle of the Sunne is eight and twentie times bigger than the earth, having an hollow apsis about it, like (for all the world) unto a chariot wheele, and the same full of fire: in one certeine place whereof, there is a mouth, at which the fire is scene, as out of the hole of a flute, or such like pipe, and the same is the Sunne.

XENOPHANES holdeth, that there is a certeine gathering of small fires, which by occasion of moist exhalations, meet together; and they all (being collected) make the bodie of the Sun, or els (quoth he) is a cloud set on fire.

The STOICKS say, that the Sun is an inflamed body \* intellectuall, or humour inflamed, proceeding out of the sea.

PLATO imagineth it to consist of much fire:

ANAXAGORAS, DEMOCRITUS, and METRODORUS suppose it to be a masse of yron, or a stone inflamed.

ARISTOTLE is of opinion, that it is a sphere out of the fifth body.

PHILOLAUS the Pythagorean, is perswaded that it is in maner of a glasse, receiving the reverberation of all the fire in the world, and transmitting the light thereof unto us (as it were) thorow

\* whether or  
no, it is after  
some.

thorow a tannise or streiner, in such sort, as that fierie light in heaven resembleth the Sun: then that which proceedeth from it, is in forme of a mirrour: and thirdly, there is a splendour, which by way of reflexion from that mirrour, is spread upon us: and this call we the Sun, as it were the image of an image.

EMPEDOCLES is of this minde, that there be two Sunnes, the one an originall and primitive fire, which is in the other hemisphere of the world; and the same filling this hemisphere of ours, as being alwaies situate full opposit to the reflexion of the resplendent light thereof: as for this that we see, it is the light in that other hemisphere, replenished with aire mixed with hear, & the same is occasioned by refraction from the earth, that is more round, entering into the Sun, which is of a CrySTALLINE nature, and yet is trained and caried away together with the motion of that fire. But to speake more plainly and succinctly in fewer words, this is as much to say, as the Sunne is nothing els, but the reflexion of that light of the fire which is about the earth.

EPICURUS imagineth the Sun to be a retretriall spissitude or thicknesse, yet spungeous (as it were) and hollow in maner of a pumish stone, and in those holes lightened by fire.

## CHAP. XXI.

*Of the Sunnes magnitude.*

ANAXIMANDER is of opinion, that the Sunne is equall in bignesse to the earth; but the circle from which he hath his respiration, and upon which he is caried, is eight and twentie times bigger than the whole earth.

ANAXAGORAS said, it was by many degrees greater than all *Peloponnesus*.

HERACLITUS held, that it was a mans foot broad.

EPICURUS againe affirmed, that all above said might be; or that it was as bigge as it appeared to be, at leastwise a little under or over.

## CHAP. XXII.

*Of the Sunnes forme.*

ANAXIMENES imagined that the Sunne was flat and broad, like unto a thinne plate of metall.

HERACLITUS supposed it to be made like unto a boat, somewhat curbed downward, and turning up.

The STOICKS suppose it to be round, like unto the whole world and other starres.

EPICURUS saith, that all this may be well enough.

## CHAP. XXIII.

*Of the Solstices or Tropiques of the Sunne.*

ANAXIMENES thinketh that the Starres are beaten backe by the thicke aire, and the same making resistance.

ANAXAGORAS saith, that they are occasioned by the repulse of the aire, about the Beares or Poles, which the Sunne himselfe (by thrusting and making thicke) causeth to be more powerful.

EMPEDOCLES ascribeth the reason thereof to the sphere, that containeth and impeacheth him from passing farther; as also to the two Tropique circles.

DIOPHES imagineth, that the Sun is extinct by the cold, falling opposit upon the heat. The STOICKS affirme, that the Sunne passeth thorow the tract and space of his food and pasture lying under him, which is the Ocean sea or the earth, upon the vapours and exhalation whereof he feedeth.

PLATO, PYTHAGORAS and ARISTOTLE holde, that this is occasioned by the obliquitie of the Zodiacke circle, thorow which the Sunne passeth bialse; as also, by reason of the Tropique circles, which environ and guard him about: and all this, the very sphere it selfe doth evidently shew.

## CHAP.

## CHAP. XXIII.

*Of the Sunnes eclipse.*

**T**HALES was the first who observed the Sunnes eclipse, and said, that it was occasioned by the Moone, which is of a terrestriall nature, when as in her race, she commeth to be just and plumb under him; which may be plainly seene as in a mirrour, by setting a balon of water underneath.

ANAXIMANDER said, that the Sun became eclipsed, when the mouth or tunnill (at which the heat of his fire commeth forth) is closed up.

HERACLITUS is of opinion, that this hapneth, when the bodie of the Sun which is made like a boat, is turned upside downe, so as the hollow part thereof is upward, and the keele downward to our sight.

XENOPHANES affirmeth, that this commeth by extinction of one Sun, & the rising of another againe in the East: he addeth moreover, and reporteth, that there is an eclipse of the Sun, during one whole moneth; as also one entire and universall eclipse, in such maner, as the day seemeth to be night.

Others ascribe the cause thereof, to the thickenesse of clouds, which suddenly and after an hidden maner, overcast the rundle and plate of the Sunne.

ARISTARCHUS reckoneth the Sunne among the fixed Starres, saying, that it is the earth which rolleth and turneth round about the Sunnes circle, and according to the inclinations thereof, the Sunnes lightsome bodie commeth to be darkened by her shade.

XENOPHANES holdeth, that there be many Sunnes and Moones, according to the divers Climats, Tracts, Sections, and Zones of the earth: and at a certaine revolution of time, the rundle of the Sunne falleth upon some Climate or Section of the earth, which is not of us inhabited; and so marching (as it were) in some void place, he suffereth eclipse: he also affirmeth, that the Sun goeth indeed infinitely forward still, but by reason of his huge distance and retract from us, seemeth to turne round about.

## CHAP. XXV.

*Of the Moones substance.*

ANAXIMANDER saith, that the Moone is a circle, xix. times bigger than the earth, and like as that of the Sunne, full of fire; that she suffereth eclipse when her wheele turneth: for that he saith, that circle resembleth the wheele of a chariot, the movature or felly whereof, is hollow and full of fire; howbeit, there is an hole or tunnell, out of which the fire doth exhale.

XENOPHANES saith, that the Moone is a thicke, compact, and felted cloud.

The STOICKS hold, that she is mixed of fire and aire.

PLATO affirmeth, that she standeth more of a fierie substance.

ANAXAGORAS and DEMOCRITUS do hold, that the Moone is a solid and firme bodie all fiery, containing in it, champian grounds, mountaines and vallies.

HERACLITUS is of opinion that it is earth overspred with mists.

PYTHAGORAS also thinketh that the bodie of the Moone is of the nature of fire.

## CHAP. XXVI.

*Of the Moones magnitude.*

**T**HE STOICKS pronounce flatly that the Moone is bigger than the Earth, like as the Sunne also.

PARMENIDES affirmeth it to be equal in brightnesse to the Sunne, and that of him she hath her light.

## CHAP. XXVII.

*Of the Moones forme.*

**T**HE STOICKS say, the Moone is round as a globe, like as the Sunne.

EMPEDOCLES would have it to resemble a balon or platter.

HERA-

HERACLITUS compareth it to a boat; and others to a round cylinder; \* [that she is shaped seven manner of waies: at her first birth as it were she appeereth horned or tipped; then divided or quartered; afterwards growing somewhat together; and soone after full: from which time by little and little she waneeth by degrees; first bending somewhat close, then quartered, and after that tipped and horned, untill at the change she appeereth not at all: and they say this variety of her configurations, is occasioned by the earth shadowing her light more or lesse, according as the convexitie of the earth commeth betwene.]

\* That which is inserted between these two marks [ ] I finde neither in the original Greeke, nor in the French, but in the Latine only.

## CHAP. XXVIII.

*Of the Moones illuminations.*

ANAXIMANDER saith, that she hath a light of her owne, but the same very rare and thinn.

ANTIPHON affirmeth, that she shineth with her owne light: and whereas she is otherwise hidden, it proceedeth from the opposition of the sunne; namely, when a greater fire commeth to darken a lesse, a thing incident to other starres.

THALES and his followers hold, that the Moone is lighted by the sunne.

HERACLITUS supposeth, that the case of the sunne and Moone is all one, for that both of them being formed like a boat, and receiving moist exhalations, they seeme in our sight illuminate; the sunne brighter of the twaine, for that he goeth in a more cleere and pure aire, and the Moone in that which is more troubled, which is the reason that she seemeth more darke and muddy.

## CHAP. XXIX.

*Of the Moones Eclipse.*

\* ANAXIMENES saith, that the Moone is Eclipsed, when the mouth or venting hole \* whereout issueth her fire, is stopped.

BEROSUS is of opinion, that it is when that face and side of hers which is not lighted, turneth toward us.

HERACLITUS would have it to be, when the convexitie or swelling part of the boat which she doth represent, regardeth us directly.

Some of the PYTHAGOREANS doe holde the eclipse of the Moone to be partly a reversion of light, and in part an obstruction; the one in regard of the earth, the other of the Antipodes, who tread opposite unto us. But the moderne writers are of opinion, that it is by occasion of the augmentation of the Moones flame, which regularly and by order is lighted by little and little, untill it represent unto us the full face of the Moone, and againe doth diminish and wane in proportion, untill the conjunction, at what time it is altogether extinct.

PLATO, ARISTOTLE, the STOICKS, and MATHEMATICIANS, do all with one accord say, that the occultations of the Moone every moneth, are occasioned by reason that she falleth in conjunction with the sunne; by whose brightnesse she becommeth dimme and darkened: but the Eclipses of the Moone be caused when the commeth within the shadow of the earth, situate directly betwene both Starres, rather for that the Moone is altogether obstructed therewith.

## CHAP. XXX.

*Of the Moones apparition, and why she seemeth to be earthy.*

**T**HE PYTHAGOREANS affirme, that the Moone appeereth terrestriall, for that she is inhabited round about, like as the earth wherein we are, and peopled as it were with the greatest living creatures, and the fairest plants; and those creatures within her, be fiftene times stronger and more puissant than those with us, and the same yeld forth no excrements, and the \* day there, is in that proportion so much longer.

ANAXAGORAS saith, that the inequality which is seene in the face of the Moone, proceedeth from the coagmentation of cold and terrestriety mixed together, for that there is a certene

\* Hipparchus, some readen ΝΥΧΤΙ, that is to say, night.

certaine tenebrositie medled with the fierie nature thereof : whereupon this starre is said to be *Pseudophores*, that it to say, to have a false light.

The *STOICKS* are of opinion, that by reason of the diversitie of her substance, the composition of her bodie is not subject to corruption.

## CHAP. XXXI.

*The distance betweene Sunne and Moone.*

**E**MPEDOCLES thinketh, that the Moone is twice as far off from the Sunne as she is from 10 the earth.

The *MATHEMATICIANS* say, that the distance is eightene times as much.

*ERATOSTHENES* giveth out, the Sunne is from the earth 408. thousand stadia, ten times told : and the Moone from the earth 78. thousand stadia, ten times multiplied.

## CHAP. XXXII.

*Of the yeeres : And how much the yeere of every Planet containeth the great yeere.*

**T**He revolution or yeere of *Saturne* comprehendeth thirtie common yeeres : Of *Jupiter* 12 twelve : of *Mars* two : of the Sunne, twelve moneths : those of *Mercurie* and *Venus* be all one, for their course is equall : of the Moone thirtie daies : for this we count a perfect month, to wit, from the apparition to the conjunction. As for the great yeere ; some say, it compriseth eight yeeres : others nineteen, and others againe sixtie wanting one. *HERACLITUS* saith it consisteth of 80000. solare yeeres. *DIODEGENES* of 365. yeeres, such as *Heraclitus* speaketh of : and others of 7777.

THE THIRD BOOKE OF  
Philosophers opinions.

## The Proöme.

**H**AVING summarily, and after a cursorie manner treated in the former bookes, of celestiall bodies, and resting in the confines thereof, which is the Moone, I will addresse my selfe in this third booke, to discourse of Meteores, that is to say, of such impressions as be engendred in the aire above, to wit, betweene the circle of the Moone and the situation of the earth : the which men hold generally to be in stead of the prick or center in that compasse of the universall Globe. And heereat will 40 I beginne.

## CHAP. I.

*Of the Milke way or white circle Galaxia.*

**T**His *Galaxia* is a cloudie or mistie circle, appearing alwaies in the skie ; and called it is the Milke way, of the white colour which it doth represent.

Of the *Pythagoreans* some say, it is the inflammation or burning out of some starre removed, and falling out of his proper place, which hath burnt round about all the way as it passed, from the verie time of *Phaethon* his conflagration.

Others hold, that in old time the race and course of the Sun was that way. Some are of opinion, that it is a specularie apparition, only occasioned by the reflexion of the Sun-beames against the cope of heaven, even as we observe it to fall out betweene the rainbow and thicke clouds.

*METRODORUS* affirmeth it to be caused by the passage of the Sunne : for that this is the solare circle.

*PARMENIDES* is of opinion that the mixture of that which is thicke, with the rare or thin, engendred this milkie colour.

ANAXAGORAS

*ANAXAGORAS* saith, that the shadow of the earth resteth upon this part of heaven, at what time as the Sunne being underneath the earth, doth not illuminate all throughout.

*DEMOCRITUS* is perswaded, that it is the resplendent light of many small starres, and those close together, shining one upon another, and so occasioned by their spissitude and striction.

*ARISTOTLE* would have it to be an inflammation of a drie exhalation ; the same being great in quantitie and continued : and so there is an hairy kind of fire under the skie, and beneath the planets.

*POSSIDONIUS* supposeth it to be a consistence of fire, more cleere and subtile than a starre, and yet thicker than a splendeur or shining light.

## CHAP. II.

*Of Comets, or Blazing starres : of Starres seeming to shoot and fall : as also of fierie beames appearing in the aire.*

**S**OME of *Pythagoras* scholars affirme, that a Comet is a starre of the number of those which appeare not alwaies, but at certaine prefixed seasons after some periodicall revolutions do arise.

Others affirme it to be the reflexion of our sight against the Sunne, after the manner of those 20 resemblances which shew in mirrours or looking glasses.

*ANAXAGORAS* and *DEMOCRITUS* say, that it is a concurse of two starres or more meeting with their lights together.

*ARISTOTLE* is of opinion, that it is a consistence of a drie exhalation enflamed.

*STRATO* saith, that it is the light of a starre enwrapped within a thicke cloud, as we see it ordinarily in our lamps and burning lights.

*HERACLIDES* of *PONTUS* holdeth it to be a cloud heaved and elevated on high, and the same illuminated by some high light also : and the like reason giveth he of the bearded blazing star called *Pagionias*. Others (like as all the *Perepateticks*) affirme, that the beame, the colunne, and such other meteors or impressions are made after the same manner by divers configurations 30 of clouds in the aire.

*EPIGENES* supposeth a Comet to be an elevation of spirit or wind mixed with an earthly substance, and set on fire.

*BOETHUS* imagineth it to be an apparition of the aire, let loose as it were, and spread at large.

*DIODEGENES* is perswaded that Comets be starres.

*ANAXAGORAS* saith, that the starres which are said to shoot, be as it were sparkles falling from the elementarie fire : which is the cause that they are quenched and gone out so quickly.

*METRODORUS* supposeth, that when the Sunne striketh violently upon a cloud, the beames or raies thereof do sparkle, and so cause this shooting of starres as they teame it.

*XENOPHANES* would beare us in hand, that all such Meteors and Impressions as these, be 40 constitutions or motions of clouds enflamed.

## CHAP. III.

*Of shouders, lightnings, flashes, presters or fierie blastes, and tempestuous whirlwinds.*

**A**NAXIMANDER supposeth, that all these come by wind : for when it hapneth that it is conceived & inclosed within a thicke cloud, then by reason of the subtiltie and lightnesse thereof, it breaketh forth with violence : and the rupture of the cloud maketh a cracke ; and the divulsion or cleaving, by reason of the blacknesse of the cloud, causeth a shining light.

*METRODORUS* saith, when a wind chanceth to be enclosed within a cloud gathered thicke and close together, the said wind by bursting of the cloud maketh a noise ; and by the stroke and breach it shineth ; but by the quicke motion catching heat of the Sunne, it shooteth forth lightning ; but if the said lightning be weake, it turneth into a Prester or burning blase.

*ANAXAGORAS* is of opinion, that when ardent heat falleth upon cold, that is to say, when a portion of celestiall fire lighteth upon the aire substance ; by the cracking noise thereof is caused thunder ; by the colour against the blacknesse of the cloud, a flashing beame ; by the plentie and greatnesse of the light, that which we call lightning : and in case the fire be more grosse and 10 corpulent,



corpulent, there ariseth of it a whitewind; but if the same be of a cloudie nature, it engendreth a burning blast called Prester.

The **STOICKS** hold thunder to be a combat, and smiting together of clouds: that a flashing beame, is a fire or inflammation proceeding from their attrition: that lightning is a more violent flashing, and Prester, lesse forcible.

**ARISTOTLE** supposeth, that all these meteores come likewise of a dry exhalation, which being gotten enclosed within a moist cloud, seeketh means, and striveth forcibly to get forth: now by attrition and breaking together, it causeth the clap of thunder; by inflammation of the drie substance, a flashing beame; but Presters, Typhons, that is to say, burning blasts and whirlwindes, according as the store of matter is, more or lesse, which the one and the other draweth to it; but if the same be hotter, you shall see Prester, if thicker, looke for Typhon.

### CHAP. III.

#### Of Clouds, Raine, Snowe, and Haile.

**ANAXIMENE**s saith, that clouds are engendered when the aire is most thicke, which if they coagulate still more and more, there is expressed from them a shewer of raine: but in case this matter as it falleth, doe congeale, it turneth to be snow; but say it meet with a colde moist wind and be surprized therewith, it prooveth haile.

**METRODORUS** supposeth, that clouds be composed of a waterish evaporation elevated, by the long way of their descent.

### CHAP. V.

#### Of the Rainbow.

**A**mong those meteors or impressions engendered in the aire, some there be which have a true substance indeed, as raine and haile: others againe, have no more but a bare appearance, without any reall substance, much like as when we are within a ship, we imagine that the continent and firme land doth move: and among those which are in appearance onely, we must range the Rainbow. **PLATO** saith, that men derive the genealogie of it from *7 haumas*, as one would say, from wonder, because they marvelled much to see it: according as *Homer* sheweth in this verse:

*Like as when mightie Jupiter the purple rainbow bends,  
Thereby to mortall men from heaven, a wondrous token sends,  
Which either tempests terrible, or we shall warre pretends.*

And hereupon it is, that some have made thereof a fabulous device, and given out, that she having a bulles head, drinketh up the rivers. But how is this Rainbow ingendered, and how cometh it so to appeare? Certes, we see by lines, either direct and streight, or crooked, or els rebated and broken; which though they be obscure, and appeare not evidently, yet are perceived by cogitation and discourse of reason, as being bodilesse. Now by right lines we beholde things, some in the aire, and others thorow transparent stones and hornes; for that all these consist of very subtil parts: by crooked and curbed lines, we looke within the water; for our eie sight doth bend and turne againe perforce, by reason that the matter of the water is more thicke; which is the cause, that we see the mariners oare in the sea a farre off, as it were crooked. The third manner of seeing, is by refraction, and so we beholde objects in mirrours; and of this sort is the Rainbow: for we must consider and understand, that a moist vapour being lifted up aloft, is converted into a cloud; and then within a while by little and little, into small dew-drops: when as therefore, the Sun descendeth Westward, it can not chuse, but every Rainbow must needs appeere opposit unto it in the contrary part of the sky: and when our sight falleth upon those drops, it is rebated and beaten backe; and by that means there is presented unto it a Rainbow: now those drops are not of the forme and figure of a bow, but represent a colour onely: and verily, the first and principall hew that this bow hath, is a light and bright red; the second, a deepe vermilion or purple; the third, blue and Greene: let us consider then, whether the said red colour appeare not, because the brightnesse of the Sunne beating upon the cloud, and the sincere light thereof

thereof reflected & driven back, maketh a ruddy or light red hew; but the second part more obscure, and rebating the said splendor through those dew drops, causeth a purple tincture, which is (as it were) an abatement of red; and then as it becometh more muddie still, & darkning that which distinguisheth the sight, it turneth into a Greene: and this is a thing which may be proved by experience; for if a man take water directly against the Sunne beames in his mouth, and spit the same forward, in such sort, as the drops receive a repercussion against the said raies of the Sunne, he shall finde that it will make (as it were) a Rainbow. The like befalleth unto them that are beleere-cied, when they looke upon a lampe or burning light.

**ANAXIMENE**s supposeth, that the Rainbow is occasioned by the Sun shining full against a grosse, thicke and blacke cloud, in such sort, as his beames be not able to pierce and strike thorow, by reason that they turne againe upon it, and become condensate.

**ANAXAGORAS** holdeth the Rainbow to be the refraction or repercussion of the Sunnes round light against a thicke cloud, which ought alwaies to be opposit full against him, in manner of a mirrour: by which reason, in nature it is said, that there appeare two Sunnes in the countrey of *Pontus*.

**METRODORUS** saith, when the Sunne shineth thorow clouds, the cloud seemeth blue, but the light looketh red.

### CHAP. VI.

#### Of Water-galles or streaks like rods, somewhat resembling Rainbowes.

**T**hese rods and opposit apparitions of Sunnes, which are seene otherwhiles in the skie, happen through the temperature of a subject matter and illumination; namely, when clouds are seene, not in their naturall and proper colour, but by another, caused by a divers irradiation: and in all these, the like passions fall out both naturally, and also are purchased by accident.

### CHAP. VII.

#### Of Winds.

**ANAXIMANDER** is of opinion, that the *WInde* is a fluxion of the aire; when as the most subtile and liquid parts thereof be either stirred, or melted and resolved by the Sunne.

The **STOICKS** affirme, that every blast is a fluxion of the aire, and that according to the mutation of regions, they change their names; as for example, that which bloweth from the darknesse of the night and Sunne setting, is named *Zephyrus*; from the East and Sunne rising, *Apeliotes*; from the North, *Boreas*; and from the South, *Libis*.

**METRODORUS** supposeth, that a watrish vapour being inhaled by the heat of the Sun, produceth and raiseth these winds: and as for those that be anniversary, named *Etesia*, they blow, when the aire about the North pole is thickened and congealed with cold, and so accompanie the Sunne, and flow (as it were) with him, as he retireth from the Summer Tropicke; after the Aestivall Solstice.

### CHAP. VIII.

#### Of Winter and Summer.

**EMPEDOCLES** and the **STOICKS** do hold, that *Winter* cometh, when the aire is predominant in thickenesse, and is forced upward; but *Summer*, when the fire is in that wife predominant, and is driven downward.

Thus having discoursed of the impressions aloft in the aire, we will treat also (by the way) of those which are seene upon and about the earth.

### CHAP. IX.

#### Of the Earth: the substance and magnitude thereof.

**THALES** with his followers affirme, there is but one Earth.

**ORCETES** the Pythagorean, maintaineth twaine; one heere, and another opposit against

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gainst it, which the Antipodes inhabit.

The STOICKS say, there is one Earth, and the same finite.

XENOPHANES holdeth, that beneath it is founded upon an infinite depth; and that compact it is of aire and fire.

METRODORUS is of opinion, that Earth is the very sediment and ground of the waters, like as th Sunne is the residence of the aire.

#### CHAP. X.

##### The forme of the Earth.

THALES, the STOICKS and their school: affirme the Earth to be round, in manner of a globe or ball.

ANAXIMANDER resembleth the Earth unto a column or pillar of stone, such as are scene upon the superficies thereof.

ANAXIMENES compareth it to a stable; LAUCIPPUS, unto a drum or tabour: DEMOCRITUS saith, that it is in forme, broad in manner of a platter, hollow in the mids.

#### CHAP. XI.

##### The situation of the Earth.

THE disciples of THALES maintaine, that the Earth is seated in midst of the world.

XENOPHANES affirmeth, that it was first founded and rooted as it were to an infinite depth.

PHILOLAUS the Pythagorean saith, that fire is the middle, as being the hearth of the world, in the second place he raungeth the Earth of the Antipodes: and in the third, this wherein wee inhabit, which lieth opposite unto that counter earth, and turneth about it: which is the reason (quoth he) that those who dwell there, are not seene by the inhabitants heere.

PARMENIDES was the first Philosopher, who set out and limited the habitable parts of the Earth, to wit, those which are under the two Zones, unto the Tropicks or Solstitiall circles.

#### CHAP. XII.

##### Of the bending of the earth.

PYTHAGORAS is of opinion, that the earth enclineth toward the Meridionall parts, by reason of the raritie which is in those South coasts: for that the Septentrionall tracts are congealed, and frozen with cold, whereas the opposite regions be inflamed and burnt.

DEMOCRITUS yeeldeth this reason; because of the ambient aire is weaker toward the South 40 (quoth hee) the Earth as it groweth and encreaseth, doth bend to that side: for the North parts be intemperate; whereas contrariwise the Southeren parts are temperate: in which regard it weigheth more that way, whereas indeed it is more plentifull in bearing fruits, and those growing to greater augmentation.

#### CHAP. XIII.

##### The motion of the Earth.

SOME hold the Earth to be unmoveable and quiet: but PHILOLAUS the Pythagorean 50 saith, that it moveth round about the fire, in the oblique circle, according as the Sunne and Moone do.

HERACLIDES of Pontus, and Ephantus the Pythagorean, would indeed have the Earth to move, howbeit not from place to place, but rather after a turning manner like unto a wheele upon the axell tree, from West to East, round about her owne center.

DEMOCRITUS saith, that the Earth at first wandered to and fro, by reason as well of

of smalnesse as lightnesse: but waxing in time thicke and heavie, it came to rest unmoveable.

#### CHAP. XIII.

##### The division of the Earth, and how many Zones it hath.

PYTHAGORAS saith, that the earth is divided into five Zones proportionably to the sphere 10 of the universall heaven; to wit, the Artick circle, the Tropick of Summer, the Tropick of Winter, the Aequinoctiall and the Antartick. Of which the middlemost doth determine and set out the verie mids and heart of the earth: and for that cause it is named *Torrida Zona*, that is to say, the burnt climat: but that region is habitable, as being temperate, which lieth in the mids between the summer and the winter Tropick.

#### CHAP. XV.

##### Of Earthquakes.

THALES and DEMOCRITUS attribute the cause of Earthquakes unto water.

THE STOICKS thus define and lay, Earthquake is the moisture within the earth subliated and resolved into the aire, and so breaking out perforce.

ANAXIMENES is of opinion, that raritie and driness of the earth together, be the causes of Earthquake: wherof the one is engendred by excessive drought, the other by gluts of raine.

ANAXAGORAS holdeth, that when the aire is gotten within the earth, and meeteth with the superficies thereof, which it findeth tough and thicke, so as it cannot get forth, it shaketh it in manner of trembling.

ARISTOTLE alledgeth, the *Antiperiastis* of the circumstant cold which environeth it 30 about on everie side, both above and beneath: for heat endeavoreth and maketh hast to mount aloft, as being by nature light. A drie exhalation, therefore finding it selfe enclosed within and staid, striveth to make way through the cliffs and thicks of the Earth, in which busines it cannot chuse but by turning to and fro, up and downe disquiet and shake the earth.

METRODORUS is of mind, that no bodie being in the owne proper and naturall place can stirre or moove, unlesse some one do actually thrust or pull it. The earth therefore (quoth he) being situate in the owne place, naturally mooveth not: howsoever some places thereof may remove into others.

PARMENIDES and DEMOCRITUS reason in this wise: for that the earth on everie side is of equal distance, and confineth still in one counterpoise, as having no cause wherfore it 40 should incline more to the one side than to the other: therefore well it may shake onely, but not stirre or remove for all that.

ANAXIMENES saith, that the Earth is caried up and downe in the aire, for that it is broad and flat.

Others say, that it floateth upon the water, like as planks or boards, and that for this cause it mooveth.

PLATO affirmeth, that of all motions there be fix sorts of circumstances, above, beneath, on the right hand, on the left, before and behind. Also that the earth cannot possibly moove according to any of these differences: for that on everie side it lieth lowest of all things in the world, and by occasion thereof resteth unmoveable, having no cause why it should encline 50 more to one part than to another, but yet some places of her because of their raritie do joggle and shake.

EPICURUS keepeth his old tune, saying, it may well be, that the earth being shogged, and as it were rocked and beaten by the aire underneath, which is grosse and of the nature of water, therefore mooveth and quaketh. As also, it may be (quoth he) that being holow and full of holes in the parts below, it is forced to tremble and shake by the aire that is gotten within the caves and concavities, and there enclosed.

## CHAP. XVI.

*Of the Sea, how it was made and cometh to be bitter.*

**A**NAXIMANDER affirmeth, that the Sea is a residue remaining of the primitive humidity; whereof the Sunne having burnt up and consumed a great part, therest behind he altered and turned from the naturall kind by his excessive ardent heat.

ANAXAGORAS is of opinion, that the said first humiditie being diffused and spread abroad in manner of a poole or great meere, was burnt by the motion of the sunne about it: and when the oileous substance thereof was exhaled and consumed, the rest settled below, and turned into a brackish and bitter-saltneffe, which is the Sea.

EMPEDOCLÉS saith, that the Sea is the sweat of the earth, enchaſed by the sunne, being bathed and washed all over aloft.

ANTISTON thinketh it to be the sweat of heat, the moisture whereof which was within, being by much seething and boiling sent out, becometh salt; a thing ordinary in all sweats.

METRODORUS suppoſeth the Sea to be that moisture, which running thorough the earth, retained some part of the densitie thereof, like as that which passeth through ashes.

The disciples of PLATO imagine, that so much of the elementarie water which is congealed of the aire by refrigeration, is sweet and fresh; but whatsoever did evaporate by burning and inflammation, became salt.

## CHAP. XVII.

*Of the Tides, to wit, the ebbing and flowing of the sea, what is the cause thereof?*

**A**RISTOTLE and HERACLITUS affirme, that it is the sunne which doth it, as who stirreth, raiseth, and carrieth about with him the most part of the windes, which coming to blow upon the Ocean, cause the Atlantike sea to swell, and so make the flux or high waters; but when the same are allayed and cleane downe, the sea falleth low, and so causeth a reflux and ebbe or low water.

PYTHEAS of Marſeils, referreth the cause of Flowing to the full moone, and of Ebbing to the moone in the wane.

PLATO attributeth all to a certaine rising of the waters, saying, There is such an elevation, that through the mouth of a cave carrieth the Ebbe and Flow to and fro, by the meanes whereof, the seas doe rise and flow contrarily.

TIMAEUS alledgeth the cause hereof to be the rivers, which falling from the mountaines in Gaule, enter into the Atlantique sea, which by their violent corruptions, driving before them the water of the sea, cause the Flow, and by their ceasing and returne backe by times, the Ebbe.

SELVUCUS the Mathematician, who affirmed also, that the earth mooved, saith, that the motion thereof is opposit and contrary to that of the moone: also that the winde being driven to and fro, by these two contrary revolutions, bloweth and beateth upon the Atlantike ocean, troubleth the sea also (and no marvell) according as it is disquieted it selfe.

## CHAP. XVIII.

*Of the round circle called Halo.*

**T**HIS Halo is made after this manner: betweene the body of the moone, or any other starre, and our eye-sight, there gathereth a grosse and mistie aire, by which aire, anon our sight cometh to be reflected and diffused; and afterwards the same incurreth upon the said starre, according to the exterior circumference thereof, and thereupon appeereth a circle round about the starre, which being there seene is called Halo, for that it seemeth that the apparent impression is close unto that, upon which our sight so enlarged as is before said, doth fall.

THE

THE FOURTH BOOKE OF  
Philosophers opinions.

## The Proæme.



Having runne through the generall parts of the world, I will now passe unto the particulars.

## CHAP. I.

*Of the rising and inundation of Nilus.*

**T**HALES thinketh that the anniverſarie windes called Etesiae blowing directly against Aegypt, cause the water of Nilus to swell, for that the sea being driven by these windes, entrench within the mouth of the said river, and hindereth it, that it cannot discharge it selfe freely into the sea, but is repulſed backward.

EUTHYMENES of Marſeils, suppoſeth that this river is filled with the water of the ocean, and the great sea lying without the continent, which he imagineth to be fresh and sweet.

ANAXAGORAS saith, that this hapneth by the snowe in Aethiopia, which melteth in summer, and is congealed and frozen in winter.

DEMOCRITUS is of opinion, that it is long of the snowe in the north parts, which about the æſtival ſolſtice and returne of the sunne, being dissolved and dilated, breedeth vapors, and of them be engendred clouds, which being driven by the Etesian windes into Aethiopia and Aegypt toward the south, cause great and violent raines, wherewith both lakes, and the river also Nilus, be filled.

HERODOTUS the Historian writeth, that this river hath as much water from his sources and springs, in winter as in summer; but to us it seemeth lesse in winter, because the sunne being then neerer unto Aegypt, causeth the said water to evaporate.

EPHORUS the Historiographer reporteth, that all Aegypt doth resolve and runne at it were wholly into sweet in summer time: whereunto Arabia and Libya doe conferre, and contribute also their waters, for that the earth there is light and sandy.

EUDOXUS saith, that the priests of Aegypt assigne the cause hereof to the great raines and the Antiperſtaſis or contrarie occurre of seasons; for that when it is Summer with us, who inhabit within the Zone toward the Summer Tropicke, it is Winter with those who dwell in the opposit Zone under the Winter Tropicke, whereupon (saith he) proceedeth this great inundation of waters, breaking downe unto the river Nilus.

## CHAP. II.

*Of the Soule.*

**T**HALES was the first that defined the Soule to be a nature moving alwaies, or having motion of it selfe.

PYTHAGORAS saith, it is a certaine number moving it selfe; and this number he taketh for intelligence or understanding.

PLATO suppoſeth it to be an intellectuall substance mooving it selfe, and that according to harmonical number.

ARISTOTLE is of opinion, that it is the first Entelechia or primitive act of a naturall and organicall bodie, having life potentially.

DICEARCHUS thinketh it to be the harmonie and concordance of the foure elements.

ASCLEPIADES the Phyſician, defineth it to be an exercise in common of all the senses together.

## CHAP. III.

*Whether the Soule be a body, and what is the substance of it.*

**A**Ll these Philosophers before rehearsed, suppose that the Soule is incorporall, that of the owne nature it mooveth and is a spirittuall substance, and the action of a naturall bodie.

die, composed of many organs or instruments, and withall having life.

But the Sectaries of ANAXAGORAS, have given out, that it is of an aircie substance, and a very body.

The STOICKS would have the Soule to be an hot spirit or breath.

DEMOCRITUS holdeth it to be a certeine fierie composition of things perceptible by reason, and the same having their formes sphericall and round, and the puillance of fire, and withall to be a body.

EPICURUS saith, it is a mixtion or temperature of foure things, to wit, of a certeine fire, of (I wot not what) aire, of an odde windie substance, and of another fourth matter, I cannot tel what to name it, and which to him was sensible. 10

HERACLITUS affirmeth, the Soule of the world to be an evaporation of humors within it: as for the Soule of living creatures, it proceedeth (quoth he) as well from an evaporation of humors without, as an exhalation within it selfe, and of the same kinde.

### CHAP. III.

*The parts of the Soule.*

PYTHAGORAS and PLATO, according to a more generall and remote division, hold, that the Soule hath two parts, that is to say, the Reasonable & the unreasonable; but to goe 20 more neere and exactly to worke, they say, it hath three; for they subdivided the unreasonable part into Concupisibile and Irascible.

The STOICKS be of opinion, that composed it is of eight parts, whereof five be the senses naturall, to wit, sight, hearing, smelling, tasting, and feeling; the sixth is the voice; the seventh generative or spermaticall, and the eight, understanding, which guideth and commaundeth all the rest by certeine proper organs and instruments, like as the Polype fish by her cleies and hairy branches.

DEMOCRITUS and EPICURUS set downe two parts of the Soule; the Reasonable seated in the brest, and the unreasonable spread and dispersed over all the structure of the body besides.

As for DEMOCRITUS, he affirmeth, that all things whatsoever, have a certeine kinde of 30 Soule, even the very dead bodies, for that alwaies they doe manifestly participate a kinde of heat and sensitive facultie, notwithstanding the most part thereof be breathed forth, and yeelded up.

### CHAP. V.

*Which is the Mistresse and commanding part of the Soule, and wherein it is.*

PLATO and DEMOCRITUS place it in the head throughout: STRATO betweene the 40 twocie browes: ERASISTRATUS in the membrane or kell that enfoldeth the braine, and it he calleth *Epiëranis*: HEROPHILUS within the ventricle or concavities of the braine, which also is the basis or foundation of it: PARMENIDES over all the brest, and with him accordeth EPICURUS: the STOICKS all with one voice hold it in the whole heart, or else in the spirit about the heart: DIOGENES in the cavities of the great arterie of the heart, which is full of vitall spirit: EMPEDOCLES in the consistence or masse of bloud: others in the verie necke of the heart: some in the tunicle that lappeth the heart: and others againe in the midriff: some of our moderne philosophers hold, that it taketh up & occupieth all the space from the head downward to the Diaphragma or midriffe above said: PYTHAGORAS supposeth that the vitall part of the Soule is about the heart, but the reason and the intellectuall or spirituall part, about the head. 50

### CHAP. VI.

*The motion of the Soule.*

PLATO is of opinion, that the Soule mooveth continually; but the intelligence or understanding is immoveable, in regard of local motion from place to place.

ARISTOTLE saith, that the soule it selfe moveth not, although it be the author that rules & directeth

directeth all motion; howbeit, that by an accident, it is not devoid of motion, according as divers sorts of bodies do move.

### CHAP. VII.

*Of the Soules immortallitie.*

PYTHAGORAS and PLATO affirme the Soule to be immortall; for in departing out of the bodie, it retireth to the Soule of the universall world, even to the nature which is of the same kinde.

20 The STOICKS hold, that the Soule going from the bodie, if it be feeble and weake, as that is of ignorant persons, seileth downward with the grosse consistence of the bodie; but if it be more firme and puissant, as that is of wise and learned men, it continueth \* even unto the conflagration of all.

DEMOCRITUS and EPICURUS say, that it is corruptible, and perisheth together with the bodie.

PYTHAGORAS and PLATO are of opinion, that the reasonable part of the Soule is im- up to the re-  
mortal and incorruptible; for that the Soule, if it be not God, yet the worke it is of eternal gon offire.  
God: as for the unreasonable part, it is mortal and subject to corruption.

### CHAP. VIII.

*Of the Senses and sensible objects.*

THE STOICKS thus define Sense: Sense (say they) is the apprehension of the sensitive organ. But Sense is taken many waies; for we understand by it, either an habitude or facultie naturall, or a sensible action, or els an imagination apprehensive; which all are performed by the meanes of an instrument sensitive: yea, and the very eighth part of the Soule abovenamed, even that which is principall, to wit, the discourse of reason, by which all the rest doe consist: Again, the spirits intellectuall, are called sensitive instruments, which from the said principall understanding reach unto all the organs.

30 The Sense (quoth EPICURUS) is that parcell of the soule which is the sensitive power it selfe, and the effect which proceedeth from it, so that he taketh Sense in two sort, for the power, and effect.

PLATO defineth Sense to bee the societie of the body and soule, as touching externall objects; for the facultie and power of Sense is proper to the soule, the instrument belongeth to the body; but both the one and the other apprehendeth externall things, by the meanes of the imaginative facultie, or the phantasie.

LEDCIPPUS and DEMOCRITUS doe say, that both Sense and intelligence are actuated by the meanes of certeine images represented from without, unto us, for that neither the one nor the other, can be performed without the occurrence of some such image.

### CHAP. IX.

*Whether Senses and Fancies be true or no?*

THE STOICKS hold, that the Senses be true; but of Imaginations, as some be true, so others are false.

EPICURUS supposeth that all Senses and Imaginations be true; many of opinions, some be true, others false: and as for the Sense it is deceived one way only, to wit, in things intelligible: but Imagination after two sorts: for that there is an Imagination as well of sensible things, as of intelligible.

50 EMPEDOCLES and HERACLIDES say, that particular Senses are effected according to the proportion of their pores and passages; namely as the proper object of each Sense is well disposed and fitted.

### CHAP. X.

*How many Senses there be?*

THE STOICKS hold, that there be five proper Senses, Sight, Hearing, Smelling, Taft, and Feeling.

ARISTOTLE

ARISTOTLE faith not, that there is a fixt, howbeit he putteth downe one common Sense, which judgeth as touching the compound kinds: whereunto all the other particular and single Senses bring and present their proper imaginations: wherein the transition of the one to the other, as of a figure or motion doth shew.

DEMOCRITUS affirmeth, that there bee more Senses in brute beasts, in the gods, and in wife men.

## CHAP. XI.

*After what manner is effected Sense, Notion and Reason, according to disposition or affection.*

THE STORCKS are of opinion and say, that when a man is engendered, hee hath the principall part of his soule, which is the understanding, like for all the world unto a parchment or paper ready to be written in; and therein he doth register and record every severall Notion and cogitation of his: for those who have perceived any thing by sense, (as for example like, have seene a white thing) when the same is gone out of their eie, retaine it still in memorie: now after they have collected together many semblable memories of the same kinde, then they say, they have experience; for experience is nothing else but an heape or multitude of like sorts: but of notions and thoughts, some be naturall, which are caused in manner aforesaid, without any artificiall meanes; others come by our studie, and by teaching, and such alone properly and indeed are called Notions; the other be named rather conceptions or anticipations; and Reason for which we beare the name of Reasonable, is accomplished by those anticipations in the first seven yeeres: and intelligence is the conception in the understanding of a reasonable creature: for phantasie when it lighteth upon the reasonable soule is then called Intelligence, taking the denomination of understanding, which is the cause that these imaginations are not incident unto other creatures; but such as are presented unto gods and us both, those are onely and properly imaginations; whereas those which offer themselves unto us, are imaginations in generall, and cogitations in speciall: like as Deniers, Teltens, or Crownes being considered apart in themselves, are Deniers, Teltens, & Crownes; but if you give them for the hire of a ship, then besides that they are Deniers, &c. they be also the fare, for ferry or passage.

## CHAP. XII.

*What difference there is betweene Imagination, Imaginable, Imaginative, and Imagined.*

CHRYSIPIUS faith, there is a difference betweene all these fower: and first, as for \* Imagination, it is a passion or impression in the soule, shewing the selfe same thing that made and imprinted it: as for example; when with our eies we behold a white, it is a passion or affection engendered by the sight in our soule, and we may well say, that the said white is the subject or object that mooveth & affecteth us: semblably in smelling and touching, and this is called Phantasie, a word derived of *phantasia* or *phantasia*, which signifieth light or cleerenesse; for like as the light sheweth it selfe, and all that is comprised in it, so the Phantasie or imagination representeth it selfe, and that which made it.

\* Imaginable is that which maketh imagination, as white, cold, and whatsoever is able to moove or affect the soule, is called Imaginable.

\* Phantastick or Imaginative, is a vaine attraction; even an affection or passion in the soule, which commeth not from any object imaginable; like as we may observe in him that fighteth with his owne shadow, or in vaine singeth forth his hands: for in true phantasie or imagination, there is a subject matter named Imaginable: but in this Phantastick or Imaginative there is no such object or subject at all.

\* Phantasmie or \* Imagined, is that unto which we are drawne by that vaine attraction; a thing usual with those who are either furious, or surprized with the maladic of melancholy: for so Orestes in the tragedie of Euripides when he uttereth these speeches,

*O mother mine, against me raise not thus,  
I thee beseech these \* wench's furious:  
Whom now I see alas, with bloody eyes,  
And dragon like, how they against me rise:  
These me beset, and charge on every part,  
These strike on still, these wound me to the hart.*

\* *phantasia*, or women.

doth

doth speake them as enraged and in a phranticke fit; for he seeth nothing, but onely imagineth and thinketh that he seeth them: and therefore his sister *Electra* replieth thus upon:

*Lie still poore wretch ye sit in thy bed, for why?*

*Thou seest not that which comes so verily,*

The same is the case of *Theoclymenus* in \* *Homer*.

\* *Odysseus*, toward the end.

## CHAP. XIII.

*Of Sight, and how we doe see.*

DEMOCRITUS, and EPICURUS supposed, that Sight was caused by the intromission of certaine images: others by an insinuation of beames, returning to our eie-sight, after the occurrence of an object. EMPEDOCLES hath mingled the said images and beames together, calling that which is made thereof, the raies of a compound image. HIPPARCHUS holdeth, that the beames sent out and launced from the one eie, and the other comming to be extended in their ends meet together, and as it were by the touching and clasping of hands, taking hold of externall bodies, carie backe the apprehension of them unto the vivive power.

PLATO attributeth it to the corradiation or conjunction of light, for that the light of the eies reacheth a good way within the aire of like nature, & the light likewise issuing from the visible bodies, cutteth the aire betweene, which of it selfe is liquid and mutable, and so extendeth it together with the fierie power of the eie; and this is it which is called the conjunct light or corradiation of the Platonickes.

## CHAP. XIII.

*Of the Resemblances represented in mirrors.*

EMPEDOCLES faith, that these apparitions come by the meanes of certaine defluxions, gathered together upon the superficies of the mirror, and accomplished by the fire that ariseth from the said Mirror, and withall transmuteth the aire that is object before it, into which those fluxions are caried.

DEMOCRITUS and EPICURUS are of opinion, that these apparences in Mirrors, are caused by the subsistence and stay of certaine images, which passing from us, gather together upon the Mirror by way of rebounding and refulation.

The PYTHAGOREANS attribute all this to the reflexion of the sight: for that the sight is extended and caried as farre as to the Mirror of brasse or whatsoever, where resting and staying upon the thicke foldine thereof, and beaten backe by the polished smoothnesse of the Mirror object against it, the same returneth againe upon it selfe; much like as when our hand is stretched out and brought backe againe unto the shoulder.

All these points and opinions may serve very well, and be accomodate to that chapter and question, carying this title: How we doe see.

## CHAP. XV.

*Whether Darknesse be visible.*

THE STORCKS hold, that Darknesse is visible; for that from the sight there is a splendure going forth that compasseth the said Darknesse; neither doth the eie-sight lie and deceive us, for it seeth certainly and in truth that there is Darknesse.

CHRYSIPIUS faith, that we doe see by the tension of the aire betweene, which is pricked by the visuell spirit, that passeth from the principall part of the soule into the apple of the eie: and after that it falleth upon the aire about it, it extendeth the same in a pyramidall forme: namely, when as it meeteth with an aire of the same nature with it; for there flow from out of the eies certaine raies resembling fire, and nothing blacke or mistie, and therefore it is that Darknesse may be seene.

it dimly; contrariwise, light doeth disgregate and convey it as farre as to the visible objects, thorough the aire between, and therefore it seeth nor in the darks, but is able to see Darknesse.

\* In one copie I reade thus: much more. Furthermore Darknesse doth aggregate and gather in the sight, and thereby make

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## CHAP. XVI.

## Of Hearing.

EMPEDOCLES is of opinion, that Hearing is performed by the meanes of a spirit or winde gotten within the concavities of the eare, writhed or turned in manner of a vice or screw, which they say is fitted and framed of purpose within the eare, hanging up aloft, and beaten upon in manner of a clocke.

ALCMAEON affirmeth, that we doe Heare by the void place within the eare; for he saith, 10 that this is it that resoundeth, when the said spirit entrench into it; because all empty things do make a sound.

DIOPHANTUS supposeth, that Hearing is caused by the aire within the head, when it cometh to be touched, stirred, and beaten by the voice.

PLATO and his scholars hold, that the aire within the head is smitten, and that it reboundeth and is caried to the principall part of the soule, wherein is reason, and so is formed the sense of Hearing.

## CHAP. XVII.

## Of Smelling.

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ALCMAEON affirmeth, that reason, the principall part of the soule, is within the braine, and that by it we Smell, drawing in scents and smells by respirations.

EMPEDOCLES is of this advice, that together with the respiration of the lights, odours also are intronitted and let in; when as then the said respiration is not performed at libertie and ease, but with much adoe, by reason of some asperity in the passage, we Smell not at all, like as we observe in them who are troubled with the poise, murre, and such like rheumes.

## CHAP. XVIII.

## Of Taste.

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ALCMAEON saith, that by the moisture and warmth in the tongue, together with the softnesse thereof, all smacks and objects of taste are distinguished.

DIOPHANTUS attributeth the same to the spongyous rarinie and softnesse of the tongue; and for that the veins of the body reach up to it, and are inserted and grafted therein, the favors are spread abroad and drawn into the sense and principal part of the soule, as it were with a sponge.

## CHAP. XIX.

## Of the Voice.

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PLATO defineth the Voice to be a spirit, which by the mouth is brought and directed from the understanding; also a knocking performed by the aire, passing through the eares, the braine, and the blood, as farre as to the soule; after an unproper maner & abusively we attribute Voice to unreasonable creatures, yea & to such as have no soule or life at all, namely, to the neighing of horses, and to other sounds; but to speake properly, there is no voice but that which is articulate, and called it is *φωνή* in Greeke, for that it declareth that which is in the thought.

EPICURUS holdeth the Voice to be a fluxion sent forth by such as speake and make a noise, or otherwise doe sound; which fluxion breaketh and crumbleth into many fragments of the same forme and figure, as are the things from whence they come; as for example, round to round, and triangles whether they have three equall sides or unequal, to the like triangles: and these broken parcels entering into the eares, make the sense of the Voice, which is hearing; a thing that may be evidently scene in bottles that leake and runne out, as also in fullers that blow upon their clothes.

DEMOCRITUS saith, that the very aire breaketh into small fragments of the same figure, that

that is to say, round to round; and roll together with the fragments of the Voice: for according to the old proverbe:

*One chough neere to another chough,  
loves alwaies for to perch,  
And God hath so appointed aie,  
that all their like should search.*

For even upon the shores and sea-sides, stones are evermore found together semblable, to wit, in one place round, in another long; in like manner when as folke doe winnow or purge come with the vane, those graines alwaies are ranged and sorted together, which be of one and the same forme; in so much as beanes goe to one side by themselves, & rich pease to another part by their selves: but against all this it may be alledged and objected: How is it possible that a few fragments of spirit and winde should fill a theater, that receiveth ten thousand men?

The STOICKS say, that the aire doth not consist of small fragments, but is continuall throughout, and admitteth no voidnesse at all: howbeit, when it is smitten with spirit or winde, it waveth directly in circles infinitely, untill it fill up all the aire about, much after the manner as we may perceive in a pond or poole, when there is a stone casten into it; for like as the water in it moveth in flat circles; so doth the aire in roundles like to bals.

ANAXAGORAS saith, that the Voice is formed by the incursion and beating of the Voice against the solide aire, which maketh resistance, and returneth the stroke backe againe to the eares, which is the manner also of that reduplication of the Voice or resonance called Echo.

## CHAP. XX.

*Whether the Voice be incorporall? and how cometh the Echo to be formed.*

PYTHAGORAS, PLATO, and ARISTOTLE do hold the Voice to be bodiless: for that it is not the aire but a forme in the aire, & a superficies thereof, & that by a certaine beating which becometh a Voice. Now this is certaine that no superficies hath a bodie. True it is indeed that it moveth and removeth with the bodie, but of it selfe without all doubt it hath no bodie at all: like as in a wand or rod that is bent, the superficies thereof suffereth no alteration, in respect of it selfe, but it is the verie matter and substance that is bowed. Howbeit the Stoicks are of another opinion and say, that the Voice is a bodie: for whatsoever is operative and worketh ought, is a bodie: but certaine it is that the Voice is active and doth somewhat: for we do heare and perceive when it beareth upon our eare, and it giveth a print, no lesse than a seale upon wax. Moreover, all that moveth or troubleth us, is a bodie: but who knoweth not that in Musick, as good harmony affecteth us; so dissonance and discord doth disquiet us; and that which more is; all that stirreth or moveth is a bodie: but the Voice stirreth and hitteth against smooth and polished solid places, by which it is broken and sent backe againe, in manner as we do see a tennis ball when it is smitten upon a wal: in so much as in the Pyramides of AEGYPT, one Voice delivered within them, rendereth foure or five resonances or Echoes for it.

## CHAP. XXI.

*How the Soule cometh to be sensitive; and what is the principall and predominant part thereof.*

THE STOICKS are of opinion, that the supreme and highest part of the Soule is the principall and the guide of the other: to wit, that which maketh imaginations, causeth assents, performeth senses, and moveth appetite: and this is it which they call the discourse of reason. Now of this principall and soveraigne part, there be eleven others springing from it, and which are spread through the rest of the bodie, like unto the armes or haire branches of a poulpe fish: of which seven the naturall senses make five; namely, Sight, Smelling, Hearing, Tasting, and Feeling. Of these, the Sight is a spirit passing from the chieftest part unto the eies: Hearing, a spirit reaching from the understand, to the eares: Smelling, a spirit issuing from reason to the nosethirils: Tasting, a spirit going from the forehead principall part unto the tongue: and last of all Feeling, a spirit stretching and extended from the same predominant part, as farre as to the sensible superficies of those objects which are easie to be felt and handled. Of the twaine behind, the one is called generall seed, and that is like

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wife a spirit transmitted from the principall part unto the generetories or members of generation: the other which is the seventh and last of all, *Zeno* calleth Vocall, and wee, Voice; a spirit also, which from the principall part passeth to the windpipe, to the tongue and other instruments appropriate for the voice. And to conclude, that mistresse her selfe and ladie of the rest is seated (as it were in the midst of her owne world) within our round head, and there dwelleth.

## CHAP. XXII.

*Of Respiration.*

**E**MPEDOCLES is of opinion, that the first Respiration of the first living creature was occasioned, when the humiditie in young ones within the mothers wombe, retired, and the outward aire came to succede in place thereof, and to enter into the void vessels now open to receive the same; but afterwards the naturall heat driving without forth, this aerie substance for to evaporate and breath away, caused expiration: and likewise when the same returned in again, there ensued inspiration, which gave new entrance to that acerious substance. But as touching the Respiration that now is, he thinketh it to be when the blood is carried to the exterior superficies of the bodie; and by this fluxion doth drive and chase the aerie substance through the nosethirts, and cause expiration; and inspiration when the blood returneth inward, and when the aire reenteth withall through the rarities which the blood hath left void and emptie. And for to make this better to be understood, he bringeth in the example of a Clepsidre or water 20  
houre-glasse.

**ASCLEPIADES** maketh the lungs in manner of a tunnel, supposing that the cause of Respiration, is the aire, smooth, and of subtil parts which is within the breast, unto which the aire without, being thicke and grosse floweth and runneth; but is repelled backe againe, for that the breast is not able to receive any more, nor yet to be cleane without. Now when as there remaineth still behind, some little of the subtil aire within the breast, (for it cannot all be cleane driven out) that aire without rechargeth againe with equall force upon that within, being able to support and abide the waight thereof: and this compareth he to Physicians ventoses, or cupping-glasses. Moreover as touching voluntarie Respiration, he maketh this reason, that the smallest holes within the substance of the lungs are drawn together, and their pipes closed up. For these 30  
things obey our will.

**HEROPHILUS** leaveth the motive faculties of the bodie, unto the nerves, arteries and muscles: for thus he thinketh and saith, that the lungs only have a naturall appetite to dilation, and contraction, that is to say, to draw in and deliver the breath, and so by consequence other parts. For this is the proper action of the lungs, to draw wind from without; wherewith when it is filled, there is made another attraction by a second appetition; and the breast deriveth the said wind into it: which being likewise replat therewith, not able to draw any more, it transmitteth backe againe the superfluitie thereof into the lungs, whereby it is sent forth by way of expiration: and thus the parts of the bodie reciprocally suffer one of another, by way of interchange. For when the lungs are occupied in dilation, the breast is busied in contraction; and thus they 40  
make repletion and evacuation by a mutuall participation one with the other; in such sort as we may observe about the lungs foure manner of motions. The first, whereby it receiveth the aire from without; the second, by which it transfuseth into the breast that aire which it drew and received from without; the third, whereby it admitteth againe unto it selfe that which was sent out of the breast; and the fourth, by which it sendeth quite forth that which so returned into it. And of these motions, two be dilatations, the one occasioned from without, the other from the breast: and other two, contractions; the one when the breast draweth wind into it: and the other when it doth expell the aire insinuated into it. But in the breast parts there be but two onely, the one dilatation when it draweth wind from the lungs, the other contraction, when 50  
it rendreth it againe.

## CHAP. XXIII.

*Of the Passion of the body; and whether the soule have a fellow-feeling with it, of paine and dolour.*

**T**HE **STOICKS** say, that affections are in the passible parts, but senses in the principall part of the soule.

EPICURUS

**EPICURUS** is of opinion, that both the affections and also the senses, are in the passible places: for that reason which is the principall part of the soule, he holdeth to be unpassible.

**STRATO** contrariwise affirmeth, that as well the Passions of the soule, as the senses, are in the said principall part, and not in the affected and grieved places; for that in it consisteth patience, which we may observe in terrible and dolorous things, as also in fearefull, and magnanimous persons.

THE FIFTH BOOKE OF  
Philosophers opinions.

## CHAP. I.

*Of Divination.*

**P**LATO and the **STOICKS** bring in a fore-deeming and fore-knowledge of things by inspiration or divine instinct, according to the divinity of the soule; namely, when as it is ravished with a fanaticall spirit or revelation by dreames: and these admit and allow many kinds of divination.

**XENOPHANES** and **EPICURUS** on the contrary side abolish and annull all Divination whatsoever.

**PYTHAGORAS** condemneth that onely which is wrought by sacrifices.

**ARISTOTLE** & **DICARCHUS** receive none but that which cometh by Divine inspiration, or by dreames; not supposing the soule to be immortal, but to have some participation of Divinitie.

## CHAP. II.

*How Dreames are caused.*

**D**EMOCRITUS is of opinion, that Dreames come by the representation of images. **STRATO** saith, that our understanding is I wot not how, naturally, and yet by no reason, more sensible in sleepe than otherwise, and therefore solicited the rather by the appetit and desire of knowledge.

**HEROPHILUS** affirmeth, that Dreames divinely inspired, come by necessitie; but natural Dreames by this means, that the soule formeth an image and representation of that which is good and commodious unto it, and of that which must ensue thereupon: as for such as be of a mixt nature of both, they fall out casually by an accidentall access of images; namely, when we imagine that we see that which wee desire; as it falleth out with those who in their sleepe thinke they have their paramours in their armes.

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## CHAP. III.

*What is the substance of all seed.*

**A**RTISTOTLE defineth Seed to be that which hath power to moove in it selfe for the effecting of some such thing, as it was from whence it came.

**PYTHAGORAS** taketh it to be the foame of the best and purest bloud; the superfluitie and excrement of nouriture; like as bloud and marrow.

**ALCMAEON** saith, it is a portion of the braine.

**PLATO** supposeth it to be a decision or defuse of the marrow in the backe bone.

**EPICURUS** imagineth it to be an abstract of soule and body.

**DEMOCRITUS** holdeth, that it is the generesse of the fleshy nerves proceeding from the whole body, and the principall parts thereof.

## CHAP. IIII.

*Whether generall Seed be a body.*

**L**ENCIPPUS and **ZENO** take it to be a body; for that it is an abstract parcell of the soule. **PYTHAGORAS**, **PLATO**, and **ARISTOTLE**, acknowledge indeed and confesse,

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that the power and force of Seed is bodiless; like as the understanding, which is the author of motion; but the matter thereof say they, which is shed and sent forth, is corporall.

STRATO and DEMOCRITUS affirme the very puissance thereof to be a body, howbeit, spirituall.

## CHAP. V.

*Whether females send forth Seed as well as males.*

PYTHAGORAS, EPICURUS, and DEMOCRITUS hold, that the Female likewise discharge Seed; for that it hath seminarie vessels turned backward; which is the reason that 10 she hath lust unto the act of generation.

ARISTOTLE and ZENO be of opinion, that the Female delivereth from it a moist matter, resembling the sweat which commeth from their bodies, who wrestle or exercise together: but they will not have it to be Seed.

HIPPON avoucheth that Females doe ejaculate Seed no lesse than males, howbeit the same is not effectual for generation, for that it falleth without the matrix: whereupon it commeth to passe that some women, though very few, and widdowes especially, doe cast from them Seed without the company of men: and he affirmeth that of the male Seed, are made the bones, & of the female the flesh.

## CHAP. VI.

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*The manner of Conception.*

ARISTOTLE thinketh, that Conceptions come in this manner: when as the matrix drawn before from the naturall purgation, and therewithall the monthly tearmes fetch some part of pure blood from the whole masse of the body, so that the males genetall may come to it, and so concur to engender: Contrariwise, that which hindereth conception is this, namely, when the matrix is impure or full of ventosities; as it may be by occasion of feare, of sorrow, or weaknesse of women; yea and by the impuissance and defect in men.

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## CHAP. VII.

*How it commeth that Males are engendered, and how Females.*

EMPEDOCLES supposeth, that Males and Females are begotten by the meanes of heat and cold accordingly: and hereupon recorded it is in Histories, that the first Males in the world, were procreated and borne out of the earth, rather in the East and Southern parts; but Females toward the North.

PARMENIDES mainteineth the contrary, and saith; that Males were bred toward the Northern quarters, for that the aire there is more grosse and thicker than else where: on the other 40 side, Females toward the South, by reason of the raritie and subtiltie of the aire.

HIPPONAX attributeth the cause hereof unto the seed, as it is either more thick or powerful, or thinner and weaker.

ANAXAGORAS and ARMENIDES hold, that the seed which commeth from the right side of a man, ordinarily is cast into the right side of the matrix; and from the left side likewise into the same side of the matrix: but if this ejection of seed fall out otherwise cleane crosse, then Females be engendered.

LEOPHANES of whom ARISTOTLE maketh mention, affirmeth that the Males be engendered by the right generatory, and females by the left.

LEUCIPPUS ascribeth it to the permutation of the naturall parts of generation, for that according to it, the man hath his yerd of one sort, and the woman her matrix of another: more than this he saith nothing.

DEMOCRITUS saith, that the common parts are engendered indifferently by the one and the other, as it falleth out; but the peculiar parts that make distinction of sex, of the party which is more prevalent.

HIPPONAX resolveth thus, that if the seed be predominant, it will be a Male; but if the food and nourishment, a Female.

## CHAP.

## CHAP. VIII.

*How Monsters are engendered.*

EMPEDOCLES affirmeth, that Monsters be engendered either through the abundance of seed, or default thereof; either through the turbulent \* perturbation of the moving, or the distraction and division of the seed into sundry parts; or else through the declination thereof out of the right way: and thus he seemeth to have preoccupied in manner all the answers to this question.

10 STRATO alledgeth for this part, addition, or subtraction, transposition or inflation and ventosities. And some physicians there be, who say, that at such a time as monsters be engendered, the matrix suffereth distortion, for that it is distended with winde.

## CHAP. IX.

*What is the reason that a woman though oftentimes she companieth with a man doeth not conceive.*

DIOCLES the Physician rendreth this reason, for that some doe send forth no seed at all; 20 or lesse in quantity than is sufficient, or such in quality, which hath no vivificant or quickning power; or else it is for defect of heat, of cold, of moisture, or driness; or last of all, by occasion of the paralytic or resolution of the privy parts and members of generation.

The STOICKS lay the cause hereof upon the obliquitie or crookednesse of the mans members, by occasion whereof, he cannot shoot forth his seed directly; or else it is by reason of the disproportion of the parts, as namely when the matrix lieth to farr within, that the yerd cannot reach unto it.

ERASISTRATUS findeth fault in this case with the matrix, when it hath either hard callosities, or too much of moisture; or when it is more rare and spongy, or else smaller than it ought to be.

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## CHAP. X.

*How it commeth that two Twinnes and three Twinnes are borne.*

EMPEDOCLES saith, that two Twinnes or three, are engendered by occasion either of the abundance, or the divulsion of the seed.

ASCLEPIADES assigneth it unto the difference of bodies, or the excellence of seed: after which manner we see how some barly from one root beareth two or three stalkes with their eares upon them, according as the seed was most fruitful and generative.

ERASISTRATUS attributeth it unto divers conceptions and superfatations, like as in brute 40 beasts; for when as the matrix is clenfed, then it commeth soone to conception and superfatation.

The STOICKS alledge to this purpose the cels or conceptacles within the matrix; for as the seed falleth into the first and second, there follow conceptions and superfatations, [and after the same sort may three Twinnes be engendered.]

## CHAP. XI.

*How commeth it to passe that children resemble their parents or progenitors before them.*

EMPEDOCLES affirmeth, that as similitudes are caused by the exceeding force of the genetall seed; so the dissimilitudes arise from the evaporation of naturall heat contained within the same seed.

PARMENIDES is of opinion, that when the seed descendeth out of the right side of the matrix, the children be like unto the fathers, but when it passeth from the left side, unto the mothers.

The STOICKS opine thus; from the whole body and the soule passeth the seed, and so the similitudes doe forme of the same kinds, the figures and characters, like as a painter of the

like colours draweth the image of that which he seeth before him: also the woman for her part doth conferre generall seed, which if it be prevalent, then the infant is like unto the mother; but if the mans seed be more predominant, it will resemble the father.

## CHAP. XII.

*How it falleth out that children resemble others, and not their fathers and mothers.*

**T**He most part of the Physicians affirme this to happen by chance and adventure, but upon this occasion, that the seed, as well of the man as the woman waxeth cold, for then the infants resemble neither the one nor the other.

**EMPEDOCLES** attributeth the forme and resemblance of yoong babes in the wombe, unto the strong imagination of the woman in time of conception; for many times it hath bene knowne, that women have bene enamoured of painted images and statues, and so delivered of children like unto them.

The **STOICKS** say, that by a sympathie of the minde and understanding, through the infusion of beames, and not of images, these resemblances are caused.

## CHAP. XIII.

*How it cometh that some women be barren, and men likewise unable to get children.*

**P**HYSIANS hold, that women be barren by reason that the matrix is either too streight, over rare, or too hard; or else by occasion of certaine callosities or carnosities: or for that the women themselves be weaklings and heartlesse, or doe not thrive but milke; or else because they are fallen into some Cachexia and evill habit of body; or by reason that they are distorted, or otherwise in a convulsion.

**DIOCLES** saith, that men in this action of generation are impotent; for that some send forth no seed at all, or at leastwise in quantitie lesse than is meet, or such as hath no generative power; or because their generalls be paralyticall or relaxed; or by reason that the yerd is crooked, that it cannot cast the seed forward; or for that the generall members be disproportioned and not of a competent length, considering the distance of the matrix.

The **STOICKS** lay the fault upon certaine faculties and qualities, discordant in the parties themselves that come together about this businesse; who being parted one from another, and conjoined with others, uniting well with their complexion, there followeth a temperature according to nature, and a childe is gotten betweene them.

## CHAP. XIII.

*Why Mules be barrain.*

**A**LCMAEON is of opinion, that Mules, that is to say, male Mules be not able to engender therof. The Females also, because their shaps do not open wide enough, that is to say, the mouth therof doth not gape sufficiently; for these be the verie rearmes that he useth.

**EMPEDOCLES** blameth exilitie or smalnesse, the low posture and the over streight conformation of the matrix, being fo turned backward and tied unto the belly, that neither seed can be directly cast into the capacite of it, nor if it were caried thither would it receive the same, unto whom **DIOCLES** also beareth witnesse saying, Many times (quoth he) in the dissection of Anatomies we have seene such matrices of Mules; and it may be therefore, that in regard of such causes some women also be barrain.

## CHAP. XV.

*Whether the Infant lying yet in the mothers wombe, isto be accounted a living creature or no?*

**P**LATO directly pronounceth that such an Infant is a living creature: for that it moveth, and is fed within the bellie of the mother.

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The **STOICKS** say, it is a part of the wombe; and not an animall by it selfe. For like as fruits be parts of the trees, which when they be ripe do fall; even so it is with an Infant in the mothers wombe.

**EMPEDOCLES** denieth it to be a creature animall, howbeit that it hath life and breath within the bellie; many the first time that it hath respiration, is at the birth; namely when the superfluous humiditie which is in such unborne infants is retired and gone, so that the aire from without entreats into the void vessels lying open.

**DIOCLES** saith, that such Infants are bred within the matrix inanimate, howbeit in heat: whereupon it cometh that naturall heat, so soone as ever the Infant is turned out of the mothers wombe, is drawn into the lungs.

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## CHAP. XVI.

*How unborne babes are fed in the wombe.*

**DEMOCRITUS** and **EPICURUS** hold, that this imperfect fruit of the wombe receiveth nourishment at the mouth; and thereupon it cometh, that so soone as ever it is borne it sucketh and nuzzleth with the mouth for the brest head, or nipple of the papper: for that within the matrix there be certaine teats, yea and mouths too, whereby they are nourished.

The **STOICKS** say, that it is fed by the secundine and the navell; whereupon it is that Midwives presently knit up and tie the navell string fast, but open the Infants mouth; to the end that it be acquainted with another kind of nourishment.

**ALCMAEON** affirmeth, that the Infant within the mothers wombe, feedeth by the whole body throughout; for that it sucketh to it and draweth in manner of a sponge, of all the food, that which is good for nourishment.

## CHAP. XVII.

*What part of the Child is first made perfect within the mothers bellie.*

The **STOICKS** are of opinion that the most parts are formed all at once; but **ARISTOTEE** saith the backe bone and the loines are first framed, like as the keele in a ship.

**ALCMAEON** affirmeth, that the head is first made, as being the seat of reason.

**PHYSICIANS** will have the heart to be the first, wherein the veins and arteries are.

Some thinke the great toe is framed first, and others the navill.

## CHAP. XVIII.

*What is the cause that Infants borne at seven moneths end, be livelike.*

**EMPEDOCLES** thinketh, that when mankind was first bred of the earth, one day then, by reason of the slow motion of the Sunne was full as long, as (in this age of ours) tenne moneths: and that in proesse of time, and by succession it came to be of the length of seven moneths: And therefore (quoth he) infants borne either at ten or seven moneths end, doe ordinarily live: the nature of the world being so accustomed in one day to bring that fruit to maturitie after that night, wherein it was committed into the wombe thereof.

**TIMAEUS** saith, that they bee not ten moneths, but are counted nine, after that the monethly purgations stay upon the first conception: and so it is thought that infants be of seven moneth which are not: for that he knew how after conception many women have had their mensstrual flux.

**POLYBUS**, **DIOCLES** and the **EMPIRICKS** know, that the eight moneths childe also is vitall; howbeit in some sort feeble, for that many for feeblenesse have died so borne: in general

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nerall and for the most part ordinarily, none are willing to reare and feed the children borne at the seven moneth; and yet many have bene so borne and grown to mans estate.

ARISTOTLE and HIPPOCRATES report, that if in seven moneths the matrix be grown full, then the infant seeketh to get forth; and such commonly live and doe well enough; but if it incline to birth, and be not sufficiently nourished, for that the navill is weake, then in regard of hard travell, both the mother is in danger, and her fruit becometh to mislike and thrive not; but in case it continue nine moneths within the matrix, then it commeth fourth accomplished and perfect.

POLYBUS affirmeth it to be requisite and necessarie, for the vitalitie of infants, that there should be 182, daies and a halfe, which is the time of six moneths compleat; in which space the sunne commeth from one Solstice or Tropick to another: but such children are said to be of seven moneths, when it falleth out that the odde daies left in this moneth, are taken to the seventh moneth. But he is of opinion, that those of eight moneths live not; namely, when as the infant halteth indeed out of the wombe, and beareth downward, but for the most part the navill is thereby put to stresse and reacheth, & so cannot feed, as that should, which is the cause of food to the infant.

The MATHEMATICIANS beare us in hand and say, that eight moneths be dissociable of all generations, but seven are sociable. Now the dissociable signes are such as meet with such starrs and constellations which be lords of the house: for if upon any of them falleth the lot of mans life and course of living, it signifieth that such shall be unfortunate and short lived. These dissociable signes be reckoned eight in number; namely, *Aries* with *Scorpius* is infociable; *Taurus* with *Scorpius* is fociable; *Gemini* with *Capricorn*; *Cancer* with *Aquarius*; *Leo* with *Pisces*; and *Virgo* with *Aries*: And for this cause infants of seven moneths and ten moneths be livelike, but those of eight moneths for the infociable diffidence of the world, perish and come to naught.

#### CHAP. XIX.

*Of the generation of small creatures; after what manner they be engendred; and whether they be corruptible.*

They who hold that the world was created, are of opinion, that living creatures also had their creation or beginning, and shall likewise perish and come to an end.

The EPICUREANS according unto whom Animals had no creation, doe suppose that by mutation of one into another, they were first made; for they are the substantiall parts of the world: like as ANAXAGORAS and EURIPIDES affirme in these rearmes: Nothing dieth, but in changing as they doe one for another, they shew sundry formes.

ANAXIMANDER is of opinion, that the first Animals were bred in moisture, and enclosed within prickly and sharpe pointed barks; but as age grew on, they became more drie, and in the end, when the said barks burst and clave in sunder round about them, a small while after they survived.

EMPEDOCLES thinketh, that the first generations as well of living creatures as of plants, were not wholly compleat and perfect in all parts, but disjointed, by reason that their parts did not cohere and unite together: that the second generations when the parts began to combine and close together, seemed like to images: that the third generations were of parts growing and arising mutually one out of another: and the fourth were no more of semblable, as of earth and water, but one of another; and in some the nourishment was in craasse and made thicke, as for others the beautie of women provoked and pricked in them a lust of spermatike motion. Moreover, that the kinds of all living creatures were distinct and divided by certene temperatures; for such as were more familiarly enclined to water, went into water; others into the aire, for to draw and deliver their breath to and fro, according as they held more of the nature of fire; such as were of a more heavey temperature were bestowed upon the earth; but those who were of an equall temperature, uttered voice with their whole breasts.

#### CHAP. XX.

*How many sorts of living creatures there be whether they be all sensitive and endued with reason.*  
Here is a treatise of ARISTOTLE extant, wherein he putteth downe fower kinds of Animals, to wit, Terrestrial, Aquaticall, Volatile, and Celestiall: for you must thinke, that

he calleth heavens, starrs, and the world, Animals; even as well as those that participate of earth: yea and God he defineth to be a reasonable Animal and immortal.

DEMOCRITUS and EPICURUS doe say, that heavenly Animals are reasonable.

ANAXAGORAS holdeth, that all Animals are endued with active reason, but want the passive understanding, which is called the interpreter or truchment of the minde.

PYTHAGORAS and PLATO doe affirme, that the soules even of those very Animals which are called unreasonable & brute beasts, are endued with reason; howbeit they are not operative with that reason, neither can they activate it, by reason of the distempered composition of their bodies, and because they have not speech to declare and expound themselves: as for example, apes and dogs which utter a babling voice, but not an expresse language and distinct speech.

DIODEGENES supposeth that they have an intelligence; but partly for the grosse thicknesse of their temperature, and in part for the abundance of moisture, they have neither discourse of reason nor sense, but fare like unto those who be furious; for the principall part of the soule, to wit, Reason is defectuous and impeached.

#### CHAP. XXI.

*Within what time are living creatures formed in the mothers wombe.*

EMPEDOCLES saith, that men begin to take forme after the thirtie sixt day; and are finished and knit in their parts within 50. daies wanting one.

ASCLEPIADES saith, that the members of males, because they be more hot, are jointed, and receive shape in the space of 26. daies, and many of them sooner; but are finished and complet in all limbes within 50. daies: but females require two moneths ere they be fashioned, and fower before they come to their perfection; for that they want naturall heat. As for the parts of unreasonable creatures, they come to their accomplishment sooner or later, according to the temperature of the elements.

#### CHAP. XXII.

*Of how many elements is composed each of the generall parts which are in us.*

EMPEDOCLES thinketh, that flesh is engendred of an equall mixture and temperature of the fower elements; the sinewes, of earth and fire, mingled together in a duple proportion; the nailes and cleies in living creatures come of the nerves refrigerat and made colde in those places where the aire toucheth them; the bones, of water and earth within: and of these fower medled and contempered together, sweat and teares proceed.

#### CHAP. XXIII.

*When and how doth man begin to come to his perfection.*

HERACLITUS and the STOICKS suppose, that men doe enter into their perfection about the second septimane of their age, at what time as their naturall feed doth move and runne: for even the very trees begin then, to grow unto their perfection; namely, when as they begin to engender their feed; for before then, unperfect they are, namely, so long as they be unripe and fruitlesse: and therefore a man likewise about that time is perfect: and at this septenarie of yeeres he beginneth to conceive and understand what is good and evil, yea, and to learne the same.

\* Some thinke that a man is consummate at the end of the third septimane of yeeres, what time as he maketh use of his full strength.

\* This I find in the Latin translation.

#### CHAP. XXIII.

*In what manner Sleep is occasioned or death?*

ALCIBION is of this mind, that Sleepe is caused by the returne of blood into the confluent veines; and Waking is the diffusion and spreading of the said blood abroad: but

Death



Death the utter departure thereof.

EMPEDOCLES holdeth that Sleepe is occasioned by a moderate cooling of the naturall heat of blood within us: and Death by an extreme coldnesse of the said blood.

DIOTGENES is of opinion, that if blood being diffused and spread throughout, fill the veines, and withall drive backe the aire sealed shrouabout into the breast, and the interior belly under it, then ensueth Sleepe, and the breast with the precordiall parts are hotter thereby: but if that acereous substance in the veines expire altogether, and exhale forth, presently followeth Death.

PLATO and the Stoicks affirme, that the cause of Sleepe is the remission of the spirit sensitive, not by way of relaxation and descent downward as it were to the earth; but rather by elevation aloft, namely when it is carried to the merdite or place between the browes, the very fear of reason: but when there is an entire resolution of the spirit sensitive; then of necessity Death doth ensue.

#### CHAP. XXV.

*Whether of the twaine it is, that Sleepeth or dieth, the Soule or the Bodie?*

ARISTOTHE sorely supposeth that Sleepe is common to Bodie and Soule both: and the cause thereof is a certaine humiditie which doth steeme and arise in manner of a vapour out of the stomack and the food therein, up into the region of the head, and the naturall heat about the heart cooled thereby. But death he deemeth to be an entire and totall refrigeration; and the same of the Bodie onely, and in no wise of the Soule, for it is immortal.

ANAXAGORAS saith, that Sleepe belongeth to corporall action; as being a passion of the Bodie and not of the Soule: also that there is likewise a certaine death of the Bodie, to wit, the separation of it and the Bodie asunder.

LEUCIPPUS is of opinion, that Sleepe pertaineth to the Bodie onely, by concretion of that which was of subtile parts; but the excessive excretion of the animall heat is Death: which both (saith he) be passions of the Bodie, and not of the Soule.

EMPEDOCLES saith, that Death is a separation of those elements whereof mans Bodie is compounded: according to which position, Death is common to Soule and Bodie: and Sleep a certaine dissipation of that which is of the nature of fire.

#### CHAP. XXVI.

*How Plants come to grow and whether they be animate.*

PLATO and EMPEDOCLES hold, that Plants have life, yea and be animall creatures which appeareth (say they) by this, that they wag to and fro, and stretch forth their boughs like armes; also, that when they be violently strained and bent, they yeld; but if they be let loose they retorne againe, yea in their growth are able to overcome waight laid upon them.

ARISTOTLE granteth that they be living creatures, but not animall: for that animall creatures have motions and appetites, are sensitive and endued with reason.

THE STOICKS and the EPICUREANS hold, that they have no soule or life at all: for of animall creatures some have the appetitive & concupiscible soule, others the reasonable: but Plants grow after a fort casually of their owne accord, and not by the meanes of any soule.

EMPEDOCLES saith, that Trees sprang and grew out of the ground before animall creatures; to wit, ere the Sunne displayed his beames, and before that day and night were distinct. Also that according to the proportion of temperature, one came to be named, Male, another, Female; that they thout up and grow by the power of heat within the earth; in such sort, as they be parts of the earth, like as unborne fruits in the wombe, be parts of the matrice. As for the fruits of trees, they are the superfluous excrements of water and fire: but such as have defect of that humiditie, when it is dried up by the heat of the Summer, lose their leaves: whereas they that have plentie thereof, keepe their leaves on still, as for example, the Laurell, Olive, and Date tree. Now as touching the difference of their juices and sapor, it proceedeth from the diversitie of that which nourisheth them, as appeareth in Vines; for the difference of Vine trees, maketh not the goodnesse of Vines for to be drunke, but the nutriment that the territorie and soile doth afford.

CHAP,

#### CHAP. XXVII.

*Of Nourishment and Growth.*

EMPEDOCLES is of opinion, that animall creatures are nourished by the substance of that which is proper and familiar unto them; that they grow by the preence of naturall heat; that they diminish, fade and perissh through the default both of the one and the other. And as for men now a daies living, in comparison of their auncestors, they be but babes new borne.

#### CHAP. XXVIII.

*How Animall creatures came to have appetite and pleasure.*

EMPEDOCLES supposeth, that Lust and Appetites are incident to animall creatures, through the defect of those elements which went unto the framing of ech one: that pleasures arise from humiditie: as for the motions of perils and such like, as also troubles and hindrances, &c.

#### CHAP. XXIX.

*After what sort a Fever is engendered, and whether it is an necessary to another malady?*

ERASISTRATUS defineth a Fever thus: A Fever (quoth he) is the motion of blood, which is entered into the veines or vessels proper unto the spirits, to wit, the arteries; and that against the will of the patient; for like as the sea when nothing troubleth it, lieth still and quiet; but if a boisterous and violent winde be up and bloweth upon it, contrary unto nature it fureth and riseth up into billowes even from the very bottom; so in the body of man, when the blood is moved, it invadeth the vitall and spirituell vessels, and being set on fire, it enchaseth the whole body. And according to the same physicians opinion, a Fever is an accessory or consequent coming upon another disease.

But DIOTGENES affirmeth, that Symptomes apparent without forth, doe shew that which lieth hidden within: Now we see that an Ague followeth upon those accidents that outwardly appeere; as for example, wounds, inflammations, impostumes, biles and botches in the shere and other emunctories.

#### CHAP. XXX.

*Of Health, Sicknesse, and old age.*

ALCMAEON is of opinion, that the equall dispenfing and distribution of the faculties in the body, to wit, of moisture, heat, driness, cold, bitter, sweet, and the rest, is that which holdeth & maintaineth Health: contrariwise, the monarchie, that is to say, the predominant force or veraginity of any of them causeth sicknesse: for the predominance and principality of any one, bringeth the corruption of all the other, and is the very cause of maladies: the efficient in regard of excessive heat or cold; and the material in respect of superabundance, or defect of humors; like as in some there is want of blood or brain; whereas Health is a proportionable temperature of all these qualities.

DIOTGENES supposeth, that most diseases grow by the inequality of the elements, and of the habit and constitution of the body.

ERASISTRATUS saith, that sicknesse proceedeth from the excesse of feeding, from crudities, indigestions, and corruption of meat: whereas good order and suffiance is Health.

THE STOICKS accord hereunto and hold, that Old age cometh for want of naturall heat; for they who are most furnished therewith, live longest, and be old a great time.

ASCLEPIADES reporteth, that the Aethiopsians age quickly, namely, when they be thirtie yeeres old; by reason that their bodies bee over-heat, and even burnt againe with the sunne: whereas in England and all Britaine, folke in their age continue 120. yeeres; for that those parts be cold, and in that people the naturall heat by that meanes is united and kept in their bodies: for the bodies of the Aethiopsians are more open and rare, in that they be relaxed and resolved by the finnes heat. Contrariwise their bodies who live toward the North pole, bee more compact, knit and fast, and therefore, such are long lived.

ROMANE



# ROMANE QUESTIONS,

THAT IS TO SAY,

AN ENQUIRIE INTO THE  
CAUSES OF MANIE FASHIONS  
AND CUSTOMES OF ROME.

*A Treatise fit for them who are conversant in the reading  
of Romane histories and antiquities, giving a light  
to many places otherwise obscure and hard  
to be understood.*

*What is the reason that new wedded wives are bidden to touch fire and water?*



**S** it becaufe that among the elements and principles, whereof are composed naturall bodies, the one of these twaine, to wit, fire is the male, and water the female, of which, that insueth the beginning of motion, and this affoordeth the propertie of the subject and matter?

2 Or rather, for that, as the fire purgeth, and water washeth; so a wife ought to continue pure, chaste and cleane all her life.

3 Or is it in this regard, that as fire without humidity yeeldeth no nourishment, but is dry; and moisture without heat is idle, fruitlesse and barren; even so the male is feeble, and the fe-

male likewise, when they be apart and severed a sunder: but the conjunction of two married folke yeeldeth unto both, their colubation and perfection of living together.

4 Or last of all, becaufe man and wife ought not to forsake and abandon one another, but to take part of all fortunes; though they had no other good in the world common betwene them, but fire and water onely.

*How is it that they use to light at weddings five torches, and neither more nor lesse, which they call Wax-lights.*

**W** Hether is it as Varro saith, becaufe the Prætors or generals of armies use three, and the Aediles two: therefore it is not meet that they should have more than the Prætors and Aediles together: considering that new married folke goe unto the Aediles to light their fire?

2 Or, becaufe having use of many numbers, the odde number seemed unto them as in all other respects better, and more perfect than the even: so it was fitter and more agreeable for marriage: for the even number implieth a kinde of discord and division, in respect of the equal parts in it, meet for siding, quarrell, and contention: whereas the odde number cannot be divided so just & equally, but there will remaine somewhat still in common for to be parted. Now among al odd numbers, it seemeth that Cinque is most nuptial, & best becoming marriage; for that Treys is the first odde number, & Deuz the first even, of which twaine, five is compounded, as of the male and the female.

3 Or is it rather, becaufe light is a signe of being and of life: and a woman may beare at the most five children at one burden; and so they used to cary five tapers or waxe candels?

4 Or lastly, for that they thought, that those who were married had need of five gods and goddesses:

goddesses: namely, *Jupiter* \* genial, *Juno* genial, *Venus*, *Spade*, and above all *Diana*; whom \* Or, nuptiall. (last named) women in their labour and travell of childe-birth, are wont to call upon for helpe.

*What is the cause that there being many Temples of Diana in Rome, into that onely which standeth in the Patrician street, men enter not.*

**I** S it not becaufe of a tale which is told in this maner: In old time a certeine woman being come thither for to adore and worship this goddess, chaunced there to bee abused and suffer violence in her honor: and he who forced her, was torne in pieces by hounds: upon which accident, ever after, a certeine superstitious teare possessed mens heads, that they would not presume to goe into the said temple.

*Wherefore is it, that in other temples of Diana men are wont ordinarily to set up and fasten Harts hornes; onely in that which is upon mount Aventine; the hornes of oxen and other beestes are to be seene.*

**M** Ay it not be, that this is respective to the remembrance of an ancient occurrent that sometime befell? For reported it is that long since in the Sabines country, one *Antion Coratium* had a cow, which grew to be exceeding faire and woonderfull bigge withall above any other: and a certeine wizard or soothsaier came unto him and said: How predestined it was that the citie which sacrificed that cow unto *Diana* in the mount *Aventine*, should become most puissant and rule all *Italy*: This *Coratium* therefore came to *Rome* of a deliberate purpose to sacrifice the said cow accordingly: but a certeine household servant that he had, gave notice secretly unto king *Servius Tullius* of this prediction delivered by the abovesaid soothsaier: whereupon *Servius* acquainted the priest of *Diana*, *Cornelius*, with the matter: and therefore when *Antion Coratium* presented himselfe for to performe his sacrifice, *Cornelius* advertised him, first to goe downe into the river, there to wash; for that the custome and maner of those that sacrificed was so to doe: now whiles *Antion* was gone to wash himselfe in the river, *Servius* steps into his place, prevented his returne, sacrificed the cow unto the goddess, and nailed up the hornes when he had so done, within her temple. *Juba* thus relateth this historie, and *Varro* likewise, saying that *Varro* expressly setteth not downe the name of *Antion*, neither doth he write that it was *Cornelius* the priest, but the sexton onely of the church that thus beguiled the Sabine.

*Why are they who have beene falsely reported dead in a strange country, although they returne home alive, not received nor suffered to enter directly as the doers, but forced to climbe up to the tiles of the house, and so to ges downe from the rouse into the house?*

**V** *Arro* rendreth a reason heereof, which I take to be altogether fabulous: for hee writeth, that during the Sicilian warre, there was a great battell fought upon the sea, and immediately upon it, there ranne a rumour of many that they were dead in this fight; who notwithstanding, they returned home safe, died all within a little while after: howbeit, one there was among the rest, who when he would have entred into his owne house, found the dore of the owne accord fast shut up against him; and for all the forcible meanes that was made to open the same, yet it would not prevaile: whereupon this man taking up his lodging without, just before his dore, as he slept in the night, had a vision which advertised and taught him how he should from the roofof the house let himselfe downe by a rope, and so get in: now when he had so done, he became fortunate ever after, all the rest of his life; and hee lived to be a very aged man: and heereof arose the foresaid custome, which alwaies afterwards was kept and observed.

But haply this fashion may seeme in some sort to have beene derived from the Greeks: for in *Greece* they thought not those pure and cleane who had beene caried forth for dead to be enterred; or whose sepulchre and funerals were solemnized or prepared: neither were such allowed to frequent the company of others, nor suffered to come neere unto their sacrifices. And there goeth a report of a certeine man named *Aristinus*, one of those who had beene possessed with this superstition, how he sent unto the oracle of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, for to make supplication and praier unto the god, for to bee delivered out of this perplexed anxietie that troubled him by occasion

occasion of the said custome or law then in force: and that the propheteſſe *Pythia* returned this answer:

*Looke what ſoever women doe  
in childbed newly laid,  
unto their babes, which they brought forth,  
the verie ſame I ſay  
See that be done to thee againe:  
and after that be ſure,  
unto the bleſſed gods with hands  
to ſacrifice, moſt pure.*

Which oracle thus delivered, *Ariſtinus* having well pondered and conſidered, committed himſelfe as an infant new borne unto women for to be waſhed, to be wrapped in ſwaddling clothes, and to be ſuckled with the breſt-head: after which, all ſuch others, whom we call *Hyſteropomus*, that is to ſay, thoſe whole graves were made, as if they had beene dead, did the ſemblable. Howbeit, ſome doe ſay, that before *Ariſtinus* was borne, theſe ceremonies were obſerved about thoſe *Hyſteropomus*, and that this was a right auncient custome kept in the ſemblable caſe: and therefore no marvell it is, that the Romans alſo thought, that ſuch as were ſuppoſed to have beene once buried, and ranged with the dead in another world, ought not to enter in at the ſame porch, out of which they got, when they purpoſe to ſacrifice unto the gods, or at which they reenter when they returne from ſacrifice: but would have them from above to deſcend through the tiles of the rouſe into the cloſe houſe, with the aire open over their heads: for all their purifications ordinarily they performed without the houſe abroad in the aire.

6

*Why doe women kiſſe the lips of their kinſfolks?*

**I**S it as moſt men thinke, for that women being forbidden to drinke wine, the manner was brought up: That whenſoever they met their kinſfolke, they ſhould kiſſe their lips, to the end they might not be unknowen, but convicted if they had drunke wine? or rather for another reaſon, which *Ariſtoteles* the philoſopher hath alledged: for as touching that occaſion, which is ſo famous and commonly voiced in every mans mouth, yea, and reported of divers and ſundry places; it was no doubt the hardy attempt executed by the dames of *Troie*, and that upon the coaſts of *Italy*; for when the men upon their arrivall were landed; the women in the meane while ſet fire upon their ſhips, for very deſire that they had to ſee an end once, one way or other of their long voiage, & to be delivered frō their tedious travel at ſea: but fearing the fury of their men, when they ſhould returne, they went forth to meet their kinſfolke and friends upon the way, and welcomed them with amiable embracing & ſweet kiſſes of their lips: by which means having appeaſed their angrie mood, and recovered their favours, they continued ever after, the cuſtome of kindgreeting and loving ſalutation in this manner.

Or was not this a priviledge granted unto women for their greater honour and credit; namely, to be known and ſeen for to have many of their race and kindred, and thoſe of good worth and reputation?

Or becauſe it was not lawfull to eſpouſe women of their blood and kindred, therefore permitted they were to entertaine them kindly and familiarly with a kiſſe, ſo they proceeded no farther; inſomuch as this was the onely mark and token left of their conſanguinitie. For before time, they might not marrie women of their owne blood; no more than in theſe daies their aunts by the mothers ſide, or their ſiſters: and long it was ere men were permitted to contract marriage with their couſin germaines; and that upon ſuch an occaſion as this. There was a certaine man of poore eſtate and ſmall living, howbeit otherwiſe of good and honeſt carriage, and of all others that managed the publicke affairs of State moſt popular and gracious with the commons: who was ſuppoſed to keepe as his eſpouſed wife a kind woman of his and couſin germain, an inheriteſſe; by whom he had great wealth, and became verie rich: for which he was accuſed judicially before the people; but upon a ſpeciall favour that they bare unto him, they would not enquire into the cauſe in queſtion; but not onely ſuppreſſed his bill of enditement, and let her go as quit of all crime, but alſo even then, enacted a ſtatute, by vertue whereof, lawfull it was for all men from that time forward to marrie, as far as to their couſin germaines, but in any higher or neerer degree of conſanguinitie, they were expreſſly forbidden.

*Wherefore*

*Wherefore is it not lawfull either for the husband to receive a gift of his wife, or for the wife of her husband.*

**M**AY it not be, for that, as *Solen* ordained that the donations and bequeſts, made by thoſe that die ſhall ſtand good, unleſſe they be ſuch as a man hath granted upon neceſſitie, or by the inducement and flatterie of his wife: in which proviſo, he excepted neceſſitie, as forcing and conſtraining the will; and likewiſe pleaſure, as deceiving the judgement; even ſo have men ſuſpected the muſuall gifts paſſing between the husband and the wife, and thought them to be of the ſame nature.

Or was it not thought, that giving of preſents was of all other the leaſt & worſt ſigne of amity and good will (for even ſtrangers and ſuch as beare no love at all life in that ſort to be giving) and in that regard they would baniſh out of marriage ſuch kind of pleaſing and curting favour; to the end that the muſuall love and affection between the parties ſhould be free and without reſpect of ſalutation and gaine, even for it ſelfe and nothing elſe in the world.

Or becauſe women commonly admit and entertaine ſtrangers, as corrupted by receiving of preſents and gifts at their hands, it was thought to ſtand more with honour and reputation, that wives ſhould love their owne husbands, though they gave them nothing by way of gift.

Or rather, for that it was meet and requiſit, that the goods of the husband ſhould be common to the wife, and to the wife likewiſe of the husband: for the partie who receiveth a thing in gift, doth learne to repute that which was not given, to be none of his owne, but belonging to another: ſo that man and wife in giving never ſo little one to another, deſpoile and defraud themſelves of all that is beſide.

8

*What might be the cauſe that they were forbidden to receive any gift either of Sonne in law, or of Father in law?*

**O**F Sonne in law, for feare left the gift might be thought by the meanes of the Father to paſſe about the returne unto the wife: and of the Father in law, becauſe it was ſuppoſed meet and juſt, that he who gave not, ſhould not likewiſe receive ought.

9

*What ſhould be the reaſon that the Romans when they returned from ſome voyage out of a ſarre and foraine country, or onely from their ferme into the citie; if their wives were at home, uſed to ſend a meſſenger unto them before, for to give warning and advertiſement of their comming?*

**E**ITHER it was becauſe this is a token of one that beleeveth and is verily perſwaded that his wife intendeth no lewdneſſe, nor is otherwiſe buſied than well: whereas to come upon her at unwares and on a ſodain, is a kind of forlaying and ſurprize. Or for that they make haſte to ſend them good newes of their comming, as being aſſured that they have a longing deſire, and doe expect ſuch tidings.

Or rather becauſe themſelves would be glad to heare from them ſome good newes, to wit, whether they ſhall find them in good health when they come, and attending affectionately and with great devotion, their returne.

Or elſe becauſe women ordinarily, when their husbands be away and from home, have many petite buſineſſes and houſe affairs: and other whiles there fall out ſome little jarres and quarrels miſſing doores with their ſervants, men or maidens: to the end therefore all ſuch troubles and inconveniences might be overblown; and that they might give unto their husbands a loving and amiable welcome home; they have intelligence given unto them before hand of their arrivall and approach.

10

*What is the cauſe that when they adore and worſhip the gods, they cover their heads: but contrariwiſe when they meet with any honourable or worſhipfull perſons, if their heads haplie were then covered with their cover, they diſcover the ſame, and are bare headed.*

**F**OR it ſeemeth that this faſhion maketh the former doubt and branch of the queſtion more difficult to be aſſoiled: and if that which is reported of *Aeneas* be true; namely, that as

*Cecce*

*Diamedes*

\* Daughters  
husband.  
\* Wives fa-  
ther.

\* This may  
ſeeme to have  
ſome reſpecte  
to the Roman  
queſtion.

*Diomedes* passed along by him while he sacrificed, he covered his head, and so performed his sacrifice; there is good reason and consequence, that if men be covered before their enemies, they should be bare when they encounter either their friends, or men of woorth and honour: for this manner of being covered before the gods, is not properly respective unto them, but occasioned by accident, and hath, since that example of *Aeneas*, beene observed and continued.

But if we must say somewhat else beside, consider whether it be not sufficient to enquire one-ly of this point; namely, why they cover their heads when they worship the gods, seeing the other consequently dependeth hereupon: for they stand bare before men of dignitie and authoritie, not to doe them any more honor thereby, but contrariwise to diminish their envie, for feare they might be thought to require as much reverence and the same honor as is exhibi-<sup>10</sup> to the gods, or suffer themselves, and take pleasure to be observed and revered equally with them: as for the gods they adored them after this sort; either by way of lowlinesse and humbling themselves before their majestie, in covering and hiding their heads; or rather be-<sup>20</sup> cause they feared lest as they made their praies, there should come unto their hearing, from without, any sinister voice or inauspicate and ominous offe: and to prevent such an object they drew their hood over their eares: And how true it is that they had a carefull eie and regard to meet with all such accidents, it may appeare by this, that when they went to any oracle for to be resolved by answer from thence upon a scrupulous doubt, they caused a great noise to be made all about them, with ringing of pannes or brassen bassons.

Or it may well be, (as *Cassius* saith, comparing in concordance the Romane fashions with the rites of the Pythagoreans) for that the *Dæmon* or good angel within us, hath need of the gods helpe without, and maketh supplication with covering the head, giving thus much co-<sup>30</sup> verly to understand thereby, that the soule is likewise covered and hidden by the bodie.

I 1

Why sacrifice they unto Saturne bare-headed.

It is because *Aeneas* first brought up this fashion of covering the head at sacrifice; and the sacrifice to *Saturnus* is much more auncient than his time?

Or, for that they used to be covered unto the celestiall gods: but as for *Saturne* he is reputed<sup>30</sup> a Subterranean or terrestriall god?

Or, in this respect, that there is nothing hidden, covered, or shadowed in Truth? For among the Romans, *Saturne* was held to be the father of Veritie.

I 2

Why doe they repute Saturne the father of Truth.

\* *Keiser.*  
\* *Keiser.*

It is for that (as some Philosophers deeme) they are of opinion that \* *Saturne* is \* Time; and Time you know well findeth out and revealeth the Truth.

Or, because as the Poets fable, men lived under *Saturnes* reigne in the golden age: and if<sup>40</sup> the life of man was then most just and righteous, it followeth consequently that there was much truth in the world.

I 3

What is the reason that they sacrificed likewise unto the gods whom they tearmed Honor, with bare head? now a man may interpret Honor to be as much as Glory and Reputation.

It is haply because Honor and glory is a thing evident, notorious, and exposed to the know-<sup>50</sup> ledge of the whole world: and by the same reason that they veile boner before men of wor-ship, dignitie, and honor, they adore also the deitie that beareth the name of Honor, with the head bare.

I 4

What may be the cause, that sonnes carry their Fathers and Mothers sooth to be entered, with their heads hooded and covered: but daughters bare headed, with their haire detressed and hanging downe loose.

It is for that Fathers ought to be honored as gods by their male children, but lamented and bewailed as dead men by their daughters, and therefore the law having given and graunted<sup>unto</sup>

unto either sex that which is proper, hath of both together made that which is becoming and convenient.

Or, it is in this regard, that unto sorrow and heaviness, that is best becoming which is extra-ordinary and unusuall: now more ordinarie it is with women to go abroad with their heads veiled and covered: and likewise with men, to be discovered and bare headed. For even among the Greeks when there is befallen unto them any publike calamitie, the manner and custome is, that the women should cut off the hayres of their head, and the men weare them long: for that otherwise it is usuall that men should poll their heads, and women keepe their haire long. And to prove that sonnes were wont to be covered; in such a case, and for the said cause, a man may<sup>10</sup> alledge that which *Varro* hath written; namely, that in the solemnitie of funerals, and about the tombs of their fathers, they carry themselves with as much reverence and devotion as in the temples of the gods: in such sort, as when they have burnt the corps in the funeral fire, as soone as ever they meet with a bone, they pronounce, that he who is dead, is now become a god. On the contrary side, women were no wife permitted to vaile and cover their heads. And we find upon record, that the first man who put away and divorced his wife was *Spurius Carbilus*, be-<sup>20</sup> cause she bare him no children; the second, *Salpitius Gallus*, for that he saw her to cast a robe over her head: and the third *Publius Sempronius*, for standing to behold the solemnitie of the fu-nerall games.

I 5

How it cometh to passe, that considering the Romans esteemed Terminus a god, and there-fore in honour of him celebrated a feast called thereupon Terminalia, yet they never killed any beast in sacrifice unto him?

It is because *Romulus* did appoint no bonds and limits of his country, to the end that he might lawfully set out & take in where pleased him, and repute all that land his owne so far as, (according to that saying of the Lacedæmonian) his speare or javelin would reach? But *Numa*<sup>30</sup> *Pompilius* a just man and politick withall, one who knew well how to govern, and that by the rule of Philopohie, caused his territorie to be confined betwene him and his neighbour nations, and called those frontier bonds by the name of *Terminus* as the superintendent, over-seeer and keeper of peace and amitie between neighbours; and therefore he supposed, that this *Terminus* ought to be preserved pure and cleane from all blood, and impollute with any murder.

I 6

What is the reason that it is not lawfull for any maid servants to enter into the temple of the goddesse \* *Leucothea*? and the Dames of Rome, bringing in thither one alone and no more \* Or *Matuta*, with them, fall to cuffing and boxing her about the eares and cheeks.

As for the wench that is thus buffeted, it is a sufficient signe and argument, that such as she, are not permitted to come thither: now for all others they keepe them out in regard of a certaine poetically fable reported in this wise: that ladie *Juno* being in times past jealous of her husband, and suspecting him with a maid servant of hers, fell mad, and was enraged against<sup>40</sup> her owne sonne: this servant the Greeks say, was an Aetolian borne, and had to name *Antiphera*: and therefore it is that heere among us in the citie of *Charonea*, before the temple or chappell of *Matuta*, the sexton taking a whip in his hand crieth with a loud voice: No man servant or maid servant be so hardie as to come in heere; no Aetolian hee or shee presume to enter into this place.

I 7

What is the cause that to this goddesse, folke pray not for any blessings to their owne children, but for their nephewes only, to wit, their brothers or sisters children?

May it not be that *Juno* being a ladie that loved her sister wonderous well, in so much as she<sup>50</sup> suckled at her owne breast a sonne of hers: but was unfortunate in her owne children? Or rather, because the said custome is otherwise very good and civill, inducing and moving folks hearts to carie love and affection to their kinred;

I 8

For what cause, were many rich men wont to consecrate and give unto Hercules the Disme or tenth of all their goods?

Why may it not be upon this occasion, that Hercules himselfe being upon a time at<sup>Or</sup> \* *Rome*, sacrifice the tenth cow of all the drove which he had taken from *Geryon*?

Cecce 2

\* By *Protesis*, meaning the place where afterwards Rome stood.

Or for that he freed and delivered the Romans from the tax and tribute of the Dismes which they were wont to pay out of their goods unto the Tuskans.

Or in case this may not go current for an authentick historie, and worthie of credit; what and if we say that unto *Hercules* as to some great bellie god, and one who loved good cheere, they offered and sacrificed plentifully and in great liberalitie?

Or rather, for that by this means they would take downe and diminish a little, their excessive riches which ordinarily is an eie-fore and odious unto the citizens of a popular state, as if they meant to abate and bring low (as it were) that plethoricall plight and corpulency of the bodie, which being growen to the height is dangerous: suppling by such cutting off, and abridging of superfluities, to do honour and service most pleasing unto *Hercules*, as who joied highly in frugalitie: for that in his life time he stood contented with a little, and regarded no delicacie or excessive whatsoever.

19

*Why begin the Romans their yeere at the moneth Januarie?*

For in old time the moneth of March was reckoned first, as a man may collect by many other conjectures, and by this especially, that the first moneth in order after March was called *Quintilis*, and the sixt moneth *Sexilis*, and all the rest consequently one after another until you come to the last, which they named December, because it was the tenth in number after March: which giveth occasion unto some for to thinke & say, that the Romans (in those daies) determined and accomplished their compleat yeere, not in twelve moneths but in ten: namely, by adding unto everie one of those ten moneths certain daies over and above thirtie. Others write, that December indeed was the tenth moneth after March; but Januarie was the eleventh, and Februarie the twelfth: in which moneth they used certaine expiatorie and purgatorie sacrifices, yea, and offered oblations unto the dead (as it were) to make an end of the yeere. Howbeit afterwards they transposed this order, and ranged Januarie in the first place, for that upon the first day thereof, which they call the Calends of Januarie; the first Consuls that ever bare rule in Rome were entailed, immediately upon the deposition and expulsion of the kings out of the citie. But there seemeth to be more probability & likelihood of truth in their speech, who say, that *Romulus* being a martiall prince, and one that loved warre and feats of armes, as being reputed the sonne of *Mars*, set before all other moneths, that which carried the name of his father: howbeit *Numa* who succeeded next after him, being a man of peace, and who endeavored to withdraw the hearts and minds of his subjects and citizens from warre to agriculture, gave the prerogative of the first place unto Januarie, and honoured *Janus* most, as one who had bene more given to politick government, and to the husbandrie of ground, than to the exercise of warre and armes.

Consider moreover, whether *Numa* chose not this moneth for to begin the yeere withall, as best sorting with nature in regard of us; for otherwise in generall, there is no one thing of all those that by nature turne about circularly, that can be said first or last, but according to the severall institutions and ordinances of men, some begin the time at this point, others at that. And verely they that make the Winter solstice or hibernal Tropick the beginning of their yeere, do the best of all others: for that the Sunne ceasing then to passe farther, beginneth to returne and take his way againe toward us: for it seemeth, that both according to the course of nature, and also in regard of us, this season is most befitting to begin the yeere: for that it increaseth unto us the time of daie light, and diminisheth the darknesse of night, and causeth that noble starre or planet to approach neerer and come toward us, the lord governour and ruler of all substance transitorie and fluxible matter whatsoever.

20

*Why do women when they dresse up and adorne the chappell or shrine of their feminine goddesse, whom they call Bona, never bring home for that purpose any branches of Myrtle tree: and yet otherwise have a delight to employ all sorts of leaves and flowers?*

50

\*Or Phaulus. May it not be, for that, as some fabulous writers tell the tale, there was one *Flavius* a sooth-saier had a wife, who used secretly to drinke wine, and when she was surprisid and taken in the manner by her husband, she was well beaten by him which myrtle rods: and for that cause they bring thither no boughs of myrtle: marry they offer libations unto this goddesse of wine, but forsooth they call it Milke.

Or is it not for this cause, that those who are to celebrate the ceremonies of this divine service,

vice, ought to be pure and cleane from all pollutions, but especially from that of *Venus* or lechery? For not onely they put out of the room where the service is performed unto the said goddesse *Bona*, all men, but also whatsoever is besides of masculine sex; which is the reason that they so detest the myrtle tree, as being consecrated unto *Venus*, inasmuch as it should seeme they called in old time that *Venus*, *Myrtes*, which now goeth under the name of *Marcia*.

21

*What is the reason that the Latines doe so much honour and reverence the Woodpecker, and forbear altogether to doe that bird any harme?*

10

It is for that *Picus* was reported in old time by the enchantments and forceries of his wife, to have changed his owne nature, and to be metamorphozed into a Woodpecker; under which forme he gave out oracles, and delivered answers unto those who propounded unto him any demands?

Or rather, because this seemeth a moere fable, and incredible tale: there is another storie reported, which carrieth more probabilitie with it, and soundeth neerer unto truth. That when *Romulus* and *Remus* were cast forth and exposed to death; not onely a female wolfe gave them her teats to sucke, but also a certeine Woodpecker flew unto them, and brought them food in her bill, and so fedde them: and therefore haply it is, that ordinarily in these daies wee may see, as *Nigidius* hath well observed; what places forever at the foot of an hill covered and shadowed with oakes or other trees a Woodpecker haunteth, thither customably you shall have a wolfe to repaire.

Or peradventure, seeing their maner is to consecrate unto every god one kinde of birde or other, they reputed this Woodpecker sacred unto *Mars*, because it is a courageous and hardy bird, having a bill so strong, that he is able to overthrow an oke therewith, after he hath jobbed and pecked into it as farre as to the very marrow and heart thereof.

22

*How is it that they imagine Janus to have had two faces, in which maner they use both to paine and also to cast him in mold.*

30

It is for that he being a Græcian borne, came from *Perhabia*, as we finde written in histories; and passing forward into *Italy*, dwelt in that country among the Barbarous people, who there lived, whose language and maner of life he changed?

Or rather because he taught and perswaded them to live together after a civill and honest fort, in husbandry and tilling the ground; whereas before time their manners were rude, and their fashions savage without law or justice altogether.

23

*What is the cause that they use to sell at Rome all things pertaining to the furniture of Funerals, within the temple of the goddesse Libitina, supposing her to be Venus.*

40

This may seeme to be one of the fage and philosophicall inventions of king *Numa*, to the end that men should learne not to abhorre such things, nor to flie from them, as if they did pollute and defile them?

Or else this reason may be rendred, that it serveth for a good record and memoriall, to put us in minde, that whatsoever had a beginning by generation, shall likewise come to an end by death; as if one and the same goddesse were superintendent and governeesse of nativite and death: for even in the city of *Delphos* there is a pretie image of *Venus*, surnamed *Epipymbia*; that is to say sepulchrell: before which they use to raise and call forth the ghosts of such as are departed, for to receive the libaments and sacred liquors poured forth unto them.

24

*Why have the Romans in every moneth three beginnings as it were, to wit, certeine principall and prefixed or preordained daies, and regard not the same intervall or space of daies betweene?*

It is because as *Juba* writeth in his chronicles, that the chiefe magistrates were wont upon the first day of the moneth to call and summon the people; whereupon it tooke the name of *Ca-*

Cccc 3

\* That is to say, Kalends, Ides & Nones.



*lends*: and then to denounce unto them that the *Nones* should be the fifth day after; and as for the *Ides* they held it to be an holy and sacred day?

Or for that they measuring and determining the time according to the differences of the moone, they observed in her every moneth three principall changes and diversities: the first, when she is altogether hidden, namely during her conjunction with the sunne; the second when she is somewhat removed from the beames of the sunne, & beginneth to shew herselfe croissant in the evening toward the West whereas the sunne setteth; the third, when she is at the full: now that occultation and hiding of hers in the first place, they named *Calends*, for that in their tongue whatsoever is secret & hidden, they say it is [*Clam*] and to hide or keepe close, they expresse by this word [*Celare*]; and the first day of the moones illumination, which wee here in Greece tearme *Noumenia*, that is to say, the new-moone, they called by a most just name *Nona*, for that which is new and young, they tearme *Novum*, in manner as wee doe now. As for the *Ides*, they tooke their name of this word *Ides*, that signifieth beautie; for that the moone being then at the full, is in the very perfection of her beautie: or haply they derived this denomination of *Dies*, as attributing it to *Jupiter*: but in this we are not to search our exactly the just number of daies, nor upon a small default to slander and condemne this manner of reckoning, seeing that even at this day, when the science of Astrologie is grown to so great an increment, the inequalitye of the motion, and course of the moone surpasseth all experience of Mathematicians, and cannot be reduced to any certaine rule of reason.

20

25

*What is the cause that they repute the morrowes after Calends, Nones, and Ides, disafterous or dismall daies, either for to set forward upon any journey or voiage, or to march with an army into the field?*

It is because as many thinke, and as *Titus Livius* hath recorded in his storie; the Tribunes militarie, at what time as they had consular and soveraigne authoritie, went into the field with the Romane armie the morrow after the *Ides* of the moneth *Quintilis*, which was the same that July now is, and were discomfited in a battell by the Gauls, neere unto the river *Allia*: and consequently upon that overthrow, lost the very city it selfe of Rome: by which occasion the morrow after the *Ides*, being held and reputed for a sinister and unluckie day; superstition entring into mens heads, proceeded farther, (as the loveth alwaies so to doe) and brought in the custom to mens heads, proceeded farther, (as the loveth alwaies so to doe) and brought in the custome for to hold the morrow after the *Nones* yea, and the morrow after the *Calends*, as unfortunate, and to be as religiously observed in semblable cases.

But against this there may be opposed many objections: for first and formost, they lost that battell upon another day, and calling it *Allenis*, by the name of the river *Allia*, where it was stricken, they have it in abomination for that cause. Again, whereas there be many daies reputed dismall and unfortunate, they doe not observe so precisely and with so religious feare, other daies of like denomination in every moneth, but each day apart onely in that moneth wherein such and such a disaster, hapned: and that the infortunie of one day should draw a superstitious feare simply upon all the morrowes after *Calends*, *Nones*, and *Ides*, carieth no congruie at all, nor apparence of reason.

Consider moreover and see, whether, as of moneths they used to consecrate the first to the gods celestiall; the second to the terrestriall, or infernall, wherein they performe certaine expiatorie ceremonies and sacrifices of purification, and presenting offerings and services to the dead: so of the daies in the moneth, those which are chiefe and principall, as hath bene said, they would not have to be kept as sacred and festivall holidays; but such as follow after, as being dedicated unto the spirits, called *Demons*, and those that are departed; they also have esteemed consequently as unhappy, & altogether unmeet either for to execute or to take in hand any business: for the Greeks adoring and serving the gods upon their new moones and first daies of the moneth, have attributed the second daies unto the demi-gods and *Demons*: like as at 40 their feasts also they drinke the second cup unto their demi-gods, and demi-goddesses. In summe, Time is a kinde of number, and the beginning of number is (I wot not what,) some divine thing, for it is unitie: and that which commeth next after it is Deux or two, cleane opposite unto the said beginning, and is the first of all even numbers: as for the even number it is defective, imperfect, and indefinite, whereas contrariwise, the uneven or odde number it selfe is finite, complet, and absolute: and for this cause like as the *Nones* succeed the *Calends* five daies after; so the *Ides* follow the *Nones* nine daies after them; for the uneven and

and odde numbers doe determine those beginnings, or principall daies; but those which presently ensue after the said principall daies being even, are neither ranged in any order, nor have power and puissance: and therefore men doe not enterprize any great worke, nor set fourth voiage or journey upon such daies: and hereto we may to good purpose annex that pretie speech of *Themistocles*: For when the morrow (quoth he) upon a time quarrelled with the festivall day which went next before it, saying, that herselfe was busied and tooke a great deale of pains, preparing & providing with much travel those goods which the feast enjoined at her ease, with all repose, rest, and leisure: the Festivall day made this answer: Thou saidst true indeed; but if I were not, where wouldst thou be? This tale *Themistocles* devised, and delivered unto the Athenian captaines, who came after him; giving them thereby to understand, that neither they nor any acts of theirs would ever have bene leene, unless hee before them had saved the citie of Athens. Forasmuch then, as every enterprize and voiage of importance hath need of provision, and some preparatives; and for that the Romans in old time upon their festivall daies, dispensed nothing, nor tooke care for any provision; being wholly given and devoted at such times to the service & worship of God, doing that, & nothing else; like as even yet at this day, when the priests begin to sacrifice, they pronounce with a loud voice before all the companie there assembled *Hoc Age*, that is to say, Minde this, and doe no other thing: verie like it is, and standeth to great reason, that they used not to put themselves upon the way for any long voiage, nor tooke in hand any great affaire or business presently after a festivall day, but kept within house all the morrow after, to thinke upon their occasions, and to provide all things necessarie for journey or exploit: or we may conjecture, that as at this very day the Romans after they have adored the gods, and made their prayers unto them within their temples, are wont to stay there a time, and sit them downe; even so they thought it not reasonable to cast their great affaires so, as that they should immediately follow upon any of their festivall daies; but they allowed some respite and time betwene, as knowing full well, that businesses carie with them alwaies many troubles and hinderances, beyond the opinion, expectation, and will of those who take them in hand.

26

*What is the cause that women at Rome, when they mourne for the dead, put on white robes, and likewise weare white cawles, coifes and kerchiefs upon their heads.*

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May it not be that for to oppose themselves against hell and the darkeness thereof, they conforme their raiment and attire to that colour which is cleere and bright?

Or doe they it not rather for this: that like as they clad and burie the dead corps in white clothes, they suppose, that those who are next of kin, and come neereft about them, ought also to weare their liverie? Now the bodie they doe in this wise decke, because they cannot adorne the foule so; and it they are willing to accompanie as lightome, pure and net, as being now at the last delivered and set free, and which hath performed a great a variable combat.

Or rather, we may guesse thus much thereby: that in such cases, that which is most simple and least costly, is best becoming; whereas clothes of any other colour died, do commonly bewray either superfluitie or curiositie: for we may say even as well of blacke, as of purple: These robes are deceitfull; these colours also are counterfeite. And as touching that which is of it selfe blacke, if it have not that tincture by dyes art, surely it is so coloured by nature, as being mixed and compounded with obscuritie: and therefore there is no colour els but white, which is pure, unmixt, and not stained and sullied with any tincture, and that which is inimitable; in which regard, more meet and agreeable unto those who are interred, considering that the dead is now become simple, pure, exempt from all mixtion, and in very truth, nothing els but delivered from the bodie, as a staine and infection hardly scowred out and rid away. Semblably, in the citie of *Argos*, whensoever they mourned, the maner was to weare white garments, washed 50 (as *Socrates* said) in faire and cleere water.

27

*What is the reason that they esteeme all the walles of the citie sacred and inviolable, but not the gates.*

It is (as *Varro* saith) because we ought to thinke the walles holie, to the end that we may fight valiantly, and die generously in the defence of them? for it seemeth that this was the cause, why *Remulus* killed his owne brother *Remus*, for that he presumed to leape over an holy and inviolable place: whereas contrariwise, it was not possible to consecrate and hallow the gates,

gates, thorow which there must needs be transported many things necessary, and namely, the bodies of the dead. And therefore, they who begin to found a cite, environ and compass first with a plough all that pourprise and precinct wherein they meant to build, drawing the said plough with an ox and a cow coupled together in one yoke: afterwards, when they have traced out all the said place where the walles should stand, they measure out as much ground as will serve for the gates, but take out the plough-share, and so passe over that space with the bare plough, as if they meant thereby, that all the furrow which they cast up and eared, should be fenced and inviolable.

28

*What is the reason, that when their children are to swear by Hercules, they will not let them to do it within doores, but cause them to go forth of the house, and take their oath abroad?*

It is because (as some would have it) that they thinke *Hercules* is not delighted with keeping close within house and sitting idly, but taketh pleasure to live abroad and lie without?

Or rather, for that of all the gods, *Hercules* is not (as one would say) home-bred, but a stranger, come amongst them from afarie? For even so they would not swear by *Bacchus*, under the rooffe of the house, but went forth to do it; because he also is but a stranger among the gods.

Or haply, this is no more but a word in game and sport, given unto children: and besides (to say a trueth) it may be a meane to withholde and restrain them from swearing so readily and rashly, as *Phavorinus* saith: for this device causeth a certeine premeditate preparation, and girathem (whiles they goe out of the house) leasure and time to consider better of the matter. And a man may conjecture also with *Phavorinus*, and say with him: That this fashion was not common to other gods, but proper to *Hercules*: for that we finde it written, that he was so religious, so respective and precise in his oath, that in all his life time he never swate but once, and that was only to *Phileus* the sonne of *Angus*. And therefore, the prophetesse at *Delfos*, named *Pythia*, answered thus upon a time to the *Lacedæmonians*:

*When all these oaths you once for send,  
Your state (be sure) shall daily mend.*

29

*What should be the reason, that they would not permit the new wedded bride to passe of herselfe over the doore-sill or threshold, when she is brought home to her husbands house, but that they accompany her, must lift her up betwene them from the ground, and so convey her in.*

It is in remembrance of those first wives whom they ravished perforce from the Sabines, who entred not into their houses of themselves with their good will, but were carried in by them in this maner?

Or is it perhaps, because they would be thought to goe against their willes into that place where they were to lose their maidenhead?

Or haply it may be, that a wedded wife ought not to goe forth of her doores, and abandon her house, but perforce, like as she went first into it by force. For in our countrey of *Bæotia*, the maner is, to burne before the doore where a new married wife is to dwell, the axel tree of that chariot or coach in which she rode when she was brought to her husbands house. By which ceremonie, thus much she is given to understand, that will she nill she, there she must now tarrie, considering that it which brought her thither, is now gone quite and consumed.

30

*Wherefore do they at Rome, when they bring a new espoused bride home to the house of her husband, force her to say these words unto her spouse? Where you are *Cajus*, I will be *Cajus*?*

50

It is to testifie by these words, that she entreateth immediately to communicate with him in all goods, and to be a governesse and commander in the house as well as he: for it implieth as much, as if she should say; where you are lord and master, I will be lady and mistres. Now these names they used as being common, and such as came first to hand, and for no other reason else: like as the Civill lawiers use ordinarily these names, *Cajus*, *Seius*, *Lucius*, and *Titius*: the Philosophers in their schooles, *Dion* and *Theon*.

Or peradventure it is in regard of *Caisa Cæcilia* a beautifull and vertuous lady, who intimes past

past espoused one of the sonnes of king *Tarquinius*: of which dame there is yet to be scene even at this day one image of brasse, within the temple of the god *Santus*: and there likewise in old time, her slippers, her distaffe and spindels laid up for to bee scene: the one to signifie that she kept the house well, and went not ordinarily abroad; the other to shew how she busied her selfe at home.

31

*How cometh it, that they use to chaunt ordinarily at weddings, this word so much divulged, Talassio?*

10

It is not of *Talassia*, the Greeke word, which signifieth yarne: for the basket wherein women use to put in their rolles of carded wooll, they name *Talassos* in Greeke, and *Calathus* in Latine? Certes they that lead the bride home, cause her to sit upon a peece of wooll, then bringeth she forth a distaffe and a spindle, and with wooll all to hangeth and decketh the dore of her husbands house.

Or rather, if it be true which historians report: There was sometime a certeine young gentleman, very valiant and active in feats of armes, and otherwise of excellent parts and singular wel conditioned, whose name was *Talassius*: and when they ravished and caried away the daughters of the Sabines who were come to Rome, for to behold the solemnitie of their festivall games and plaies: certaine meane persons, such yet as belonged to the traine & retinue of *Talassius* afore said, had chosen forth & were caryng away, one damosel above the rest most beautiful of visage, and for their safety and securitie as they passed along the streets, cried out aloud *Talassio*, *Talassio*, that is to say, for *Talassius*, for *Talassius*: to the end that no man should be so hardy as to approach neere unto them, nor attempt to have away the maiden from them, giving it out, that they caried her for to be the wife of *Talassius*; and others meeting them upon the way, joined with them in company for the honour of *Talassius*, and as they followed after, highly praised their good choice which they had made, praying the gods to give both him and her joy of their marriage, and contentment to their hearts desire. Now for that this marriage proved happy and blessed, they were wont ever after in their wedding songs to rechant and recount 30 this name, *Talassius*, like as the maner is among the Greeks to sing in such carrols, *Hymenæus*.

32

*What is the reason that in the moneth of May, they use at Rome to cast over their wooden bridge into the river, certaine images of men, which they call Argæos?*

It is in memoriall of the Barbarians who sometimes inhabited these parts, and did do by the Greeks, murdering them in that maner as many of them as they could take? But *Hercules* who was highly esteemed among them for his vertue, abolished this cruell fashion of killing of strangers, and taught them this custome to counterfet their auncient superstitions, and to sling 40 these images in stead of them: now in old time our ancestors used to name all Greeks of what countrey soever they were, *Argæos*: unlesse haply a man would say, that the Arcadians reputed the Argives to be their enemies, for that they were their neighbour borderers, such as fled with *Evander* out of *Arcadia*, and came to inhabit these quarters, retained still the old hatred and rancor, which time out of minde had taken root, and beene sealed in their hearts against the said Argives.

33

*What is the cause that the Romans in old time never went forth out of their houses to supper, but they caried with them their young sonnes, even when they were but in their very infancy and childhood.*

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Was not this for the very same reason that *Lycæus* instituted and ordained, that young children should ordinarily be brought into their halles where they used to eat in publicke, called *Phidria*, to the end that they might be inured and acquainted betimes, not to use the pleasures of eating and drinking immoderately, as brutish and ravenous beasts are wont to doe; considering that they had their elders to oversee them, yea, and to controll their demeanour: and in this regard haply also, that their fathers themselves should in their carriage be more sober, honest, and frugall, in the presence of their children: for looke where old folke

folke are shamelesse, there it can not chuse but (as *Plato* saith) children and youth will be most gracelesse and impudent.

<sup>34</sup>  
What might the reason be, that whereas all other Romans made their offerings, ceremonies, and sacrifices for the dead, in the month of February: *Decimus Brutus* as *Cicero* saith, was wont to doe the same in the month of December: now this *Brutus* was he who first invaded the country of Portugall, and with an armie passed over the river of *Lethe*, that is to say, oblivion.

May it not be, that as the most part of men used not to performe any such services for the dead, but toward the end of the moneth, and a little before the shutting in of the evenings even so it seemeth to carie good reason, to honour the dead at the end of the yeere; and you wot well that December was the last moneth of all the yeere.

Or rather, it is because this was an honour exhibited to the deities terrestriall: and it seemeth that the proper season to reverence and worship these earthly gods, is when the fruits of the earth be fully gathered and laid up.

Or haply, for that the husband men began at this time to breake up their grounds against their needesse: it was meet and requisite to have in remembrance those gods which are under the ground.

Or haply, because this moneth is dedicate and consecrated by the Romans to *Saturne*; for they counted *Saturne* one of the gods beneath, and none of them above: and withall, considering the greatest and most solemne feast, which they call *Saturnalia*, is holden in this moneth, at what time as they seeme to have their most frequent meeting, and make best cheere, he thought it meet and reasonable that the dead also should enjoy some little portion thereof.

Or it may be said, that it is altogether untrue that *Decimus Brutus* alone sacrificed for the dead in this moneth: for certein it is that there was a certein divine service performed to *Aeolus* *Larentia*, and solemne effusions and libaments of wine and milke were powred upon her sepulchre in the moneth of December.

<sup>35</sup>  
Why honoured the Romans this *Acca Larentia* so highly, considering she was no better than a strumpet or courtesan?

For you must thinke, that the histories make mention of another *Acca Larentia*, the nurse of *Romulus*, unto whom they do honour in the moneth of Aprill. As for this courtesan *Larentia*, she was (as men say) surnamed *Fabula*, and came to be so famous and renowned by such an occasion as this. A certein sexton of *Hercules* his temple, having little els to doe, and living at ease (as commonly such fellows doe) used for the most part to spend all the day in playing at dice and with cockall bones: and one day above the rest, it fortun'd, that meeting with none of his mates and play-fellows who were wont to beare him company at such games, and not knowing what to do nor how to passe the time away, he thought with himselfe to challenge the god whose servant he was, to play at dice with him, upon these conditions: That if himselfe won the game, *Hercules* should be a meane for him of some good lucke and happy fortune; but in case he lost the game, he should provide for *Hercules* a good supper, and withall, a pretie wench and a faire, to be his bedfellow: these conditions being agreed upon and set downe, he cast the dice, one chance for himselfe, and another for the god; but his hap was to be the loser: whereupon minding to stand unto his challenge, and to accomplish that which he had promised, he prepared a rich supper for *Hercules* his god, and withall, sent for this *Acca Larentia*, a professed courtesan and common harlot, whom he feasted also with him, and after supper bettowed her in a bed within the very temple, shut the doores fast upon, and so went his way. Now the tale goes forsooth, that in the night, *Hercules* companied with her, not after the manner of men, but charged her, that the next morning betimes she should go into the market-place, and looke what man the first met withall, him she should entertaine in all kindnesse, and make her friend especially. Then *Larentia* gat up betimes in the morning accordingly, and chanced to encounter a certein rich man and a staid bachelor, who was now past his middle age, and his name was *Tarantius*; with him she became so familiarly acquainted, that so long as he lived, she had the command of his whole house; and at his death, was by his last will and testament inherited

30

heritresse

heritresse of all that he had. This *Larentia* likewise afterward departed this life, and left all her riches unto the citie of *Rome*; whereupon this honour above said was done unto her.

<sup>36</sup>  
What is the cause, that they name one gate of the citie *Fenestra*, which is as much to say, as window; neere unto which adjoineth the bed-chamber of *Fortune*?

Is it for that king *Servius* a most fortunate prince, was thought & named to lie with *Fortune*, who was wont to come unto him by the window? or is this but a devised tale? But in truth, after that king *Tarquinius Priscus* was deceased, his wife *Tanagillis* being a wise ladie, and endued with a soiall mind, putting forth her head, and bending forward her bodie out of her chamber window, made a speech unto the people, perswading them to elect *Servius* for their king. And this is the reason that afterwards the place retained this name, *Fenestra*.

<sup>37</sup>  
What is the reason, that of all those things which be dedicated and consecrated to the gods, the custome is at *Rome*, that onely the spoiles of enemies conquered in the warres, are neglected and suffered to run to decay in processe of time: neither is there any reverence done unto them, nor required be they at any time, when they waxe olde?

<sup>38</sup>  
Whether is it, because they (supposing their glory to fade and passe away together with these first spoiles) seeke evermore new meanes to winne some fresh marks and monuments of their vertue, and to leavethem same behinde them.

Or rather, for that seeing time doth waste and consume these signes and tokens of the enbity, which they had with their enemies, it were an odious thing for them, and very invidious, if they should refresh and renew the remembrance thereof: for even those among the Greeks, who first erected their trophies or pillars of brasie and stone, were not commended for so doing.

<sup>39</sup>  
What is the reason, that *Quintus Metellus* the high priest, and reputed besides a wise man, would polittike for bad to observe auspices, or to take presages by flight of birds, after the moneth *Sex-tilis*, now called *August*.

Is it for that, as we are wont to attend upon such observations about noone or in the beginning of the day, at the entrance also and toward the middle of the moneth: but we take heed and beware of the daies declination, as inauspicate and unmeet for such purposes; even so *Metellus* supposed, that the time after eight moneths was (as it were) the evening of the yeere, and the latter end of it declining now and wearing toward an end.

Or haply, because we are to make use of these birds, and to observe their flight for presage, while they are entire, perfect and nothing defective, such as they are before Summer time. But about Autumne some of them moult, grow to be sickly and weak; others are over young and too small; and some againe appeare not at all, but like passengers are gone at such a time into another country.

<sup>40</sup>  
What is the cause, that it was not lawfull for them who were not prest soldiers by oth and enrolled, although upon some other occasions they conversed in the campe, to strike or wound an enemy? And verely *Cato* himselfe the elder of that name signified thus much in a letter missive which he wrote unto his sonne: wherein he straitly charged him, that if he had accomplished the full time of his service, and that his captain had given him his conge and discharge, he should immediately returne; or in case he had lesser stay still in the campe, that he should obtaine of his captaine permission and licence to hurt and kill his enemy.

Is it because there is nothing else but needesse alone, doeth warrantize the killing of a man: and he who unlawfully and without expresse commandement of a superiour (unconstrained) doth it, is a meere homicide and manslayer. And therefore *Cyrus* commended *Chrysantus*, for that being upon the verie point of killing his enemy, as having lifted up his cemeter for to give him a deadly wound, presently upon the sound of the retreat by the trumpeter, let the

man

man go, and would not smite him, as if he had bene forbidden so to do.

Or may it not be, for that he who presenteth himselfe to fight with his enimie, in case he shrink, and make not good his ground, ought not to go away cleere withal, but to be held faulty and to suffer punishment: for he doth nothing so good service that hath either killed our wound, or an enimie, as harme and damage, who reculeth backe or flieth away: now he who is discharged from warfare, and hath leave to depart, is no more obliged and bound to militarie lawes: but he that hath demanded permission to do that service which sworne and enrolled souldiers perforce, putteth himselfe againe under the subjection of the law and his owne captaine.

40

*How is it, that the priest of Jupiter, is not permitted to anoint himselfe abroad in the open aire?*

Is it for that in old time it was not held honest and lawfull for children to do off their clothes before their fathers; nor the sonne in law in the presence of his wives father; neither used they the stouph or bath together: now is Jupiter reputed the priests or *Flamines* father: and that which is done in the open aire, seemeth especially to be in the verie cie and sight of Jupiter?

Or rather, like as it was thought a great sinne and exceeding irreverence, for a man to turne himselfe out of his apparrell naked, in any church, chappell, or religious and sacred place; even so they carried a great respect unto the aire and open skie, as being full of gods, demi-gods, and saints. And this is the verie cause, why we do many of our necessarie businesse within doores, enclosed and covered with the rooffe of our houses, and so removed from the eies as it were of the deitie. Moreover, some things there be that by law are commaunded and enjoined unto the priest onely; and others againe unto all men, by the priest: as for example, heere with us in *Bavaria* to be crowned with chaplets of flowers upon the head; to let the haire grow long; to weare a sword, and not to set foot within the limits of *Phocis*, pertaine all to the office and dutie of the captaine generall and chiefe ruler: but to tast of no new fruits before the Autumnall *Aequinox* be past; nor to cut and prune a vine but before the *Aequinox* of the Spring, be intimated and declared unto all by the said ruler or captaine generall: for those be the verie seasons to do both the one & the other. In like case, it should seeme in my judgement that among the Romans it properly belonged to the priest; not to mount on horseback; not to be above three nights out of the citie; not to put off his cap, wherupon he was called in the Roman language, *Flamen*. But there be many other offices and duties, notified and declared unto all men by the priest, among which this is one, not to be enhailed or anointed abroad in the open aire: For this manner of anointing drie without the bath, the Romans mightily suspected and were afraid of: and even at this day they are of opinion, that there was no such cause in the world that brought the Greeks under the yoke of servitude and bondage, and made them so tender and effeminate, as their halles and publike places where their young men wrestled & exercised their bodies naked: as being the meanes that brought into their cities, much losse of time, engendred idlenesse, bred lazie slouth, and ministred occasion & opportunity of lewdnesse and vilany; as namely, to make love unto faire boies, and to spoile and marre the bodies of young men with sleeping, with walking at a certaine measure, with stirring according to motions, keeping artificiall compasse, and with observing rules of exquisite diet. Through which fashions, they see not, how (ere they be aware) they be fallen from exercises of armes, and have cleane forgotten all militarie discipline: loving rather to be held and esteemed good wrestlers, fine dauncers, concealed pleasers, and faire minions, than hardie footmen, or valiant men of armes. And verely it is an hard matter to avoid and decline these inconveniences, for them that use to discover their bodies naked before all the world in the broad aire: but those who anoint themselves closely within doores, and looke to their bodies at home are neither faultie nor offensive.

41

*What is the reason that the auncient coine and mony in old time, carried the flame of one side of Ianus with two faces: and on the other side, the prow or the poope of a boat engraved therein?*

Was it not as many men do say, for to honour the memorie of *Saturne*, who passed into Italy by water in such a vessel? But a man may say thus much as well of many rivers: for *Janus*, *Evander*, and *Aeneas*, came thither likewise by sea; and therefore a man may put adventure

adventure gesse with better reason; that whereas some things serve as goodly ornaments for cities, others as necessarie implements: among those which are decent and seemely ornaments, the principall is good government and discipline, and among such as be necessarie is reckoned, plentie and abundance of victuals: now for that *Janus* instituted good government, in ordering holmesse lawes, and reducing their manner of life to civillie, which before was rude and brutish, and for that the river being navigable, furnished them with store of all necessary commodities, whereby some were brought thither by sea, others from the land; the coine carried for the marke of a law-giver, the head with two faces, like as we have already said, because of that change of life which he brought in; and of the river, a ferrie boate or barge: and yet there was another kinde of money current among them, which had the figure portraied upon it, of a bee, of a sheepe, and of a swine; for that their riches they raised especially from such cattle, and all their wealth and substance consisted in them. And heereupon it cometh, that many of their auncient names, were *Ovilij*, *Bubulci* and *Porcij*, that is to say, Sheepe-reeves, and Neat-herds, and Swineherds according as *Fenestella* doth report.

42

*What is the cause that they make the temple of Saturne, the chamber of the coine, for to keepe therein the publike treasure of gold and silver: as also their arches, for the custodie of all their writings, rolles, contracts and evidences whatsoever.*

Is it by occasion of that opinion so commonly received, and the speech so universally current in every mans mouth, that during the raigne of *Saturne*, there was no avarice nor injustice in the world; but loialtie, truth, faith, and righteousnesse carried the whole sway among men.

Or for that he was the god who found out fruits, brought in agriculture, and taught husbandry first; for the hooke or sickle in his hand signifieth so much, and not as *Animallius* wrote, following therein and beleeving *Hesiodus*:

*Rough Saturne with his hairy skinne,  
against all Law and right,*

*Of Aemons sonne, fir Ouranus,  
or Coelus sometime hight,  
Those privy members which him gat,  
with hooke a-flant off-cut.  
And then anon in fathers place  
of reigne, himselfe did put.*

Now the abundance of the fruits which the earth yeeldeth, and the vent or disposition of them, is the very mother that bringeth forth plentie of monie: and therefore it is that this same god they make the author and maintainer of their felicitie: in testimony whereof, those assemblies which are holden every ninth day in the common place of the city, called *Nundine*, that is to say, 40 *Faires* or markets, they esteeme consecrated to *Saturne*: for the store & foison of fruits is that which openeth the trade & comerce of buying and selling. Or, because these reasons seeme to be very antique; what and if we say that the first man who made (of *Saturns* temple at Rome) the treasure or chamber of the citie, was *Valerius Poplicola*, after that the kings were driven out of Rome, and it seemeth to stand to good reason that he made choise thereof, because he thought it a safe and secure place, eminent and conspicuous in all mens eies, and by consequence hard to be surprisid and forced.

43

*What is the cause that those who come as embassadours to Rome, from any parts whatsoever, go first into the temple of Saturne, and there before the Questors or Treasurers of the citie, enter their names in their registers.*

Is it for that *Saturne* himselfe was a stranger in Italy, and therefore all strangers are welcome unto him?

Or may not this question be solved by the reading of histories? for in old time these Questors or publike Treasurers, were wont to send unto embassadours certaine presents, which were called *Lautia*; and if it fortuned that such embassadours were sicke, they tooke the charge of them for their cure; and if they chanced to die, they entered them likewise at the cities charges.

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ges. But now in respect of the great resort of embassadors from out of all countries, they have cut off this expence: howbeit the auncient custome yet remaineth, namely, to present themselves to the said officers of the treasure, and to be registred in their booke.

44

*Why it is not lawfull for Jupiters priest to sweare?*

**I**S it because an oth ministred unto free borne men, is as it were the racke and torture tenderd unto them? for certeine it is, that the soule as well as the bodie of the priest, ought to continue free, and not be forced by any torture whatsoever.

Or, for that it is not meet to distrust or discredit him in small matters, who is beleevd in great and divine things?

Or rather because every oth endeth with the detestation and malediction of perjurie: and considering that all maledictions be odious and abominable; therefore it is not thought good that any other priests whatsoever, should curse or pronounce any malediction: and in this respect was the priestesse of *Minerva* in *Athenes* highly commended, for that she would never curse *Alcibiades*, notwithstanding the people commanded her so to doe: For I am (quoth she) ordinaed a priestesse to pray for men, and not to curse them.

Or last of all, was it because the perill of perjurie would reach in common to the whole common wealth, if a wicked, godlesse and forsworne person, should have the charge and superintendance of the priaters, vowes, and sacrifices made in the behalfe of the citie.

45

*What is the reason that upon the festivall day in the honour of Venus, which solemnitie they call Veneralia, they use to powre forth a great quantitie of wine out of the temple of Venus.*

**I**S it as some say upon this occasion, that *Mezentius* sometime captaine generall of the Tuscans, sent certeine embassadors unto *Aeneas*, with commission to offer peace unto him, upon this condition, that he might receive all the wine of that yeeres vintage. But when *Aeneas* refused so to doe, *Mezentius* (for to encourage his souldiers the Tuskans to fight manfully) promised to bestow wine upon them when he had woon the field: but *Aeneas* understanding of this promise of his, consecrated and dedicated all the said wine unto the gods: and in trueth, when he had obtained the victorie, all the wine of that yeere, when it was gotten and gathered together, he powred forth before the temple of *Venus*.

Or, what if one should say, that this doth symbolize thus much: That men ought to be sober upon festivall daies, and not to celebrate such solemnities with drunkenesse; as if the gods take more pleasure to see them shed wine upon the ground, than to powre overmuch thereof downe their throats?

46

*What is the cause that in ancient times they kept the temple of the goddesse Hora, open alwaies.*

**W**Hether was it (as *Antistius Labeo* hath left in writing) for that, seeing *Hortus* in the Latine tongue signifieth to incite and exhort, they thought that the goddesse called *Horta*, which stirreth and provoketh men unto the enterprise and execution of good exploits, ought to be evermore in action, not to make delaies, nor to be shut up and locked within dores, ne yet to sit still and do nothing?

Or rather, because as they name her now a daies *Hora*, with the former syllable long, who is a certeine industrious, vigilant and busie goddesse, carefull in many things: therefore being as she is, so circumspect and watchfull, they thought she should be never idle, nor rechelesse of mens affaires.

Or els, this name *Hora* (as many others besides) is a meere Greeke word, and signifieth a deitie or divine power, that hath an eye to overlooke, to view and controll all things; and therefore since she never sleepeth, nor laieth her eyes together, but is alwaies broad awake, therefore her church or chapel was alwaies standing open.

But if it be as *Labeo* saith, that this word *Hora* is rightly derived of the Greeke verbe *horreo* or *incito*, which signifieth to incite or provoke; consider better, whether this word *Orator* also, that is to say, one who stirreth up, exhorteth, encourageth, and advieth the people, as a

prompt

prompt and ready counsellor, be not derived likewise in the same sort, and not of *horreo* or *incito*, that is to say, praier and supplication, as some would have it.

47

*Wherefore founded Romulus the temple of Vulcane without the citie of Rome?*

**I**S it for the jealousie (which as fables do report) *Vulcane* had of *Mars*, because of his wife *Penelope*: and so *Romulus* being reputed the sonne of *Mars*, would not vouchsafe him to inhabit and dwell in the same citie with him? or is this a meere foolerie and senselesse conceit?

But this temple was built at the first, to be a chamber and parlour of privie counsell for him and *Tatius* who reigned with him; to the end that meeting and sitting there in consultation together with the Senatours, in a place remote from all troubles and hinderances, they might deliberate as touching the affaires of State with ease and quietnesse.

Or rather, because *Rome* from the very first foundation was subject to fire by casualtie, hee thought good to honour this god of fire in some sort, but yet to place him without the walles of the citie.

48

*What is the reason, that upon their festivall day called Consualia, they adorned with garlands of flowers of well their asses as horses, and gave them rest and repose for the time?*

**I**S it for that this solemnitie was holden in the honour of *Neptune* surnamed *Equosrus*, that is to say, the horseman? and the ass hath his part of this joyfull feast, for the horses sake?

Or, because that after navigation and transporting of commodities by sea was now found out and shewed to the world, there grew by that meanes (in some sort) better rest and more ease to poore labouring beasts of draught and carriage.

49

*How cometh it to passe, that those who stood for any office and magistracie, were mooved by an old custome (as Cato hath written) to present themselves unto the people in a single robe or loose gowne, without any coat at all under it?*

**W**As it for feare lest they should carrie under their robes any money in their bosomes, for to corrupt, bribe, and buy (as it were) the voices and suffrages of the people?

Or was it because they deemed men worthy to beare publicke office and to governe, not by their birth and parentage, by their wealth and riches, ne yet by their shew and outward reputation, but by their wounds and scarres to be seene upon their bodies. To the end therefore, that such scarres might be better exposed to their sight whom they met or talked withall, they went in this trauer downe to the place of election, without inward coats in their plaine gownes.

Or haply, because they would seeme by this nuditie and nakednesse of theirs, in humilitie to debase themselves, the sooner thereby to curry favor, and win the good grace of the commons, even as well as by taking them by the right hand, by suppliant craving, and by humble submission on their very knees.

50

*What is the cause that the Flamen or priest of Jupiter, when his wife was once dead, used to give up his Priesthood or Sacerdotall dignitie, according as Aeneas hath recorded in his historie.*

**W**As it for that he who once had wedded a wife, and afterwards buried her, was more unfortunate, than he who never had any? for the house of him who hath married a wife, is entire and perfect, but his house who once had one, and now hath none, is not onely unpertect, but also maimed and lame?

Or might it not bee that the priests wife was consecrated also to divine service together with her husband; for many rites and ceremonies there were, which he alone could not performe, if his wife were not present: and to espouse a new wife immediately upon the decease of the other, were not peradventure possible, nor otherwise would well stand with decent and civill honesty: wherupon neither in times past was it lawfull for him, nor at this day as it should seeme, is he permitted to put away his wife: and yet in our age *Domitian* at the request of one, gave licence so to doe: at this dissolution and breach of wedlocke, other priests were present and

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assistant,



assistant, where there passed among them many strange, hideous, horrible, and monstrous ceremonies.

But haply a man would lesse wonder at this, if ever he knew and understood before, that when one of the Censors died, the other of necessity must likewise quit & resigne up his office. Howbeit, when *Lucius Drusus* was departed this life, his companion in office *Aemilius Scaurus*, would not give over and renounce his place, untill such time as certaine Tribunes of the people, for his contumacie commanded, that he should be had away to prison.

51

*What was the reason that the idols Lares, which otherwise properly be called Præstitæ, had the images of a dogge standing hard by them, and the Lares themselves were portrayed clad in dogges skinnies?*

It is because this word *Præstitæ* signifieth as much as *keepers*, that is to say, Presidents, or standing before as keepers: and verily such Presidents ought to be good house-keepers, and terrible unto all strangers, like as a dogge is; but gentle and loving to those of the house.

Or rather, that which some of the Romans write is true, like as *Chrysippus* also the philosopher is of opinion; namely, that there be certaine evil spirits which goe about walking up and downe in the world; and these be the butchers and tormentors that the gods imploy to punish unjust and wicked men: and even so these *Lares* are held to be malignant spirits, & no better than devils, spying into mens lives, and prying into their families; which is the cause that they now be arraigned in such skinnies, and a dogge they have sitting hard by them, whereby thus much in effect is given to understand, that quicke sented they are; and of great power both to hunt out, and also to chastise lewd persons.

52

*What is the cause that the Romans sacrifice a dogge unto the goddesse called Genita-Mana, and withall make one prayer unto her, that none borne in the house might ever come so good?*

It is for that this *Genita-Mana* is counted a *Dæmon* or goddesse that hath the procuration and charge both of the generation and also of the birth of things corruptible: for surely the word implieth as much, as a certaine fluxion and generation, or rather a generation fluent or fluxible: and like as the Greeks sacrificed unto *Proserpina*, a dog, so do the Romans unto that *Genita*, for those who are borne in the house. *Socrates* also saith, that the Argives sacrificed a dogge unto *Ilirha*, for the more easie and safe deliverance of child-birth. Furthermore, as touching that Praier, that nothing borne within the house might ever proove good, it is not haply meant of any persons, man or woman, but of dogges rather which were whelped there; which ought to be, not kinde and gentle, but curst and terrible.

Or peradventure, for that they \* that die (after an elegant manner of speech) be named Good or quiet: under these words they covertly pray, that none borne in the house might die. And this need not to seeme a strange kinde of speech; for *Aristotle* writeth, that in a certaine treatise of peace betweene the Arcadians & Lacedæmonians, this article was comprised in the capitulations: That they should make none\* of the Tegaraes, Good, for the aid they sent, or favour that they bare unto the Lacedæmonians; by which was meant, that they should put none of them to death.

53

*What is the reason, that in a solemne procession exhibited at the Capitoline plains, they proclame (even at this day) by the voice of an herald, port-sale of the Sardians? and before all this solemneise and pompe, there is by way of mockerie and to make a laughing stocke an old man led in a shew, with a jewell or brooch pendans about his necke, such as noble mens children are wont to wear, and which they call Bulla?*

It is for that the Veientians, who in times past being a puissant State in Tuscanie made warre a long time with *Romulus*: whose citie being the last that he woonne by force, he made sale of many prisoners and captives, together with their king, mocking him for his stupiditye and grosse follie. Now for that the Tuscans in ancient time were descended from the Lydians, and the capitall citie of *Lydia* is *Sardis*, therefore they proclaimed the sale of the Veientian prisoners under the name of the Sardians; and even to this day in scorn and mockerie, they retaine still the same custome.

Whence

54

*Whence came it, that they call the shambles or butcherie at Rome where flesh is to be sold, Macellum?*

It is for that this word *Macellum*, by corruption of language is derived of *Mageies*, that in the Greeke tongue signifieth a Cooke? like as many other words by usage and custome are come to be received; for the letter C. hath great affinity with G. in the Romane tongue: and long it was ere they had the use of G. which letter *Spurium Carbilus* first invented. Moreover, they that muffle and stammer in their speech, pronounce ordinarily L. in stead of R.

Or this question may be resolved better by the knowledge of the Romane historie: for we reade therein, that there was sometime a violent person and a notorious thief at Rome, named *Macellus*, who after he had committed many outrages and robberies, was with much ado in the end taken and punished: and of his goods which were forfeit to the State, there was built a publicke shambles or market place to sell flesh-meats in, which of his name was called *Macellum*.

55

*Why upon the Ides of Januarie, the minstrels at Rome who played upon the hautboies, were permitted to goe up and downe the city disguised in womens apparel?*

As Rose this fashion upon that occasion which is reported? namely, that king *Numa* had granted unto them many immunities and honorable privileges in his time, for the great devotion that hee had in the service of the gods; and for that afterwards, the Tribunes militarie who governed the citie in Consular authority, tooke the same from them, they went their way discontented, and departed quite from the citie of Rome: but soone after, the people had a misse of them, and besides, the priests made it a matter of conscience, for that in all the sacrifices thorowout the citie, there was no sound of flute or hautboies. Now when they would not returne againe (being sent for) but made their abode in the citie *Tibur*; there was a certaine afranchised bondslave who secretly undertooke unto the magistrates, to finde some means for to fetch them home. So he caused a sumptuous feast to be made, as if he meant to celebrate some solemne sacrifice, and invited to it the pipers and plaiers of the hautboies aforesaid: and at this feast he tooke order there should be divers women also; and all night long there was nothing but piping, playing, singing and dancing: but all of a sudden this matter of the feast caused a rumor to be raised, that his lord and master was come to take him in the manner; whereupon making semblant that he was much troubled and affrighted, he perswaded the minstrels to mount with all speed into close coaches, covered all over with skinnies, and so to be carried to *Tibur*. But this was a deceitfull practise of his; for he caused the coaches to be turned about another way, and unawares to them; who partly for the darkeness of the night, and in part because they were drowsie and the wine in their heads, tooke no heed of the way, he brought all to Rome betimes in the morning by the breake of day, disguised as they were, many of them in light coloured gownes like women, which (for that they had over-watched and over-drunke themselves) they had put on, and knew not thereof. Then being (by the magistrates) overcome with faire words, and reconciled againe to the citie, they held ever after this custome every yeere upon such a day: To go up and downe the citie thus foolishly disguised.

56

*What is the reason, that it is commonly received, that certain matrons of the city at the first founded and built the temple of Carmenta, and to this day honour it highly with great reverence?*

For it is said, that upon a time the Senat had forbidden the dames and wives of the city to ride in coaches: whereupon they tooke such a stomacke and were so despitteous, that to be revenged of their husbands, they conspired altogether not to conceive or be with child by them, nor to bring them any more babes: and in this minde they persisted still, untill their husbands began to bethinke them selves better of the matter, and let them have their will to ride in their coaches againe as before time: and then they began to breed and beare children a fresh: and those who soonest conceived and bare most and with greatest ease, founded then the temple of *Carmenta*. And as I suppose this *Carmenta* was the mother of *Evander*, who came with him into *Italy*; whose right name indeed was *Themis*, or as some say *Necessitudo*: now for that

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she rendred propheticall answeres and oracles in verse, the Latins furnamed her *Carmenta*: for verses in their tongue they call *Carmina*. Others are of opinion, that *Carmenta* was one of the Destinies, which is the cause that such matrons and mothers sacrifice unto her. And the Etymologic of this name *Carmenta*, is as much as *Carente mente*, that is to say, beside her right wits or bestraught, by reason that her senses were so ravished and transported: so that her verses gave her not the name *Carmenta*, but contrariwise; her verses were called *Carmina* of her, because when she was thus ravished and caried beside herselfe, she chanted certaine oracles and prophecies in verse.

57

*What is the cause that the women who sacrifice unto the goddesse Rumina, doe poyne and cast store 10  
of milke upon their sacrifice, but no wine at all do they bring thither for to be drunke?*

**I**S it, for that the Latins in their tongue call a papp, *Ruma*? And well it may so be, for that the wilde figge tree neere unto which the the wolfe gave sucke with her teats unto *Romulus*, was in that respect called *Ficus Ruminalis*. Like as therefore we name in our Greeke language those milch nourises that suckle yong infants at their breasts, *Thelona*, being a word derived of *ἡ ἑλε*, which signifieth a papp; even so this goddesse *Rumina*, which is as much to say, as Nutf, and one that taketh the care and charge of nourishing and rearing up of infants, admitteth not in her sacrifices any wine; for that it is hurtfull to the nouriture of litle babes and sucklings.

58

*What is the reason that of the Romane Senators, some are called simply, Patres; others with an addition, Patres conscripti?*

**I**S it for that they first, who were instituted and ordeined by *Romulus*, were named *Patres* or *Patritii*, that is to say, Gentlemen or Nobly borne, such as we in Greece, teame *Eupatrides*?

Or rather they were so called, because they could avouch and shew their fathers; but such as were adjoined afterwards by way of supply, and enroled out of the Commoners houses, were *Patres conscripti*, thereupon?

59

*Wherefore was there one altar common to Hercules and the Muses?*

**M**AY it not be, for that *Hercules* taught *Evander* the letters, according as *Julia* writeth? Certes, in those daies it was accounted an honourable office for men to teach their kinsfolke and friends to spell letters, and to read. For a long time after it, and but of late daies it was, that they began to teach for hire and for money: and the first that ever was known to keepe a publicke schoole for reading, was one named *Spurius Carbilus*, the freed servant of that *Carbilus* who first put away his wife.

60

*What is the reason, that there being two altars dedicated unto Hercules, women are not partakers of the greater, nor is it one whit of that which is offered or sacrificed thereupon?*

**I**S it, because as the report goes *Carmenta* came not soone enough to be assistant unto the sacrifice: no more did the family of the *Pinary*, whereupon they tooke that name? for in regard that they came tardie, admitted they were not to the feast with others who made good cheere; and therefore got the name *Pinary*, as if one would say, pined or famished?

Or rather it may allude unto the tale that goeth of the shire empoisoned with the blood of *Nessus* the Centaure, which ladie *Deianira* gave unto *Hercules*.

61

*How cometh it to passe, that it is expressly forbidden at Rome, either to name or to demand 50  
ought as touching the Tutelar god, who hath in particular recommendation and patronage, the safetie and preservation of the citie of Rome: nor so much as to enquire whether the said deity be male or female? And verely this prohibition proceedeth from a superstitious feare that they have; for that they say that Valerius Soranus died an ill death, because he presumed to utter and publish so much.*

**I**S it in regard of a certaine reason that some latin historians do alledge; namely, that there be certaine evocations and enchantings of the gods by spels and charmes, through the power whereof

whereof they are of opinion, that they might be able to call forth and draw away the Tutelar gods of their enemies, and to cause them to come and dwell with them: and therefore the Romans be afraid lest they may do as much for them? For, like as in times past the Tyrians, as we find upon record, when their citie was besieged, enchained the images of their gods to their shrines, for feare they would abandon their citie and be gone; and as others demanded pledges and sureties that they should come againe to their place, whensoever they sent them to any bath to be washed, or let them go to any expiation to be clenfed; even so the Romans thought, that to be altogether unknown and not once named, was the best meanes, and surest way to keepe with their Tutelar god.

10 Or rather, as *Homer* verie well wrote:

*The earth to men all,  
is common great and small:*

That thereby men should worship all the gods, and honour the earth; seeing she is common to them all: even so the ancient Romans have concealed and suppressed the god or angell which hath the particular gard of their citie, to the end that their citizens should adore, not him alone but all others likewise.

62

*What is the cause that among those priests whom they name Faeciales, signifying as much as in greeke 62  
ἐπιστάται, that is to say, Officers going between to make treatie of peace or ἐμμεδιστοί, that is to say, Agents for truce and leagues, he whom they call Pater Patratus is esteemed the chiefe? Now Pater Patratus is he, whose father is yet living who hath children of his owne: and in truth this chiefe Faecial or Herault hath still at this day a certain prerogative, or speciall credit above the rest. For the emperours themselves, and generall captains, if they have any persons about them who in regard of the prime of youth, or of their beausfull bodies had need of a faithfull, diligent, and trustie guard, commit them ordinarily into the hands of such as these, for safe custodie.*

**I**S it not, for that these *Patres Parrici*, for reverent feare of their fathers of one side, and for modest shames to scandalize or offend their children on the other side, are enforced to be wife 30 and discrete?

Or may it not be, in regard of that cause which their verie denomination doth minister and declare: for this word *PATRATUS* signifieth as much as compleat, entire and accomplished, as if he were one more perfect and absolute every way than the rest, as being so happie, as to have his owne father living, and be a father also himselfe.

Or is it not, for that the man who hath the superintendence of treaties of peace, and of othes, ought to see as *Homer* saith, *ἀνὰ κροῖον ἀνὰ κροῖον*, that is to say, before and behind. And in all reason such an one is he like to be, who hath a child for whom, and a father with whom he may consult.

40

63

*What is the reason, that the officer at Rome called Rex factorum, that is to say, the king of sacrifices, is debarred both from exercising any magistracie, and also to make a speech unto the people in publicke place?*

**I**S it for that in old time, the kings themselves in person performed the most part of sacred rites, and those that were greater, yea and together with the priests offered sacrifices; but by reason that they grew insolent, proud, and arrogant, so as they became intollerable, most of the Greeke nations, deprived them of this authoritie, and left unto them the preheminence onely to offer publicke sacrifice unto the gods: but the Romans having cleane chafed and expelled their 50 kings, established in their stead another under officer whom they called King, unto whom they granted the oversight and charge of sacrifices onely, but permitted him not to exercise or execute any office of State, nor to intermeddle in publick affaires; to the end it should be known to the whole world, that they would not suffer any person to raigne at Rome, but onely over the ceremonies of sacrifices, nor endure the verie name of Roialtie, but in respect of the gods. And to this purpose upon the verie common place neere unto *Comitium*; they use to have a solemn sacrifice for the good estate of the citie; which so soone as ever this king hath performed, he taketh his legs and runnes out of the place, as fast as ever he can.

Why

64

*Why suffer not they the table to be taken cleane away, and voided quite, but will have some what alwaies remaining upon it?*

**G**ive they not heereby covertly to understand, that wee ought of that which is present to reserve evermore something for the time to come, and on this day to remember the morrow.

Or thought they it not a point of civill honesty and elegance, to repress and keepe downe their appetite when they have before them enough still to content and satisfie it to the full; for lesse will they desire that which they have not, when they accustom themselves to abstaine from that which they have.

Or is not this a custome of courtesie and humanitie to their domestick servants, who are not so well pleased to take their victuals simply, as to partake the same, supposing that by this meane in some sort they doe participate with their masters at the table.

Or rather is it not, because we ought to suffer no sacred thing to be emptic; and the boord you wot well is held sacred.

65

*What is thereason that the Bridegrome cometh the first time to lie with his new wedded bride, not with any light but in the darke?*

**I**s it because he is yet abashed, as taking her to be a stranger and not his owne, before he hath companied carnally with her?

Or for that he would then acquaint himselfe, to come even unto his owne espoused wife with shamefacednesse and modestie?

Or rather, like as *Solon* in his Statutes ordained, that the new married wife should eat of a quince before she enter into the bride bed-chamber, to the end that this first encounter and embracing, should not be odious or unpleasant to her husband; even so the Romane lawgiver would hide in the obscuritie of darkenesse, the deformities and imperfections in the person of the bride, if there were any.

Or haply this was instituted to shew how sinfull and damnable all unlawfull companie of man and woman together is, seeing that which is lawfull and allowed, is not without some blemish and note of shame.

66

*Why is one of the races where horses use to runne, called the Cirque or Flaminius.*

**I**s it for that in old time an ancient Romane named *Flaminius* gave unto the citie, a certaine piece of ground, they employed the rent and revenues thereof in runnings of horses, and chariots: and for that there was a surplussage remaining of the said lands, they bestowed the same in paving that high way or causey, called *Via Flaminia*, that is to say, *Flaminia* street?

67

*Why are the Sergeants or officers who carie the knitches of rods before the magistrates of Rome, called Licitors.*

**I**s it because these were they who bound malefactors, and who followed after *Romulus*, as his guard, with cords and leather thongs about them in their bosomes? And verily the common people of *Rome* when they would say to binde or tie fast, use the word *Aligare*, and such as speake more pure and proper Latin, *Ligare*.

Or is it, for that now the letter *C* is interjected within this word, which before time was *Litor*, as one would say *licitor*, that is to say, officers of publike charge; for no man there is in a manner, ignorant, that even at this day in many cities of *Greece*, the common-wealth or publike state is written in their lawes by the name of *Litor*.

68

*Wherefore doe the Luperci at Rome sacrifice a Dogge? Now these Luperci are certaine persons who upon a festivall day called Lupercalia, runne through the citie all naked, save that they have aprons only before their privy parts, carrying leather whippes in their hands, wherewith they flappe and scourge whomsoever they meet in the streets.*

**I**s all this ceremoniall action of theirs a purification of the citie? whereupon they call the moneth wherein this is done *Februarium*, yea, and the very day it selfe *Febraten*, like as the

maner

maner of squitching with a leather scourge *Februre*, which verbe signifieth as much as to purge or purifie?

And verily the Greeks, in maner all, were wont in times past, and so they continue even at this day, in all their expiations, to kill a dogge for sacrifice. unto *Hecate* also they bring forth among other expiatorie oblations, certaine little dogges or whelpes: such also as have neede of cleansing and purifying, they wipe and scour all over with whelpes skinnies, which maner of purification they teame *Perisclafismos*.

Or rather is it for that *Lupus* signifieth a wolfe, & *Lupercalia*, or *Lycæa* is the feast of wolves: now a dogge naturally, being an enemy to wolves, therefore at such feasts they sacrificed a dogge.

Or peradventure, because dogges barked and bay at these *Luperci*, troubling and disquieting them as they runne up and downe the city in maner aforesaid.

Or else last of all, for that this feast and sacrifice is solemnized in the honor of god *Pan*, who as you wot well is pleased well enough with a dogge, in regard of his flock of goates.

69

*What is the cause that in ancient time, at the feast called Septimontium, they observed precisely not to use any coaches drawn with steeds, nor more than those doe at this day, who are observant of old institutions and doe not despise them. Now this Septimontium is a festivall solemnity, celebrated in memoriall of a seventh mountaine, that was adjoined and taken into the purprise of Rome citie, which by this meane came to have seven hilles enclosed within the precinct thereof?*

**W**hether was it as some Romans doe imagine, for that the city was not as yet conjunct and composed of all her parts? Or if this may seeme an impertinent conjecture, and nothing to the purpose: may it not be in this respect, that they thought they had atchieved a great piece of worke, when they had thus amplified and enlarged the compasse of the citie, thinking that now it needed not to proceed any further in greatnesse and capacite: in consideration whereof, they reposd themselves, and caused likewise their labouring beasts of draught and cariage to rest, whose helpe they had used in finishing of the said enclosure, willing that they also should enjoy in common with them, the benefit of that solemne feast.

Or else we may suppose by this, how desirous they were that their citizens should solemnize and honour with their personall presence all feasts of the citie, but especially that which was ordained and instituted for the peopling and augmenting thereof: for which cause they were not permitted upon the day of the dedication, and festival memorial of it, to put any horses in geeres or harnesses for to draw; for that they were not at such a time to ride forth of the citie.

70

*Why call they those who are apprehended or taken in theft, pilferie or such like servile trespasses, Furciferos, as one would say, Fork bearers.*

**I**s not this also an evident argument of the great diligence and careful regard that was in their ancients? For when the maister of the family had surprised one of his servants or slaves, committing a lewd and wicked prance, he commanded him to take up and carrie upon his necke between his shoulders a forked piece of wood, such as they use to put under the spire of a chariot or waine, and so to go withall in the open view of the world throughout the streets, yea and the parish where he dwelt, to the end that every man from thence forth should take heed of him. This piece of wood we in Greeke call *εὐρυπύλον*, and the Romanes in the Latin tongue *Furca*, that is to say, a forked prop or supporter: and therefore he that is forced to carie such an one, is by reproch termed *Furcifer*.

71

*Wherefore use the Romans to tie a wisp of hay unto the hornes of kine, and other beestes that are wont to bark and be cast with their heads, thus by the meane thereof folke might take heed of them, and looke better to themselves when they come in their way?*

**I**s it not for that beestes, horses, asses, yea, and men become fierce, insolent, and dangerous, if they be highly kept and pampered to the full? according as *Sophocles* said:

Like

*Like as the colt or jade doth winke and kick,  
In case he find his provender so prick:  
Even so do'st thou: for lo, thy paunch is full  
Thy cheeks be puff, like to some greedy gull.*

And thereupon the Romans gave out, that *Marcius Crassus* caried hey on his horne: for howsoever they would seeme to let flie and carpe at others, who dealt in the affaires of State, and government, yet beware they would how they commerced with him as being a dangerous man, and one who caried a revenging mind to as many as medled with him. Howbeit it was said afterwards againe on the other side, that *Caesar* had plucked the hey from *Crassus* his horne: for he was the first man that opposed himselte, and made head against him in the management of the 10 State; and in one word set not a straw by him.

*What was the cause that they thought those priests who observed bird-flights, such as in old time they called Aruspices, and now a daies Augures, ought to have their lanterns and lamps always open, and not to put any lioor cover over them?*

May it not be, that like as the old Pythagorean Philosophers by small matters signified and implied things of great consequence, as namely, when they forbad their disciples to sit upon the measure *Charnix*; and to stirre fire, or rake the hearth with a sword; even so the ancient Romans used many ænigmes, that is to say, outward signes and figures betokening some hidden and secret mysteries; especially with their priests in holy and sacred things, like as this is of the lampe or lantern, which symbolizeth in some sort the bodie that containeth our soule. For the soule within resembleth the light, and it behooveth that the intelligent and reasonable part thereof should be alwaies open, evermore intentive and seeing, and at no time enclosed and shut up, nor blown upon by wind. For looke when the winds be aloft, fowles in their flight keepe no certaintie, neither can they yeeld assured prefaces, by reason of their variable and wandering instabilitie: and therefore by this ceremoniall custome they teach those who do divine and foretell by the flight of birds, not to go forth for to take their auspices and observations when the wind is up, but when the aire is still, and so calme, that a man may carie a lantern 30 open and uncovered.

*Why were the Southsayers or Augures forbidden to go abroad, for to observe the flight of birds, in case they had any sore or ulcer upon their bodies?*

Was not this also a significant token to put them in minde, that they ought not to deale in the divine service of the gods, nor meddle with holy and sacred things if there were any secret matter that gnawed their minds, or so long as any private ulcer or passion seiled in their hearts: but to be void of sadness and griefe, to be found and sincere, and not distracted by any trouble whatsoever?

Or, because it standeth to good reason; that if it be not lawfull nor allowable for them to offer unto the gods for an oast or sacrifice any beast that is scabbed, or hath a sore upon it, how to take preface by the flight of such birds as are maungie, they ought more strictly and precisely to looke into their owne persons in this behalfe, and not to presume for to observe celestiall prognostications and signes from the gods, unless they be themselves pure and holy, undefiled, and not defective in their owne selves: for surely an ulcer seemeth to be in manner of a mutilation and pollution of the bodie.

*Why did king Servius Tullius found and build a temple of little Fortune which they called in Latine Brevis fortuna, that is to say, of Short fortune?*

Was it not thinke you in respect of his owne selfe, who being at the first of a small and base condition, as being borne of a captive woman, by the favour of Fortune grew to so great an estate that he was king of Rome?

Or for that this change in him sheweth rather the might and greatnesse, than the debilitie and smallnesse of Fortune. We are to say, that this king *Servius* deified Fortune; & attributed unto her more divine power than any other, as having entituled and imposed her name almost upon

upon every action: for not onely he erected temples unto Fortune, by the name of Puissant, of Diverting till lucke, of Sweet, Favourable to the first borne and masculine; but also there is one temple besides, of private or proper Fortune; another of Fortune returned; a third of confident Fortune and hoping well; and a fourth of Fortune the virginie. And what should a man reckon up other furnames of hers, seeing there is a temple dedicated (forsooth) to glewing Fortune, whom they called *Vifcana*; as if we were given thereby to understand, that we are caught by her alasse off, and even tied (as it were) with bird-lime to businesse and affaires.

But consider this moreover, that he having known by experience what great power she hath in humane things, how little soever she seeme to be, and how often a small matter in hapning 10 or not hapning hath given occasion to some, either to misse of great exploits, or to atcheive as great enterprises, whether in this respect, he built not a temple to little Fortune, teaching men thereby to be alwaies studious, carefull and diligent, and not to despise any occurrences how small soever they be.

*What is the cause that they never put fourth the light of a lampe, but suffered it to goe out of the owne accord?*

Was it not (thinke you) upon a certaine reverent devotion that they bare unto that fire, as being either cousen germaine, or brother unto that inextinguible and immortal fire.

Or rather, was it not for some other secret advertiment, to teach us not to violate or kill any thing whatsoever that hath life, if it hurt not us first; as if fire were a living creature: for need it hath of nourishment and moveth of it selfe: and if a man doe squench it, surely it uttereth a kinde of voice and sericke, as if a man killed it.

Or certainly this fashion and custome received so usually, sheweth us that we ought not to marre or spoile, either fire or water or any other thing necessarie, after we our selves have done with it, and have had sufficient use thereof, but to suffer it to serve other mens turnes who have need, after that we our selves have no imploiment for it.

*How cometh it to passe that those who are defended of the most noble and ancient houses of Rome, caried little moones upon their shoes.*

Is this (as *Castor* saith) a signe of the habitation which is reported to be within the bodie of the moone?

Or for that after death, our spirits and ghosts shall have the moone under them?

Or rather, because this was a marke or badge proper unto those who were reputed most ancient, as were the Arcadians descended from *Evander*, who upon this occasion were called *Proseleni*, as one would say, borne before the moone?

Or, because this custome as many others, admonisheth those who are lifted up too high, and 40 take so great pride in themselves, of the incertitude and instabilitie of this life, and of humane affaires, even by the example of the moone,

*Who at the first doth new and young appeere,  
Where as before she made no shew at all;  
And so her light increaseth faire and cleere,  
Untill her face be round and full wit hall:  
But then anon she doth begin to fall,  
And backward wane from all this beantie gay,  
Untill againe she vanish cleane away.*

Or was not this an holisome lesson and instruction of obedience, to teach and advise men to 50 obey their superiors, & not to thinke much for to be under others: but like as the moone is willing to give care (as it were) and apply her selfe to her better, content to be ranged in a second place, and as *Parmenides* saith,

*Having aneie and due regard  
Attunes the bright Sun beames towards;*

even so they ought to rest in a second degree, to follow after, and be under the conduct and direction of another, who sitteth in the first place, and of his power, authority and honor, in some measure to enjoy a part.

*Why*

77

Why think they the yeeres dedicated to Jupiter, and the moneths to Juno?

May it not be for that of Gods invisable and who are no otherwise seene but by the eies of our understanding: those that reigne as princes be *Jupiter* and *Juno*; but of the visible, the Sun and Moone? Now the Sun is he who causeth the yeere, and the Moone maketh the moneth. Neither are we to thinke, that these be onely and simply the figures and images of them: but beleewe we must, that the materiall Sun which we behold, is *Jupiter*, and this materiall Moone, *Juno*. And the reason why they call her *Juno* (which word is as much to say as yong or new) is in regarde of the course of the Moone: and otherwhiles they surname her also *Juno-Lucina*, that is to say; light or shining: being of opinion that she helpeth women in travel of child-birth, like as the Moone doth, according to these verses:

By starres that turne full round in Azur skie:

By Moone who helps child-birth right speedily.

For it seemeth that women at the full of the moone be most easily delivered of childbirth.

78

What is the cause that in observing bird flight, that which is presented on the \* left hand is reputed lucky and prosperous?

\* *sinistrum*,  
\* *sinistrum*.

Is not this altogether untrue, and are not many men in an error by ignorance of the equivocation of the word *sinistrum*, & their manner of Dialect; for that which we in Greeke call *sinistrum*, that is to say, on the aike or left hand, they say in Latin, *sinistrum*; and that which signifieth to permit, or let be, they expresse by the verbe *Sinere*, and when they will a man to let a thing alone, they say unto him, *Sine*; whereupon it may seeme that this word *sinistrum* is derived. That prefaging bird then, which permitteeth and suffereth an action to be done, being as it were *sinistrum*; the vulgar sort suppose (though not aright) to be *sinistrum*, that is to say, on the left hand, and so they rearme it.

Or may it not be rather as *Dionysius* saith, for that when *Aeneas* the sonne of *Aeneas* wanne a field against *Mezentius* as the two armies stood arranged one affronting the other in battell ray, it thundred on his left hand; and because thereupon he obtained the victory, they deemed even then, that this thunder was a token prefaging good, and for that cause observed it, ever after so to fall out. Others thinke that this prefage and foretoken of good lucke hapned unto *Aeneas*: and verily at the battell of *Lentines*, the Thebanes began to breake the ranks of their enemies, and to discomfit them with the left wing of their battell, and thereby in the end achieved a brave victorie; whereupon ever after in all their conflicts, they gave preference and the honour of leading and giving the first charge, to the left wing.

Or rather, is it not as *Juba* writeth, because that when we looke toward the sunne rising, the North side is on our left hand, and some will say, that the North is the right side and upper part of the whole world.

But consider I pray you, whether the left hand being the weaker of the twaine, the prefages coming on that side, doe not fortifie and support the defect of puilliance which it hath, and so make it as it were even and equal to the other?

Or rather considering that earthly and mortall things they supposing to be opposite unto those that be heavenly and immortal, did not imagine consequently, that whatsoever was on the left in regard of us, the gods sent from their right side.

79

Wherefore was it lawfull at Rome, when a noble personage who sometime had entred triumphant into the city, was dead, and his corps burnt (as the manner was) in a funerall fire, to take up the reliques of his bones, to carrye the same into the city, and there to strew them, according as *Pytho* the *Lycarcan* hath left in writing.

Was not this to honour the memorie of the dead? for the like honourable priviledge they had graunted unto other valiant warriors and brave capitaines; namely, that not onely themselves, but also their posteritie descending lineally from them, might be entred in their common market place of the city, as for example unto *Valerius* and *Fabritius*: and it

is said, that for to continue this prerogative in force, when any of their posteritie afterwards were departed this life, and their bodies brought into the market place accordingly, the manner was, to put a burning torch under them, and doe no more but presently to take it away againe; by which ceremonie, they retained still the due honour without envie, and confirmed it onely to be lawfull if they would take the benefit thereof.

80

What is the cause that when they scaffold at the common charges, any generall captain who made his entrie into the citie with triumph, they never admitted the Consuls to the feast; but that which more is, sent unto them before-hand messengers of purpose requesting them not to come unto the supper?

Was it for that they thought it meet and convenient to yeeld unto the triumpher, both the highest place to sit in, and the most costly cup to drinke out of, as also the honour to be attended upon with a traine home to his house after supper? which prerogatives no other might enjoy but the Consuls onely, if they had beene present in the place.

81

Why is it that the Tribune of the commons onely, weareth no embroidered purple robe, considering that all other magistrates besides doe wear the same.

Is it not, for that they (to speake properly) are no magistrates? for in truth they have no officers neither sit they in the chaire of estate called *sedes curulis*, to determine causes judicially, or give audience unto the people; nor enter into the administration of their office at the beginning of the yeere, as all other magistrates doe: neither are they put downe and deposed after the election of a Dictator: but whereas the full power and authoritie of all other magistrates of State, he transferreth from them upon himselfe: the Tribunes onely of the people continue still, and surcease not to execute their function, as having another place & degree by themselves in the common-weale: and like as some orators and lawyers doe hold, that exception in law is no action, considering it doth cleane contrary to action; for that action intendeth, commenseth, and beginneth a proccesse or lute; but exception or inhibition, dissolveth, undoeth, and abolieth the same: semblably, they thinke also, that the Tribune is an empeachment, inhibition, and restraint of a magistracie, rather than a magistracie itselfe: for all the authority and power of the Tribune, lay in opposing himselfe, and crossing the jurisdiction of other magistrates, and in diminishing or repressing their excessive and licentious power.

Or haply all these reasons and such like, are but words, and devised imaginations to mainteine discourse: but to say a trueth, this Tribuneship having taken originally the first beginning from the common people, is great and mighty in regard that it is popular; and that the Tribunes themselves are not proud nor highly conceited of themselves above others, but equall in apparell, in port, fare, and manner of life, to any other citizens of the common sort: for the dignity of pompe and outward shew, apperteineth to a Consul or a Praetour: as for the Tribune of the people, he ought to be humble and lowly, and as *M. Curius* was wont to say; ready to put his hand under every mans foot; not to carie a loftie, grave, and stately countenance, nor to bee hard of access, nor strange to be spoken with, or dealt withall by the multitude; but howsoever he behave himselfe to others, he ought to the simple and common people, above the rest, for to be affable, gentle, and tractable: and heereupon the manner is, that the dore of his house should never be kept shut, but stand open both day and night, as a safe harbour, sure haven, and place of refuge, for all those who are distressed and in need: and vertie the more submisile that he is in outward appearance, the more groweth hee and increaseth in puilliance; for they repute him as a strong hold for common recourse and retreat, unto all commoners, no lesse than an altar or privileged sanctuary. Moreover, as touching the honour that he holdeth by his place, they count him holy, sacred, and inviolable, in so much as if he doe but goe forth of his house abroad into the citie, and walke in the street, the manner was of all, to cleanse and sanctifie the body, as if it were stained and polluted.

82

What is the reason that before the Praetors, generall Capitaines and head Magistrates, there be carried bundels of rodde, together with hatchets or axes fastened unto them?

Is it to signifie, that the anger of the magistrate ought not to be prompt to execution, nor looke and at libertie?

\* I suspect  
this place to  
be corrupt  
in the origi-  
nall.

Eccc

Or



Or, because that to undoe and unbinde the said bundels, yeeldeth some time and space for choler to coole, and ire to assuage, which is the cause otherwhiles that they change their mindes, and doe not proceed to punishment?

Now forasmuch as among the faults that men commit, some are curable, others remediless: the roddes are to reforme those who may be amended; but the hatchets to cut them off who are incorrigible.

83

*What is the cause that the Romanes having intelligence given unto them, that the Bletonesians, a barbarous nation, had sacrificed unto their gods; a man sent for the magistrates peremptorily, as intending to punish them: but after they were understood, that they had so done according to an ancient law of their country, they let them go againe without any hurt done unto them; charging them only, that from thence forth they should not obey such a law; and yet they themselves, not many yeeres before, had caused for to be buried quick in the place, called the Beast Market, two men and two women; that is to say, two Greekes, and two Gallo-Greekes or Galatians? For this seemeth to be verie absurd, that they themselves should do those things, which they reprooved in others as damnable.*

May it not be that they judged it an execrable superstition, to sacrifice a man or woman unto the gods, marie unto devils they held it necessarie?

Or was it not for that they thought those people, who did it by a law or custome, offended highly: but they themselves were directed thereto by expresse commaundement out of the bookes of *Sibylla*. For reported it is, that one of their votaries or Vestall nunnnes named *Helbia*, riding on horse backe, was smitten by a thunderbolt or blast of lightning; and that the horse was found lying along all bare belied, and her selfe likewise naked, with her smocke and petticoate turned up above her privie parts, as if she had done it of purpose: her shoes, her rings, her coife and head attire cast here and there apart from other things, and withall lilling the tongue out of her head. This strange occurrent, the soothsayers out of their learning interpreted to signifie, that some great shame did betide the sacred virgins, that should be divulged and notoriously known; yea, and that the same infamie should reach also as far, as unto some of the degree of gentlemen or knights of *Rome*. Upon this there was a servant belonging unto a certaine Barbarian horseman, who detected three Vestall virgins to have at one time forfeited their honor, & been naught of their bodies, to wit, *Aemilia*, *Lucina*, & *Martia*; and that they had companied too familiarly with men a long time; and one of their names was *Buretim*, a Barbarian knight, and master to the said enformer. So these vestall votaries were punished after they had beene convicted by order of law, and found guiltie: but after that this seemed a fearful and horrible accident; ordained it was by the Senate, that the priests should peruse over the bookes of *Sibyllae*, prophesies, wherein were found (by report) those very oracles which denounced and foretold this strange occurrent, and that it portended some great losse and calamitie unto the common-wealth: for the avoiding and diverting whereof, they gave commaundement to abandon unto (I wot not what) maligne and devilish strange spirits, two Greekes, and two Galatians likewise; and so by burying them quick in that verie place, to procure propitiation at Gods hands.

84

*Why began they their day at midnight?*

Was it not, for that all policie at the first had the beginning of militarie discipline? and in war, and all expeditions the most part of woorthy exploits are enterprised ordinarily in the night before the day appeare?

Or because the execution of desseignes, howsoever it begin at the sunne rising; yet the preparation thereto is made before day-light: for there had need to be some preparatives, before a worke be taken in hand; and not at the verie time of execution, according as *Myson* (by report) answered unto *Chilo*, one of the seven sages, when as in the winter time he was making of a van.

Or haply, for that like as we see, that many men at noone make an end of their businesse of great importance, and of State affaires; even so, they supposed that they were to begin the same at mid-night. For better prooffe whereof a man may frame an argument hereupon, that the Roman chiefe ruler never made league, nor concluded any capitulations and covenants of peace after mid-day.

Or

Or rather this may be, because it is not possible to set downe determinately, the beginning and end of the day, by the rising and setting of the sunne: for if we do as the vulgar sort, who distinguish day and night by the sight and view of eie, taking the day to begin when the sunne ariseth; and the night likewise to begin when the sunne is gone downe, and hidden under our horizon, we shall never have the just *Aequinox*, that is to say, the day and night equall: for even that verie night which we shall esteeme most equall to the day, will proove shorter than the day, by as much as the body or bignesse of the sunne continueth. Again, if we doe as the Mathematicians, who to remedie this absurditie and inconvenience, set downe the confines and limits of day and night, at the verie instant point when the sunne seemeth to touch the circle of the horizon with his center; this were to overthrow all evidence: for fall out it will, that while there is a great part of the sunnes light yet under the earth (although the sunne do shine upon us) we will not confesse that it is day, but say, that it is night still. Seeing then it is so hard a matter to make the beginning of day and night, at the rising or going downe of the sunne, for the absurdities above laid, it remaineth that of necessity we take the beginning of the day to be, when the sunne is in the mids of the heaven above head, or under our feet, that is to say, either noon-tide or mid-night. But of twaine, better it is to begin when he is in the middle point under us, which is just midnight, for that he returneth then toward us into the East; whereas contrariwise after mid-day he goeth from us Westward.

85

*What was the cause that in times past they would not suffer their wives, either to grinde corne, or to lay their hands to dreffe meat in the kitchen?*

Was it in memoriall of that accord and league which they made with the Sabines? for after that they had ravished & carried away their daughters, there arose sharpe wailes betwene them: but peace ensued thereupon in the end; in the capitulations whereof, this one article was expressely set downe, that the Roman husband might not force his wife, either to turne the querne for to grinde corne, nor to exercise any point of cookerie.

86

*Why did not the Romans marie in the moneth of May?*

Is it for that it cometh betwene Aprill and June? whereof the one is consecrated unto *Venus*, and the other to *Junio*, who are both of them the goddesses which have the care and charge of wedding and marriages, and therefore thinke it good either to go somewhat before, or else to stay a while after.

Or it may be that in this moneth they celebrate the greatest expiatorie sacrifice of all others in the yeere? for even at this day they fling from off the bridge into the river, the images and pourtraictures of men, whereas in old time they threw downe men themselves alive? And this is the reason of the custome now a daies, that the priesttresse of *Junio* named *Flamina*, should be always laid and heave, as it were a mourner, and never wash nor dreffe and trim her selfe.

Or what and if we say, it is because many of the Latine nations offered oblations unto the dead in this moneth: and peradventure they do so, because in this verie moneth they worship *Mercurie*: and in truth it beareth the name of *Majus*, *Mercuries* mother.

But may it not be rather, for that as some do say, this moneth taketh that name of *Majores*, that is to say, ancients: like as June is termed so of *Juniores*, that is to say, yongkers. Now this is certaine that youth is much meete for to contract marriage than old age: like as *Euripides* saith verie well:

*As for old age it Venus bids farewell,  
And with old folke, Venus is not pleas'd well.*

The Romans therefore married not in May, but staid for June which immediatly followeth after May.

87

*What is the reason that they divide and part the haire of the new brides head, with the point of a javelin?*

Is not this a verie signe, that the first wives whom the Romans espoused, were compelled to marriage, and conquered by force and armes.

Eccc 2

Or

Or are not their wives hereby given to understand, that they are espoused to husbands, martial men and soldiers; and therefore they should lay away all delicate, wanton, and costly imbellishment of the bodie; and acquaint themselves with simple and plaine attire; like as *Lycurgus* for the same reason would that the doores, windowes, and roofes of houses should be framed with the saw and the axe onely, without use of any other toole or instrument, intending thereby to chafe out of the common-weale all curiositie and wastfull superfluitie.

Or doth not this parting of the haire, give covertly to understand, a division and separation, as if marriage & the bond of wedlock, were not to be broken but by the sword and warlike force?

Or may not this signifie thus much, that they referred the most part of ceremonies concerning marriage unto *Juno*: now it is plaine that the javelin is consecrated unto *Juno*, inasmuch as the most part of her images and statues are portraied resting and leaning upon a launce or javelin. And for this cause the goddesse is surnamed *Quirita*, for they called in old time a speare *Quirita*, upon which occasion *Mars* also (as they say) is named *Quirita*.

88

What is the reason that the monie employed upon plaies and publike shewes is called among them, *Lucar*?

May it not well be that there were many groves about the citie consecrated unto the gods, which they named *Lucos*: the revenues whereof they bestowed upon the setting forth of such solemnities?

89

Why call they *Quirinalia*, the Feast of fooles?

Whether is it because (as *Juba* writeth) they attribute this day unto those who knew not their owne lineage and tribe? or unto such as have not sacrificed, as others have done according to their tribes, at the feast called *Fornacalia*. Where it that they were hindered by other affaires, or had occasion to be forth of the citie, or were altogether ignorant, and therefore this day was assigned for them, to performe the said feast.

90

What is the cause, that when they sacrifice unto *Hercules*, they name no other God but him, nor suffer a dog to be seene, within the purpise and precinct of the place where the sacrifice is celebrat, according as *Varro* hath left in writing?

\* Or about a dog by the Hippocoon-tides.

Is not this the reason of naming no god in their sacrifice, for that they esteeme him but a demigod; and some there be who hold, that whiles he lived heere upon the earth, *Evander* erected an altar unto him, and offered sacrifice thereupon. Now of all other beasts he could worst abide a dog, and hated him most: for this creature put him to more trouble all his life time, than any other: witnesse hereof, the three headed dog *Cerberus*, and above all others, when *Oeonus* the sonne of *Licymnius* was slaine \* by a dog, he was enforced by the *Hippocoon* tides to give the battell, in which he lost many of his friends, and among the rest his owne brother *Isphicles*.

91

Wherefore was it not lawfull for the Patricians or nobles of Rome to dwell upon the mount *Capitol*?

Might it not be in regard of *M. Manlius*, who dwelling there attempted and plotted to be king of Rome, and to usurpe tyrannie; in hatred and detestation of whom, it is said, that ever after those of the house of *Manly*, might not have *Marcus* for their fore-name?

Or rather was not this an old feare that the Romans had (time out of mind)? For albeit *Valerius Poplicola* was a personage verie popular and well affected unto the common people; yet never ceased the great and mightie men of the citie to suspect and traduce him, nor the meane commoners and multitude to feare him, untill such time as himselfe caused his owne house to be demolished and pulled down, because it seemed to overlooke and commaund the common market place of the citie.

92

What is the reason, that he who saved the life of a citizen in the warres, was rewarded with a coronet made of oake branches?

As it not for that in everie place and readily, they might meet with an oake, as they marched in their warlike expeditions.

Or

Or rather, because this maner of garland is dedicated unto *Jupiter* and *Juno*, who are reputed protectors of cities?

Or might not this be an ancient custome proceeding from the Arcadians, who have a kind of consanguinitie with oakes, for that they report of themselves, that they were the first men that issued out of the earth, like as the oake of all other trees.

93

Why observe they the *Vultures* or *Geirs*, most of any other fowles, in taking of presages by bird-sight?

10

Is it not because at the foundation of Rome, there appeared twelve of them unto *Romulus*? Or because, this is no ordinarie bird nor familiar; for it is not so easie a matter to meete with an aire of *Vultures*; but all on a sudden they come out of some strange cuntry, and therefore the sight of them doth prognosticke and presage much.

Or else haply the Romans learned this of *Hercules*, if that be true which *Herodotus* reporteth: namely, that *Hercules* tooke great contentment, when in the enterprife of any exploit of his, there appeared *Vultures* unto him: for that he was of opinion, that the *Vulture* of all birds of prey was the justest: for first and formost never toucheth he ought that hath life, neither killeth hee any living creature, like as eagles, falcons, hawks, and other fowles do, that prey by night, but feedeth upon dead carrions: over and besides, he forbearth to set upon his owne kind: for never was there man yet who saw a *Vulture* eat the flesh of any fowle, like as eagles and other birds of prey do, which chase, pursue and plucke in pieces those especially of the same kind, to wit, other fowle. And verily as *Aeschylus* the poet writeth:

How can this bird, which bird doth eat,  
Be counted cleanly, pure and neat.

And as for men, it is the most innocent bird, and doth least hurt unto them of all other: for it destroyeth no fruit nor plant whatsoever, neither doth it harme to any tame creature. And if the tale be true that the *Aegyptians* doe tell, that all the kinde of these birds be females; that they conceive and be with yong, by receiving the East-wind blowing upon them, like as some trees by the Western wind, it is verie profitable that the signes and prognosticks drawn from them, be more sure and certaine, than from any others, considering that of all, besides their violence in treading and breeding time; their eagernes in flight when they pursue their prey; their flying away from some, and chafing of others, must needs cause much trouble and uncertaintie in their prognostications.

94

Why stands the temple of *Aesculapius* without the citie of Rome?

Is it because they thought the abode without the citie more holefome, than that within? For in this regard the *Greekes* ordinarily build the temples of *Aesculapius* upon high ground, where in the aire is more pure and cleere.

Or in this respect, that this god *Aesculapius* was sent for out of the citie *Epidaurum*. And true it is that the *Epidaurians* founded his temple; not within the walles of their city, but a good way from it.

Or lastly, for that the serpent when it was landed out of the galley in the *Isle*, and then vanished out of sight, seemed thereby to tell them where he would that they should build the place of his abode.

95

Why doth the law forbid them that are to live chaste, the eating of pulse?

As touching beanes, is it not in respect of those very reasons for which it is said: That the *Pythagoreans* counted them abominable? And as for the richling and rich pease, whereof the one in *Greece* is called *Aedon*, and the other *epedon*, which words seeme to be derived of *Erebos*, that signifieth the darknesse of hell, and of *Lethe*, which is as much as oblivion, and one besides of the rivers infernall, it carrieth some reason that they should be abhorred therefore.

Or it may be, for that the solemne suppers and bankets at funerals for the dead, were usually served with pulse above all other viands.

Or rather, for that those who are desirous to be chaste, and to live an holy life, ought to keepe

Eccc 3

their

their bodies pure and slender; but so it is that pulse be flaccous and windy, breeding superfluous excrements in the body, which had need of great purging and evacuation.

Or lastly, because they pricke and provoke the fleshly lust, for that they be full of ventosities,

<sup>96</sup>  
*What is the reason that the Romans punish the holy Vestall virgins (who have suffered their bodies to be abused and defiled) by no other means, than by interring them quicke under the ground?*

**I**S this the cause, for that the maner is to burne the bodies of them that be dead: and to burie (by the means of fire) their bodies who have not devoutly and religiously kept or preserved 10 the divine fire, seemed not just nor reasonable?

Or haply, because they thought it was not lawfull to kill any person who had bene consecrated with the most holy and religious ceremonies in the world; nor to lay violent hands upon a woman consecrated: and therefore they devised this invention of suffering them to die of their owne selves; namely, to let them downe into a little vaulted chamber under the earth, where they left with them a lampe burning, and some bread, with a little water and milke: and having so done, cast earth and covered them aloft. And yet for all this, can they not be exempt from a superstitious feare of them thus interred: for even to this day, the priests going over this place, performe (I wot not what) anniversary services and rites, for to appeale and pacifie their ghosts.

<sup>97</sup>  
*What is the cause that upon the thirteenth day of December, which in Latine they call the Ides of December, there is exhibited a game of chariots running for the prize, and the horse drawing on the right hand that winneth the victorie, is sacrificed and consecrated unto Mars, and at the time thereof there comes one behinde that cutteth off his tale, which he carrieth immediatly into the temple called Regia, and therewith imbrues the altar with blood: and for the head of the said horse, one troupe there is coming out of the street called Via sacra, and another from that which they name Suburra, who encounter and trie out by fight who shall have it?*

**M**AY not the reason be (as some doe alledge) that they have an opinion, how the cite of 30 Troy was sometime woon by the means of a wooden horse; and therefore in the memoriall thereof, they thus punished a poore horse?

*As men from blood of noble Troy descended,  
And by the way with Latins issue blended.*

Or because an horse is a couragious, martiall and warlike beast; and ordinarily, men use to present unto the gods those sacrifices which are most agreeable unto them; and for that respect, they sacrifice that horse which wan the prize, unto Mars, because strength and victorie are well befitting him.

Or rather because the worke of God is firme and stable: those also be victorious who keepe 40 their ranke and vanquish them, who make not good their ground but fly away. This beast therefore is punished for running so swift, as if celeritie were the maintenance of cowardise: to give us thereby covertly to understand, that there is no hope of safetie for them who seek to escape by flight.

<sup>98</sup>  
*What is the reason that the first worke which the Censors goin hand with, when they are installed in the possession of their magistracie, is to take order upon a certaine prize for the keeping and feeding of the sacred geese, and to cause the painted statues and images of the gods to be refreshed?*

**W**HETHER it is because they would begin at the smallest things, and those which are of 50 least dispense and difficultie?

Or in commemoration of an ancient benefit received by the means of these creatures, in the time of the Gaules warre: for that the geese were they who in the the night season deserted the Barbarians as the skaled and mounted the wall that environed the Capitol fort (where as the dogs slept) and with their gagling raised the watch?

Or because, the Censors being guardians of the greatest affaires, and having that charge and office which enjoyneth to be vigilant and carefull to preserve religion; to keepe temples and

and publicke edifices; to looke into the manners and behaviour of men in their order of life; they set in the first place the consideration and regard of the most watchfull creature that is: and in shewing what care they take of these geese, they incite and provoke by that example their citizens, not to be negligent and retchlesse of holy things. Moreover, for refreshing the colour of those images and statues, it is a necessarie piece of worke; for the lively red vermilion; wherewith they were wont in times past to colour the said images, soone fadeth and passeth away.

<sup>99</sup>  
*What is the cause that among other priests, when one is condemned and banished, they degrade and deprive him of his priesthood, and chosse another in his place: onely an Augur, though he be convicted and condemned for the greatest crimes in the world, yet they never deprive in that sort so long as he liveth? Now those priests they call Augurs, who observe the flights of birds, and foreshewed things thereby.*

**I**S it as some do say, because they would not have one that is no priest, to know the secret mysteries of their religion and their sacred rites?

Or because the Augur being obliged and bound by great oaths, never to reveale the secrets pertaining to religion, they would not seeme to free and absolve him from his oath by degrading him, and making him a private person.

<sup>100</sup>  
*Or rather, for that this word Augur, is not so much a name of honor and magistracie, as of art and knowledge. And all one it were, as if they should seeme to disfile a musician for being any more a musician; or a physician, that he should bee a physician no longer; or prohibit a prophet or soothsayer, to be a prophet or soothsayer: for even so they, not able to deprive him of his sufficiency, nor to take away his skill, although they bereave him of his name and title, do not subordinate another in his place: and by good reason, because they would keepe the just number of the ancient institution.*

<sup>101</sup>  
*What is the reason that upon the thirteenth day of August, which now is called the Ides of August, and before time the Ides of Sextilis, all servants as well maids, as men make holy day and women that are wives love then especially to wash and cleanse their heads?*

**M**IGHT not this be a cause, for that king Servius upon such a day was borne of a captive woman, and therefore slaves and bond-servants on that day have libertie to play and disport themselves? And as for washing the head; haply at the first the wenches began so to do in regard of that festivall day, and so the custome passed also unto their mistresses and other women free borne?

<sup>102</sup>  
*Why do the Romanes adorne their children with jewells pendants at their necks, which they call Bullae?*

<sup>103</sup>  
**P**ER adventure to honor the memorie of those first wives of theirs, whom they ravished: in favour of whom they ordained many other prerogatives for the children which they had by them, and namely this among the rest?

Or it may be, for to grace the prowesse of Tarquinius? For reported it is that being but a verie child, in a great battell which was fought against the Latines and Tuscanes together, hee rode into the vesie throng of his enemies, and engaged himselfe so farre, that being dismounted and unhorsed; yet notwithstanding he manfully withstood those who hotly charged upon him, and encouraged the Romanes to stand to it; in such sort as the enemies by them were put to plaine flight, with the losse of 16000. men whom they left dead in the place: and for a reward of this vertue and valour, received such a jewell to hang about his necke, which was given unto 50 him by the king his father.

Or else, because in old time it was not reputed a shamesfull and villanous thing, to love young boyes wantonly, for their beauty in the flower of their age, if they were slaves borne, as the Comedies even at this day do testifie: but they forbore most precisely, to touch any of them who were free-borne or of gentle blood descended. To the end therefore man might not pretend ignorance in such a case, as if they knew not of what condition any boyes were, if they mette with them naked, they caused them to wear this badge and marke of nobilitie, about their neckes.

Or peradventure, this might be also as a preservative unto them of their honor, continence and chastitie, as one would say, a bridle to restrain wantonnesse and incontinencie, as being put in mind thereby to be abashed to play mens parts, before they had laid off the marks and signes of childhood. For there is no appearance or probabilitie, of that which Varro alledgedly, saying: That because the Aeolians in their Dialect do call *βουλι*, that is to say, Counsell, *βουλι*, therefore such children for a signe and preface of wisdom and good counsell, carried this jewell, which they named *Bulla*.

But see whether it might not be in regard of the moone that they wear this device? for the figure of the moone when shee is at the full, is not round as a bal or boule, but rather flat in manner of a lentill or resembling a dish or plate; not only on that side which appeareth unto us, 10 but also (as Empedocles saith) on that part which is under it.

102

Wherefore gave they fore-names to little infants, if they were boies upon the ninth day after their birth, but if they were girls, when they were eight daies olde?

May there not be a naturall reason rendred hereof, that they should impose the names sooner upon daughters than sonnes: for that females grow apace, are quickly ripe, and come sometimes unto their perfection in comparison of males; but as touching those precise daies, they take them that immediately follow the seventh: for that the seventh day after children be borne is very dangerous, as well for other occasions, as in regard of the navill-string: for that in many it will unknit and be loose againe upon the seventh day, and so long as it continueth so resolved and open, an infant resembleth a plant rather than any animal creature?

Or like as the Pythagoreans were of opinion, that of numbers the even was female and the odde, male; for that it is generative, and is more strong than the even number, because it is compound: and if a man divide these numbers into unities, the even number sheweth a void place betwene, whereas the odde, hath the middle alwaies fulfilled with one part thereof: even so in this respect they are of opinion, that the even number eight, resembleth rather the female and the even number nine, the male.

Or rather it is because of all numbers, nine is the first square coming of three, which is an 30 odde and perfect number: and eight the first cubick, to wit foure-square on every side like a die proceeding from two, an even number: now a man ought to be quadrat odde (as we say) and singular, yea and perfect: and a woman (no lesse than a die) sure and stedfast, a keeper of home, and not easily removed. Heereunto we must adjoyne thus much more also, that eight is a number cubick, arising from two as the base and foot: and nine is a square quadrangle having three for the base: and therefore it seemeth, that where women have two names, men have three.

103

What is the reason, that those children who have no certaine father, they were wont to tearme Spurius?

For we may not thinke as the Greeks holde, and as oratours give out in their pleas, that this word *Spurius*, is derived of *Spura*, that is to say, naturall seed, for that such children are begotten by the seed of many men mingled and confounded together.

But surely this *Spurius*, is one of the ordinary fore-names that the Romans take, such as *Sextus*, *Decimus*, and *Caius*. Now these fore-names they never use to write out at full with all their letters, but marke them sometime with one letter alone, as for example, *Titus*, *Lucius*, and *Marcius*, with *T*, *L*, *M*; or with twaine, as *Spurius* and *Cneus*, with *Sp*, and *Cn*, or at most with three as *Sextus* & *Servius*, with *S*, and *Ser*. *Spurius* then is one of their fore-names which is noted with two letters *S*, and *P*, which signifie almuch, as *Sine Patre*, that is to say, without a father; 50 for *S* standeth for *Sine*, that is to say, without, and *P* for *patre*, that is to say a father. And hereupon grew the error, for that *Sine patre*, and *Spurius* be written both with the same letters short, *Sp*. And yet I will not flicke to give you another reason, though it be somewhat fabulous, and carrieth a greater absurdity with it: forsooth they say that the Sabines in olde time named in their language the nature or privities of a woman, *Spurius*: and thereupon afterwards as it were by way of reproch, they called him *Spurius*, who had to his mother a woman unmarried and not lawfully espoused.

Why

104

Why is Bacchus called with them, Liber Pater?

Is it for that he is the author and father of all liberty unto them who have taken their wine well; for most men become audacious and are full of bolde and franke broad speech, when they be drunke or cup-shotten?

Or because he it is that ministrd libations first, that is to say, those effusions and offerings of wine that are given to the gods?

Or rather (as Alexander said) because the Greeks called *Bacchus*, *Dionysos Eleuthereus*, that is 10 to say, *Bacchus* the Deliverer: and they might call him so, of a city in *Baetia*, named *Eleuthera*.

105

Wherefore was it not the custome among the Romans, that maidens should be wedded upon any daies of their publicke feasts; but widowes might be remarried upon those daies?

Was it for that (as Varro saith) virgins be ill-apaied and heavie when they be first wedded; but such as were wives before, \* be glad and joyfull when they marrie againe? And upon a festivall holiday there should be nothing done with an ill will or upon constraint.

Or rather, because it is for the credit and honour of yong damofels, to be married in the view 20 of the whole world; but for widowes it is a dishonour and shame unto them, to be seene of many for to be wedded a second time: for the first marriage is lovely and desirable; the second, odious and abominable: for women, if they proceed to marrie with other men whiles their former husbands be living, are ashamed thereof; and if they be dead, they are in mourning state of widowhood: and therefore they chuse rather to be married closely and secretly in all silence, than to be accompanied with a long traine and solemnity, and to have much adoe and great stirring at their marriage. Now it is well known that festivall holidays divert and distract the multitude divers waies, some to this game and pastime, others to that; so as they have no leisure to go and see weddings.

Or last of all, because it was a day of publicke solemnitie, when they first ravished the Sabines 30 daughters: an attempt that drew upon them, bloody warre, and therefore they thought it ominous and prefiging evill, to suffer their virgins to wed upon such holidays.

106

Why doe the Romans honour and worship Fortune, by the name of Primigenia, which a man may interpret First begotten or first borne?

Is it for that (as some say) *Servius* being by chance botme of a maid-servant and a captive, had Fortune so favourable unto him, that he reigned nobly and gloriously, king at Rome? For most Romans are of this opinion.

Or rather, because Fortune gave unto the city of Rome her first originall and beginning of so mightie an empire.

Or lieth not herein some deeper cause, which we are to fetch out of the secrets of Nature and Philosophie; namely, that Fortune is the principle of all things, inso much, as Nature consisteth by Fortune; namely, when to some things concurring casually and by chance, there is some order and dispose adjoined.

107

What is the reason that the Romans call those who act comedies and other theatriall plaies, Histriones?

Is it for that cause, which as *Claudian Rufus* hath left in writing? for he reporteth that many 50 yeeres ago, and namely, in those daies when *Caius Sulpitius* and *Licinius Stolo* were Consuls, there reigned a great pestilence at Rome, such a mortalitie as consumed all the stage plaiers indifferently one with another. VVhereupon at their instant praier and request, there repaired out of *Tuscan* to Rome, many excellent and singular actours in this kinde: among whom, he who was of greatest reputation, and had caried the name longest in all theaters, for his rare gift and dexteritie that way, was called *Hister*; of whose name all other afterwards were tearmed *Histriones*.

Why

108

*Why espoused not the Romans in marriage those women who were neere of kin unto them?*

**W**As it because they were desirous to amplifie and encrease their alliances, and acquire more kinsfolke, by giving their daughters in marriage to others; and by taking to wife others than their owne kintred?

Or for that they feared in such wedlock the jarres and quarrels of those who be of kin, which are able to extinguish and abolish even the verie lawes and rights of nature?

Or else, seeing as they did, how women by reason of their weaknesse and infirmities stand in need of many helpers, they would not have men to contract marriage, nor dwell in one house 10 with those who were neere in blood to them, to the end, that if the husband should offer wrong and injurie to his wife, her kinsfolke might succour and assist her.

109

*Why is it not lawfull for Jupiters priest, whom they name Flamen Dialis to handle or once touch meale or leaven.*

**F**Or meale, is it not because it is an unperfect and raw kind of nourishment? for neither continueth it the same that it was, to wit, wheat, &c. nor is that yet which it should be, namely bread: but hath lost that nature which it had before of seed, and withall hath not gotten 20 the use of food and nourishment. And hereupon it is, that the poet calleth meale (by a Metaphor or borrowed speech) *Myrpharon*, which is as much to say, as killed and marred by the mill in grinding: and as for leaven, both it (selfe) is engendered of a certaine corruption of meale, and also corrupteth (in a manner) the whole lump of dough, wherein it is mixed: for the said dough becommeth lesse firme and fast than it was before, it hangeth not together; and in one word the leaven of the paste seemeth to be a verie putrefaction and rottennesse thereof. And verely if there be too much of the leaven put to the dough, it maketh it so sharpe and soure that it cannot be eaten, and in verie truth spoileth the meale quite.

110

*Wherefore is the said priest likewise forbidden to touch raw flesh?*

**I**s it by this custome to withdraw him farre from eating of raw things? Or is it for the same cause that he abhorreth and detesteth meale? for neither is it any more a living animall, nor come yet to be meat: for by boiling and roasting it groweth to such an alteration, as changeth the verie forme thereof: whereas raw flesh and newly killed is neither pure and impolluted to the eye, but hideous to see to; and besides, it hath (I wot not what) resemblance to an ugly sore or filthy ulcer.

111

*What is the reason that the Romans have expressly commaunded the same priest or Flamen of 40 Jupiter, not onely to touch a dogge or a goat, but not so much as to name either of them?*

**T**O speake of the Goat first, is it not for detestation of his excessive lust and lecherie; and besides for his ranke and filthy favour? or because they are afraid of him, as of a diseased creature and subject to maladies? for surely, there seemeth not to be a beast in the world so much given to the falling sicknesse, as it is; nor infecteth so soone those that either eate of the flesh or once touch it, when it is surpris'd with this evil. The cause whereof some say to be the streightnesse of those conduits and passages by which the spirits go and come, which oftentimes happen to be intercepted and stopped. And this they conjecture by the small and slender voice that this beast hath; & the better to confirme the same, we do see ordinarily, that men likewise who be 50 subject to this malady, grow in the end to have such a voice as in some sort resembleth the bellowing of goats. Now, for the Dog, true it is haply that he is not so lecherous, nor finellesh altogether so strong and so ranke as doth the Goat; and yet some there be who say, that a Dog might not be permitted to come within the castle of *Athens*, nor to enter into the Isle of *Delos*, because forsooth he lineth bitches openly in the sight of everie man, as if bulls, boares, and stalcions had their secret chambers, to do their kind with females, and did not leape and cover them in the broad field and open yard, without being abashed at the matter.

But

But ignorant they are of the true cause indeed: which is, for that a Dog is by nature fell, and quarrelsome, given to erre and warie upon a verie small occasion: in which respect men banish them from sanctuaries, holy churches, and privileged places, giving thereby unto poore afflicted suppliants, free access unto them for their safe and sure refuge. And even so verie probable it is, that this *Flamen* or priest of *Jupiter* whom they would have to be as an holy, sacred, and living image for to flie unto, should be accessible and easie to be approached unto by humble suiters, and such as stand in need of him, without any thing in the way to empeach, to put backe, or to affright them: which was the cause that he had a little bed or pallet made for him, in the verie porch or entrie of his house; and that servant or slave, who could find meanes to come 10 and fall downe at his feet, and lay hold on his knees was for that day freed from the whip, and past danger of all other punishment: I say he were a prisoner with irons, and bolts at his feet that could make shift to approach neere unto this priest, he was let loose, and his givens and fetters were thrown out of the house, nor at the doore, but flung over the verie roofof thereof.

But to what purpose served all this, and what good would this have done, that he should shew himselfe so gentle, so affable, and humane, if he had a curst dog about him to keepe his doore, and to affright, chase and feare all those away who had recourse unto him for succour. And yet so it is, that our ancients reputed not a dog to be altogether a clean creature: for first and foremost we do not find that he is consecrated or dedicated unto any of the celestiall gods; but being sent unto terrestriall & infernall *Proserpina* into the quarrefires and crosse high waies to make 20 her a supper, he seemeth to serve for an expiatory sacrifice to divert and turne away some calamitie, or to cleanse some filthy ordure, rather than otherwise: to say nothing, that in *Lacedaemon*, they cut and slit dogs down along the mids, and so sacrifice them to *Mars* the most bloody god of all others. And the Romanes themselves upon the feast *Lupercalia*, which they celebrate in the lustfull moneth of Purification, called February, offer up a dog for a sacrifice: and therefore it is no absurditie to thinke, that those who have taken upon them to serve the most soveraigne and purest god of all others, were not without good cause forbidden to have a dog with them in the house, nor to be acquainted and familiar with him.

112

*For what cause was not the same priest of Jupiter permitted, either to touch an ivie tree, or to passe thorow a way covered over head with a vine growing to a tree, and spreading her branches from it?*

**I**s not this like unto these precepts of *Pythagoras*: Eat not your meat from a chaire: Sit not upon a measure called *Chamix*: Neither step thou over a broome or \* beosome. For surely none of the Pythagoreans feared any of these things, or made scruple to doe, as these words in outward shew, and in their literall sense do preteind: but under such speeches they did covertly and figuratively forbid somewhat else: even so this precept: Go not under a vine, is to be referred unto wine, and implieth this much; that it is not lawfull for the said Priest to be drunke; for 40 such as over drinke themselves; have the wine above their heads, and under it they are depressed and weighed downe, whereas men and priests especially ought to be evermore superiours and commanders of this pleasure, and in no wise to be subject unto it. And thus much of the vine.

As for the ivie, is it not for that it is a plant that beareth no fruit, nor any thing good for mans use: and moreover is so weake, as by reason of that feeblenesse it is not able to sustain it selfe, but had need of other trees to support and beare it up: and besides, with the coole shadow that it yeelds, and the greene leaves alwaies to be seene, it dazeleth, and as it were bewitcheth the eyes of many that looke upon it: for which causes, men thought that they ought not to nourish or entertaine it about an house, because it bringeth no profit; nor suffer it to claspe about any thing, considering it is so hurtfull unto plants that admit it to creepe upon them, 50 whiles it sticketh fast in the ground: and therefore banished it is from the temples and sacrifices of the celestiall gods, and their priests are debarr'd from using it: neither shall a man ever see in the sacrifices or divine worship of *Juno* at *Athens*, nor of *Venus* at *Thebes*, any wilde ivie brought out of the woods. Mary at the sacrifices and services of *Bacchus*, which are performed in the night and darknesse, it is used.

Or may not this be a covert and figurative prohibition, of such blind dances and fooleries in the night, as these be, which are practised by the priests of *Bacchus*: for those women which are transported with these furious motions of *Bacchus*, runne immediately upon the ivie, and catching



catching it in their hands, plucke it in pieces, or else chew it betweene their teeth; in so much as they speake not altogether absurdly, who say, that this iwie hath in it a certaine spirit that stirreth and mooveth to madnesse; turneth mens mindes to furie; driveth them to extasies; troubleth and tormenteth them; and in one word maketh them drunke without wine, and doth great pleasure unto them, who are otherwise disposed and enclined of themselves to such fantastical ravishments of their wit and understanding.

113

*What is the reason that these Priests and Flamins of Iupiter were not allowed, either to take upon them, or to sue for any government of State? but in regard that they be not capable of such dignities, for honour sake and in some sort to make some recompense for that defect: they have an usher or vergier before them carrying a knitch of rods yea and a curial chaire of estate so to upon?*

**I**S it for the same cause, that as in some cities of Greece, the sacerdotall dignitie was equivalent to the royall majestie of a king, so they would not chuse for their priests, meane persons and such as came next to hand.

Or rather, because Priests having their functions determinate and certaine, and the kings, undeterminate and uncertaine, it was not possible, that when the occasions and times of both concurred together at one instant, one and the same person should be sufficient for both: for it could not otherwise be, but many times when both charges pressed upon him and urged him at ones, he should pretermitt the one or the other, and by that means one while offend and fault in religion toward God, and another while do hurt unto citizens and subjects.

Or else, considering, that in governments among men, they saw that there was otherwhiles no lesse necessitie than authority; and that he who is to rule a people (as Hippocrates said of a physician, who seeth many evill things, yea and handleth many also) from the harmes of other men, reapeth griefe and sorrow of his owne: they thought it not in policy good, that any one should sacrifice unto the gods, or have the charge and superintendence of sacred things; who had been either present or president at the judgements and condemnations to death of his owne citizens; yea and otherwhiles of his owne kinsfolke and allies, like as it befell sometime to Brutus.



## DEMANDS AND QUESTIONS AS TOUCHING Greeke Affaires:

THAT IS TO SAY,

*A Collection of the maners, and of divers customes and fashions of certaine persons and nations of Greece: which may serve their turne verie well, who reading old Authors are desirous to know the particularities of Antiquitie.*

**I** Who are they that in the citie Epidaurus be called Conipodes and Arinyi?



Here were an hundred and fourescore men, who had the managing and whole government of the Common weale: out of which number they chose Senatours, whom they named *Arinyi*; but the most part of the people abode and dwelt in the countrey, and such were termed *Conipodes*, which is as much to say, as Dusty-feet; for that when they came downe to the citie (as a man may conjecture) they were known by their dusty feet.

What

**2** What was she, who in the citie of Cumes they named Onobatis?

**W**hen there was any woman taken in adultery, they brought her in to the publick marketplace, where they set her upon an eminent stone to the end that she might be seene of all the people: and after she had stood there a good while, they mounted her upon an asse, and so led her round about the city: which done, they brought her backe againe into the marketplace, where she must stand as she did before upon the same stone: and so from that time forward she led an infamous and reprochfull life, called of every one by the name of *Onobatis* that is to say, she that hath ridden upon the asse backe. But when they had so done, they reputed that stone polluted, and detested it as accursed and abominable.

There was likewise in the same city a certaine office of a gaoler, whom they called *Phylastes*: and looke who bare this office, had the charge of keeping the prison at all other times: onely at a certaine assembly and session of the counsell in the night season, he went into the Senat, and brought forth the kings, leading them by the hands, and three held them still, during the time that the Senat had made inquisition and decreed whether they had deserved ill and ruled unjustly or no: giving thus their suffrages and voices privily in the darke.

**3** What is she, whom they name in the city of Soli, Hypecaustria?

**S**O call they the priestresse of *Minerva*, by reason of certaine sacrifices (which she celebrateth) and other divine ceremonies and services, to put by and divert threwd tunes, which other wise might happen: the word signifieth as much as a chaufecure.

**4** Who be they in the city Gnidos, whom they call Annemones? as also who is Apehester among them?

**T**here are three score elect men out of the better sort and principall citizens, whom they imploid as overseers of mens lives and behaviour, who also were consulted first, and gave their sentence as touching affaires of greatest importance: and *Annemones* they were named, for that they were not, (as a man may very well conjecture) called to any account, nor urged to make answer for any thing that they did: unlesse haply they were so named, *quasi Polymnemones*, because they remembered many things and had so good a memorie. As for *Apehester*, he it was who in their scrutinies, demanded their opinions and gathered their voices.

**5** Who be they, whom the *Areadians* and *Lacedemonians* rearme, Chrestos?

**T**he *Lacedemonians* having concluded a peace with the *Tegeates*, did set downe expressly the articles of agreement in writing, which they caused to be engraven upon a square colunne, common to them both, the which was erected upon the river *Alpheus*: in which among other covenants this was written: That they might chase the *Messenians* out of their countries; howbeit, lawfull it should not be to make them *Chrestos*, which *Aristotle* expoundeth thus and saith; That they might kill none of the *Tegeates* who during the warre had taken part with the *Lacedemonians*.

**6** What is he whom the *Opuntians* call, Crithologos.

**T**he greatest part of the Greeks in their most auncient sacrifices use certaine barley, which the citizens, of their first fruits did contribute: that officer therefore who had the rule and charge of these sacrifices, and the gathering and bringing in of these first fruits of barley, they named *Crithologos*, as one would say the collector of the barley. Moreover, two priests they had besides, one superintendent over the sacrifices and ceremonies for the gods; another for the divels.

**7** Which be the clouds called Ploiaides.

**T**hose especially which are waterish and disposed to raine, and withall wandering too and fro, and carried heere and there in the aere; as *Theophrastus* in the fourth booke of *Meteoros*

fff

or

or impressions gathered above in the region of the aire, hath put it downe word for word in this manner: Considering that the clouds *Pluades* (quoth hee) and those which be gathered thicke, and are fetled unmooveable, and besides very white, shew a certteine diversitie of matter, which is neither converted into water, nor resolved into winde.

8

Whom doe the *Bœtians* meane by this word, *Platychatas*?

Those whose houses joine one to another, or whose lands doe border and confine together, in the *Aeolique* language they called so, as if they would say, being neere neighbours: to which purpose one example among many I will alledge out of our law *Theismophylacium*, &c. \* \* \* \*

9

What is he who among the *Delphians* is called *Hofioter*, and why name they one of the moneths, *Byfios*.

They name *Hofioter* that sacrificer who offereth a sacrifice when he is declared *Hofios*, that is to say, holy; and five there be who are all their life time accounted *Hofios*, and those doe and execute many things together with their prophets, and joine with them in divers ceremonies of divine service, and gods worship, inasmuch as they are thought to be defended from *Deucalion*. And for the moneth called *Byfios*, many have thought it to be as much as *Physius*: that is to say, the springing or growing moneth; for that then, the spring beginneth, and many plants at that time do arise out of ground and budde. But the truth is not so: for the *Delphians* never use *B*, in stead of *Ph*, like as the *Macedonians* do, who for *Philippus*, *Phalaros*, and *Pheronice*, say, *Bilippus*, *Balacros*, and *Beronice*: indeed they put *B*, for *P*, and it as ordinary with them, to say *Batein*, for *Patein*, *Bieron*, for *Pieron*: and so *Byfios*, is all one with *Physius*, that is to say, the moneth in which they consult with their god *Apollo*, and demand of him answers and resolutions of their doubts: for this is the custome of the countrey, because in this moneth they propounded their demands unto the Oracle of *Apollo*, and they supposed the seventh day of the same to be his birth-day, which they furnamed also, *Polyphemus*, not as many do imagine, because they then do bake many cakes, which are called *Plithois*, but for that it is a day wherein divers do resort unto the Oracle for to be resolved, and many answers are delivered: for it is but of late daies that folke were permitted to consult with the Oracle when they list in everie moneth; but before time the religious priestesse of *Apollo*, named *Pythia*; opened not the Oracle, nor gave answer but at one time in the yeere, according as *Callistenes* and *Alexandrides* have recorded in writing.

10

What signifieth *Phyximelon*?

Idle plants there be, which when they burgeon and shoot out first, the beasts love passing well: their first buds and sprouts which they put forth; but in brouzing and cropping them, great injurie they do unto the plants and hinder their growth: when as therefore they are grown up to that height that beasts grasing thereabout, can do them no more harme, they be called *Phyximela*, that is as much to say, as having escaped the danger of cattell, as witnesseth *Aeschylus*.

11

Who be they that are named *Aposphendoneti*?

In times past the *Eretrians* held the Island *Corteyra*, untill *Charierates* arrived there with a fleet from *Corimb* and vanquished them: whereupon the *Eretrians* tooke sea againe, and returned toward their naturall countrey: whereof their fellow-citizens being advertised, such I say as stirred not but remained quiet, repelled them, and kept them off from landing upon their ground by charging them with shot from slings. Now when they saw they could not win them by any faire language, nor yet compel them by force of armes, being as they were inexorable, and besides many more than they in number, they made sail to the coasts of *Thracia*, where they possessed themselves of a place: wherein they report, *Methon*, one of the predecessors and progenitors of *Orpheus* sometime dwelt: and there having built a citie, they named it *Methone*; but them selves

themselves were furnamed *Aposphendoneti*, which is as much to say, as repelled and driven backe by slings.

12

What is that which the *Delphians* call, *Charila*?

The citizens of *Delphos* do celebrate continually three *Enneaterides*, that is to say, feasts celebrated every ninth yeere, one after another successively. Of which, the first they name, *Septerion*; the second, *Herous*; and the third, *Charila*. As touching the first, it seemeth to be a memorial representing the fight or combat that *Phæbus* had against *Pythion*; and his flight after the conflict, and pursuit after him into the valley of *Tempe*. For as some do report he fled by occasion of a certaine manslaughter and murder that he had committed, for which he sought to be purged: others say that when *Pythion* was wounded, and fled by the way which we call, *Holy*, *Phæbus* made hot pursuit after him, inasmuch as he went within a little of overtaking him, and finding him at the point of death: (for at his first comming he found that he was newly dead of the wounds which he had received in the foresaid fight) also, that he was entered and buried by his sonne, (who as they say) was named *Aix*: this novenarie feast therefore, called *Septerion*, is a representation of this historie, or else of some other like unto it. The second named *Herous*, containeth (I wot not what) hidden ceremonies and fabulous secrets, which the professed priests (in the divine service of *Bacchus* called *Thyades*) know well enough: but by such things as are openly done and praesided, a man may conjecture, that it should be a certaine exaltation or assumption of *Semele* up into heaven. Moreover, as concerning *Charila*, there goeth such a tale as this. It fortuned upon a time, that after much drough, there followed great famine in the citie of *Delphos*, inasmuch as all the inhabitants came with their wives and children to the court gates, crying out unto their king, for the extreame hunger that they endured. The king thereupon caused to be distributed among the better sort of them, a dole of meale, and certaine pulse, for that he had not sufficient to give indifferently to them all: and when there came a little yong wench, a sicely orphan, fatherlesse and motherlesse, who instantly besought him to give her also some reliefe; the king smote her with his shoe, and flung it at her face. The girle (poore though she was, forlorne and destitute of all worldly succour; howbeit carying no base mind with her; but of a noble spirit) departed from his presence, and made no more a doe, but undid her girdle from her waist and hanged her selfe therewith. Well, the famine daily encreased more and more, and diseases grew thereupon: by occasion whereof, the king went in person to the Oracle of *Apollo*, supposing to finde there some meede and remedie: unto whom *Pythia* the propheticke made this answer: That the ghost of *Charila* should be appeased and pacified, who had died a voluntarie death. So after long search and diligent enquire, hardly found in the end it was, that the yong maiden whom he had so beaten with his shoe, was named *Charila*: whereupon they offered a certaine sacrifice mixed with expiatorie oblations, which they celebrate and performe from nine yeers to nine, even to this day. For at this solemnity, the king sitting in his chaire, dealeth certaine meale and pulse among all comers, as well strangers as citizens: and the image of this *Charila* is thither brought, resembling a yong girle: now after that everie one hath received part of the dole, the king beareth the said image about the eares with his shoe: and the chiefe governeesse of the religious women called, *Thyades*, taketh up the image, and carieth it into a certaine place full of deepe caves, where after they have hung an halter about the necke of it, they enterre it under the ground in that verie place where they buried the corps of *Charila*, when she had strangled her selfe.

21

What is the meaning of that which they call among the *Aeaeians*, *Begged-flesh*,

The *Aeaeians* in times past had many transigrations from place to place: for first they inhabited the countrey about the Plaine called *Dotion*: out of which they were driven by the *Lapithæ*; and went to the *Aethicæ*; and from thence into a quarter of the province *Molossia*, called *Aræa*, which they held, and thereof called they were *Paravæ*. After all this they seized the citie *Cirra*: wherein after that they had stoned to death their king *Onolus*, by warrant and commandement from *Apollo*; they went downe into that tract that lieth along by the river *Inachus*, a countrey inhabited then by the *Inachiens* and *Achaëans*. Now they had the answer of an oracle on both sides, to wit, the *Inachiens* and *Achaëans*, that if they yielded and gave away

part of their country, they should lose all: and the Aeneians, that if they could get once any thing at their hands with their good wils, they should for ever possesse and hold all. Things standing in these tearmes, there was a notable personage among the Aeneians, named *Temon*, who putting on ragged clothes, and taking a wallet about his necke, disguised himselfe like unto a begger, and in this habite went to the Inachiens to crave their almes. The king of the Inachiens scorned and laughed at him, and by way of disdain and mockerie, tooke up a clod of earth and gave it him; the other tooke it right willingly and put it up into his budget: but he made no semblance, neither was he seene to embrace this gift, and to joy therein; but went his way immediately without begging any thing else, as being verie well content with that which he had gotten already. The elders of the people wondering hereat, called to mind the said oracle, and presenting themselves before the king, advertised him not to neglect this occurrent, nor to let this man thus to escape out of his hands. But *Temon* having an inckling of their desseigne, made haste and fled apace, in so much as he saved himselfe, by the means of a great sacrifice, even of an hundred oxen which he vowed unto *Apollo*. This done, both kings, to wit, of the Inachiens and the Aeneians sent defiance one to the other, and chalenged combat to fight hand to hand. The king of the Aeneians *Phemius*, seeing *Hyperochus* king of the Inachiens comming upon him with his dog, cried out and said: That he dealt not like a just and righteous man, thus to bring an assistant and helper with him: whereat as *Hyperochus* turned his head about, and looked backe for to chase away his dog, *Phemius* raught him such a rap with a stone upon the side of his head, that he felled him to the ground and killed him outright therewith in the verie place. Thus the Aeneians having conquered the country, and expelled the Inachiens and the Achaeans, adored ever after that stone as a sacred thing, and sacrificed unto it, and within the fat of the beast sacrificed, enwrap it verie charily. Afterwards, whensoever they have according to their vow offered a magnificent sacrifice of an hundred oxen to *Apollo*, and killed likewise an ox unto *Jupiter*; the send the best and most daintiest piece of the said sacrifice, unto those that are lineally descended from *Temon*, which at this day is called among them, *The Begged flesh*, or the *Beggers flesh*.

41  
Who be those whom the inhabitants of Ithaca, named Coliades? and who is Phagilus among them?

After that *Ulysses* had killed those who wooed his wife in his absence, the kinsfolke and friends of them being now dead, rose up against him to be revenged: but in the end they agreed on both sides to send for *Neoptolemus*, to make an accord and atonement betweene them: who having undertaken this arbitrement, awarded that *Ulysses* should depart out of those parts, and quit the Isles of *Cephalenia*, *Ithaca* and *Zacynthus*, in regard of the bloodshed that he had committed. Item, that the kinsfolke and friends of the said woers, should pay a certaine fine everie yeere unto *Ulysses* in recompence, for the riot, damage, and havoc they had made in his house. As for *Ulysses*, he withdrew himselfe and departed into *Italie*: but for the mulkt or fine imposed upon them, which he had consecrated unto the gods; he tooke order that those of *Ithaca* should tender the payment thereof unto his fowne: and the same was a quantitie of meale and of wine, a certaine number of \* wax-lights or tapers, oyle, salt, and for sacrifices the bigger sort and better grown of *Phagili*: now *Phagilus*, *Aristotle* interpreteth to be a lambe. Moreover, as touching *Eumaeus*, *Telemachus* enfranchised him and all his posteritie; yea, and ended them with the right of free burgeoisie. And so the progenie of *Eumaeus* are at this day the house and family, called *Coliades*, like as *Bucoly* be those who are descended from *Philetius*.

15  
What is the wooden \* dog among the Locrians?

*Loerius* was the sonne of *Phrygius*, who had to his father *Amphyzion*. This *Loerius* had by *Calya* a sonne named likewise *Loerius*: with him his father was at some variance; who having gathered a number of citizens to him, consulted with the oracle about a place where he should build a new citie, and people it in the nature of a colonie. The oracle returned unto him this answer: That in what place a dog of wood did bite him, there he should found a citie. And so when he had passed over to the other side of the sea, and was landed, he chanced to tread as he walked along upon a brier, which in Greeke is called *Kurosfidros*, and was so pricked therewith, that

that he was constrained there to sojourn certaine daies: during which time, after he had well viewed and considered the country, he founded these townes, to wit, *Phyfees* and *Hyanthia*, and all those besides, which were afterwards inhabited by the Locrians, surnamed *Ozola*, that is to say, Stinking: which surname some say was given unto these Locrians, in regard of *Nessus*, others in respect of the great dragon *Pythion*, which being callt up a land by the sea, purfished upon the coast of the Locrians: others report, that by occasion of certaine sheeps fells and goats skins, which the men of that country used to weare; and because that for the most part they conversed among the flocks of such cattell, and smellt ranke, and carried a strong stinking savour about them, thereupon they were cleped *Ozola*. And some there be who hold the cleane contrarie, and say that the country being full of sweet flowers, had that name of the good smell; among whom is *Architas* of *Amphissa*, for thus he writeth:

Attract with crowne of grapes full lovely dight:  
Scenting of flowers like spice Macynae night.

16  
What is which the Megarians call Aphabroma?

*Nissus*, of whom the city *Nissas* tooke the name being king of *Megara*, espoused a wife out *Baotia* named *Abrota*, the daughter of *Onchestus*, and sister to *Megareus*, a dame of singular wildome, and for chastity and vertue incomparable: when she was dead the Megarians for their part willingly and of their owne accord mourned: and *Nissus* her husband desirous to eternize her name and remembrance by some memoriall, caused her bones to be set together, and the same to be clad with the very same apparell that she was wont to weare in her life time: and of her name he called that habit and vesture *Aphabroma*. And verily it seemeth that even god *Apollo* himselfe did favourize the glorie of this ladie: for when the wives of *Megara* were minded many times to change these robes and habillements, they were alwaies forbidden and debarred by this oracle.

17  
Who is Doryxenus among the Megarians?

The province *Megara* was in old time inhabited by certaine townes and villages; and the citizens or inhabitants being divided into five parts, were called Heraens, Pyraens, Megarians, Cynosuriens, and Tripodislaens: now the Corinthians their next neighbours, and who spied out all occasions, and sought meanes to reduce the province *Megara* under their obedience, practised to set them together by the eares, and wrought it so, that they warred one upon another: but they carried such a moderate hand, and were so respective in their warres, that they remembered evermore they were kinsfolke and of a blood: and therefore warred after a milde and gentle manner; for no man offered any injury or violence to the husbandmen that tilled the ground on either side: and looke whosoever chanced to be taken prisoners, were to paie for their ranfome a certaine piece of money, set downe betweene them: which summe of money was received ever after they were delivered, and not before, because no man would demaund it: for looke who had taken a captive in the warre, he would bring him home with him into his house, and make him good cheere at his owne table, consult together, and then send him home in peace: and the party thus set free, when he came duely and brought his ranfome as aforesaid with him, was commended and thanked for it, yea, and continued ever after unto his dying day, friend unto him who received the money: and thus in stead of *Doryxenus*, which signifieth a prisoner taken in warre, he was called *Doryxenus*, that is to say, a friend made by warre; for he who kept backe the laide money, and defrauded the right master thereof; became all his life time infamous, not onely among enemies, but also among his owne fellow-citizens, as being reputed a wicked, perfidious, and false wretch.

18  
What is Pallutocia among the Megarians?

The Megarians when they had expelled their tyrant *Theagenes*, for a pretie while after, used good and moderate government in their common wealth: but when as their flatterers orators and clambaks of the people began unto them once (as *Plato* very well said) in a cup of

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\* xñere, haply  
hony-combs.

xñere, not xiñu  
i.e. a pillar, as  
the Latin in-  
terprete it.

the meere and undelaid wine of libertie, that is to say, commended unto them excessive licentiousness, they came to be exceeding faucie and malepart, and were utterly corrupt and murthered, inasmuch as they committed all insolent outrages that could be devised against the substantiall and wealthy burgeses: and among other bold parts, the poore and needy would presume to goe into their houses, and command them for to enterteine them with great cheere, & to feast them sumptuously: if they refused so to do, they would make no more adoe, but take away perforce whatsoever they could lay hands on in the house, & in one word, abuse them all most villanously. In conclusion, they made a statute and ordinance, by vertue whereof it might be lawfull for them to demand backe againe at the hands of those usurers, who had let them have money before time, all the interest and consideration for use which they had paid before, 10 and this they called *Palmioci*.

19

What city or country is that Anthedon, whereof the prophesse Pythia spake in these verses.

*Drinke out thy wine, the lees the dregges and all,*

*Anthedon thou thy country canst not call.*

For that *Anthedon* which is in *Bœotia*, is not so plentifull of good wines; *Calauria* indeed as fables make report, was sometime called *Irene*, by the name of a lady so cleped, the daughter of *Nephele* and *Melambia*, who was the daughter of *Alpheus*; but afterwards being held and inhabited by *Anthos* and *Hyperes*, surnamed it was, *Anthedonia* and *Hyperia*: for the answer 20 of the oracle, as *Aristotle* testifieth, went in this manner:

*Drinke out thy wine, with lees, with dregges and all,*

*Anthedon thou thy country canst not call;*

*Nor Hyperia that sacred isle, for there*

*Thou might'st it drinke without dregges pure and cleere.*

Thus (I say) writeth *Aristotle*: but *Minasigton* saith, that *Anthos* being brother of *Hyperes*, was lost when he was but a very childe; and when his brother *Hyperes* for to search him out, travelled and wandered to and fro all about, he came at length to *Pheres*, unto *Acæstus* or *Adræstus*, where by good fortune *Anthos* served in place of cup-bearer, and had the charge of the wine cellar: now as they sat feasting at the table, the boy *Anthos* when he offered a cup of wine 30 unto his brother, tooke knowledge of him, and said softly in his eare:

*Drinke now your wine, with lees, with dregges and all,*

*Anthedon you can not your country call.*

20

What is the meaning of this by-word in Priene: Darknesse about the oake?

The Samians and Prienians warred one against the other, doing and suffering harme reciprocally, but so, as the domages and losses were tolerable, untill such time as in one great battell fought betweene them, those of *Priene* put to the sword in one day, a thousand Samians: but seven yeeres after in another conflict which the Prienians had against the Milesians neere unto a place called *Spous*, that is to say, Oake, they lost the most valiant & principall citizens they had; which hapned at the very time when sage *Byas* being sent embassador unto *Samos*, won great honour and reputation: this was a wofull day and a pittifull, and heave calamitie to all the dames of *Priene* in generall; for there was not one of them but this common losse in some measure touched; inasmuch as this by-word was taken up amongst them afterwards, in forme of a cursed malediction or solemne oath, in their greatestt affaires to binde them withall. By that Darknesse at the oake; for that either their fathers, brethren, husbands, or children, were then and there slaine.

21

What were they among the Candiot, who were called Catacautæ?

It is reported that certaine Tyrthenians having ravished & caried away by force, a number of the Athenians daughters & wives out of *Brawron*, at what time as they inhabited the Islands *Imbros* and *Lemnos*, were afterwards chased out of those quarters and landed upon the coast of *Laconia*, which they inhabited; where they entred into such acquaintance with the women of the country, that they begat children of them; whereupon in the end they grew to be suspected and 50

ill spoken of by the naturall inhabitants, so that they were forced to abandon *Laconia*, and to returne againe into *Candy* under the conduct of *Pellus* and his brother *Crataidæ*: where, warring upon them that held the country, they left many of their bodies who died in fundrie skimmishes lying upon the land neglected and unburied: at the first because they had no time and leisure to interre them, by reason of the sore warre which they maintained continually, & the danger that would have ensued, in case they had gon to take up their bodies: but afterwards because they abhorred to touch those dead carcases that lay stinking and putrifying with the heat of the sun, for that they had continued so long above ground: *Pellus* therefore one of their leaders devised certain honors, priviledges, exemptions, & immunities, to bestow partly upon the priests 10 of the gods, and in part upon those who buried the dead; and consecrated solemnly these prerogatives unto some terrestriall deities, to the end they might be more durable and remaine inviolate: the afterwards he parted with his brother by lot. Now the one sort were named *Sacrificers*, and the other *Catacautæ*; who governed a part, with their owne lawes and particular discipline: by vertue whereof among other good orders and civill customes, they were not subject to certaine crimes and enormities, whereunto other Candiot are commonly given; namely to rob, pill and spoile one another secretly: for these did no wrong one to another; they neither did steale, nor pilfer, nor carrie away other mens goods.

22

What meaneth the Sepulcher of children among the Chalcidians?

20

*Cotmus* and *Acæstus* the sonnes of *Xuthus* arrived at *Eubœa*, to seeke them a place of habitation; the which isle was for the most part possessed and occupied by the *Acœlians*. Now *Cotmus* had a promise by oracle, that he should prosper in the world, and have the upper hand of his enemies, in case he bought or purchased that land: wherefore being come a shore with some few of his men, he found certaine yong children playing by the sea side; with whom he joyined, disported with them, made much of them, shewing unto them many prettie gauds and toies that had not bene before time seene in those parts: and when he perceived that the children were in love thereof, and desirous to have them; he said that he would not give them any 30 of his fine things, unless by way of exchange he might receive of them some of their land: the children therefore taking up a little of the mould with both hands, gave the same unto him, and having received from him the foresaid gauds, went their waies. The *Acœlians* hearing of this, and withall discovring their enemies under faile directing their course thither, and ready to invade them, taking counsell of anger and sorrow together, killed those children: who were entombed along that great high way, by which men go from the citie to the streight or frith called *Euripus*. Thus you see wherefore that place was called the Childrens sepulcher.

23

What is he whom in Argos they call Mixarchagenas? and who be they that are named Elafians?

40

As for *Mixarchagenas*, it was the surname of *Castor* among them; and the Argives beleeve verily that buried he was in their territorie. But *Pollux* his brother they revered and worshipped as one of the heavenly gods.

Moreover, those who are thought to have the gift to divert and put by, the fits of the Epileptic or falling sickenes, they name *Elafie*, and they are supposed to be descended from *Alexidæ*, the daughter of *Amphiaræus*.

24

What is that which the Argives call Enenisma?

Those who have lost any of their neere kinsfolkes in blood, or a familiar friend, were wont presently after their mourning was past, to sacrifice unto *Apollo*, and thirtie daies after unto *Mercurie*: for this they thought, that like as the earth receiveth the bodies of the dead, so doth *Mercurie* the soules. To the minister of *Apollo* they give barley, and receive of him againe in lieu thereof, a piece of flesh of the beast killed for sacrifice. Now after that they have quenched the former fire as polluted and defiled, they goe to seeke for others elsewhere, which after they have kindled, they roast the said flesh with it, and then they call that flesh, *Enenisma*. 50

IWo

25

*Who is Alastor, Aliterius and Palamæus?*

\* ἀλῆστρας.  
He saith o-  
therwise in  
the end of his  
treacule con-  
cerning Curi-  
olus.

For we must not beleve it is, as some beare us in hand, that they be *Aliterij*, who in time of famine, goe prying and spying those who \* grind corne in their houses, and then carrie it away by violence: but we are to thinke that *Alastor* is he who hath committed acts that be *Alastia*, that is to say, not to be forgotten, and the remembrance whereof will continue a long time after. And *Aliterius* is he who for his wickednesse deserueth ἀλῆστρας, that is to say, to be thunned and avoided of all men; and such an one is otherwise called *Palamæus*: and thus much saith *Socrates*, was written in tables of brasse.

10

26

*What should the meaning of this be, that the Virgins who accompanied them that drive the bee from Aenus, toward the citie Cassiopea, go all the way even unto the verie borders chanting this dittie:*

*Would God, returne another day,  
To native soile you never may?*

The Aenians being driven out of their owne countrey by the *Lapithæ*, inhabited first about *Aethiæ*; and afterwards in the province of *Molossis* neere unto *Cassiopea*. But seeing by experience little good or none growing unto them out of that countrey, and withall finding the people adjoining to be ill neighbours unto them; they went into the plaine of *Cirra*, under the leading of their king *Oenclus*: but being surprised there, with a wonderfull drought, they sent unto the oracle of *Apollo*, who commanded them to stone their king *Oenclus* to death, which they did: and after that put themselves in their voiage againe, to seeke out a land where they might settle and make their abode; and so long travelled they until at the last they came into those parts which they inhabit at this day, where the ground is good and fertill, and bringing forth all fruitfull commodities. Reason they had therefore you see to wish and pray unto the gods, that they might never returne againe unto their ancient countrey, but remaine there for ever in all prosperitie.

27

*What is the reason that it is not permitted at Rhodes for the herault or publicke crier, to enter into the temple of Ocriidon?*

30

It is for that *Ochimus* in times past affianced his daughter *Cydippe* unto *Ocriidon*, but *Cerephus* the brother of *Ochimus* being enamoured of his niece *Cydippe*, perswaded the herault (for in those daies the manner was to demand their brides in mariage, by the meanes of heraults, and to receive them at their hands) that when he had *Cydippe* once delivered unto him, he should bring her unto him: which was effected accordingly. And this *Cerephus* being possessed of the maiden fled away with her: but in processe of time when *Ochimus* was verie aged, *Cerephus* returned home. Upon which occasion the Rhodians enacted a law, that from thence forth, there should never any herault set foot within the temple of *Ocriidon*, in regard of this injurie done unto him.

28

*What is the cause that among the Tenedians, it is not lawfull for a piper or plaier of the flutes to come within the temple of Tenes: neither is it permitted to make any mention there of Achilles?*

It is not because when the stepmother of *Tenes* had accused him, for that he would have liened with her, *Malpus* the minstrell avouched it to be true, and most falsely bare witness against him: whereupon he was forced to flie with his sister unto *Tenedos*?

Furthermore it is said, that *Tenes* is the mother of *Achilles*, gave expresse commandement unto her sonne, and charged him in any wise not to kill *Tenes*; for that he was highly beloved of *Apollo*. Whereupon she commanded one of his servants to have a carefull eie unto him, and enioones to put him in mind of this charge that he had from her; lest haply he might forget himselfe, and at unwares take away his life: but as he overran *Tenedos*, he had a sight of *Tenes* sister, a faire and beautifull ladie and pursued her: but *Tenes* put himselfe betwene, for to defend and save the honour of his sister; during which conflict she escaped and got away: but her brothers fortune was to be slaine: but *Achilles* perceiving that it was *Tenes*, when he lay dead

upon

upon the ground, killed his servant outright, for that being present in place during the fray, he did not admonish him according as he was commanded: but *Tenes* he buried in that verie place where now his temple standeth. Lo, what was the cause that neither a piper is allowed to go in to his temple, nor *Achilles* may be once named there.

29

*Who is that, whom the Epidamnians call Polletes?*

The Epidamnians being next neighbours unto the Illyrians, perceived that their citizens who converted, commeced, and traded in trafficke with them, became nought, and fearing besides some practise for the alteration of state: they chose everie yeere one of the best approved men of their citie, who went to and fro for to make all contracts, bargains, and exchanges, that those of *Epidamnus* might have with the Barbarians, and likewise dealt reciprocally in these affaires and negociations, that the Illyrians had with them: now this factour that thus bought and solde in their name, was called *Poletes*.

30

*What is that, which in Thracia they call Aræni Acta, that is to say, the Shore of Arænus?*

The Andrians and Chalcidians having made a voiage into *Thrace*, for to chuse out a place to inhabit: surprised jointly together the citie *Sana*, which was betrayed and delivered into their hands. And being advertised that the Barbarians had abandoned the towne *Achantia*, they sent forth two spies to know the truth thereof: these spies approched the towne so neere, that they knew for certaine, that the enemies had quit the place and were gone. The partie who was for the Chalcidians ran before to take the first possession of it in the name of the Chalcidians: but the other, who was for the Andrians, seeing that he could not with good footmanship overtake his fellow; flang his dart or javelin from him which he had in his hand: and when the head thereof stucke in the citie gate, he cried out aloud, that he had taken possession thereof in the behalfe of the Andrians, with his javelin head. Hereupon arose some variance and controverfie betwene these two nations, but it brake not out to open warre: for they agreed friendly together, that the Erythraens, Samians and Parians should be the indifferent judges to arbitrate and determine all their debates and sutes depending betwene them. But for that the Erythraens and Samians awarded on the Andrians side, and the Parians for the Chalcidians: the Andrians in that verie place tooke a solemne oth, and bound the same with imprecations, curses, and maledictions, that they would never either take the daughters of the Parians in marriage, or affianceth their owne unto them: and for this cause they gave this name unto the place, and called it the Shore or banke of *Arænus*, where as before it was called, the Port of the Dragon.

31

*Why do the wives of the Eretrians at the solemne feast of Ceres, yest their flesh meat nor at the fire, but against the Sunne, and never call upon her by the name of Calligenia?*

It is for that the dames of *Troy* whom the king led away captive, were celebrating this feast in this place: but because the time served to make saile, they were enforced to halte away and leave their sacrifice unperfect and unfinished?

32

*Who be they whom the Atilians call Ainautæ?*

After that the tyrants *Tham* and *Damajonus*, had bene defeated, there arose within the city two factions that maintained their severall sides: the one named *Plautia* & the other *Cheironomacha*. In the end, that of *Plautia* (who were indeed the richest & mightiest persons in the city) prevailed, and having gotten the upper hand, seized the soveraigne authority & government: and because when they minded to fit in consultation of their waightiest affaires, they went a ship-board, and launched into the deepe a good way off from the land; and after they had resolved and decreed what to doe, returned backe againe into the haven, therefore they were surnamed *Ainautæ*, which is as much to say, as alway sailing.

What



33

*What is the cause that the Chalcidians name one place about Pythophon; The assembly of lusty gallants?*

**N**aplum (as the report goeth) being chased and pursued by the Achæans, fledde for refuge like an humble suppliant to the Chalcidians; where partly hee answered to such imputations which were laide against him, and in part by way of recrimination, recharged them with other misdemeanors and outrages: whereupon the Chalcidians being not purposed to deliver him into their hands, and yet fearing lest by treachery and privy practise hee should be made away and murdered, allowed him for the guard of his person, the very flower of 10 the lustiest young gallants in all their citie, whom they lodged in that quarter where they might alwaies converse and meet together, and so keepe *Naplum* out of danger.

34

*What was he who sacrificed an ox unto his benefactor?*

**T**Here hovered sometime a shippe of certeine men of warre, or rovers, and ankered about the coast of *Ithacestia*, within which there was an old man who had the charge of a number of earthen pots, containing Amphors a piece, with pitch in them: now it fortuned that a poore mariner or barge-man named *Pyrrius*, who got his living by ferrying and transporting 20 passengers, approached the said shippe, and delivered the old man out of the rovers hands, and saved his life, not for any gain that hee looked for, but onely at his earnest request, and for very pure pitie and compassion: now in recompence hereof, albeit hee expected none, the old man pressed instantly upon him to receive some of those pots or pitchers aforesaid: the rovers were not so foone retired and departed out of the way, but the old man seeing him at libertie, and secure of danger, brought *Pyrrius* to these earthen vessels, and shewed unto him a great quantitie of gold and silver mingled with the pitch: *Pyrrius* heerby growing of a sudden to be rich and full of money, entreated the old man very kindly in all respects, otherwise and besides sacrificed unto him a beeve: and hereupon as they say arole this common proverb: No man ever sacrificed an ox unto his benefactor but *Pyrrius*. 30

35

*What is the cause that it was a custome among the maidens of the Bottians in their dauncing to sing as it were the faburden of a song: Go we to Athens.*

**T**He Candiots by report upon a vow that they had made, sent the first borne of their men unto *Delphos*; but they that were thus sent, seeing they could not finde sufficient means there to live in plentie, departed from thence to seeke out some convenient place for a colonic to inhabit: and first they setled themselves in *Tapigia*, but afterwards arrived to this verie place of *Thracia*, where now they are, having certeine Athenians mingled among them: for 40 it is not like that *Atimos* had caused those young men to be put to death whom the Athenians had sent unto him by way of tribute, but kept them there to doe him service: some therefore of their issue, &c. descended from them, being reputed naturall Candiots, were with them sent unto the citie of *Delphos*; which is the reason that the young daughters of the Bottians in remembrance of this their originall descent, went singing in their festivall daunces: Go we to Athens.

36

*What should be the reason that the Eliens wives, when they chaum himnes to the honour of Bacchus, pray him to come unto them, (Eliens mod.) that is to say, with his bull foote; for the hymne runneth in this forme: Please th in thee right worthy Lord Bacchus to come unto this holy maritime temple of thine, accompanied with the Graces; Whom I say to this temple with an ox or beeve foot: then for the faburden of the song, they redouble; O worthy bull, O worthy bull?*

**I**s it for that some name this god, The sonne or begotten of a cow; and others tearme him, Bul; or is the meaning of *Eliens mod.* with thy great foot, like as *Homer* when hee callith *Juno* or any other *Goddes*, significth her to have a bigge and large eie, and by the epithit *Goddes*, meaneth one that braggeth and boasterh of great matters? 50

\* Eliens, mod.  
B. i. v.

Or rather because that the foot of a beeve doth no harme, howsoever horned beafts otherwise be hurtfull and dangerous; therefore they invoke thus upon him, and beseech him to come loving and gracious unto them.

Or lastly, for that many are perswaded, that this is the god who taught men first to plough the ground and to sowe corne.

37

*Why have the Tanagraans a place before their city called Achilleum? for it is said, that Achilles in his life time bare more hatred than love unto this city, as who ravished and stole away Stratonicon the mother of Poemander, and killed Acestor the sonne of Ehippus.*

10

**P**oemander the father of *Ehippus*, at what time as the province of *Tanagra*, was peopled and inhabited by tenures and villages onely, being by the Achæans besiedged in a place called *Stephon*, for that he would not go forth with them to warre, abandoneth the said fort in the night time, and went to build the citie *Pæonindria*, which he walled about. The architect or master builder *Polyerithus* was there, who dispraised all his worke, and derided it, in so much as in a mockerie he leapt over the trench; whereat *Pæmander* tooke such displeasure, and was so highly offended, that he meant to sling at his head a great stone, which lay there hidden of olde upon the nightly sacrifices of *Bacchus*. But *Pæmander* not knowing so much, pulled it up by force, and threw it at him; and missing *Polyerithus*, hit his son *Leucippus*, and killed him outright. Here- 20 upon according to the law and custom then observed, there was no remedie but needs he must depart out of *Bæotia*, in manner of an exiled man; and so as a poore suppliant and stranger to converse, wandering abroad in another country, which was neither safe nor easie for him to doe at that time, considering that the Achæans were up in armes and entred into the country of *Tanagra*. He sent therefore his sonne *Ehippus* unto *Achilles*, for to request his favour; who by earnest supplications and praiers prevailed so much, that he entreated both him, and also *Therpelemus* the sonne of *Hercules*; yea and *Peneleus* the sonne of *Hippalemus*, who were all of their kindred: by whose meanes *Pæmander* had safe conduct, and was accompanied as farre as the citie of *Chalcis*, where he was assailed, absolved and purged by *Elpenor*, for the murder which he had committed. In remembrance of which good turne by those princes received, he ever 30 after honoured them, and to them all erected temples; of which that of *Achilles* continueth unto this day, and according to his name is called *Achilleum*.

38

*Who be they, whom the Bæotians call Plooes, and who be Acolies.*

**T**He report goeth that *Leucippe*, *Arsmoe* and *Alcæthe*, the daughters of *Minyas*, being enraged and beltraight of their right wits, longed exceedingly to eat mans flesh, and cast lots among themselves, which of them should kill their owne children for that purpose. So the lot falling upon *Leucippe*, she yeelded her sonne *Hippasus* to be dismembred and cut in pieces; by 40 occasion whereof, their husbands simply arraigned, and in mourning weeds for sorrow and griefe were called *Plooes*, as one would say, foule and smokie; and the women *Acolies*, that is to say, distracted and troubled in their minds, or *Oenobolæ*: so as even at this day the Orchomenians, call those women who are descended from them by those names: and everie second yeere during the festivall daies called *Agrionia*, the priest of *Bacchus* runneth after them with a sword drawn in his hand, courting and chasing them: yea and lawfull it is for him to kill any one of them that he can reach and overtake. And verily in our daies *Zoilus* the priest killed one; but such never come to any good after: for both this *Zoilus* himselfe upon a certaine little ulcer or sore that he had, fell sicke; and after he had a long time pined away and consumed therewith, in the end died thereof: and also the Orchomenians being fallen into publicke calamities, and held in generall 50 for condemned persons, translated the priesthood from that race and lineage, and conferred it upon the best and most approved person they could chuse.

39

*What is the cause that the Arcadians stone them to death, who willingly and of purpose enter within the powprife and precincts of Lyncæum: but if any come into it of ignorance and unaware; then they send to Eleutheræ?*

**A**s for these, may it not be that they are held free and absolved who do it upon ignorance: And by reason of this their absolution, this maner of speech arole, to send them to *Eleutheræ*, 10

there, which signifieth Deliverance: much like as when we say thus, *ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ πόντου*, that is to say, into the region of the secure; or thus, *ἔξω ἐκ τῶν δεινῶν τόπων*, that is to say, thou shalt go to the Mannour of the Pleasant. Or haply it alludeth to the tale that goeth in this wise; that of *Ixeons* sonnes there were but two onely, to wit, *Eleuther* and *Lebadus*, who were not partakers of the horrible crime, that their father committed in the sight of *Jupiter*, but fled into *Beotia*; in token whereof, the *Lebadians* enjoy still their burgeoise in commune with the *Arcadians*: and therefore to *Eleuthera* they send those, who against their willes or unawares are entred within that pourprile consecrat unto *Jupiter*, into which it is not lawfull for any man to go.

Or rather, as *Architemus* writeth in his *Chronicles of Arcadia*, for that there were some who being ignorantly entred into the said place, were delivered and yekeld unto the *Phliansians*, who put them over to the *Megarians*, and from the *Megarians* they were carried to *Thebes*: but as they were transported and conveyed thither, they were staied about *Eleuthera*, by meanes of violent raine, terrible thunder, and other prodigious tokens; by occasion whereof, some would have the citie to take the name *Eleuthera*.

Moreover, whereas it is said that the shadow of him who commeth within this precinct of *Ixeon*, never falleth upon the ground: it is not true, howbeit it goeth generally currant, and is constantly beleeved for an undoubted truth. But is it not thinke you, for that the aire turneth presently into darke cloudes, and looketh obscure and heavie (as it were) when any enter into it: or because, that whosoever commeth into it incontinently, suffereth death. And you know what the *Pythagoreans* say, namely, that the soules of the dead, cast no shadow nor winke at all.

Or rather, for that it is the sun that maketh shadows, and the law of the country bereaveth him that entred into it, of the sight of the sunne; which covertly and enigmatically they would give us to understand under these words: For even he who commeth into this place is called *Elaphos*, that is to say a Stag; and therefore *Cantharion* the *Arcadian*, who fled unto the *Elians* of his owne accord to side with them, at what time as they warred upon the *Arcadians*; and as he passed with his bootie that he had gotten, went through this sacred place: when after the warre was ended, he returned to *Lacedamon*; was by the *Lacedaemonians* delivered up to the *Arcadians*, by direction and commandement of the oracle, which enjoined them to render the Stag.

40  
What is that Demi-god in Tanagra, known by the name of *Eunoſtus*? And what is the reason that women may not enter within the grove dedicated unto him?

THIS *Eunoſtus* was the sonne of *Elieus*, the sonne of *Cepheſus* and *Seias*; so named of *Ennoſta* a certaine nymph that nourished and brought him up: who being faire and just withall, was also chaste, continent and of an austere life. Howbeit the report goeth, that one of the daughters of *Collonius* named *Ochma*, being his cousin germane became enamoured upon him: but when he had tempted him and assaied to win his love; *Eunoſtus* repulsed and rejected her with reprochfull tearmes, and went his way intending to accuse her unto her brethren: which the maiden suspecting and fearing, prevented him and slandered him first before her brethren *Ochemus*, *Leon*, and *Bucolus*, whom she incensed against *Eunoſtus*, that they would kill him, as one who by force had deflowered their sister. These brethren then having lien in ambush for the young man, murdered him treacherously: for which fact *Elieus* cast them in prison; and *Ochma* her selfe repenting of that which she had done, was much troubled and tormented in mind therefore, being desirous besides to deliver her selfe from the griefe and agonie which she endured by reason of her love, and withall pitying her brethren imprisoned for her sake, discovered the whole truth unto *Elieus*; and *Elieus* againe unto *Collonius*: by whose accord and judgement, these brethren of *Ochma* fled their country and were banished: but she cast her selfe voluntarily downe headlong from an high rocke, according as *Myrris* the poetesse hath left in verse. And this is the cause, that both the temple of *Eunoſtus*, and also the grave about it remained ever after, inaccessible, and not to be approached by women: inso much as many times when there happen any great earthquakes, extraordinary droughts, and other fearefull and prodigious tokens from heaven, the *Tanagrians* make diligent search and inquisition, whether there have not bene some one woman or other, who secretly hath presumed to come neere unto the said place. And some have reported (among whom was one *Clidamus* a noble and honourable personage) that they met with *Eunoſtus* upon the way, going to wash and cleanse himselfe in the sea, for that there was one woman who had bene so bold as to enter into his sanctuary.

And

And verely *Dionys* himselfe in a treatise that he made of Demi-gods, or such worthy men as had bene deified, maketh mention of a certaine edict, or decree of the *Tanagrians*, touching those things which *Clidamus* had related unto them.

41  
How cometh it that in the country of *Beotia*, the river that runneth by *Eleon*, is called *Scamander*?

*Deimachus* the sonne of *Eleon*, being a familiar companion with *Hercules*, was with him at the Trojan warre: during the time whereof, continuing as it did verie long, he entertained the love of *Glauca* the daughter of *Scamander*, who was first enamoured of him, and so well they agreed together, that in the end she was with child by him. Afterwards it fortuneth, so that in a skirmish with the *Trojans* he lost his life: and *Glauca* tearing that her belly would tell tales and bewray what she had done, fled for succour unto *Hercules*, and of her owne accord declared unto him, how she had bene surprised with love, and what familiar acquaintance there had passed betweene her and *Deimachus* late deceased. *Hercules* as well in pite of the poore woman, as for his owne joy and contentment of mind, that there was like to remaine some issue of so valiant a man, and his familiar friend beside, had *Glauca* with him to his ships: and when she was delivered of a faire sonne, carried her into the country of *Beotia*, where he delivered her and her sonne into the hands of *Eleon*. The child then was named *Scamander*, and became afterwards king of that country; who surnamed the river *machus* after his owne name *Scamander*, and a little riveret running thereby, *Glauca*, by the name of his mother: as for the fontaine *Scidusa* it was so cleped according to his wives name; by whom he had three daughters, who are even unto this day honoured in that country, and called by the name of the virgins.

42  
Whereupon arose this proverbiall speech, *ἀνταρκία*, that is to say, these things shall stand or prevvaile?

*Dion* the captaine generall of the *Tarentines*, being a right valiant and hardie warrior, when as the citizens by their voices and suffrages denied a sentence which he had delivered as the herault or crier proclaimed and published with a loud voice that opinion which prevailed, lifting up his owne right hand himselfe: Yea but this (quoth he) shall carie it away when all is done. Thus *Thaphrastus* reporteth this narration: but *Apollidorus* relateth moreover in his *Rhymus* that when the herault had proclaimed thus *ἀνταρκία*, that is to say, these be more in number, meaning the voices of the people: Yea but (quoth he) *ἀόλου φατίν*, that is to say, these be better; and in so doing, confirmed the resolution of those who were in number the fewer.

43  
Upon what occasion was the citie of the *Ithaceſians*, named *Alalcomene*?

MOST writers have recorded, that *Anticlia* being yet a virgin, was forced by *Sisyphus*, and conceived *Ulyſſes*. But *Hister* of *Alexandria* hath written moreover in his *Commentaries*, that the being given in marriage unto *Laertes*, and brought into the citie *Alalcomenium* in *Beotia*, was delivered there of *Ulyſſes*; and therefore he (to renew the memorie of that citie where he was borne and which was the head citie standing in the heart of that country) called that in *Ithaca* by the name thereof.

44  
Who beshey in the citie *Aegina*, which are called *Monophagi*?

OF those *Aeginets*, who served in the Trojan warre many died in fight, howbeit more were drowned by meanes of a tempest in their voyage at sea. But those few who returned were welcomed home, and joyfully received by their kinsfolke and friends: who perceiving all their other fellow-citizens to mourne and be in heaviness, thought this with themselves, they ought not to rejoice nor offer sacrifice unto the gods openly, but in secret: and so, everie man a part in his privat house, entertained those who were escaped and came home safe with feasts and banquets: and served at the table in their owne persons, unto their fathers, their brethren, and

G g g

cousens

cousins and friends, without admitting any stranger whatsoever: in imitation whereof they do yet every yeere sacrifice unto *Neptune* in secret assemblies, which sacrifices they call *Thysis* during which solemnities they doe feast one another privately for the space of sixteene daies together with silence, and there is not a servant or slave there present to wait at the boord: but afterwards for to make an end of their feasting, they celebrate one solemne sacrifice unto *Venus*. And thus you may see why they be called *Monophagi*, that is to say, Eating alone, or by themselves.

45  
*What is the cause that in the country of Caria, the image of Jupiter Labradeus is made, holding aloft in his hand an axe, and neither a scepter nor a thunderbolt, or lightning?* 10

For that *Hercules* having slaine *Hippolite* the Amazon, and among other armes of hers won her battell axe, and gave it as a prelent unto *Omphale*: this axe, all the kings that reigned in *Lydia* after *Omphale*, caried as an holy and sacred monument; which they received successively from hand to hand of their next progenitors, untill such time as *Candaules* disdaining to beare it himselfe, gave it unto one of his friends to carie. Afterwards, it chanced that *Gyges* put himselfe in armes against *Candaules*, and with the helpe of *Arcelus*, who brought a power of men to aide him out of *Mylis*, both defeated him, and also killed that friend of his from whom he tooke away the said axe, and put the same into the image of *Jupiters* hand, which he had made. In which respect he furnished *Jupiter*, *Labradens*, for that the *Lydians* in their language call an axe *Labra*.

46  
*Wherefore do the Trallians call the pulse Ervil Catharter, that is to say, the purger: and use it more than any other in their expiatorie sacrifices of Purification?*

IS it for that the *Minyans* and *Lelegians*, having in old time disseized the said *Trallians* of their cities and territories, inhabited and occupied the same themselves? but the *Trallians* made head afterwards, and prevailed against them, inso much as those *Lelegians* who were neither slaine in battell, nor escaped by flight, but either for feebleness, or want of meanes otherwise to live, remained still, they made no reckoning of, whether they died or lived; enacting 30 a law, that what *Trallian* foever killed either a *Lelegian* or *Minyan*, he should be absolved and held quit, in case he paid unto the next kinsfolke of the dead partie; a measure called *Medimmi*, of the said *Eruvil*.

47  
*What is the reason that it goeth for an ordinarie by-word among the Elians to say thus; To suffer more miseries and calamities than Sambicus?*

There was one *Sambicus* of the cite *Eliu*, who by report having under him many mates and complices at command, brake and defaced sundrie images and statues of brasle within the cite *Olympia*, and when he had so done, sold the brasle and made money of it: in the end he proceeded so farre as to rob the temple of *Diana* furnished *Episcopus*, that is to say, a vigilant patronesse and superintendant. This temple standeth within the cite *Eliu*, and is named *Aristarchium*. After this notorious sacriledge he was immediately apprehended, and put to torture a whole yeere together to make him for to bewray and reveale all his companions and confederats: so as in the end he died in these torments, and thereupon arose the said common proverbe.

48  
*What is the reason that at Lacedæmon the monument of Ulysses, standeth close to the temple of the Leucippidae?* 50

*Hercules* one of the race descended from *Diomedes*, by the *Ionian* instigation of *Temenus* induced, robbed out of *Argos* the renowned image of *Minerva*, called *Palladium*, and that with the privitie and assistance of *Leager* in this sacriledge: now this *Leager* was one of the familiars and inward companions of *Temenus*: who being fallen out afterwards with *Temenus*, in a fit of anger, departed to *Lacedæmon* with the said *Palladium*: which the kings there received at his hands right joyfully and placed it neere unto the temple of the *Leucippides*: but afterwards they sent to the oracle at *Delphos*, to know by what meanes they might keepe and preserve

serve the said image in safety: the oracle made this answer, that they should commit the keeping of it unto one of them who had stollen it away: whereupon they built in that verie place a monument in memoriall of *Ulysses*, where they shrined *Palladium*; and besides, they had the more reason so to do, because in some fort *Ulysses* was allied to their citie, by his wives side ladie *Penelope*.

49  
*What is the reason that the Chaldeonian dames have a custome among them, that whensoever they meet with any men that be strangers unto them, but especially if they be rulers or magistrates, to cover and hide one of their cheeks.*

10  
The men of *Chalcedon* warred somtime against their neighbours the *Bithynians*, provoked threto by all light injuries, and wrought that might minister matter and occasion therof: inso much as in the daies of king *Zeipatus* who reigned over the *Bithynians*, they assembled all their forces, and with a puissant power (beside of the *Thracians*, who joynd to aide them) they invaded their country with fire and sword, spoiling all before them: untill in the end king *Zeipatus* gave them battell neere unto a place named *Phalium*, where they lost the day, as well in regard of their presumptuous boldnesse, as of the disorder among them, inso much as there died of them in fight 8000. men. Howbeit utterly they were not defeated, for that *Zeipatus* in favour of the *Bizantines*, was contented to grow unto some agreement & composition. Now for 20 that their citie was by this meanes verie much dispeopled and naked of men, many women there were among them, who were constrained to be remarried unto their enfranchised servants, others to aliens and strangers coming from other cities: but some againe, chusing rather to continue widows still and never to have husbands, than to yeeld to such mariages, followed their owne causes themselves what matter foever they had to be tried or dispatched in open court before the judges or publicke magistrates; onely they withdrew one part of their veile, and opened their face on one side: the other wives also who were married againe, for modestie and womanhood, following them as better women than themselves, used the same fashion also, and brought it to be an ordinarie custome.

50  
*Wherefore do the Argives drive their ewes unto the sacred grove of Agenor, when they would have their ammes to leape them?*

IS it not for that *Agenor* whiles he lived, was verie expert and skilfull about sheepe; and of all the kings that ever were among them, had the most and fairest flocks of them?

51  
*Why do the Argives children, at a certaine festivall time that they keepe, call one another in plaie and sport Ballachrades?*

IS it because, the first of that nation, who were by *Inachus* brought out of the mountaines into the plaine and champion country, made their chiefe food (by report) of wilde hedge-peares? 40 Now these chok-peares, some say, were found in *Peloponnesus*, before they were seen in any other part of *Greece*, even whiles that region was called *Apia*. And hereupon also it came that these wilde peares commonly called *Achrades*, changed their name into *Apia*.

52  
*What is the cause that the Eliens, when their mares be hot after the horse, leade them, out of their owne confines to be covered by the Italians?*

IS it for that *Oenomaus* was a prince, who of all others loved best a good race of horses, & took the greatest pleasure in these kind of beastes; & cursed with al manner of execrations, those Italians 50 which covered his mares in *Eliu*? And therefore they fearing to fall into any of these maledictions, avoid them by this maner.

53  
*What was the reason of this custome among the Guosians, that those who tooke up any money at any interest, snatched it and ran away with it?*

WAS it to this end, that if they should denie the debt, and seeme to defraud the usurers, they might lay an action of felonie, and violent wrong upon them: and the other by this means might be more punished?

54  
What is the cause that in the citie of Samos they invoke Venus of Dexicreon?

It is for that, that when in times past the women of Samos were exceedingly given to enormous wantonnesse & lechery, so that the brake out into many lewd acts: there was one *Dexicreon*, a mounte-banke or confensing juggler, who by (I wot not what) ceremonies and expiatorie sacrifices, cured them of their unbridled lust?

Or because this, *Dexicreon* being a merchant-venturer who did traffike and trade by sea, went into the Isle of *Cyprus*; & when he was ready to load or charge his ship with merchandize, *Venus* commanded him to freight it with nothing else but water, and then immediately to hoist up saile: according to which he did, and having put a great quantie of water within his vessell, he set saile and departed. Now by that time they were in the maine sea, they were verie much becalmed, so as for want of a gale of winde many daies together, the rest of the mariners and merchants a ship boord, thought verily they should all die for verie thirst: whereupon he sold unto them his water which he had aboard, and thereby gat a great quantitie of silver; of which afterwards he caused to be made an image of *Venus*, which he called after his owne name, *Dexicreon* his *Venus*. Now if this be true, it seemeth that the goddesse purposed thereby, not onely to enrich one man, but to save also the lives of many.

55  
How cometh it to passe, that in the Isle of Samos, when they sacrifice unto Mercurie furnished Charidotes, it is lawfull for whosoever will, to rob and rife all passengers?

Because in times past according to the commandement and direction of a certaine oracle, the ancient inhabitants departed out of Samos and went into *Mycale*, where they lived and maintained themselves for ten yeeres space by pyracie and depredation at sea; and afterwards being returned againe into Samos, obtained a brave victorie against their enemies.

56  
Why is there one place within the Isle Samos called Panama?

It is for that the Amazones to avoid the furie of *Bacchus*, fled out of the Ephesians country into Samos and there saved themselves? But he having caused ships to be built and rigged, gathered together a great fleet, and gave them battell, where he had the killing of a great number of them about this verie place, which for the carnage and quantitie of blood shed there, they who saw it, marvelled thereat, and called it *Panama*. But of them who were slaine in this conflict, there were by the report of some, many that died about *Phlaon*, for their bones are there to be seene. And there be that say, that *Phlaon* also clave in sunder, and became broken by that occasion; their crie was so loud, and there voice so piercing and forcible.

57  
How cometh it that there is a publike hall at Samos, called Pedetes?

After that *Damoteles* was murdered, and his monarchie overthrowen, so that the nobles or Senators *Geomori*, had the whole government of the State in their hands; the Megarians tooke armes, and made warre upon the Perinthians (a colonie drawn and descended from Samos) carrying with them into the field, fetters and other irons, to hang upon the feet of their captive prisoners: the said *Geomori* having intelligence thereof, sent them aide with all speed, having chosen ten capitaines, manned also and furnished thirtie ships of warre; whereof twaine came to saile, caught fire by lightning, and so consumed in the verie mouth of the haven: howbeit the foresaid capitaines followed on in their voyage with the rest, vanquished the Megarians in battell, and tooke sixe hundred prisoners: upon which victorie, being puffed up with pride, they intended to ruinate the Oligarchie of those noble men at home, called *Geomori*, and to depose them from their government: and verily those rulers themselves ministred unto them occasion, for to set in hand with this their desseigne; namely by writing unto them, that they should leade those Megarians prisoners, fettered with the same gives which they themselves had brought: for no sooner had they received these letters, but they did impart and shew them secretly

secretly unto the said Megarians, perswading them to band & combine with them, for to restore their citie unto libertie. And when they devised and consulted together about the execution of this comploted conspiracie: agreed it was betweene them to knocke the rings off, or lockers of the fetters open, and so to hang them about the Megarians legs, that with leather thongs they might be fastened also to their girdles about the wattle, for feare that being slacke, as they were, they should fall off and be readie to drop from their legs as they went. Having in this wisest forth and dressed these men, and given everie one of them a sword, they made all the haste they could to Samos; where being arrived and set aland, they led the Megarians through the market place to the Senate house, where all the nobles called *Geomori* were assembled and sat in consultation: hereupon was the signall given, and the Megarians fell upon the Senators, and massacred them everie one. Thus having received the freedome of the citie, they gave unto as many of the Megarians as would accept thereof, the right of free burgeoisie: and after that built a faire towne-hall, about which they hung and fastened the said bolts and fetters of irons, calling it upon this occasion *Pedetes*, that is to say, the Hall of Fetters.

58  
What is the reason that in the Isle of Coos, within the citie Antimachia, the priest of Hercules being arrayed in the habit of a woman, with a mitre on his head, beginneth to celebrate the sacrifice?

*Hercules*, when he was departed from Troy with sixe ships, was overtaken with a mightie tempest, and with one ship alone (for that all the other was lost) was cask by the windes upon the Isle of Coos, and landed at a place called *Laeter*: having saved nothing else but his armor and the men that were with him in the ship; where finding a flocke of sheepe, hee desired the shepherd who tended them, to give him a ram. The shepherds name was *Antagoras*, who being a lustie, tall and strong man, would needs challenge *Hercules* to wrestle with him, upon this condition, that if *Hercules* could overthrow him and lay him along on the ground, the ram should be his. *Hercules* accepted the offer; and when they were close at hand, gripes, the Meropians, certaine inhabitants of the Isle came in to succour *Antagoras*, and the Greekes likewise to aide *Hercules*; in such sort, as there ensued a sharp and cruell fight: wherein *Hercules* finding himselfe to be overlaid and pressed with the multitude of his enemies, retired and fled (as they say) unto a Thracian woman, where for to hide and save his life, he disguised himselfe in womans apparell. But afterwards having gotten the upper hand of those Meropians, and being purged, he espoused the daughter of *Alciopus*, and put on a fairer robe and goodly stoale. Thus you may see whereupon his priest sacrificeth in that verie place where the battell was fought; and why new married spouses being arrayed in the habit of women, receive their brides?

59  
Whereof cometh it, that in the citie of Megara, there is a lineage or family named Hamaxylysta?

In the time that the dissolute and insolent popular State of government, called Democratie (which ordained that it might be lawfull to recover and arrest all monies paid for interest and in consideration of use, out of the usurers hands, & which permitted sacrilege) bare sway in the citie: it hapned there were certaine pilgrims, named *Theori* of *Peloponessus*, sent in commission to the oracle of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, who passed thorow the province of *Megara*, and about the citie *Aegiri*, neere unto the lake there, lay and tumbled themselves upon their chariots here and there, together with their wives and children, one with another as it fell out: where certaine Megarians, such as were more audacious than the rest, as being thoroughly drunke, full of insolent wantonnesse and cruel pride, were so lustie as to overthrowe the said chariots, and thrust them into the lake; so as, many of the said *Theori* or commissioners were drowned therein. Now the Megarians (such was the confusion and disorder in their government in those daies) made no reckoning at all to punish this injurie and outrage: but the counsell of the *Amphydiones*, because the pilgrimage of these *Theori* was religious and sacred, tooke knowledge thereof and late upon an inquisition about it; yea and chastised those who were found culpable in this impietie; some with death, others with banishment: and hereupon the whole race descending from them, were called afterwards *Hamaxylysta*.



# THE PARALLELS, OR A BRIEFE COLLATION OF ROMANE NARRATIONS, WITH THE SEMBLABLE REPORT OF THE GREEKS.

In the margin of an old manuscript copie, these words were found written in Greeke:  
This booke was never of PLUTARCHS making, who was an excellent and  
most learned Author; but penned by some odde vulgar writer, altogether ig-  
norant both of Poetrie, and also of Grammar.

\* or Learning.



Any doe thinke, that ancient histories be but fables and tales devised for pleasure. For mine owne part having found many accidents in our daies, semblable unto those occurrents which in times past fell out among the Romans in their age: I have collected some of them together; and to everie one of those ancient Narrations, annexed another like unto it, of later time, and therewith alledged the Authors who have put them downe in writing.

I Darys lieutenant generall under the king of Persia, being come downe into the plaine of Marathon within the countrey of Attica, with a puissant power of three hundred thousand fighting men, there pitched his campe, and proclaimed warre upon the inhabitants of those parts. The Athenians making small account of this so great a multitude of Barbarians, sent out nine thousand men, under the conduct of these foure captains; namely, *Cynegyrus*, *Pollizelus*, *Callimachus*, and *Altiades*. So they stricke a battell, during which conflict, *Polyzelus* chanced to see the vision of one represented unto him surpassing mans nature, and thereupon lost his sight and became blind; *Callimachus* wounded through divers parts of his bodie with many pikes and javelins, dead though he was, stood upon his feet; and *Cynegyrus*, as he staied a Persian ship which was about to retire backe, had both his hands smitten off.

*Arasball* the king being possessed of Sicily, denounced warre againe the Romans: and *Mettellus* being cholen lord generall by the Senate, obtained a victorie in a certaine battell against him; in which battell lord *Glauco* a noble man of Rome, as he held the admirall-ship of *Arasball* lost both his hands: as *Aristides* the Milesian writeth in the first booke of the annales of Sicily, of whom *Diodorus Siculus* hath learned the matter and subiect argument of his historie.

*Xerxes* being come to lie at anchor neere the cape *Artemisium* with five hundred thousand fighting men, proclaimed warre upon the people of that countrey: whereat the Athenians being much astonished, sent as a spie (for to view & survey his forces) *Agefilas* the brother of *Themistocles*; albeit his father *Neocles* had a dreame in the night, and thought that he saw his sonne dismembred of both his hands; who entering the campe of the Barbarians in habit of a Persian, slew *Marodonius* one of the captains of the kings corps de guard, supposing he had bene *Xerxes* himselfe: and being apprehended by them that were about him, was brought tied and bound 50 before the king, who was then even readie to offer sacrifice upon the altar of the Sunne: into the fire of which altar, *Agefilas* thrust his right hand, and endured the force of the torment, without crying or groning at all; whereupon the king commaunded him to be unbound: and then said *Agefilas* unto him: We Athenians be all of the like mind and resolution, and if you will not beleeve me, I will put my left hand also into the fire: whereat *Xerxes* being mightily afraid, caused him to be kept safely with a good guard about him. This writeth *Agatharides* the Samian, in his second booke of the Persian Chronicles.

*Porfena*

*Porfena* king of the Tuscans, having encamped on the further side of the river *Tyber*, warred upon the Romans, and by cutting off the victuals and all provision that was wont to be brought to Rome, distressed the said Romans with famine: and when the Senat hereupon was wondrously troubled; *Nucius* a noble man of the citie (taking with him foure hundred other brave gentlemen of his owne age, by commission from the Consuls, in poore and simple array) passed over the river: and calling his eie upon the capitaine of the kings guard, dealing among other captains, victuals and other necessities, supposing he had bene *Porfena*, killed him: whereupon he was presently taken and brought before the king, who put his right hand likewise into the fire, and enduring the paines thereof whilst it burned, most stoutly seemed to smile there-  
10 at and said: Thou barbarous king, so how I am loose and at libertie even against thy will; but note well this besides, that we are foure hundred of us within thy campe that have undertaken to take away thy life: with which words *Porfena* was so affrighted, that he made peace with the Romans: according as *Aristides* the Milesian writeth, in the third booke of his storie.

The Argives and the Lacedæmonians, being at war one with another about the possession of the countrey *Thyreatis*, the *Amphitryones* gave sentence that they should put it to a battell, and looke whether side wan the field, to them should the land in question appertaine. The Lacedæmonians therefore chose for their capitaine *Othryades*; and the Argives, *Thersander*: when the battell was done, there remained two onely alive of the Argives, to wit, *Agenor* and *Chromius*, who caried tidings to the citie, of victorie. Meane while, when all was quiet, *Othryades* not  
20 fully dead but having some little life remaining in him, bearing himselfe, and leaning upon the truncheons of broken lances, caught up the targets and shields of the dead, and gathered them together, and having erected a trophée, he wrote thereupon with his owne blood: To *Jupiter* Victor and guardian of Triumphees. Now when as both those parties maintained still the controversy about the land, the *Amphitryones* went in person to the place to be eie-judges of the thing, and adjudged the victorie on the Lacedæmonians side: this writeth *Chrysærmus* in the third booke of the Peloponnesiack historie.

The Romans levying warre against the Samnites chose for their chiefe commander *Posthumus Albinus*, who being surprized by an ambush within a streight betwene two mountains, called *Furtæ Caudine*, a verie narrow passe, lost three of his Legions, and being himselfe deadly  
30 wounded, fell and lay for dead: howbeit about midnight, taking breath, was quick againe, and somewhat revived, he arose, tooke the targets from his enemies bodies that lay dead in the place, and erected a trophée, and drenching his hand in their blood, wrote in this manner: The Romans, to *Jupiter* Victor, guardian of Triumphees, against the Samnites: but *Marius* surnamed *Ourges*, that is to say, the glutton, being sent thither as generall capitaine, and viewing upon the verie place, the said trophée so erected: I take this gladly (quoth he) for a signe and presage of good fortune; and thereupon gave battell unto his enemies and won the victorie, tooke their king prisoner, and sent him to Rome, according as *Aristides* writeth in his third booke of the Italian historie.

The Persians entred Greece with a puissant armie of 500000. men; against whom *Leonidas* was sent by the Lacedæmonians with a band of three hundred, to guard the streights of *Thermopyle*, and impeach his passage: in which place as they were merie at their meat, and taking their refection, the whole maine power of the Barbarians came upon them. *Leonidas* seeing his enemies advancing forward, spake unto his owne men and said: Sit still tirs and make an end of your dinner hardly, so as you may take your suppers in another world: so he charged upon the Barbarians, and notwithstanding he had many a dart sticking in his bodie, yet he made a lane through the presse of the enemies untill he came to the verie person of *Xerxes*, from whom he tooke the diademe that was upon his head; and so died in the place. The Barbarians king caused his bodie to be opened when he was dead, and his heart to be taken forth, which was found to be all over-growne with haire; as writeth *Aristides* in the first booke of the Persian historie.

The Romans warring against the Cathaginians, sent a companie of three hundred men under the leading of a capitaine named *Fabius Maximus*, who had his enemies battell, and lost all his men; himselfe being wounded to death, charged upon *Anniball* with such violence, that he  
50 tooke from him the regall diademe or frontall that he had about his head, and so died upon it, as writeth *Aristides* the Milesian.

In the citie of *Celæna* in *Phrygia*, the earth opened and clave a funder, so as there remained a mightie chinke, with a huge quantitie of water issuing thereout, which caried away and drew into the bottomlesse pit thereof, a number of houses with all the persons great and small  
within



with in them. Now *Midus* the king was advertised by an oracle, that if he cast within the said pit the most precious thing that he had, both sides would close up againe, and the earth meet and be firme ground. So he caused to be thrown into it a great quantitie of gold and silver: but all would do no good. Then *Anchurus* his son, thinking with himselfe, that there was nothing so precious as the life & soule of man, after he had lovingly embraced his father, and bid him farewell, and with all taken his leave of his wife *Timothea*, mounted on horseback, and cast himselfe horte and all into the said chinke. And behold, the earth immediatly closed up: whereupon *Midus* made a golden altar, of *Jupiter Idæus*, touching it only with his hand. This altar about that time, when as the said breach or chinke of earth was, became a stone: but after a certaine prefixed time passed, it is scene all gold: this writeth *Callisthenes* in his second booke of Transformations.

The river *Tybris* running through the mids of the market place at *Rome*, for the anger of *Jupiter Tursus*, caused an exceeding great chinke within the ground, which swallowed up many dwelling houses. Now the oracle rended this answer unto the Romans, that this should cease in case they flang into the breach some costly and precious thing: and when they had cast into it both gold and silver, but all in vaine: *Curtius* a right noble young gentleman of the citie, pondering well the words of the oracle, and considering with himselfe that the life of man was more precious than gold, cast himselfe on horseback into the said chinke, and so delivered his citizens and countymen from their calamitie: this hath *Aristides* recorded in fortieth booke of Italian histories.

*Amphiarus* was one of the princes and leaders that accompanied *Polyntes*: and when one day they were feasting merrily together, an eagle soaring over his head, chanced to catch up his javelin and carrie it up aloft in the aire, which afterwards when she had let fall againe, sticke fast in the ground and became a lawrell. The morrow after, as they joined battell, in that verie place, *Amphiarus* with his chariot was swallowed up within the earth: and there standeth now the citie *Harma* so called of the chariot: as *Trismachus* reporteth in the third booke of his Foundations.

During the warres which the Romans waged against *Pyrrhus* king of the Epirotes, *Paulus Aemilius* was promised by the oracle that he should have the victorie, if he would let up an altar in that verie place where he should see one gentleman of qualitie and good make, to be swallowed up alive in the earth, together with his chariot. Three daies after *Valerius \* Conatus*, when in a drem he thought that he saw himselfe adorned with his priestly vestments (for skillfull, he was in the art of divination) led forth the armie, and after he had slaine many of his enemies, was devoured quick within the ground. Then *Paulus Aemilius* caused an altar to be reared and wane the battell, wherein he tooke alive an hundred and threecore elephants carying runners upon their backs, whom he sent to *Rome*. This altar useth to give answer as an oracle about that time that *Pyrrhus* was defeated: according as *Critolaus* writeth in the third booke of the Epirotick historie.

*Pyrrhus* king of the Eubœans, whom *Hercules* being yet but a young man vanquished, and tying him betwene two horses, caused his bodie to be plucked and torne in pieces; which done, he cast it forth for to lie unburied: now the place where this execution was performed, is called at this day, *Pyrrhus* his hortes, situate upon the river *Heracium*: and whensoever there be any horses watered there, a man shall sensibly heare a noice as if horses neighed: thus we find written in the third booke entituled, Of rivers.

*Tullius Hostilius* king of the Romans, made warre upon the Albanes, who had for their king *Metius Sufetius*: and many times he seemed to retire and lie off, as loth to encounter and joine battell, inso much as the enemies supposing him to be discomfited, betooke themselves to mirth and good cheere; but when they had taken their wine well, he set upon them with so hot a charge that he defeated them: and having taken their king prisoner, he let him fast tied betwene two steeds and dismembred him, as *Alexarchus* writeth in the fourth booke of the Italian histories.

*Philp* intending to force and sacke the cities of *Methone* and *Olynthus* as he laboured with much ado to passe over the river *Sandanus*, chanced to be shot into the eie with an arrow by an Olynthian, whose name was *Aster*, and in it was this verse written:

Philp beware, have at thine eie:

After this deadly shaft lets flie.

Whereupon *Philp* perceiving himselfe to be overmatched, swam back againe unto his owne companie, and with the losse of one eie escaped with life, according as *Callisthenes* reporteth in the third booke of the Macedonian Annales.

*Porfena*

*Porfena* king of the Tuskans lying encamped on the other side of *Tybris*, warred upon the Romans, and intercepted their victuals, which were wont to be conveyed to *Rome*, whereby he put the citie to great distresse in regard of famine: but *Horatius Cocles* being by the common voice of the people chosen capitaine, planted himselfe upon the wooden bridge, which the Barbarians were desirous to gaine, and for a good while made the place good, and put backe the whole multitude of them pressing upon him to passe over it; in the end finding himselfe overcharged with the enemies, he commanded those who were ranged in battell-ray behind him, to cut downe the bridge: meane while he received the violent charge of them all, and impeached their entrance, untill such time as he was wounded in the eie with a dart; whereupon he leapt in to the river, and swam over unto his fellowes: thus *Theotimus* reporteth this narration in the third booke of Italian histories.

There is a tale told of *Icarus*, by whom *Bacchus* was lodged and entertained, as *Erasophenes* in *Erigone* hath related in this wife. *Saturne* upon a time was lodged by an husbandman of the countrey, who had a faire daughter named *Entoria*: her hee doted on, and begat of her four sonnes, *Janus*, *Hymnus*, *Faustus* and *Felix*; whom hee having taught the manner of drinking wine, and of planting the vine, enjoyed them also to enpart that knowledge unto their neighbours, which they did accordingly: but they on the other side: having taken upon a time more of this drinke than their usuall manner was, fell a sleepe, and slept more than ordinarie: when they were awake, imagining that they had drunke some poyson, stoned *Icarus* the husbandman to death: whereat his nephewes or daughters children rooke such a thought and conceit, that for verie griefe of heart, they knit their neckes in halters, and strangled themselves. Now when there was a great pestilence that raigned among the Romanes, the oracle of *Apollo* gave answer, that the mortality would stay, in case they had once appeased the ire of *Saturne*; and likewise pacified their ghosts, who unjustly lost their lives. Then *Lutatius Catulus*, a noble man of *Rome*, built a temple unto *Saturne*, which standeth neere unto the mount *Tarpeius*, and erected an altar with foure faces; either in remembrance of those foure nephewes above laid, or respective to the foure seasons and quarters of the yeece; and withall instituted the moneth Ianuarie. But *Saturne* turned them all foure into starres, which be called the fore-runners of the Vintage: among which that of *Janus* ariseth before others, and appeareth at the feet of *Virgo*, as *Critolaus* testifieth in his fourth booke of *Phenomena*, or Apparitions in the heaven.

At what time as the Persians overranne *Greece*, and wasted all the countrey before them: *Paulanias* generall capitaine of the Lacedæmonians, having received of *Xerxes* five hundred talents of gold, promised to betray *Sparta*: but his treason being discovered, *Agessilaus* his father pursued him into the temple of *Minerva* called *Chalciceos*, whither he fled for sanctuarie; where he caused the doore of the temple to be mured up with brick, & so famished him to death. His mother tooke his corps, and cast it forth to dogs, not suffering it to be buried: according to *Chrysfermus* in the second booke of his storie.

The Romanes warring against the Latines, chose for their capitaine *Publius Decius*. Now there was a certaine gentleman of a noble house, howbeit poote, named *Cassius Brutus*, who for a certaine summe of money which the enemies should pay unto him, intended in the night season to set the gates of the citie wide open for them to enter in. This treacherie being detected, he fled for sanctuarie into the temple of *Minerva*, surnamed *Auxiliaris*; where *Cassius* his father, named also *Signifer*, shut him up and kept him so long, that he died for verie famine; and when he was dead, threw his bodie forth, and would not allow it any sepulture: as writeth *Clitonimus* in his Italian histories.

*Darius* king of *Persia* having fought a field with *Alexander* the Great, and in that conflict lost seven of his great lieutenants & governours of Provinces, besides five hundred and two war chariots armed with trenchant fibres, would notwithstanding bid him battell againe: but *Arriobazanes* his sonne, upon a pitifull affection that he carried to *Alexander*, promised to betray his father into his hands; whereat his father tooke such displeasure and indignation, that he caused his head to be smitten off. Thus reporteth *Aretades* the Gnidian in his third booke of Macedonian histories.

*Brutus* being chosen Confull of *Rome* by the generall voice of the whole people, chafed out of the citie, *Tarquinius Superbus* who raigned tyrannically; but he retrying himselfe unto the Tuskans, levied warre upon the Romanes. The sonnes of the said *Brutus* conspiring to betray their father, were discovered, and so he commanded them to be beheaded: as *Aristides* the Milesian writeth in his *Annals of Italie*.

12 *Epaninondas*

12 *Epaminondas* captaine of the Thebanes, warred against the Lacedæmonians: and when the time was come that magistrates should be elected at *Thebes*, himselfe in person repaired thither, having given order and commandement in the meane while unto his sonne *Stesimbrotus*, in no wise to fight with the enemye. The Lacedæmonians having intelligence given them, that the father was absent, reproched and reviled this young gentleman, and called him coward; wherewith he was so galled, that he fell into a great fit of cholere, and forgetting the charge that his father had laid upon him, gave the enemies battell, and achieved the victorie. His father upon his returne, was highly offended with his sonne, for transgressing his will and commandement: and after he had set a victorious crown upon his head, caused it to be striken off, as *Ctesiphon* recordeth in the third booke of the Boeotian histories.

The Romanes during the time that they maintained warre against the Samnites, chose for their general captain, *Manlius* surnamed Imperious; who returning upon a time from the camp to *Rome*, for to be present at the election of Consuls, straightly charged his son not to fight with the enemies in his absence. The Samnites hereof advertised, provoked the young gentleman with most spitefull and villanous tearmes, reproching him likewise with cowardise: which he not able to endure, was so farr moved in the end, that he gave them battel and defeated them: but *Manlius* his father when he was returned, cut him shorter by the head for it: as testifieth *Aristides* the Milesian.

13 *Hercules* being denied marriage with the Ladie *Iole*, tooke the repulse so neere to heart, that he forced and sacked the citie *Oechalia*. But *Iole* flung herselfe headlong downe from the wall into the trench under it: howbeit so it fortune that the winde taking hold of her garments as she fell, bare her up so, as in the fall shee caught no harme, as witnesseth *Nicetas* of *Mileta*.

The Romans whiles they warred upon the Tuskans, chose for their commander *Valerius Tolumnus*; who having a sight of *Clusia* their kings daughter, fancied her, and demanded her of him in marriage: but being denied and rejected, he wane the citie, and put it to the fackage. The Ladie *Clusia* flung herselfe downe from an high tower; but through the providence of *Venus*, her habillments were so heaved up with the winde, that they brake the fall, and albeit shee light upon the ground, shee escaped alive. Then the captaine before named, forced her and abused her bodie: in regard of which dishonour and villanie offered unto her, by a generall decree of all the Romanes, confined he was into the Isle of *Corfica*, which lieth against *Italy*: as witnesseth *Theophilus* in the third booke of his Italian historie.

14 The Carthaginians and Sicilians, being entred into league, banded themselves against the Romanes, and prepared with their joint forces to warre upon them: whereupon *Metellus* was chosen captaine, who having offered sacrifice unto all other gods and goddesses, left out onely the goddesse *Vesta*; who thereupon raised a contrarie winde to blow against him in his voiage. Then *Caius Julius* the soothsayer said unto him, that the winde would lie, in case before he embarked and set saile, he offered in sacrifice his owne daughter unto *Vesta*. *Metellus* being driven to this hard exigent, was constrained to bring forth his daughter to be sacrificed: but the goddesse taking pitie of him & her, in stead of the maiden substituted a young heyfer, and carried the virgin to *Lavinium*, where she made her a religious priestresse of the Dragon, which they worship and have in great reverence within that citie: as writeth *Pythocles* in his third booke of Italian affaires.

In like manner is the case of *Iphigenia* which hapned in *Aulis* a citie of *Baoria*: reported by *Meryllus* in the third booke of Boeotian chronicles.

15 *Brennus* a king of the Galatians or Gallo-Greekes, as he forraied and spoiled *Asis*, came at length to *Ephesus*, where he fell in love with a young damosell, a commoners daughter; who promised to lie with him, yea and to betray the citie unto him, upon condition that he would give unto her carquansets, bracelets, and other jewels of gold, wherewith ladies are wont to adorne and set out themselves. Then *Brennus* requested those about his person to cast into the lap of this covetous wench, all the golden jewels which they had; which they did in such quantitie, that the maiden was overwhelmed under them quick, & pressed to death with their weight: as *Chirrho* writeth in the first booke of the Galatian historie.

*Tarpeia* a virgin, and young gentlewoman of a good house, having the keeping of the Capitoll, during the time that the Romanes warred against the Albanes, promised unto their king *Tatius*, for to give him entrance into the castle of mount *Tarpeius*, if in recompence of her good service, he would bestow upon her such bracelets, rings, and carquansets, as the Sabine

dames used to weare when they trimmed up themselves in best manner: which when the Sabines understood, they heaped upon her so many, that they buried her quick underneath them: according as *Aristides* the Milesian reporteth in his Italian historie.

16 The inhabitants of *Tegea* and *Pheneas* two cities, maintained a lingring warre one against the other so long, until they concluded in the end to determine all quarrels and controversies by the combat of three brethren, twinned of either side. And the men of *Tegea* put forth into the field for their part, the sonnes of one of their citizens, named *Reximachus*: and those of *Pheneas* for themselves, the sonnes of *Damoftratus*. When these champions were advanced forth into the plaine, to performe their devoir, it fortune that two of *Reximachus* his sonnes were killed outright in the place; and the third whose name was *Critolans*, wrought such a stratagem with his three concurrents that he overcame them all: for making semblance as though he fled, he turned suddenly back, & slew them one after another, as he elyped his advantage, when they were singled and severed asunder in their chafe after him. At his returne home with this glorious victorie; all his citizens did congratulate and rejoice with him, onely his owne siter named *Demo-dice*, was nothing glad therefore, because one of the brethren whom he had slaine, was espoused unto her, whose name was *Demoicus*. *Critolans* taking great indignation hereat, killed her out of hand. The mother to them both sued him for this murder, and required justice; howbeit hee was acquit of all actions and enditements framed against him: as writeth *Demostratus* in the second booke of Arcadian acts.

20 The Romanes and the Albanes having warred a long time together, chose for their champions to decide all quarrels, three brethren twinned, both of the one side and the other. For the Albanes were three *Curatius*, and for the Romanes as many *Horatius*. The combat was no sooner begun, but those of *Alba* laid two of their adversaries dead in the dust; the third helping himselfe with a feigned flight, killed the other three one after the other, as they were divided asunder in pursuit after him: for which victorie, all other Romanes made great joy; only his owne siter *Horatia* shewed herselfe nothing well pleased herewith, for that to one of the other side she was betrothed in marriage: for which he made no more ado, but stabbed his siter to the heart: this is reported by *Aristides* the Milesian, in his Annales of *Italy*.

17 In the citie *Ilium*, when the fire had taken the temple of *Minerva*, one of the inhabitants named *Ilus* ranne thither, and caught the little image of *Minerva* named *Palladium*, which was supposed to have fallen from heaven, and therewith lost his sight, because it was not lawfull that the said image should be seene by any man: howbeit afterwards when he had appeased the wrath of the said goddesse, he recovered his eie sight againe: as writeth *Deryllus* in the first book of Foundations.

*Metellus* a noble man of *Rome*, as he went toward a certaine house of pleasure that hee had neere unto the citie, was slaid in the way by certaine ravens that flapped and beat him with their wings: at which ominous accident being astonied, and presaging some evil to be toward him, he returned to *Rome*: and seeing the temple of the goddesse *Vesta* on fire, he ran thither and tooke away the petie image of *Pallas*, named *Palladium*, and so likewise suddenly fell blind: howbeit afterwards being reconciled unto her, he got his sight againe: this is the report of *Aristides* in his Chronicles.

18 The Thracians warring against the Athenians, were directed by an oracle which promised them victorie, in case they saved the person of *Codrucus* king of *Athens*: but he disguising himselfe in the habit of a poore labourer, and carrying a bill in his hand, went into the campe of the enemies, and killed one, where likewise he was killed by another, and so the Athenians obtained victorie: as *Socrates* writeth in the second booke of Thracian affaires.

*Publius Decius* a Romane, making warre against the Albanes, dreamed in the night, and saw a vision which promised him, that if himselfe died, he should adde much to the puissance of the Romanes: whereupon he charged upon his enemies where they were thickest arranged; and when he had killed a number of them, was himselfe slaine. *Decius* also his sonne, in the warre against the Gaules, by that meanes saved the Romanes: as saith *Aristides* the Milesian.

19 *Cyprius* a Siracusan borne, sacrificed upon a time unto all other gods, but unto *Bacchus*: whereat the god being offended, haunted him with drunckenneses so as in a darke corner he bestowed forcibly his owne daughter, named *Cyane*; but in the time that he dealt with her, she tooke away the ring off his finger, and gave it unto her nourse to keepe, for to testifie another day who it was that thus abused her. Afterwards the peltence rained fore in those parts: and *Aspido* gave answer by oracle, that they were to offer in sacrifice unto the gods that turned away calamities,

calamities, a godlesse and incestuous person: all others wist not whom the oracle meant; but *Cyane* knowing full well the will of *Apollo*, tooke her father by the haire, and drew him perforce to the altar, and when she had caused him to be killed, sacrificed her selfe after upon him: as writeth *Dositheus* in the third booke of the *Chronicles of Cicily*.

Whiles the feast of *Bacchus* called *Bacchanalia* was celebrated at *Rome*, there was one *Aruntius* who never in all his life had drunke wine but water onely, and alwaies despised the power of god *Bacchus*: who to be revenged of him, caused him one time be so drunke that he forced his owne daughter *Medullina*, & abused her bodie carnally; who having knowledge by his ring who it was that did the deed, and taking to her a greater heart than one of her age, made her father one day drunke, and after she had adorned his head with garlands & chaplets of flowers, led him to a place called the altar of *Thunder*, where with many teares she sacrificed him who had surprised her, & tak away her virginity, as writeth *Aristides* the Milesian in his third booke of Italian *Chronicles*.

20 *Erechtheus* warring upon *Eumolpus*, was advertised that he should win the victorie, if before he went into the field he sacrificed his owne daughter unto the gods: who when he had imparted this mater unto his wife *Praxitheia*, he offered his daughter in sacrifice before the battell, where *Euripides* maketh mention in his tragædie *Erechtheus*.

*Marius* maintaining warre against the *Cimbrians*, and finding himselfe too weake, saw a vision in his sleepe, that promised him victory, if before he went to battell, he did sacrifice his daughter named *Calpurnia*: who setting the good of the weale publicke, and the regard of his countymen, before the naturall affection to his owne blood, did accordingly and wane the field: and even at this day, two altars there be in *Germanie*, which at the verie time and howe that this sacrifice was offered, yeeld the found of trumpets: as *Dorotheus* reporteth in the third booke of the *Annales of Italy*.

21 *Cyanippus* a Thieffalian borne, used ordinarily to go on hunting; his wife a young gentlewoman intreated this fancie of jealousie in her head, that the reason why he went forth so often, and staid so long in the Forrest, was because he had the companie of some other woman whom he loved: whereupon she determined with her selfe to lie in espiall: one day therefore she followed and traced *Cyanippus*, and at length lay close within a certaine thicket of the Forrest, waiting and expecting what would fall out and come of it. It chanced that the leaves and branches of the shrubs about her stirred: the hounds imagining that there was some wild beast within, leaped upon her, and so tare in pieces this young dame (that loved her husband so well) as if he had beene a savage beast. *Cyanippus* then seeing before his eyes, that which he never would have imagined or thought in his mind, for verie griefe of heart killed himselfe: as *Parthenius* the Poet hath left in writing.

In *Sybaris* a cite of Italy, there was sometime a young gentleman named *Aemilius*, who being a beautifull person, and one who loved passing well the game of hunting, his wife who was young also, thought him to be enamoured of another ladie: and therefore got her selfe close within a thicket, and chanced to flirre the boughes of the shrubs and bushes about her. The hounds thereupon that ranged and hunted thereabout, light upon her and tare her body in pieces: which when her husband saw, he killed himselfe upon her, as *Clytonimus* reporteth in his 40 second booke of the *Sybaritick* historie.

22 *Smeyna* the daughter of *Cinyras* having displeased and angered *Venus*, became enamored of her owne father, and declared the vehement heat of her love unto her nourse. She therefore by a wily device went to work with her master, and bare him in hand that there was a faire damosell a neighbours daughter, that was in love with him, but abashed and ashamed to come unto him openly, or to be seene at all with him: the master beleved this & lay with her: but one time above the rest, desirous to know who she was with whom he companied, called for a light; and so soone as he knew it was his owne daughter, he drew his sword, and followed after this most vilanous and incestuous filth, intending to kill her: but by the providence of *Venus*, transformed she was into a tree, bearing her name, to wit, Myrtle, as *Theodoros* reporteth in his 50 metamorphoses or transmutations.

*Valeria Tullulanaria*, having incurred the displeasure of *Venus*; became amorous of her owne father, and communicated this love of hers unto her nourse: who likewise went cunningly about her master, and made him beleve that there was a young maiden a neighbours child, who was in fancie with him, but would not in regard of modestie be known unto him of it nor be seene when she should frequent his companie. Howbeit her father, one night being drunk called for a candle: but the nourse prevented him, and in great hast wakened her: who fled thereupon

upon into the country great with child: where she cast her selfe downe from the pitch of a steep place, yet the fruit of her wombe lived; for notwithstanding that fall she did not miscarie, but continued still with her great belly: and when her time was come, delivered she was of a sonne, such an one as in the Roman language is named *Sylvanus*, and in Greeke *Aegipanes*. *Valerius* the father tooke such a thought thereupon, that for verie anguish of mind he threw himselfe downe headlong from a steepe rocke: as recordeth *Aristides* the Milesian in the third booke of Italian histories.

23 After the destruction of *Troy*, *Diomedes* by a tempest was cast upō the coast of *Libya*, where reigned a king named *Lyons*: whose maner and custome was to sacrifice unto his owne father god *Mars*, all those strangers that arrived and were set a land in his country. But *Callirohæ* his daughter casting an affection unto *Diomedes*, betrayed her father, and saved *Diomedes* by delivering him out of prison. And he againe not regarding her accordingly, who had done him so good a turne, departed from her and failed away: which indignitie she tooke so neere to the heart, that she hanged her selfe, and so ended her daies: this writeth *Tuba* in the third booke of the *Libyan* historie.

*Calpurnius Crassus* a noble man of *Rome*, being abroad at the warres together with *Regulus*, was by him sent against the *Massilians*, for to seize a stronge castle, and hard to be won, named *Garatun*; but in this service being taken prisoner and destined to be killed in sacrifice unto *Saturne*, it fortune that *Bylatia* the kings daughter fancied him, so as she betrayed her father, and put the victory into her lovers hand; but when this young knight was retired and gone, the damself for sorrow of heart cut her owne throat: as writeth *Hesimach* in the third booke of the *Libian* historie.

24 *Priamus* king of *Troy*, fearing that the city would be lost, sent his young sonne *Polydorus* into *Thrace*, to his sonne in law *Polymeſter* who married his daughter, with a great quantity of golde: *Polymeſter* for very covetousnesse, after the destruction of the city, murdered the childe, because he might gaine the golde: but *Heecuba* being come into those parts, under a colour and pretence that she should bestow that golde upon him, together with the helpe of other dames prisoners with her, plucked with her owne hands both eyes out of his head: witnesseth *Euripides* the tragædian poet.

30 In the time that *Hanniball* overran and wasted the countrey of *Campania* in Italy; *Lucius Junius* bestowed his sonne *Rufius* for safetie, in the hands of a sonne in law whom he had, named *Valerius Gellius*, and left with him a good summe of money. But when this Campanian heard that *Aniball* had wonne a great victorie, for very avarice he brake all lawes of nature, and murdered the childe. The father *Thymobrius* as he travelled in the country lighting upon the dead corps of his owne sonne, sent for his sonne in law aforesaid, as if he meant to shew him some great treasure: who was no sooner come, but he plucked out both his eyes, and afterwards crucified him: as *Aristides* testifieth in the third booke of his Italian histories.

25 *Aeneas* begat of *Psamatha* one sonne named *Phocus*, whom he loved very tenderly: but *Telamon* his brother not well content therewith, trained him forth one day into the forest a hunting, where having rouzed a wilde bore, he launched his javelin or bore-speare against the childe whom he hated, and so killed him: for which fact, his father banished him: as *Dorotheus* telleth the tale, in the first booke of his *Metamorphoses*.

*Caius Maximus* had two sonnes, *Similius* and *Rhesus*: of which two, *Rhesus* he begat upon *Amelia*, who upon a time as he hunted in the chafe, killed his brother, and bbing come home againe, he would have perswaded his father that it was by chance, and not upon a propensed malice that he slew him: but his father when he knew the truth, exiled him: as *Aristoteles* hath recorded in the third booke of Italian *Chronicles*.

26 *Mars* had the company of *Althea*, by whom she was conceived and delivered of *Melaeger*: as witnesseth *Euripides* in his tragædie *Melaeger*.

30 *Septimius Marcellus*, having married *Sylvia* was much given to hunting, and ordinarily went to the chafe: then *Mars* taking his advantage, disguising himselfe in habit of a shepherd; forced this new wedded wife, and gat her with childe; which done, he bewraied unto her who he was, and gave her a lance or speare, saying unto her: That the generositie and descent of that issue which she should have by him, consisted in that lance: now it hapned that *Septimius* slew *Talquinius*: and *Mamercus* when he sacrificed unto the gods for the good encrease of the fruits upon the earth, neglected *Ceres* onely; whereupon she taking displeasure for this contempt, sent a great wilde bore into his country: then he assembled a number of hunters to chafe the

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said beast and killed him; which done, the head and the skinn he sent unto his espoused wife: *Scimbrates* and *Muthias* her uncles by the mother-side, offended heereat, would have taken all away from the damosell; but hee tooke such displeasure thereat, that hee slew his kindmen: and his mother for to be revenged of her brethrens death, buried that cursed speare: as *Menylus* reporteth in the third booke of the Italian histories.

27 *Telamon* the sonne of *Aecus* and *Endeis*, fledde by night from his father, and arrived in the isle of *Eubaea*. \* \* The father perceiving it, and supposing him to be one of his subjects, gave his daughter to one of his guard, for to be cast into the sea; but he for very commiseration and pity, fould her to certaine merchants; and when the shippe was arrived at *Salamis*, *Telamon* chanced to buy her at their hands, and she bare unto him *Ajax*: witnesse *Arctas* to dos the Gnidian, in the second booke of his Insular affaires.

*Lucius Trocius* had by his wife *Patris*, a daughter named *Florentia*: her *Calphurnius* a Romane deflowered: whereupon he commaunded the yong maid-childe which she bare, to be cast into the sea; but the fouldiour who had the charge so to doe, tooke compassion of her, and chose rather to sell her unto a merchant; and it fortun'd so, that the ship of a certaine merchant arrived in *Italy*, where *Calphurnius* bought her, and of her body begat *Contrufcus*.

28 *Aeolus* king of *Tuscan*, had by his wife *Amphithea* six daughters, and as many sonnes; of whom *Macareus* the yongest, for very love deflowered one of his sisters, who when the time came brought forth a child: when this came once to light, her father sent unto her a sword, and she acknowledging the fault which she had committed, killed her-selfe therewith, and so 20 did afterwards her brother *Macareus*: as *Softratus* reporteth in the second booke of the Tuscan storie.

*Papyrius Polucer*, having espoused *Julia Pulchra*, had by her six daughters, and as many sonnes; the eldest of whom named *Papyrius Romanus*, was enamoured of *Canulia*, one of his sisters lo as she was by him with childe: which when the father understood, hee sent unto her likewise a sword, wherewith the maid away her-selfe; and *Romanus* also did as much: thus *Chrysippus* relateth in the first booke of the Italian Chronicles.

29 *Aristonymus* the Ephesian, sonne of *Demostratus*, hated women, but most unnaturally he had to doe with a she asse; which when time came, brought forth a most beautifull maide childe, surnamed *Onofselis*: as *Aristotle* writeth in the second booke of his Paradoxes or strange 30 accidents.

*Fulvius Stellus* was at warre with all women, but yet he dealt most beastly with a mare, and she bare unto him after a time, a faire daughter, named *Hippona*: and this is the goddesse forth that hath the charge and overseeing of horses and mares: as *Ageilius* hath set downe in the third booke of Italian affaires.

30 The Sardians warred upon a time against the Smyrneans, & encamped before the walles of their city; giving them to understand by their ambassadors, that raise their siege they would not, unlesse they sent unto them their wives to lie withall: the Smyrneans being driven to this extremity, were at the point to doe that which the enemies demanded of them: but a certaine waiting maiden there was, a faire and wellfavoured damosell, who ranne unto her master *Philarchus* and said unto him, that he must not faile but in any case chuse out the fairest wenches that were maide-servants in all the citie, to dresse them like unto citizens wives, and free borne women, and so to send them unto their enemies in stead of their mistresses, which was effected accordingly; and when the Sardians were wearied with dealing with these wenches, the Smyrneans issued forth, surprized and spoiled them: whereupon it commeth that even at this day in the citie of *Smyrna* there is a solemne feast named *Eleutheria*: upon which day, the maide-servants weare the apparell of their mistresses which be free women: as saith *Dositheus* in the third booke of Lydian chronicles.

*Antepomarus* king of the Gaules, when he made warre upon the Romans, gave it out flatly and said, that he would never dislodge and break up his campe before they sent unto them their 50 wives, for to have their pleasure of them: but they by the counsell of a certaine chamber maide, sent unto them their maide-servants: the Barbarians medled so long with them, that they were tired, and fell sound asleepe in the end: then *Rhetana* (for that was her name who gave the said counsell) tooke a branch of a wilde figge tree; and mounting up to the toppes of a rampier wall, gave a signall thereby to the Consuls, who sallied forth and defeated them; whereupon there is a feastvall day of chambermaids: for so saith *Aristides* the Milesian, in the first booke of the Italian histories.

31 When

31 When the Athenians made warre upon *Eumolpus*, and were at some default of victuals, *Pyander* who had the charge of the munition & was treasurer of the State (for to make spare of the provision) diminished the ordinary measure, and cut men short of their allowances: the inhabitants, suspecting him to be a traitor to his country in so dooing, stoned him to death as *Callistratus* testifieth in the third booke of the Thracian history.

The Romans warring upon the Gaules, and having not sufficient store of victuals, *Cinna* abridged the people of their ordinary measure of corne: the Romans suspecting therupon that he made way thereby to be king, stoned him likewise to death: witnesse *Aristides* in his third booke of Italian histories.

10 32 During the Peloponnesiack warre, *Pisistratus* the Orchomenian hated the nobles and affected men of base and low degree; whereupon the Senators conspired and resolved among them selves to kill him in the Counsell house, where they cut him in pieces, and every one put a gobbet of him in his bosome, and when they had so done they scraped and clenfed the floore where his blood was shed. The common people having some suspicion of the matter rushed into the Senat house: but *Telamachus* the kings yongest sonne, who was privy to the foresaid conspiracie, withdrew the multitude from the common place of assembly; and assured them that he saw his father *Pisistratus* carying a more stately majesty in his countenance than any mortal man, ascending up with great celerity the top of mount *Pisum*, as *Theophilus* recordeth in the second of his Peloponnesiackes.

20 In regard of the warrs forerere unto the city of *Rome*, the Roman Senat cut the people short of their allowances in corne: whereat *Romulus* being not well pleased, allowed it them a gaine, rebuked, yea and chastised many of the great men: who therupon banded against him and in the midst of the Senat house made him away among them, cut him in pieces, and bestowed on every man a slice of him in his bosome. Whereupon, the people ran immediately with fire in their hands to the Senat house minding to burne them all within; but *Proculus* a noble man of the city assured them, that he saw *Romulus* upon a certaine high mountaine, and that he was bigger than any man living and become a very god. The Romans beleved his words, (such authority the man caried with him) and so retired back, as *Aristobolus* writeth in the third booke of his Italian Chronicles.

30 33 *Pelops* the sonne of *Tantalus* and *Eurianassa*, wedded *Hippodamia* who bare unto him *Atrous* and *Thyestes*: but of the Nymph *Danaus* a concubine, he begat *Chrysippus*, whom he loved better than any of his legitimate sonnes: him *Laius* the Theban being inamoured stole away by force; and being attached and intercepted by *Atrous* and *Thyestes*, obtained the good grace and favour of *Pelops* to enjoy him, for his love sake. Howbeit *Hippodamia* perswaded her two sonnes *Atrous* and *Thyestes* to kill him, as if he knew that he aspired to the kingdome of their father: which they refusing to doe, she her selfe imploied her owne hands to perpetrate this detestable fact: for one night as *Laius* lay sound asleepe, she drew forth his sword, and when she had wounded *Chrysippus* as he slept, she left the sword sticking in the wound: thus was *Laius* suspected for the deed because of his sword: but the youth being now halfe dead, discharged and 40 acquit him and revealed the whole truth of the matter: whereupon *Pelops* cauled the dead body to be enterred, but *Hippodamia* he banished: as *Dositheus* recordeth in his booke *Pelopida*.

*Helius Tolix* having espoused a wife named *Nuceria*, had by her two children: but of an infranchised bond woman he begat a son named *Phenius Firmus* a childe of excellent beauty, whom he loved more deerey than the children by his lawfull wife. *Nuceria* detesting this base son of his, solicited her own children to murder him which when they (having the feare of God before there eyes) refused to do, she enterprised to execute the deed her selfe. And in truth she drew forth the sword of one of the Iquires of the body in the night season, and with it gave him a deadly wound as he lay fast asleepe: the foresaid Iquire was suspected and called in question for this act, for that his sword was there found; but the childe himselfe discovered the truth: his 50 father then commanded his body to be buried; but his wife he banished: as *Dositheus* recordeth in the third booke of the Italian Chronicles.

34 *Thesens* being in very truth the naturall sonne of *Neptunus*, had a sonne by *Hippolite* a princeesse of the Amazones whose name was *Hippolytus*: but afterwards married againe, and brought into the house a stepmother named *Phaedra*, the daughter of *Minos*: who falling in love with her sonne-in-law *Hippolytus*, sent her nurse for to sollicite him: but he giving no eare unto her, left *Athens* and went to *Troezen*, where he gave his minde to hunting. But the wicked and unchaste woman seeing her selfe frustrate and disappointed of her will, wrot shrewd letters

Hhhh 2 unto

unto her husband against this honest and chaste yong gentleman, informing him of many lies, and when she had so done, strangled her selfe with an halter, and so ended her daies. *Theseus* giving credit unto her letters, beought his father *Neptune* of the three requests, whereof he had the choise, this one; namely, to worke the death of *Hippolytus*. *Neptune* to satisfie his mind, sent out unto *Hippolytus* as he rode along the sea side, a monstros bull, who so affrighted his coach horses, that they overthrew *Hippolytus*, and so he was crushed to death.

*Comminius* Super the Laurentine, having a sonne by the nimph *Ageria*, named *Comminius*, got pouised afterwards *Gidias*, and brought into his house a stepmother, who became likewise amorous of her son-in-law; and when she saw that she could not speed of her desire, she hanged her selfe, and left behind her certaine letters devised against him containing many untruths. *Comminius* the father having read these slanderous imputations within the said letters, and beleeving that which his jealous head had once conceived, called upon *Neptune*, who presented unto *Comminius* his sonne as he rode in his chariot, a hideous bull: which let his steeds in such a fright, that they fell a flinging, and so haled the young man that they dismembred and killed him: as *Dositheus* reporteth in the third booke of the Italian historie.

35 When the pestilence raigned in *Lacedemon*; the oracle of *Apollo* delivered this answer: That the mortalitie would cease, in case they sacrificed yearly, a young virgin of noble blood. Now when it fortune that the lot one yeere fell upō *Helena*, so that she was led forth all prepared and set our readie to be killed; there was an eagle came flying downe, caught up the sword which lay there, and caried it to certaine droves of beasts, where the laid it upon an heyfer: whereupon ever after they forbore to sacrifice any more virgins; as *Aristodemus* reporteth in the third Collect of fables.

The plague was fore in *Falerij*, the contagion thereof being verie great, there was given out an oracle, That the said affliction would stay and give over, if they sacrificed yearly a yong maiden unto *Juno*: and this superstition continuing alwaies still, *Faleria Lupercal* was by lot called to this sacrifice: now when the sword was readie drawn, there was an eagle came downe out of the aire and caried it away: and upon the altar where the fire was burning laid a wand, having at one end in manner of a little mallet: as for the sword, she laid upon a young heyfer, feeding by the temple side; which when the young damsell perceived, after she had sacrificed the said heyfer, and taken up the mallet, she went from house to house, and gently knocking therewith all those that lay sicke, raised them up and said to everie one: Be whole and receive health: whereupon it commeth that even at this day this myserie is still performed and observed: as *Aristides* hath reported in the 919. book of his Italian histories.

36 *Phylonome* the daughter of *Nymphis* and *Arcadia*, hunted with *Diana*; whom *Mars* disguised like a shepherd, got with child. She having brought forth two twinnes, for feare of her father threw them into the river *Erymanthus*: but they by the providēce of the gods, were caried downe the streame without harme or danger, and at length the current of the water cast them upon an hollow oake, growing up on the banke side, whereas a she wolfe having newly kennelled had her den. This wolfe turned out her whelps into the river, and gave sucke unto the two twins above said: which when a shepherd named *Tyliphus*, once perceived and had a sight of, he took up the little infants, and caused them to be nourished as his owne children, calling the one *Lycastus*, and the other *Parrhasius*, who successively reigned in the realme of *Arcadia*.

*Amulius* bearing himselfe insolently and violently like a tyrant, to his brother *Numitor*; first killed his sonne *Aeneas* as they were hunting; then his daughter *Sylvia* he cloistred up as a religious nunne to serve *Juno*. She conceived by *Mars*; and when there was delivered of two twins, confessed the truth unto the tyrant: who standing in feare of them, caused them both to be cast into the river *Tybris*; where they were carried downe the water unto one place, whereas a shee wolfe had newly kennelled with her yong ones: and verily her owne whelps shee abandoned and cast into the river; but the babes shee suckled. Then *Fausus* the shepherd chauncing to espie them, tooke them up and nourished as his owne; calling the one *Remus*, and the other *Romulus*: and these were the founders of *Rome* citie: according to *Aristides* the Milesian in his Italian histories.

37 After the destruction of *Troy*, *Agamemnon* together with *Cassandra* was murdered: but *Orestes* who had beene reared and brought up with *Strophius*, was revenged of those murderers of his father: as *Pyander* saith in his fourth booke of the Peloponnesian historie.

*Fabius Fabricianus*, descended lineally from that great *Fabius Maximus*, after he had wonne and sacked *Tusium*, the capitall citie of the Samnites, sent unto *Rome* the image of *Pennus Victor*.

reffe, which was so highly honoured and worshipped among the Samnites. His wife *Fabula* had committed adulterie, with a faire and well favoured yong man, named *Petronius Valentinus*, and afterwards treacherously killed her husband. Now had *Fabula* his daughter saved her brother *Fabrianus*, being a verie little one, out of danger, and sent him away secretly to be nourished and brought up. This youth when he came to age, killed both his mother and the adulterer also; for which act of his, acquit he was by the doome of the Senate: as *Dositheus* delivereth the storie in the third booke of the Italian Chronicles.

38 *Basilis* is the sonne of *Neptune*, and *Anippe* daughter of *Nilus*, under the colour of pretended hospitalitie, and courteous receiving of strangers, used to sacrifice all passengers: but divine justice met with him in the end, and revenged their death: for *Hercules* set upon him and killed him with his club: as *Agathon* the Samian hath written.

*Hercules* as he drave before him thorow Italy, *Geryons* kine, was lodged by king *Faunus* the sonne of *Mercurie*, who used to sacrifice all strangers and guests to his father: but when hee meant to do unto *Hercules*, was himselfe by him slaine: as writeth *Dercyllus* in the third booke of the Italian histories.

39 *Phalaris* the tyrant of the Agrigentines (a mercilesse prince) was wont to torment & put to exquisite paine such as passed by or came unto him: and *Perillus* (who by his profession was a skillfull brasie-founder, had framed an heyfer of brasie, which he gave unto this king, that hee might burne quicke in it the said strangers. And verily in this one thing did this tyrant shew himselfe just; for that he caused the artificer himselfe to be put into it: and the said heyfer seemed to low, while he was burning within: as it is written in the third booke of *Causus*.

In *Argeffa* a citie of *Sicilie*, there was sometime a cruell tyrant, named *Aemilius Censorinus*, whose manner was to reward with rich gifts those who could invent new kinds of engines to put men to torture: so there was one named *Aruntius Paternulus*, who had devised and forged a brasen horse, and presented it unto the foresaid tyrant, that he might put into it whom he would. And in truth the first act of justice that ever hee did was this, that the partie himselfe, even the maker of it gave the first handell thereof; that he might make triall of that torment himselfe, which he had devised for others. Him also hee apprehended afterwards, and caused to bee thrown downe headlong from the hill *Tarpeius*. It should seeme also that such princes as reigned with violence, were called of him *Aemylis*: for so *Aristides* reporteth in the fourth booke of Italian Chronicles.

40 *Euenus* the son of *Alar* & *Sterope* tooke to wife *Aleippe* daughter of *Oenomachus*, who bare unto him a daughter, named *Marpissa*, whom he should have kepte a virgin still: but *Aphareus* seeing her, carried her away from a daunce, and fled upon it. The father made sue after, but not able to recover her: for verie anguish of mind, he cast himselfe into the river of *Eycormus*, and thereby was immortalized: as saith *Dositheus* in the fourth booke of his Italian historie.

*Anius* king of the Tuskans, having a faire daughter, named *Salus*, looked straightly unto her that she should continue a maiden: but *Cathetus* one of his nobles, seeing this damoelle upon a time as she disposed herselfe was enamoured of her, and not able to suppress the furious passion of his love, ravished her and brought her to *Rome*. The father pursued after; but seeing that he could not overtake them, threw himselfe into the river, called in those daies *Paricissus*, and afterwards of his name *Anio*. Now the said *Cathetus* lay with *Salus*, and of her bodie begat *Salus* and *Latinus*; from whom are descended the noblest families of that country: as *Aristides*, the Milesian, and *Alexander Polyhistor*, write in the third booke of the Italian historie.

41 *Egestratus* an Ephesian borne, having murdered one of his kinsmen, fled into the citie *Delphi*, and demanded of *Apollo* in what place he should dwell: who made him this answer, that he was to inhabit there, whereas he saw the peasants of the countrey dauncing, and crowned with chaplets of olive branches. Being arrived therefore at a certaine place in *Asia*, where he found the rural people crowned with garlands of olive leaves, and dauncing; even there hee founded a citie, which he called *Elasus*: as *Pythothes* the Samian writeth in the third booke of his Georgicks.

*Telegonus* the sonne of *Vlysses* by *Circe*, being sent for to seeke his father, was advised by the oracle to build a citie there, where he should find the rusticall people and husbandmen of the countrey, crowned with chaplets and dauncing together: when he was arrived therefore at a certaine coast of *Italie*, seeing the peasants adorned with boughes & branches of the wild olive tree, passing the time merrily, and dauncing together: he built a citie, which upon that occurrent



he named *Prineffa*; and afterwards the Romans altering the letters a little, called it *Preneffe*: as *Aristotle* hath written in the third booke of the Italian historie.



## THE LIVES OF THE TEN ORATOVS.

### The Summarie.

**I**n these lives compendiously described, *Plutarch* sheweth in part, the government of the Athenian common-weale which flourished by the means of many learned persons; in the number of whom we are to reckon those under written; namely, *Antipho*, *Andocides*, *Lysias*, *Isoocrates*, *Isæus*, *Aeschines*, *Lycurgus*, *Demosthenes*, *Hyperides*, and *Dinarchus*: but on the other side he discovereth sufficiently the indigression of certain oratours, how it hath engendred much confusion, yea and the most part of such personages themselves; and finally overthrowen the publick estate: which he seemeth expressly to have noted and observed, so the end that every one might see, how dangerous (in the managemēt of State affaires) he is, who hath no good parts in him but onely a fine and nimble tongue. His meaning therefore is, that lively vertue (indeed) should be joined unto eloquence: meane while, we observe also the lightnesse, vanitie, and ingratitude of the Athenian people in many places: and in the divers complexions of these ten men here depicted; evident it is, how much availeth in any person, good instruction from his infancy, and how powerfull good teachers be, for to frame and fashion tender minds unto high matters, and important to the weale publicke. In perusing and passing through this treatise, a man may take knowledge of many points of the ancient popular government, which serve verie well to the better understanding of the Greeke historie, and namely, of that which concerneth Athens: As also by the recompenses both demanded, and also decreed in the behalfe of vertuous men, we may perceive and see among the imperfections of a people which had the sovereignty in their hands, some moderation from time to time: which ought to make us magnifie the wisdom and providence of God, who amid so great darknesse, hath maintained so long as his good pleasure was, so many States and governours in Greecke, which afterwards fell away and came to nothing, so as at this present that goodly countrey is become subject, and made thrall to the most violent, wicked and wretched nation under heaven.

## THE LIVES OF THE ten oratours.

### ANTIPHON. I.



*Antipho* the sonne of *Saphilus*, and borne in the borough and corporation of *Karannum*, was brought up as a scholar under his owne father, who kept a Rhetorick schoole, whereunto *Alcibiades* also (by report) was wont to go and resort when he was a young boy, who having gotten sufficiencie of speech and eloquence, as some thinke, himselfe, (such was the quicknesse of his wit, and inclination of his nature) he betooke himselfe to affaires of State: and yet he held a schoole nevertheless, where he was at some difference with *Socrates* the Philosopher in matter of learning and oratorie, not by way of contention and emulation, but in manner of reprehension

& finding fault with some points, as *Xenophon* testifieth in the first booke of his Commentaries, as touching the deeds and sayings of *Socrates*. He penned orations for some citizens at their request

quest for to be pleaded and pronounced in judiciall courts: and as it is given out by some, was the first who gave himselfe to this course, and professed so to do: for there is not extant one oration written in manner of a plea, by any oratours who lived before his time, no more by those that flourished in his daies (for it was not the manner yet and custome to compose orations for others) *Themistocles* (I meane) *Pericles*, and *Aristides*; notwithstanding that the time presented unto them many occasions, yea and meere necessities so to do: neither was it upon their insufficiencie, that they thus abstained, as it may appear by that which Historians have written of everie one of these men above mentioned. Moreover if we looke into the most ancient oratours whom we can call to mind, to wit, *Alcibiades*, *Critias*, *Lysias* and *Archilochus*, who have written ten one & the same stile, and exercised the same forme & manner of pleadings; it wilbe found that they all converted and conferred with *Antipho*, being now very aged and farre step in yeeres: for being a man of an excellent quicke and readie wit, he was the first that made and put forth the Institutions of oratorie; so as, for his profound knowledge he was surnamed *Neffor*. And *Cecilius* in a certaine treatise which he compiled of him, conjectureth, that he had beene sometime schoolemaster to *Thucydides* the Historiographer; for that *Antipho* is so highly commended by him. In his speeches and orations he is verie exquisite and full of perswasion, quicke and subtil in his inventions: in difficult matters verie artificiall; assailing his adversarie after a covert manner; turning his words and sayings respective to the lawes, and to move affections withal, aiming alwaies to that which is decent & seemely, and carrying the best apparence & shew with it.

He lived about the time of the Persian warre, when *Gorgias Leontinus* the great professor in Rhetorick flourished, being somewhat younger than he was; and he continued to the subversion of the popular state and government, which was wrought by the 400 conspirators, wherein himselfe seemed to have had a principall hand, for that he had the charge and command of two great galleies at sea, and was besides a captaine and had the leading of certaine forces: during which time he won the victorie in divers battels, and procured unto them the aide of many allies: also he moved the young and lustie able man of warre to take armes; he rigged, manned, and set out sixtie galleies, and in all their occasions was sent embassadour to the Lacedaemonians, when as the citie *Eetionia* was fortified with a wall: but after that those 400 before laid were put downe and overthrowen, he was together with *Archipollemus* one of the 400, accused for the conspiracie, condemned and adjudged to the punishment which is due unto traitours. His corps was cast forth without sepulture; himselfe and all his posteritie registred for infamous persons upon record: and yet some there be who report, that he was put to death by the 30 tyrants, and namely among the rest, *Lysias* testifieth as much in an oration which he made for *Antiphos* daughter; for a little daughter he had, unto whom *Callesthemus* made claime in right for his wife: and that the thirtie tyrants were they who put him to death, *Theopompus* beareth witness in the fiftieth of his *Philippikes*. But more moderne surely was this man, and of a later time, yea and the sonne of one \* *Lysidionides*, of whom *Cratinus* maketh mention, as of no wicked man in his comedie called *Pytine*. For how should he who before was executed by those 400 returne to life againe in the time of the thirtie usurpers or tyrants: but his death is reported otherwise; namely, that being verie aged he failed into *Cicily*, when as the tyrannie of the former *Dionys* was at the highest: and when the question was proposed at the table, which was the best brasse? as some said this, and others that: he answered, that for his part he thought that brasse was best, whereof the statues of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton* were made: which when *Dionys* heard, he imagining that the speech imported thus much covertly, as to set on the Syracusians, for to attempt some violence upon his person, commanded him to be put to death. Others report, that the said tyrant gave order that he should be made away, upon indignation that he scoffed at his tragedies.

There be extant in this oratours name three score orations; whereof as *Cecilius* saith 25 are untruly reported to be his. Noted he is and taxed by *Plato* the comick poet, together with *Pylander*, for avarice & love of money. It is said moreover, that he composed certaine tragedies alone, and others with *Dionysius* the tyrant, who joined with him. At the same time also when he gave his mind unto Poetrie, he devised the art of curing the griefes and maladies of the minde, like as physicians pretend skill for to heale the diseases and paines of the bodie. Certes, having built a little house at *Cormuth* in the market place, hee set up a bill on the gate, wherein hee made profession: That he had the skill to remedie by words, those who were vexed and grieved in spirit: and he would demand of those who were amisse, the causes of their sorrow, and according thereto, apply his comforts and consolations. Howbeit afterwards supposing this art and profession



fiftene yeeres old, that verie yeere when as *Praxiteles* was provost: where he remained, and was instructed by *Nicias*, & *Tissias*, two Syracusans. Now having bought him an house, with the portion of land which fell unto his share, he lived there, in state of a citizen, and was called to government of common weale, when his lot came, for the space of 63 yeeres, untill the time that *Clearchus* was provost of *Athens*: but the yeere next following when *Callias* was provost; namely, in the 92 Olympias, when as the Sicilians and Athenians fought a field, by reason whereof many of their allies stirred and revolted, and especially those who dwelt in *Italy* and coasted thereupon, accused he was to have favoured the Athenians and sided with them, and thereupon was banished with three other. Now being arrived at *Athens* in the yeere wherein *Callias* was provost next after *Cleeritus*, while the foure hundred usurers were possessed of 10 the State, hee there rested: but after the navall battell was stricken neere to a place called the Goats rivers, when as the thirtie tyrants had the administration of the common weale in their hands, banished he was from thence for the space of seven yeeres; lost his goods and his brother *Polemarchus*; himselfe escaped with life narrowly out of the house at a posterne gate or backe-doore; in which house he had bene beset with a full purpose that he should end his life there: and then he retired himselfe to the citie *Megara*, where he abode. When as those of *Phila* had made a reentry into the citie, and chased out the tyrants; for that he shewed himselfe (above all others) most forward in this enterprise, as having contributed (for the exploiting of this service) two thousand dragmes weight in silver, and two hundred targuets: and being sent besides with *Herman*, waged three hundred and two souldiers, and wrought so effectually with *Thrasyllus* the 20 *Elia*, his friend and old host, that he helped him unto certaine talents of silver: in regard whereof, *Thrasyllus* (upon his returne and reentry into the city) propoed unto the people: That for and in consideration of these good services, the right of free burgeoisie should be granted unto him. This hapned in the yeere of the Anarchie, when there was no provost elected, next before the provostship of *Enclides*. This was granted and ratified by the people: onely there was one *Archinus* stood up, and impeached the proceeding thereof, as being against the law, because it was propoed unto the people, before it was consulted upon in the Sonate: so the fore-said decree was annulled and revoked. Thus being disappointed of his right of burgeoisie, he remained nevertheless (during his life) as a citizen, and enjoyed the same rights, franchises and privileges that other burgresses did; & so died in the end, when he had lived the space of foure 30 score and three yeeres, or as some say, three score and sixteene; and as others write, foure score: so that he lived to see *Demosthenes* a child. It is said, that he was borne the yeere that *Philotes* was provost. There goe in his name foure hundred orations; of which number (according to *Dionysius* and *Cecilius*) two hundred and thirtie be of his owne making in deed: in the pronouncing of all which, he failed but twice, and had the foile. There is extant also, that very oration which he made against *Archinus*, in the maintenance and defence of the said decree; by vertue whereof, the right of burgeoisie was given unto him: also another, against the thirtie tyrants. Apt he was to perswade; and in those orations which he gave out to others, very briefe and succinct. There be found likewise of his making, certaine introductions to Rhetoricke, and speeches delivered publicly before the people; letters missive; solemne praises; funerall orations; 40 discourses of love; and one defence of *Socrates*, which directly seemed to touch the judges to the quicke. His stile was thought to be plaine and easie, howbeit, inimitable. *Demosthenes* in one oration which he made against *Nicias*, saith: That he was enamoured of one *Metaneira*, a servant with *Nicias*; but afterwards he espoused and tooke to wife the daughter of his brother *Brachyllus*. *Plato* himselfe maketh mention of him in his booke entituled *Phaedrus*, as of an orator passing eloquent, and more ancient than *Socrates*. *Philiscus* who was familiar with *Socrates*, and the companion of *Lysias*, made an Epigram upon him, whereby it appeareth, that he was more ancient, (as also it is evident by that which *Plato* hath said) & the Epigram is to this effect:

Now shew *Callippes* daughter, thou  
that art so eloquent;  
If ought of witte spirit thou hast,  
and what is excellent:  
For mee it is that thou shouldst bring,  
some little *Lysias* forth:  
To blaze his fathers name abroad,  
for vertuous deeds of worth.  
Who (now transform'd, and having caught

50

a bodie

a bodie strange to see  
In other worlds for Sapience should  
now immortall bee)  
My loving heart to friend now dead,  
likewise to mortife;  
And to delare his vertuous life  
unto posteritie.

He composed likewise an oration for *Iphierates*, which he pronounced against *Harmodius*, as also another wherein he accused *Timotheus* of treason, and both the one and the other he overthrew: but afterwards when *Iphierates* tooke upon him againe to enquire into the doings of 10 *Timotheus*, calling him to account for the revenues of the State which he had managed, and set in hand againe with this accusation of treason, hee was brought into question judicially, and made answer in his owne defence by an oration that *Lysias* penned for him. And as for himselfe he was acquit of the crime and absolved; but *Timotheus* was condemned and fined to pay a great summe of money. Moreover, he rehearsed in the great assembly and solemnity at the Olympick games, a long oration, wherein he perswaded the Greekes, that they should be reconciled one to another, and joine together for to put downe the tyrant *Diomyssus*.

## ISOCRATES. IIII.

20 *Isocrates* was the sonne of one *Theodorus*, an Erechthian, a man reckoned in the number of I mean citizens, one who kept a sort of servants under him, who made flutes and hautboies; by whose workmanship he became so rich, that he was able to bring up and set out his children in worshipfull manner. For other sonnes he had besides, to wit, *Telestippus* and *Diomestus*; and also a little daughter unto them. Hereupon it is that he was twitted and flouted by the comick poets *Aristophanes* and *Strattis*, in regard of those flutes. He lived about the 86. Olympias elder than *Lysimachus* the Myrrhineusian by two and twentie yeeres, and before *Plato* some seven yeeres. During his childhood, he had as good bringing up as any Athenian whatsoever, as being the disciple & scholar of *Prodicus* the Chian, of *Gorgias* the Leontine, of *Tissias* the Syracu- 30 san, & *Theramen*es the professed Rhetorician: who being at the point to be apprehended & taken by the 30. tyrants, & flying for refuge to the altar of *Minerva* the Counsellor, when all other friends were affrighted and amazed: onely *Isocrates* arose and shewed himselfe for to assist and praye him to desist; saying, that it would be more dolorous and grievous unto him, than his owne calamitie, in case he should see any of his friends to be troubled and endangered for the love of him. And it is said, that he helped him to compile certaine Institutions of Rhetoricke, at what time as he was maliciously and falsely slandered before the judges in open court: which Institutions are gon under the name and title of *Bolon*.

When he was grown to mans estate, he forbore to meddle in State matters, and in the affaires of common-weale; as well for that he had by nature a small and feeble voice, as because 40 naturally he was fearfull and timorous: and besides, his state was much impaired, by reason that he lost his patrimonie in the warre against the Lacedaemonians. It appeareth that to other men he had bene assistant in counsell, and giving testimonie for them in places of judgement: but it is not knowne that he pronounced above one onely oration, to wit, *de animarum*; that is to say, concerning counterchange of goods. And having set up a publicke schoole, he gave himselfe to the studie of philosophie, and to write; where he composed his Panegyrique oration, and certaine others of the Deliberative kind: and those that he wrote himselfe, some he read, some he penned for others; thinking thereby to exhort and stirre up the Greekes to devise and performe such duties as befieemed them to doe. But seeing that he missed of his purpose and intention, hee gave over that course, and betooke himselfe to keepe a schoole: first, as some say, in 50 *Chios*, having nine scholars that came unto him: where when he saw that his scholars paid him downe in money his Minervals for their schooling, hee wept and said: I see well now that I am sold unto these youtnes. He would confesse willingly with those that came to devise and talke with him, being the first that put a difference betweene wrangling pleas or contentious orations, and serious politike discourses of common-weale, in which he rather employed himselfe. He ordained magistrates in *Chios*, erecting the same forme of government there, which was in his owne country. He gathered more silver together by teaching schoole, than ever any professor in

in Rhetoricke or schoole-master was knowne to have done; so that he was well able to defray the charges of a galley at sea. Of scholars he had to the number of one hundred: and among many others, *Timotheus* the sonne of *Conon*; with whom he travelled abroad, and visited many cities: he penned all those letters which *Timotheus* sent unto the Athenians; in regard whereof he bestowed upon him a talent of silver, the remainder of that money due by composition from *Salmos*. There were besides of his scholars *Theopompus* the Chian, and *Ephorus* of *Cumes*; *Asclepiades* also who composed tragical matters and arguments; and *Theodectes*, who afterwards wrote tragedies (whose tombe or sepulcher is as men go toward *Cyamite*, even in the sacred way or street that leadeth to *Eleusis*, now altogether ruinate and demolished: in which place he caused to be erected and set up the statues of famous poets together with him, of all whom there remaineth none at this day but *Homer* alone;) also *Leodamus* the Athenian; *Lacritus* the law-giver unto the Athenians, and as some say, *Hyperides* and *Isaas*. And it is said that *Demosthenes* also came unto him whiles he yet taught a Rhetoricke schoole, with an earnest purpose to learne of him, using this speech: that he was not able to pay him a thousand drachms of silver, which was the onely price that he made and demanded of everie scholar; but meanes he would make to give him two hundred drachms, so he might learne of him but the fift part of his skill, which was a proportionable rate for the whole; unto whom *Isocrates* made this answer: We use not, *Demosthenes*, to do our businesse by piece-meale; but like as men are wont to sell faire fishes all whole; even so will I, if you purpose to be my scholar, teach and deliver you mine art full and entire, and not by haltes or parcels.

He departed this life the verie yeere that *Charonides* was Provost of *Athens*; even when the newes came of the discomfiture at *Charonea*, which he heard being in the place of *Hippocrates* publicke exercises: and voluntarily he procured his owne death, in abstaining from all food and sustenance the space of foure daies, having pronounced before this abstinence of his, these three first verses which begin three tragedies of *Enripides*:

- 1 King Danaus, who fiftie daughters had,
- 2 Pelops the sonne of Tantalus, when he to Pisa came.
- 3 Cadmus whom, the citie Sidon left.

He lived 98 yeeres, or as some say, a full hundred, & could not endure to see *Greece* fower times brought into servitude: the yeere before he died, or as some write, fower yeeres before he wrote his Panathenaick oration: as for his Panegyrik oration, he was in penning it tenne yeeres, and by the report, of some, sitene, which he is thought to have translated and borrowed out of *Gorgias* the Leontine and *Lysias*: and the oration concerning the counterchange of goods, he wrote when he was fourescore yeeres old & twaine: but his Philippike oration he set downe a little before his death: when he was farse stepped in yeeres, he adopted for his sonne, *Aphareus*, the yongest of the three children of *Plathane* his wife, the daughter of *Hippias* the oratour, and professed Rhetorician. He was of good wealth, as well for that he called duely for money of his scholars, as also because he received of *Nicoles* king of *Cypres*, who was the sonne of *Enagoras*, the summe of twenty talents of silver for one oration which hee dedicated unto him: by occasion of this riches, he became envied, and was thrice chosen and enjoined to be the captaine of a galley, and to defray the charges thereof: for the two first times he feigning himselfe to be sicke, was excused by the meanes of his sonne; but at the third time he rose up and tooke the charge, wherein he spent no small summe of money. There was a father, who talking with him about his sonne whom he kept at schoole, said: That he sent with him no other to be his guide and governour, but a slave of his owne: unto whom *Isocrates* answered: Goe your waies then, for one slave you shall have twaine. Hee entred into contention for the prize at the solemne games which queene *Artemisia* exhibited at the funerals and tombe of her husband *Naupolus*: but this enchiomastical oration of his which he made in the praise of him, is not extant: another oration he penned in the praise of *Helena*; as also a third in the commendation of the counsell *Areopagus*. Some write, that he died by abstaining nine daies together from all meat: others report but fower; even at the time that the publicke obsequies were solemnized for them who lost their lives in the battell at *Charonea*. His adopted sonne *Aphareus* composed likewise certaine orations: entred hee was together with all his linage and those of his blood, neere unto a place called *Cynolarges*, upon a banke or knap of a little hill on the left hand, where were bestowed, the sonne, and father *Theodorus*; his mother also and her sister *Anaxo*, aunt unto the oratour; his adopted sonne likewise *Aphareus*, together with his cousin german *Socrates*, sonne to the aforesaid aunt *Anaxo* *Isocrates* mothers sister: his brother *Theo-*

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who bare the name of his father, his nephewes, or children of his adopted sonne *Aphareus*, and his naturall *Theodorus*; moreover, his wife *Plathane* mother to his adopted sonne *Aphareus*: upon all these bodies there were six tables or tombs erected of stone, which are not to be seene at this day: but there stood upon the tombe of *Isocrates* himselfe, a mightie great ramme engraven, to the height of thirtie cubits, upon which there was a syren or mermaid seven cubits high, to signifie under a figure his milde nature and eloquent stile: there was besides neere unto him, a table containing certaine poets and his owne schoole-masters: among whom was *Gorgias* looking upon an astrological sphere, and *Isocrates* himselfe standing close unto him: furthermore, there is erected a brasse image of his in *Eleusis*, before the entrie of the gallery *Stoa*, which *Timotheus* the sonne of *Caron* caused to be made, bearing this epigram or inscription:

*Timotheus upon a loving minde,  
And for to honour mutuall kindnesse,  
This image of Isocrates his friende,  
Erected hath unto the goddesse.*

This statue was the handi-woke of *Leochares*. There goe under his name threescore orations, of which five and twentie are his indeed, according to the judgement of *Dionysius*: but as *Cecilius* saith, eight and twentie; all the rest are falsely attributed unto him. So farse was hee from ostentation, and so little regard had hee to put forth himselfe and shew his sufficiencie, that when upon a time there came three unto him, of purpose to heare him declame and discourse, he kept two of them with him, and the third he sent away, willing him to returne the next morrow: For now (quoth he) I have a full theater in mine auditorie. He was wont to say also unto his scholars and familiars: That himselfe taught his art for ten pounds of silver; but hee would give unto him that could put into him audacity, and teach him good utterance, ten thousand. When one demanded of him how it was possible that he should make other men sufficient orators, seeing himselfe was nothing eloquent: Why not (quoth he) seeing that whet stones which can not cut at all, make iron and Steele sharpe enough and able to cut. Some say, that he composed certaine books as touching the art of rhetoricke; but others are of opinion, that it was not by any method, but exercise onely, that he made his scholars good oratours: this is certaine, that he never demanded any money of naturall citizens borne, for their teaching. His maner was to bid his scholars to be present at the great assemblies of the citie, and to relate unto him what they heard there spoken and delivered. He was wonderfull heavy and sorrowfull out of measure for the death of *Socrates*, so as the morrow after he mourned & put on blacke for him. Again, unto one who asked him what was Rhetoricke he answered: It is the art of making great matters off small, & small things of great. Being invited one day to *Nicores* the tyrant of *Cypres*; as he sat at the table, those that were present, requested him to discourse of some theme; but he answered thus: For such matters wherein I have skill the time will not now serve; and in those things that fit the time, I am nothing skillfull. Seeing upon a time *Sophocles* the tragical poet, following wantonly and hunting with his eie, a yong faire boy; he said: O *Sophocles* an honest man ought to containe not his hands onely, but his eies also. When *Ephorus* of *Cumes* went from his schoole non proficiens, and able to doe nothing, by reason whereof his father *Demophilus* sent him againe with a second salary or minervall; *Isocrates* smiled thereat, and merily called him *Diphoros*, that is to say, bringing his money twice: so hee tooke great paines with the man, and would himselfe prompt him, and give him matter and invention for his declamatorie exercise.

Inclined he was and naturally given unto the pleasures of wanton love; in regard whereof he used to lie upon a thinne and hard short mattresse, and to have the pillow and bolster under his head perfumed, and wet with the water of saffron. So long as he was in his youth he married not; but being now stricken in age and grown old, he kept a queene or harlot in his house, whose name was *Lagides*, by whom he had a little daughter, who died before she was married, when she was about twelve yeeres old. After that, he espoused *Plathane*, the wife of the rhetoritian *\* Gorgias*, who had three children before, of whom he adopted *Aphareus* for his owne sonne, as hath beene said before, who caused his statue to be cast in brasse, and erected it neere unto the image of *Jupiter Olympius*, as it were upon a colunne, with this Epigram:

*This portraict of Isocrates in brasse,  
His sonne adopted, Apharcus, who was,  
Erected hath to Jupiter, in view*

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of

*Of all the world thereby to make a shew,  
That unto gods he is religious,  
And honoureth his father vertuous.*

It is said, that whiles he was but a young boy, he ran a course on horseback; for he is to be scene in brasse in the citadell of the city, sitting and riding his horse, in forme and proportion of a boy within the tenise court of those priests of *Minerva*, which attend there, to take the sacred secrets, not to be revealed, as some have reported. In all his life time there were two only sutes commended against him: the former, for the exchange of his goods, being challenged and provoked by *Megacles*; for the triall whereof, he appeared not personally at his day, by reason of sicknesse: the second action was framed against him by *Lyfimachus*, for the exchange of his goods, with charge to defray the expenses of maintaining a galley at sea: in which proceesse he was cast, and forced to fet out a galley. There was also a painted image of his in the place called *Pompeium*. And *Apharus* composed verily orations, though not many, both judiciall and also deliberative. He made also tragedies, to the number of seven and thirtie; whereof there be two which were contradicted. And he began to have his works openly heard in publicke place, from the yeere wherein *Lyssibratus* was provolt, unto that yeere wherein *Soficles* was in place; to eight and twentie yeeres: in which time he caused six civill plaies to be acted, and twice gained the prize of victorie, having set them forth by a principall actour or plaier, named *Dionysius*; and by other actours he exhibited two more, of the Lenaick kind, that is to say, full of mirth, and to move laughter.

There were the statues also to be scene within the citadell, of the mother of *Isoerates* and of *Thesodorus*, as also of *Anaco* her sister; of which, that of his mother is yet extant; and it standeth neere unto the image of *Hygia*, that is to say Health; onely the inscription is changed: but the the other of *Anaco* is not to be found. This *Anaco* had two sonnes, *Alexander* by *Canes*, and *Ufoles* by *Lyfias*.

#### ISAEUS. V.

*Isaeus* was borne in *Chalcis*: and being come to *Athens*, he studied the works of *Lyfias*, whom he did so neerely imitate, as well in the apt couching of his words, as in the witty device & subtiltie of his inventions; that if a man were not very well practised & perfect in the stile and mat-  
ter of writing of these two orators, hardly he should be able to discern many of their orations, and distinguish one from another. He was in greatest name, about the time of the Peloponne-  
siacke warre, as may be conjectured by his orations; and continued unto the reigne of king *Phi-  
lip*. He gave over his publicke schoole, and went to teach *Demosthenes* privately at home, for the  
sum of ten thousand drachmes of silver; whereby he became very famous: and as some say, he  
it was that composed for *Demosthenes* certaine exhortatory orations. He left behind him three  
score and foure orations going in his name; whereof fittie are his indeed: also some particular  
introductions of his owne, and rules of Rhetoricke. He was the first who began both to forme  
and to turne the sense of his stile unto the politicke management of affaires; a thing that *De-  
mosthenes* doth most of all imitate. Of this oratour, *Theopompus* the comick poet maketh men-  
tion in his *Thesius*.

#### AECHINES. VI.

*Aechines* was the sonne of *Atrometus* (a man who being banished in the time of the thirtie  
tyrants, was a meane to aide the people, and to set up the popular state againe) and his  
mothers name was *Glaucothea*. He was of the burrough or tribe *Cotibocis*: so that his parents  
were neither for nobilitie of race, nor yet for wealth and riches renowned in the citie: but being  
young, and of a lustie and able constitution, he fortified and confirmed the same more by bodi-  
ly exercise: and finding himselfe to have a strong brest and cleere voice; thereupon afterwards  
he made profession to act tragedies; but (as *Demosthenes* said of him by way of reproch) hee  
went after others, and could never proceed higher than to act the third and last parts in the so-  
lemnities of the Bacchanale plaies under one *Aristodemus*. When he was but a boy, he taught  
petties the letters; namely, to spel and reade together with his father: and being of some growth,  
he served as a common souldier in the warres. The scholar and auditor he was (as some thinke)  
of *Isoerates* & *Plato*; but according to *Cecilius* of *Leodamar*. Being entred into the managing of  
State affaires, and that not without credit & reputation; because he made head & sided against  
the faction of *Demosthenes*, employed he was in many embassages; and namely unto K. *Philip*  
for

for to treat of peace: for which, accused he was by *Demosthenes*, and charged to have bene the  
cause that the nation of the Phocaeans was rooted out, and for that he kindled waere betwene  
the Amphyctions and the Amphissians, what time as he was chosen one of the deputies to be  
present in the assembly or diet of the Amphyctions, who made also an haven, whereby it hapned  
withall, that the Amphyctions put themselves into the protection of *Philip*, who being wrought  
through the port and favourable countenance of *Eubulus* the sonne of *Spintharus* a Proballusti-  
an, who was of great credit and reputation among the people, and spake in his behalfe, he esca-  
ped, and was found unguiltie, and caried it by thirtie voices; although others say, that the ora-  
tours had penned their orations, and were at the point to plead; but upon the newes of the over-  
throw at *Cheronas*, which impeached the proceeding of law, the matter was not called for, nor  
the cause pleaded.

A certeine time after, when king *Philip* was dead, and his sonne *Alexander* gone forward in  
his expedition into *Asia*, he accused *Ctesiphon* judicially, for that he had passed a decree con-  
trary unto the lawes, in the honour of *Demosthenes*; but having on his side not the fitt part of the  
suffrages and the voices of the people, he was banished out of *Athens*, and fled to *Rhodes*, because  
he would not pay the fine of a thousand drachmes, in which he was condemned, upon his over-  
throw at the barre. Others say, that over & beside, he was noted with infamie, because he would  
not depart out of the citie; and that he retired himselfe to *Ephesus* unto *Alexander*. But upon  
the decease of *Alexander*, when there was great troubles towards, he returned to *Rhodes*, where  
he kept a schoole, and beganne to teach the art of Rhetoricke. He read other-whiles unto the  
Rhodians (and that with action and gesture) the oration which he had pronounced against *Cte-  
siphon*; whereat, when all the hearers marvelled, and namely, how possibly he could be cast, if he  
acted such an oration: You would never wonder at the matter (quoth he) my masters of *Rhodes*,  
if you had bene in place and heard *Demosthenes* impleading against it. He left behinde him a  
schoole at *Rhodes*, which afterwards was called the *Rhodian* schoole. From thence he sailed to  
*Samos*, and when he had staid a time in the Isle, within a while after, he died. A pleasant and  
sweet voice he had, as may appeare both by that which *Demosthenes* hath delivered of him, and  
also by an oration of *Demochares*.

There be found foure orations under his name; one against *Timarchus*; another as touching  
false embassages; and a third against *Ctesiphon*, which in truth be all three his: for the fourth en-  
titled *De Iliaca*, was never penned by *Aechines*. True it is indeed, that appointed and commanded  
he was to plead judicially the causes of the temple of *Delos*; but he pronounced no such orations;  
for that *Hyperides* was chosen in stead of him, as saith *Demosthenes*. And by his owne saying two  
brethren he had, *Aphobus* and *Demochares*. He brought unto the Athenians the first tidings of  
the second victorie which they obtained at *Tamnye*, for which he was rewarded with a crowne.  
Some give it out that *Aechines* was scholar to none, and never learned his Rhetoricke of any  
master; but being brought up to writing, and a good pen-man, he became a clark or notarie;  
and so grew up to knowledge of himselfe by his owne industrie, for that he ordinarily conversed  
in judiciall courts, and places of judgement. The first time that ever he made publicke speech be-  
fore the people, was against king *Philip*: and having then audience with with great applause and  
commendation, he was presently chosen embassadour, and sent to the Arcadians; whither when  
he was come, he raised a power of ten thousand men against *Philip*. He presented and indicted  
*Timarchus* for maintaining a brothell house; who fearing to appeare judicially, and to have the  
cause heard, hung himselfe, as after a sort *Demosthenes* in some place saith. Afterwards elected  
he was to go in embassage unto *Philip* with *Ctesiphon* & *Demosthenes*, about a treatie of peace,  
wherein he carried himselfe better than *Demosthenes*. A second time was hee chosen the tenth  
man in an embassage, for to goe and conclude a peace upon certaine capitulations and cove-  
nants; for which service he was judicially called to his answer and acquit, as hath bene said  
before.

#### LYCURGUS. VII.

*Lycurgus* was the sonne of *Lycophon*, the sonne of *Lycurgus*; him I meane whom the thirtie  
tyrants did to death, by the procurement & instigation of one *Aristodemus* that came from  
*Buta*; who having bene treasurer generall of *Greece*, was banished during the popular govern-  
ment. Of the burrough or tribe he was named *Buta*, and of the family or house of the *Eteobuta-*  
des.



des. At the beginning the scholar he was of *Plato* the philosopher, and made profession of philosophy: but afterwards being entred into familiar acquaintance with *Alexander*, he became his scholar, and dealt in affaires of State where he was great credit, as well by his deeds, as words; and so put in trust he was with the management of the cities revenues: for treasurer general he was the space of fifteen yeeres; during which time, there went thorow his hands fortie millions of talents, or as some say, fourscore millions fix hundred and fiftie talents. And it was the orator *Stratotes* who preferred him to this honor, by propounding him unto the people. Thus I say at the first was he himselfe chosen treasurer in his own name; but afterwards he nominated some to one of his friends; and yet nevertheless managed all, and had the whole administration of it in his owne hands; for that there was a Statute enacted and published, that none might be chosen to have the charge of the publicke treasure above five yeeres. He continued alwaies an overseer of the citie workes both winter and summer: and having the office and charge committed unto him for provision of all necessaries for the warres, he reformed many things that were amiss in the common-wealth. He caused to be built for the citie four hundred gallies. He made the common hall or place for publicke exercises in *Lyceum*, and planted the same round about with trees: He reared also the wrestling hall, and finished the theater which is at the temple of *Bacchus*. He was repured a man of such fidelity him selfe in person to oversee and direct the workmen. He was repured a man of such fidelity and to good a conscience, that there was committed upon trust into his hands, to the summe of two hundred and fiftie talents of silver, by divers and sundrie private persons to be kept for their use. He caused to be made many faire vessels of gold and silver to adorne and beautifie the citie: as also sundrie images of Victorie in gold. And finding many publicke workes unperfected and halfe done, he accomplished and made an end of them all: as namely the Arsenals, the common halls for armour and other utensiles and implements, serving for the citie uses. He founded a wall round about the spacious cloisture, called *Panathenaeikes*, which he finished up to the verie cape and battlements; yea and laid level and even, the great pit or chinke in the ground: for that one *Dimus*, whose plot of ground it was, gave away the proprietie which he had in it unto the citie, in favour especially of *Lycurgus*, and for his sake. He had the charge and custodie of the citie, and commission to attache and apprehend malefactours, whom he drave all quit out of the citie, and commission to the poets and subtle sophisters would say, that *Lycurgus* dip not his pen in blacke inke, but in deadly blood, when he drew his writs against malefactours: In regard of which benefit unto the common-weale, so well beloved he was of the people, that when king *Alexander* demanded to had him delivered into his hands, the people would not forgo him. But when as king *Philip* made warre upon the Athenians the second time, he went in embassage with *Polyclusus* and *Demosthenes*, as well into *Peloponnesus*, as to other States and cities. All his time he lived in good estimation among the Athenians, repured evermore for a just and upright man, in such sort that in all courts of justice, if *Lycurgus* said the word, it was held for a great prejudice & good foredoome in his behalte, for whom he spake. He proposed & brought in certaine lawes; the one to this effect, that there should be exhibited a solemnitie of plaies or comedies at the feast *Cytræ*, wherein the poets should do their best, and strive a vie in the theatre for the prize; and whosoever obtained victorie, should therewith have the right and free dome of burgeslie, a thing that before was not lawfull nor granted unto poets; and thus he brought unto use and practise againe, a solemn game which he had discontinued. Another, that there should be made at the publicke charges of the citie, statues of brasile for the poets *Aeschylus*, *Sophocles* and *Euripides*; that their tragedies should be exempted and engrossed faire, for to be kept in the chamber of the citie; and that the publicke notarie of the citie should read them unto the plaiers, for otherwise unlawfull it was to act them. A third there was, that no citizen, nor any other person resident and inhabitant within the citie of *Athens*, should be permitted to buy any prisoners taken in warre, such as were of free condition before, to make them slaves, without the consent of their first masters. Item, that within the haven *Piræum*, there should be exhibited a solemn play or game unto *Neptune*, consisting of round daunces, no fewer than three: and that unto those who woon the first prize, there should be given for a reward no fewer than ten pound of silver; to the second, eight at the least; and to the third, not under six, according as they should be adjudged by the timpiers. Item, that no dame of *Athens* might be allowed to ride in a coach to *Eleusis*; for feare that the poore might be defaced by the rich, and here- in reputed their inferiours: but in case any of them were so taken riding in a coach, the should be fined and pay fix thousand drachms: now when his owne wife obeyed not his law, but was surprized in the manner by the sycophants and promoters, he himselfe gave unto them a whole talent

talent, with which afterwards when he was charged, and accused before the people: You see yet (quoth he) my masters of *Athens* that I am overtaken for giving, and not for taking silver.

He mette one day as he went in the street, a publicane or farmer of the forraine taxes and tributes for the city, who had laid hands upon the philosopher *Zenocrates*, and would have ledde him to prison in all haste, because he paid not the duties imposed upon strangers; for which he gave the publicane a rappe on the head with the rodde or walking staffe which hee had in his hand, and recovered the philosopher out of his clowches; which done, he caft the said officer himfelfe into prison for his labor, as having comitted a great indignity unto fuch a perfonage: a few daies after, the fame philosopher meeting him with the children of *Lycurgus*: I have (quoth he unto them) my good children rendred thanks unto your father, and that right fpecially, in that he is fo praifed and commended of all men for fuccouring and refcuing me. He propofed and published certaine publicke decrees, uſing the helpe herein of one *Euchides* an Olynthian, who was thought to be a very ſufficient man in framing and penning ſuch acts; and alther he was a wealthy perſon, yet he never ware but one and the ſame kinde of garment both winter and ſummer, yea, and the ſame ſhooes he went in every day, what neede foever was. He exerciſed himfelfe continually in declaiming both night and day, for that he was not fo fit to ſpeak of a ſudden and unprovided, upon his bedde or pallier where he lay, he had onely for his covering a ſheepes ſkinne, fell and all, and under his head a bouliſter, to the end that the ſooner and with more eaſe, he might awake and goe to his ſtudy. There was one who reproched him, for that he paid his money till unto ſophiſters and profeſſed rhetoricians, for teaching him to make orations: But (quoth he) againe, if there were any would promiſe and undertake to profit my children and make them better, I would give him willingly not onely a thouſand deniers, but the one moiety of all my goods. Very bold he was and reſolute to ſpeake his minde frankly unto the people, and to tell them the truth plainly, bearing himſelfe upon his nobility; inſomuch as one day when the Athenians would not ſuffer him to make a ſpeech in open audience, he cried out with a loud voice; & whiſſep of *Corfu*, how many talents art thou worth? Another time, when ſome there were who called *Alexander* god: And what maner of god may he be (quoth *Lycurgus*, out of whoſe temple whoſoever go, had need to be ſprinkled and drenched all over with water to purifie themſelves.

After he was dead, they delivered his children into the hands of the eleven officers for execution of justice, for that *Thraſicles* had framed an accusation, & *Menelachmus* ended them; but upon the letters of *Demosthenes*, which in the time of his exile he wrote unto the Athenians, advertising them that they were ill spoken of about *Lycurgus* his children, they repented themselves of that which they had done, and let them go: & verily *Democles* the ſcholar of *Thucydides* justified them, and ſpake in their defence. Himſelfe and ſome of his children were carried at the cities charges, over and againſt the temple of *Minerva Pæonia*, within the orchard or grove of *Melanthus* the philoſopher: and found there be even in theſe our daies certain tombes with the names of *Lycurgus* and his children written thereupon. But that which is the greateſt thing that ſoundeth moſt to the praiſe of his government, he raiſed the revenues of the common-weale unto twelve hundred talents, whereas before they amounted but unto threeſcore. A little before he died, when he perceived death to approach, he cauſed himſelfe to be carried into the temple of *Cybele* the great mother of the gods, and into the Senate houſe, deſirous there to render an account of his whole adminiſtration of the common-weale: but no man was ſo hardy as to come forth and charge him with any unjuſt and wrongfull dealing, ſave only *Menelachmus*; now after he had fully answered thoſe imputations which he charged upon him, he was carried home againe to his houſe, where he ended his daies; & repured all his life time for a good and honeſt man, commended for his eloquence, and never condemned in any ſine, notwithstanding many actions and acculations were framed againſt him.

Three children he had by *Calpio*, the daughter of *Abron*, and sister to *Calvus*, the sonne also  
50 of *Abron*, of the burrough *Bata*, who was treasourer of the campe during the warres that  
yeere wherein *Cheronidas* was provolt; of this affinitie and alliance, *Dinarchus* maketh menti-  
on, in that oration which he made against *Patistu*. He left behinde him these children, *Abron*,  
*Lycurgus*, and *Lycophron*; of whom *Abron* and *Lycurgus* died without issue; but *Abron* after  
he had with good reputation and credit, managed State matters, changed this life: and *Lycoph-  
ron* having espoused *Calistomacha*, the daughter of *Philippus Aixenes*, begat a daughter  
named *Caleta*, married afterwards to *Cleombrotus*, the sonne of *Democritus*, an Acharnian, who  
by her had a sonne named *Lycophron*, whom *Lycophron* the grand-father adopted for his owne

sonne; and he departed this life without children: after the decease of this *Lycophon*, *Callisto* was remarried unto *Socrates*, unto whom the bare a sonne, named *Symmachus*; who begat *Aristonymus*; and of *Aristonymus* came *Charmides*, whose daughter was *Philipe*, and the bare a sonne, to wit, *Lysander Medius*, who became an interpreter also, one of the *Emolpides*: of him and of *Timothea* the daughter of *Glauco* descended *Laodamia* and *Medius*, who held the priesthood of *Neptune Erechtheus*: *Philippa* also a daughter, who afterwards was a religious priestesse, devoted to *Minerva*; for before time, had *Dioeles* the Melitian espoused her, and he tooke to wife *Hediste* the daughter of *Abron*, of whose body he begat *Philippide* and *Nicostrata*; and *Theophilus* the torch-bearer sonne of *Theophrastus* married *Nicostrata*, by whom he had *Theophrastus* and *Dioeles*, notwithstanding he was priest unto *Neptune Erechtheus*.

There be found of this oratours penning, fiftene orations. Crowned hee was many times by the people: and ordained there were for him divers statues and images, whereof there was one all of brasse, according to a publike decree of the cite, standing in the street *Cerameum*, that yeere when *Anaxicrates* was provost; under whom there was allowed unto himselfe and his sonne *Lycurgus*, as also to his eldest nephew, table and diet in *Prytanæum*, by vertue of the same decree of the people: howbeit, after the decease of *Lycurgus*, *Lycophon* his eldest sonne made sute by law for this gift and donation. He pleaded also many times for matters of religion, and accused *Antolycus* the fenatour, and one of the high court *Areopagus*, *Lysicles* also the captain, and *Demades* the sonne of *Demius*, together with *Menescelmus*, and many others, whom he overthrew and caused to be condemned every one. Moreover, he called judicially into question *Diphilus*, for that he tooke away out of the metall mines, those middle posts or props which supported the weight of earth bearing upon them, by which meanes he enriched himselfe, directly against the lawes: and whereas the penaltie of this crime was death, he caused him to be condemned. He distributed out of his goods, unto every citizen of *Athens* fiftie drachmes, or as some say, one *mina*, or pound of silver: for the totall summe of his wealth amounted unto an hundred and threecore talents. He accused likewise *Aristogiton*, *Cleocrates*, and *Autolycus*, for that being no better than slaves, they carried themselves like men of free condition. This *Lycurgus* was surnamed *Ibis*, that is to say, the blacke Stork: and men commonly would say to *Lycurgus*, this, like as to *Xenophon*, *Nycterus*, that is to say, the Howlet. The most ancient of this house, were descended from *Erechtheus*, the sonne of the Earth and of *Vulcane*; but the nextest, from *Lycomedes* and *Lycurgus*, whom the people honoured with publicke funerals and obsequies. And this descent of their race, is drawn from those who were priests of *Neptune*, and set downe in a full and perfect table, which hangeth up in the temple *Erechtheum*, and was painted by *Spineta* the Chalcidian; where also stand certaine statues of wood, atwell of *Lycurgus* as of his children, to wit, *Abron*, *Lycurgus* and *Lychophon*, which sometimes were made by *Timarchus* and *Cephisodorus* the sonnes of *Praxitelis* the imager. He who set up and dedicated the painted table before said, was *Abron*, unto whom by order of hereditarie succession, fell the priesthood, but he gave over his right thereto voluntarily unto his brother *Lycophon*: this is the reason that he is painted giving a three-forked mace unto his brother. Now this *Lycurgus* having caused to be engraven upon a square pillar, a briefe of his whole administration of the comon weale, caused it to be planted just before the wrestling hall, for every man to see it that would. Neither could any man be so fildio hardy, as to accuse him for robbing the State, or inverting any thing to his own use. He propounded unto the people, that there should be a coronet given unto *Neoptolemus* the sonne of *Anicles*, and a statue besides, for that he undertooke and promised to gild (all over) the altar of *Apollo* in the market place, according to the commandement & direction of the oracle. He demanded also, that honour should be decreed for *Eumonymus* the sonne of *Diotimus*, whose father was *Diopithes*, in that yeere wherein *Ctesicles* was provost.

## DEMOSTHENES. VIII.

**D**emosthenes the sonne of *Demosthenes* and of *Cleobule* the daughter of *Gylon*, of the linage or tribe of *Paania*, being left an orphan by his father, at the age of seven yeeres, together with a sister five yeeres olde; during the time of orphanage kept with his mother a widow, and went to schoole unto *Isocrates*, as some say, or as most men give out, to *Isaas* the Chalcidian the disciple of *Isocrates*, who lived in *Athens*: he imitated *Thucydides* and *Plato* the Philosopher, in whole schoole there be that say he was first brought up: but as *Hegeſus* the Magnesian reporteth,

eth, being advertised that *Callistratus* the sonne of *Empedocles*, an Aphidiean and famous orator, who had bene captain and commander of a troupe of horsemen, and who had dedicated an altar to *Mercurie* surnamed *Agoraios*, that is to say, the Speaker, was to make a solemne oration unto the people, craved leave of his tutor and schoolemaster, that he might go to heare him: and no sooner had he heard him speake, but he was in love with his eloquence.

But as for this oratour, he heard him but a while, even until he left the cite; for banished he was. Now after that he was departed into *Thrace*, by which time *Demosthenes* grew to be a yong man; then began he to frequent the company of *Isocrates* and *Plato*: howbeit, afterwards hee tooke home into his house *Isaas*, whom he entertained the space of foure yeeres, and exercised himselfe in the imitation of his stile, or (as *Ctesibius* reporteth in his treatise of Philosophie) he wrought so, that by the meanes of *Callias* the Syracusan, he recovered the orations of *Zethus* the Amphipolitan, and by the helpe of *Charicles* the Chariitian, he got them also of *Alcidamus*, and those he gave himselfe wholly to imitate. But in proceſſe of time, when he was come to mans estate, and past a ward, seeing that his tutors and guardians allowed him not sufficiently out of his living and patrimonie, he called them to account for their guardianship, that yeere wherein *Timocrates* was provost of *Athens*. Now three tutors or governours he had, to wit, *Aphobus*, *Theripides*, *Demophon* aliàs *Demus*, whom he charged more than the rest, being his uncle by the mothers side: he laied actions upon them of ten talents a peece, and so much he demanded of them by law: he overthrew them all; but he could not come by ought of that where-  
in they were condemned: for neither recovered he money nor favour of the one or the other.

When *Aristophan* was now so aged, that he could not take paines nor attend to set out the solemne dances and shewes, for which he was chosen commissarie and overseer, he gave over his place, and *Demosthenes* in his roome was substituted the matter of the said dances: and for that in the open theater as he was buſie in his office about setting out and ordering the dances, *Medius* the Anagyrasian, gave him a box of the eare with his fist, he fust him, an actiõ of batterie: howbeit, he gave over his sute for the sum of three thousand drachmes of silver, which *Medius* paid him. This is reported of him, that being a yong man, he retir'd himselfe apart into a certeine cave, where he gave himselfe unto his booke, having caused his head to be shaven the halfe of it, because he might not goe abroad to be seene, and so leave his booke: also, that he lay upon a very streight and narrow bed, for that he would the sooner awake, and with more ease: and there he exercised and forced himselfe to frame his speech better: but for that he had an ill grace with him, ever as he spake, to shake and shrinke up his shoul'd'r, he remedied that, by sticking up a broch or spit, or as some say a dagger, to the floore over head, that for feare of pricking his shoul'd'r, he might forget this evill custome that he had in his gesture: and according as he profited and proceeded forward in the art, he caused a mirror to be made juſt as bigge as himselfe, before which he used to declame, that thereby he might observe the evill gestures or ill-favoured faces that he made when he spake, and learne to reforme and amend them: also, he used otherwhiles to goe downe to the water side, to the haven *Phalerum*, for to exercise himselfe in declaming, even where the surging waves of the sea did beat upon the banks, to the end that he might at no time after be troubled nor put out and driven to an exaltie, with the noise and clamour of the people when hee should speake before them: but for that naturally hee was short-winded, and his breath commonly failed him, hee bestowed upon *Neoptolemus* a famous actour or stage-plaier, tenne thousand drachmes of silver, to teach him for to pronounce long periods and sentences with one breath, and not taking his winde betweene.

When he began to enter into the management of the publike State, finding that the citizens were divided into two factions; the one siding and taking part with king *Philip*; the other speaking and pleading still for their liberties and freedom, he chose to joine with that which was opposite in all their doings unto *Philip*; and all his life time he continued counselling and persuading the people to succour those who were in danger to fall under the hands of *Philip*: communicating his counsels in the administration of State affaires, & devising evermore with *Hypereides*, *Nausicles*, *Polyeuctus*, and *Diotimus*: and therefore he drew into league & confederacy with the men of *Athens*, the Thebanes, Euboeans, Corryceans, Corinthians, Boeotians, and many others besides. One day he chanced to be out, and his memorie to faile him, so that he was hissed at by the people in a great assembly of the cite: for which disgrace he was out of hearty, and ill appaid, in so much as in great discontentment he went home to his house; where by the way, *Eutromus* the Thriasian, being now an ancient man, met with him, who cheered up *Demosthenes*, and comforted him all that he could: out most of all *Andronicus* the stage-plaier; who said unto him:

That



play a part in a tragedie, you can not make me believe that you are the man whom you represent; no more shall you persuade me now to give care unto your counsell: and when the other laid hands on him and would have drawn him forth by violence, those of the city would not suffer him; then said *Demosthenes* unto them: I fiedde not unto *Calabria* for my safetie, and with any intention to save my life, but to convince the Lacedæmonians of their impietie and violence, even against the gods; and with that he called for writing tables, and wrote this distichon; as fath *Demetrius* the Magnesian, which the Athenians afterwards caused to be set as an Epigram over the statue:

Had thy good heart *Demosthenes*,  
mette with as good an hand:  
The Greeks of *Macedonian* sword,  
should never have had command.

This image of his standeth neere unto the purpise or cloister, wherein is erected the altar of the twelve gods, and made it was by the hands of *Polygnotus*: but as some say, this was found written withall: *Demosthenes* to *Antipater* greeting. *Philochorus* saith, that he died of poison which he drank: but *Satyrus* the historiographer reporteth, that the penne was poisoned where-with he beganne to write his epittle, and chancing to put it into his mouth, so soone as ever he tasted thereof, died: *Erastosthenes* writeth otherwise, namely that hee standing in feare a long time of the Macedonians, was provided of poison, which he caried within a little ring or bracelet that he wore about the wrist of his arme: & there be againe who say, that he killed himselfe by holding his winde so long, that he was overcome and stifled withall: last of all, others write that he caried a strong poison within the collet of his signet, which he tasted, and died thereof, \* \* \* two and twenty.

When king *Philip* was dead, he came abroad wearing a faire & rich new robe, although but a while before he had buried his owne daughter, so glad was he of the death of that Macedonian king. He aided the *Thebanes* also when they warred with *Alexander*, and all other Greeks he encouraged as much as possibly he could at all times; and therefore *Alexander* after he had destroyed the city of *Thebes*, demanded of the Athenians for to have him, menacing them if they would not deliver him into his hands. And when the said king warred upon the Persians, and required of the Athenians their shipping, *Demosthenes* opposed himselfe and denied it: For who is able to say (quoth he) that he will not use the same shippes even against our selves that fend them. He left behinde him two sonnes by one wife, the daughter of one *Heliodorus* a principall citizen. One daughter he had, who died before he was married, being but yet a young childe. A sister also he had, who being married unto *Laches* the Leuconian his nephew or sisters sonne, bare *Demochares*, a valiant man in warre, and besides, for policie and eloquence inferior to none in his time. There is an image of his to be seene at this day, standing within the common hall of the citie, called *Prytaneum*, on the right hand as men do enter in and go toward the altar. The first man he was who made an oration to the people with a sword by his side girded over his robe: for in that habit it is said, that he delivered a speech unto the citizens, when *Antipater* came to demand their oratours: but afterwards, the Athenians both ordained allowance of diet in the *Prytaneum* for the kindred of *Demosthenes*, and also set up a statue for himselfe when he was dead, in the Marketplace, that very yeere when *Gorgias* was provost, at the sute of *Demochares* his nephew or sisters sonne, who required these honours for his uncle: yea, and afterwards, *Laches* the sonne of *Demochares* a Leuconian, made sute for the like honours for himselfe, the yeere that *Pitharatus* was provost, which was ten yeeres after; namely, his statue for to stand in the market place, and allowance of diet in the palace *Prytaneum*, aswell for himselfe as for the eldest alwaies of his house and linage in every descent, with a priviledge of the highest room or uppermost place at all solemn fights and games. And these decrees as touching them both, are registred, and to be seene engroffed upon record. As for the image of *Demochares*, whereof we have already spoken, it was transported into the palace or hall of the citie named *Prytaneum*.

There be extant orations which be his in deed, to the number of three score and five. Some say, that he lived a dissolute and riotous life, and that he would not sticke to goe in womens apparel, to banquet, to be one ordinarily in all masks and mommeries; whereupon he was surnamed *Batalus*: though others there are, who say that this was the name of his nourise, and that therupon he was so tearmed by way of flouting speech or nick-name. *Diogenes* the dogged Cy-nick, spied him one day in a tavern; wherat *Demosthenes* was abashed, & retired more inward into

into the house: Nay (quoth *Diogenes* to him) the more you draw or shrink backward, the further still you go into the tavern. The same *Diogenes* said to him upon a time, when he was disposed to scoffe: That in words he was a Scythian, that is to say, a tough Tartarian and a brave warrior; but in warre, a fine and delicate burgesse of *Athens*. He tooke golde of *Ephialtes* also, being one of the oratours who went in embassage to the king of *Persia*, and brought with him a great summe of money secretly to distribute among the oratours of *Athens*, to this end, that they might stirre coales, and blow the fire, to kindle warre against *Philip*: and it is said, that he for his part had at one clap of the king, three thousand daricks. He caused one *Anaxilus* of the citie of *Orea*, to be apprehended, who had otherwise bene his familiar friend; and being cast into prison, put him to be examined by torture, as a spie; and albeit he confessed nought, yet he sued out a writ or decree that he should be committed into the hands of the eleven executioners of justice. One day when he meant to make a speech in the full assembly of the people, they were not willing to heare him: Why (quoth he unto them) it is but a short tale that I purpose to tell unto you: which when they heard, they gave him audience willingly: and then began he in this manner: There was not long since (quoth he) a young man who hired an asse in the time of Summer, from this citie to *Megara*: now when it was noone time of the day, and the Sun exceeding hot, both the one and the other, aswell the owner of the asse as he who hired him, would needs have the benefit of the asses shade, and stand under it, but they hindred and impeached one another; for the owner said that he had let to hire, his asse, but not the shadow of him: the other againe who hired him, pleaded that the asse, shadow and all was in his power. Having thus begun his tale, he came downe and went his way: the people then called him backe, and praised him to tell the tale out, and make an end thereof: Why my masters (quoth he) how is it; that you are so desirous that I should tell you a tale of the shadow of asse, and will not give me the hearing when I am to speake unto you of your affaires of great importance? *Poleis* the famous actour and stage-plaier made his boast upon a time, that in two daies wherein he plaied his part, he had gotten a whole talent of silver: And I (quoth he) have gained five in one day, for holding my peace and keeping silence. His voice upon a time, when he made a speech unto the people, failed him; whereupon his audience being not well pleased, and himselfe somewhat troubled, he said aloud unto them: You are to judge plaieurs by their pleasant and strong voice; but oratours by their good and grave sentences. *Epicles* seemed to upbraid and reproch him, for that he was alwaies musing and premeditating: I would be assumed (quoth he unto him) it being to speake before so great an assembly of people, I should come unprovided. It is written of him, that he never put out his lampe, that is to say, that he never ceased studying how to file and polith (as it were) his orations, untill he was fiftie yeeres old. He said of himselfe, that he drunke nothing but faire water. *Lysias* the oratour had knowledge of him: and *Isocrates* saw him to manage the affaires of State, untill the battell of *Cheronæa*, yea, and some alio of the Socraticall oratours. The most part of his orations he pronounced *ex tempore* and of a sudden, as having a ready and pregnant wit, and one who naturally was fitt to speake. The first that ever propoed and put up a bill unto the people, that he should be crowned with a coronet of golde, was *Aristophanes* the Anagyrasian the sonne of *Nicophanes*: and *Diondas* did second the motion with an oath.

## HYPERIDES. IX.

*Hyperides* the sonne of *Glaucippus*, who was the sonne of *Dionysius* of the burrough *Colytes*, had a sonne who bare the name of his father *Glaucippus*, an orator who composed certaine orations and he begat another oratour, named *Alphius*. He was at one time the scholar of *Plato* the Philosopher, of *Lycurgus* and of *Isocrates*. He dealt in the State at what time as *Alexander* the Great intended the affaires of *Greece*, and he crossed him as touching those captainties which he demanded of the Athenians, as also about the gallies which he required to have. He advised the people not to casse and discharge those souldiers which were enterred at *Tenura*, who had for their captaine, *Chares*, and whose friend particularly he was. He pleaded ordinarily at the first as an advocate for his fee; and was suspected to have received part of that money which *Ephialtes* brought out of *Persia*. Cholen he was the captaine of one great galley, at what time as king *Philip* went to lay siege unto the citie *Bizantium*: and sent he was to aide the *Bizantines*. The very same yeere he tooke the charge of defraying the expenses of the tolenne dances; whereas the rest of the captaines were exempt from all publicke offices for that yeere. He passed a decree, that certaine honours should be done unto *Demosthenes*; and when

How great  
this traitor  
was, and  
how much  
he had  
done  
for  
his  
country

the said decree was by *Diondas* repealed, as made against the lawes, and himselfe thereupon accused, yet found he was unguiltie, and thereupon acquit. Friend he was to *Demosthenes*, *Lysicles* and *Lycurgus*; howbeit, in this amitie he continued not unto the end: for after that *Lysicles* and *Lycurgus* were dead, when *Demosthenes* was once called in question for taking money of *Harpalus*, he alone (for that his hands onely were free of bribery) was nominated and picked out from the rest, to frame an accusation against him, because they were all thought culpable in the same fault, and so he judicially accused him: but himselfe was charged by *Aristogiton* for publishing fault, and so he judicially accused him: That all the inhabitants and acts contrary to the lawes, after the battell at *Charonea*, namely; That all the inhabitants and dwellers in *Athens*, should be burgessees of the citie; that all slaves should manumized and made free; that all sacred and holy reliques; that women and children should be bestowed with-  
10 made free; that all sacred and holy reliques; that women and children should be bestowed with- in the port or haven *Pireum*: howbeit, absolved he was, and went cleere away. And when some there were who found fault with him, and marvelled how he should be so negligent and over- there were who found fault with him, and marvelled how he should be so negligent and over- seene, as not to know so many lawes which were directly opposit to the said decrees; he made this answer: If (quoth he) the armes of the Macedonians and the battell of *Charonea*, had not darzeled and dimmed my sight, I had never written nor proposed such an edict. But certeine it is, that after this, *Philip* being affrighted, gave the Athenians leave to take up the bodies of their dead that lay in the field, which before he had denied unto the heralds that came of purpose un- to him out of *Lebada*.

Afterwards, upon the defaulture at *Crannon*, when he was demanded by *Antipater*, and the peo- ple resolved to deliver him into his hands, he forsooke the citie, and fled into the Ille *Aegina*,  
20 ple resolved to deliver him into his hands, he forsooke the citie, and fled into the Ille *Aegina*, with other persons who likewise were condemned; where meeting with *Demosthenes*, he desired him to holde him excused, for that he had by constraint accused him. And when he minded to depart from thence, surprisid he was by one *Archias* surnamed *Phygadothes*, a man borne in the citie of *Thurii*, and who at the first was a professed stage-plaier, but then imploied in the ser- vice and aid of *Antipater*: so he was apprehended perforce within the temple of *Xenocrus*; not- withstanding hee held the image of the said god in his armes; and from thence brought to *Co- rintb* before *Antipater*; where being set upon the racke, and put to torture, he bit his tongue off with his owne teeth, because he would not discover the secrets of the city, and so ended his daies the ninth day of the moneth October: howbeit, *Hermippus* saith, that as he went into *Macedo- nie*, he had his tongue cut out of his head, and his dead corps was cast forth unto the beasts of  
30 nie, he had his tongue cut out of his head, and his dead corps was cast forth unto the beasts of the field without sepulture: yet one *Alphimus* his cousin germaine, or as some say, the counsell of *Glaukipus* his sonne obtained licence (by the means of *Philopithes* a certeine physician) to take up his bodie, who burnt the same in a funerall fire; the ashes and bones whereof, he carried to *Athens* afterwards, among his kinsfolke and friends, contrary to the orders and decrees set downe, both by the Macedonians and the Athenians: for by vertue thereof they were not onely banished but interdicted, so as they might not be interred within their owne country. Others say, that he was carried unto the citie *Cleone* with others, where he died; and that his tongue was cut, and afterwards, himselfe murdered in manner aforesaid. Howbeit, his kinsmen and friends gathered up his bones when his corps was burnt, and buried them amongst his parents and pro- genitours before the gates called *Hippades*, according as *Heliodorus* hath recorded in the third booke of his monuments. But his sepulchre at this day is quite demolished, and no token re- maineth thereof to be seene.

He had a singular name above all other oratours, for speaking before the people; in somuch, as some have ranged him even above *Demosthenes*. There go in his name, three score and seven- teene orations; of which, two and fiftie are truly attributed unto him, and no more. Given he was exceeding much to the love of women, which was the cause that he drave his owne sonne out of his house, and brought in thither *Mysticilla* the most sumptuous and costly courtesan in those daies: and yet in *Pyreum* he kept *Aristagora*, and at *Ekusum* (where his lands and posses- sions lay) he had another at command, namely, *Phile* a Thebane borne, who cost him twentie pounds weight of silver. His ordinarie walke was every day thorow the fish market. And when  
50 pounds weight of silver. His ordinarie walke was every day thorow the fish market. And when the famous courtesan *Phryne* (whom he loved also) was called into question for Atheisme and impietie, inquisition was made after him likewise; and so he was troubled with her and for her sake, as it should seeme: for, so much he declareth himselfe in the beginning of his oration: now when he was at the very point to be condemned, he brought the woman forth in open court before the judges, rent her clothes, and shewed unto them her bare breest; which the judges see- ing to be so white and faire, in regard of her very beautie absolved and dismissed her.

He had very closely and secretly framed certeine accusatorie declarations against *Demosthe- nes*,

as, yet so, as they came to light in this maner: for when *Hyperides* lay sicke, it fortuned that *De- mosthenes* came one day to his house for to visit him, where he found a booke drawn full of ar- ticles against him; whereat when he was much offended, and tooke it in great indignation, *Hyperides* made him this answer: So long as you are my friend, this shall never hurt you; but if you become mine enemy, this shall be a curbe to restraine you from enterprising any thing prejudiciall unto me. He put up a bill unto the people, that certeine honours should be done unto *Jolas*, who gave unto *Alexander* the cuppe of poison. He sided with *Demosthenes*, and joined in the raising of the Lamiacke warre, and made an admirable oration at the funerals of those who lost their lives therein. When king *Philip* was ready to embark & passe over into the  
10 the *Euboea*, whereupon the Athenians were in great feare and perplexitie; he gathered together in a small time a flecte of fortie saile, by voluntarie contribution, and was the first man who for himselfe and his sonne rigged and set forth two gallics of warre. When there was a contro- versie in law betweene the Athenians and Delians to be decided, unto whether of them apper- tained by right the superintendence of the temple at *Delos*, and that *Aschynus* was chosen to plead the cause, the counsell of *Areopagus* elected *Hyperides*; and his oration as touching this matter is at this day extant, entituled The Deliaque oration. Moreover, he went in embassage to *Rhodes*, where there arrived other embassadours in the behalfe of *Antipater*, whom they high- ly praised, as a good, milde, and gracious prince: True it is (quoth *Hyperides* unto them again) I know well that he is good and gracious, but we have no need of him to be our lord and master  
20 how good and gracious foever he be. It is said, that in his orations he shewed no action nor ge- sture at all: his maner was onely to set downe the case and lay open the matter plainly and sim- ply, without troubling the judges any otherwise than with a naked narration. Sent hee was likewise unto the Elians for to defend the cable of *Calippus*, one of the champions at the sacred games, unto whom this imputation was laid, that by corruption he had caried away the prize, and indirectly obtained the victorie. He opposed himselfe also against the gift which was or- dained in the honour of *Phocion*, at the instant fure of *Midias* of *Anagyra*, the sonne of *Midias*, the yere wherein *Xenius* was provolt, the 27. day of the moneth of May; and in this cause he was cast and had the overthrow.

## DINARCHUS. X.

30

*Dinarchus* the sonne of *Socrates* or *Sofistratus*, borne as some thinke in the countrey of *Atti- ca*, or as others would have him, in *Corinth*, came to *Athens* very young, at what time as king *Alexander* the Great, passed with his armie into *Asia*, where he dwelt, and frequented the lecture of *Theophrastus*, who succeeded *Aristotle* in the Peripateticke schoole: he conversed also with *Demetrius* the *Phalerian*, and tooke his time especially to enter into the admini- stration of State affaires, after the death of *Antipater*, when the great oratours and states-men were some dead and made away, others banished and driven out of the citie: and being besides  
40 and taking money for his orations, of those at whose request he composed them. He banded against the most renowned oratours in his time; not by putting himselfe forth to come in open place to speake before the people (for no gift nor grace he had therein) but by penning orations for those who made head against them. And namely when *Harpalus* had broken prison and was fled, he composed divers accusatorie declarations against all such as were suspected to have take money of him, and those he delivered into the hands of their accusers to be pronoun- ced accordingly. Long time after, being accused himselfe to have communicated, conferred, and practised with *Antipater* and *Cassander*, about the time that the haven *Munichia* was surpris- ed by *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, who placed there a garrison in that yere when *Antixerates* was provolt of the city, he sold most part of his goods, and made money, and when hee had  
50 done, fled out of the way to *Chalcis*, where he lived as it were in exile the space well neere of 15. yerees; during which time, he gathered great riches, and became very wealthy, and so return- ed againe to *Athens*, by the means of *Theophrastus*, who procured both him and other bani- shed persons to be recalled and restored: he abode then in the house of one *Proxenus* his fami- liar friend; where being now very aged, and besides weake-sighted, he lost his gold that he had gotten together; and when *Proxenus* his host would have given information thereof, and seem- ed to make inquisition, *Dinarchus* called him into question judicially for it; and this was the first time that ever he was known to speake & plead personally at the barre. This oration of his

Kkkk

is



is now extant, and there are besides in mens hands threescore and foure more acknowledged all to be his, and yet some of these are to be excepted, as namely, that against *Aristogiton*. He did imitate *Hyperides*, or as some thinke *Demosthenes* in regard of that pathetical spirit in moving affections, and the emphaticall force which appeareth in his stile. Certainly in his figures and exornations he followeth him very evidently.

## DECREES PROPOSED UNTO the people of *Athens*.

**D**emochares the sonne of *Laches*, of the burrough *Leucon*, demandeth for *Demosthenes*, the sonne of *Demosthenes* of the burrough of *Paania*, a statue of bras to be set up in the market place or common hal of *Athens*: also allowance of diet in the palace *Prytanæum*, & the first place or seat in al honorable assemblies for himselfe, & the eldest of his house in every descent for ever; for that he the said *Demosthenes* hath alwaies bene a bene factour to the citie, & given counsell unto the people of *Athens*, in many of their honorable affaires to their behoote; for that he hath at all times exposed his goods to the service of the common-weale, & namely, of his liberrall and bountifull minde contributed eight talents of silver, and maintained one galley of warre, at what time the people freed & delivered the isle *Eubæa*: & another, when captaine *Cephalodorus* set out his voiage into *Hellepont*; as also a third when *Chares* and *Phocion* were sent as captaines to *Byzantium* by the people. Item, for that with his owne money he ransomed and redeemed many citizens taken prisoners & captives in *Pydne*, *Methone* & *Olynthus* by king *Philip*. Item, for that he defraited at his own proper cost & charges, the publick plaies & daunces when the tribe of the *Pandionides* failed to furnish the officers & wardens appointed thereto. Item, for that he armed many poore citizens who had not wherewith to set themselves forth to the warres, Item, for that being chosen by the people one of the Aediles or Commisaries, for repairing the citie walles, he laid out of his owne purse to the value of three talents of silver, over and besides ten thousand drachms which of his owne money he employed, in casting of two trenches about *Pyreum*. Item, that after the disastrous battell of *Charonea*, he gave out of his owne stocke one talent; & another to buy come with all in time of a dearth and great famine. Item, for that by his effectuell remonstrances, faire perswasions, holosome counsels, and good demerits, he had induced the Thebanes, Eubœans, Corinthians, Megarians, Achians, Locrians, Bizantines, and Messenians, to enter into a league as well offensive as defensive with the people of *Athens*. Item, for that he levied a power of ten thousand footmen well armed, and a thousand horsemen, over and above the contribution of monies, by the people and their allies. Item, for that being embassadour, he had perswaded the associats and confederates of *Athens*, to make a contribution of money to the summe of five hundred talents and above, toward the warres. Item, for that he impeached the Peloponnesians for aiding king *Alexander* against the Thebanes; for which service he parted with his owne silver, and went personally in embassage. As also in regard of many other good deserts, and woorthie exploits by him achieved: in consideration likewise of much wise counsel and advice, which he hath given unto the people, and of his politicke government & manning of State affaires, wherein he hath carried himselfe as well, yea and much better than any in his time: for the preservation of the libertie and maintenance of the authoritie of the people. Over and besides, in that he was banished out of his country by certaine seditious usurpers, who for the time oppressed the authoritie of the people: and finally lost his life in *Calauria*, in the quarrell of the said people, and for the love and good will that he alwaies bare affectionately unto the commonalty of *Athens*, there being sent of purpose from *Antipater* certaine soldiers to apprehend him. Notwithstanding, which present danger wherein he stood, being now in the hands of his enemies, yet persisted he firme & fast in his heartie affection alwaies unto the people: inso much as he never did any deed, nor let fall any word prejudiciall to his country, or unbefitting the honour of the people, as neere as hee was unto his death. *Subscribed, that verie yeere when Pytharatus was Provost.*

*Laches* the sonne of *Demochares*, of the burrough *Leucon*, demandeth in free gift of the Senate and people of *Athens*, for *Demochares* the sonne of *Laches*, of the tribe or burrough *Leucon*, one statue of bras to be erected in the market place: also his table and diet in the palace or citie

citie hall *Prytanæum* for himselfe, and for him that shall be the eldest of his house in everie descent for ever; as also the priviledge of precedence or first seat at all solemne fights and publicke plaies: for that he hath alwaies bene a benefactour and good counsellor unto the people of *Athens*, as having deserved well of the common-weale in these particulars; as well in those things which he hath penned, proposed and negotiated in his embassage, as in the administration of common-weale; in that he hath caused the walles of the citie to be built, made provision of harnesse & armor, as well offensive as defensive; of fabricks & engines of battery, & of artillery with shot to be discharged out of them; in that he hath well fortified the citie during the warres with the Boeotians which continued for the space of foure yeeres: for which good service done, banished he was and chased out of the citie by the tyrants, who oppressed the libertie and authoritie of the people: and in that being restored againe and called home by an honourable decree of the said people, when *Diocles* was Provost, he was the first man who restrained the administration and manning of those who made spaire of their owne goods, and sent embassages unto *Lysimachus*: in that also hee levied for the good of the common-weale at one time thirtie talents, and at another a hundred talents of silver; in that he moved the people by a bill preferred unto them, for to send an embassage to king *Ptolemæus* in *Aegypt*; by means whereof they that went that voyage, brought backe with them fittie talents of silver for the people. Item, in that being sent embassadour to *Antipater*, he received thereby twenty talents of silver, which he brought unto the people into the citie of *Eleusis*, where he practised and perswaded with them to receive the same. Item, in that he suffered banishment, because he was a protectour and defender of the popular State, never siding nor taking part with any faction of the usurpers; nor bearing office or magistracie in common-weale, after that the said popular State was put downe and abolished. Item, in that he onely in his time, of all those who medled in the affaires of State, never studied nor intended alteration, and to reduce his country unto any another kind of government, but popular. Item, in that by his politicke counsell and administration he hath put in safetie and securitie all judgements passed; all lawes enacted; all decrees concluded; yea and the goods and substance of all the Athenians: finally, in that he hath gone about and attempted nothing prejudiciall unto the popular government, either in word or deed.

*Lycophron* the son of *Lycurgus*, of the burrough or communalitie of *Bura*, hath presented this request: That he might be allowed his diet in the palace *Prytanæum*, according to the free gift granted before time to his father *Lycurgus* by the people, in that yeere wherein *Anaxicrates* was Provost of the citie, and the tribe *Antiochis* President of *Prytanæum*: which *Stratocles* the son of *Euthydemus*, of the burrough *Diomeia*, proposed it in this forme: Forasmuch as *Lycurgus*, the sonne of *Lycophron* of *Bura*, hath received of his ancestors (as it were) from hand to hand a certaine hereditarie love and affection to the people of *Athens*, and his progenitours likewise, *Dionmedes* and *Lycurgus*, both during their lives were esteemed and highly honoured by the people; and after their death, had this honour done unto them in testimonie of their vertue and valour, as to be entered at the publick charges of the citie in that conspicuous street called *Ceramicum*: considering also, that *Lycurgus* himselfe (whiles he managed the affaires of the State) enacted many good and holosome lawes for his country, and being treasurer-generall of all the cities revenues, by the space of fiftene yeeres, during that time, had the receipt and laying out of the publick moneys, to the summe of eightene thousand and nine hundred talents: and for that many private mens stocks were put into his hands upon trust, for the confidence they had in him, in regard of his fidelitie; in regard also, that he hath disbursed and laied forth of his owne moneys at sundry times and upon divers occasions, for the benefit of the citie and communalitie, as much as amounteth in all, to fixe hundred and fittie talents: for that likewise in all his employments, having bene ever found most trustie, just and loyall, and to carie himselfe as an honest man and good citizen, he hath bene many times crowned by the city: moreover, in this respect, that having bene chosen by the people the receiver of the finances, hee gathered together a great masse of money, and brought the same into the common chest within the citadell, and besides, provided ornaments for the goddess *Minerva*, to wit, images of victorie all of beaten gold, vessels to carie in procession both of golde and silver, besides other jewels of fine gold for the service and worship of the said goddess, and namely, to the number of one hundred *Camephoræ*, that is to say, Virgins carrying paniers or baskets with sacred reliques upon their heads. Item, for that being elected commissarie for the munitions and provisions necessarie for the warres, he brought into the citadell a great number of armours and weapons, and among the rest, fittie thousand shot; rigged and set a float foure hundred gallies, some new built, others re-

paired and trimmed: over and besides, for that finding certaine of the citie works imperfect, to wit, the Arceall, the Armorie and the Theater of *Bacchus*, he caused them to be made up, and withall, finished both the Cirque or running place *Panathenaeum*, and also the empaied parke for publicke exercises, and built the *Lycium* likewise, and adorned the citie with many faire buildings and publicke edifices: whereas also, king *Alexander* the Great, having already subdued all *Asia*, and intending generally to be commander over all *Greece*, demanded to have *Lycurgus* delivered up into his hands, for that he onely stood in his way, and crossed his desires, the people would not deliver him for any feare they had of *Alexander*: and for that being oft times called judicially to his answer, and to render an account of his government and administration in a free citie and governed by a popular State, he was alwaies found innocent and unprovable, not tainted with any briberie, nor spotted with corruption and taking gifts for to pervert justice all his life time. To the end therefore, that all men might know that they who are well affected to the maintenance of liberty and popular government be highly accounted of by the people whiles they live, and that after their death the citie is willing to render unto them immortal thanks; in a good and happie houre, let it be ordained by the people, that *Lycurgus* the sonne of *Lyciphron* of *Buta*, be honoured for his vertue and righteousnesse; and that the people erect his statue all of brasie in the market-stead, unlesse it be in some place where the trade expressly forbiddeth it to stand. Item, that there be allowance of diet in the *Prytaneeum*, to the eldest of his house in every descent for ever. Also, that the decrees by him propoed, shalbe ratified and engrossed by the publicke notarie of the citie, yea, and engraven in pillars of stone, and set up in the citadell neere unto the offerings consecrated unto the goddesse *Minerva*: and for the engraving of the said pillars, the treasure of the citie shall defray fiftie drachmes of silver out of those moneys which are allowed for the citie decrees.



## OF THREE SORTS OF GOVERNMENT: MONAR- CHIE, DEMOCRATIE AND OLIGARCHIE.



AS I devised with my selfe and purposed to put to question for to be decided by this judicious companie, a matter which yesterday I discoursed of before you; me thought that I heard politicke vertue in a true vision in deed (and not in the vaine illusion of a dreame) thus to say unto me:

*The golden base and ground that now belongs  
Unto our worke, is laid with sacred songs.*

I have already laid the foundation of a discourse, perswading and exhorting to the management of State affaires, if now we can proceed to build upon it the doctrine fit for such an exhortation,

which is a due debt unto *Astium*: for meet it is and requisite, that after a man hath received an admonition inciting him to deale in politicke matters of common-weale, there should consequently be given unto him and founded in his eares the precepts of policie; the which he observing and following, may (as much as lieth in man to performe) be profitable to the common-weale; and withall, in the meane time manage his owne private businesse, both in safetie, and also with such honour as is just and meet for him.

First and forme therefore, we are to consider and discourse of one point; which as it is a very materiaall precedent unto all that shall be said, so it dependeth, and is necessarily to be inferred of that which hath bene delivered already; namely, What maner of policie and government is best: for as there be many sort of lives in particular men; so there are of people in general:

nerall: and the life of a people or commonaltie, is the politicke state and government thereof. Necessarie it is therefore, that we declare which is simply the best; that a man of State may chuse it from among the rest: or at leastwise, if that be impossible, take that which most resembleth the best. Now there is one signification of this word *Politia*, that is to say, *Policie*, which is as much as Burgesie, that is to say, the indument and enjoying of the right and priviledges of a citie: as for example, when we say that the Megarians (by a publicke ordinance of their citie) gave unto *Alexander* the great, their *Politia*, that is to say, their Burgesie: and when he seemed to laugh at this offer and grant of theirs, they made him answer againe: That they had never decreed this honour to any, but first to *Hercules*, and now to himselfe: which speech of theirs he so admired, that he accepted of their gift, reputed it honourable, because it was so rare. Also the life of a politicke person who administred State affaires, is called *Policie*: according to which sense and acceptation of the word, wee commend the policie of *Pericles* and *Bias*, that is to say, their manner of government, but contrariwise, we discommend that of *Hyperbolus* and *Cleon*. Moreover, others there be, who call some one worthy act or memorable deed tending to the good of the common weale, by the name of *Policie*: as for example, the contribution of money, the final ending and dissolution of warre, and the publishing or declaration of some notable decree: in which signification we use commonly to say: Such a man hath this day bene the author of a good policie, if haply he have done and effected some worthy things, importing the weale-publicke. Over and above all these significations before specified, there is another; namely, the order and state of a citie and common-wealth, by which are managed and administered all the affaires thereof: and according to this sense we say, there be three sorts of policies, Monarchie, that is to say, Roialtie; Oligarchie, that is to say, Seignory; and Democratie, that is to say, Popular authoritie: of which three *Herodotus* maketh mention in the third booke of his historie, comparing them together; and it seemeth that these be the most generall, for all others be (as it were) the depravations and corruptions of these, according to want or excess, like as it falleth out in accords and consonances of musick, when the first and principall sitings or notes are stretched over high, or let downe to low: and so hee divided these three governments among those nations which had the largest empire and greatest dominion: for the Persians held the Monarchie and absolute roialtie, for that their king had plenary power in all things, not subject to be called unto account by any person whatsoever. The Spartians or Lacedaemonians, maintained a grave and severe counsell, consisting of some few, and those the best and principall personages of the city, who managed and dispatched all affaires. The Athenians embraced a popular government, living under their owne lawes, free, and without all mixture whatsoever. Now of these States and governments, when they be faulty and out of order, the transgressions, exorbitations and excesses, be called tyrannies, lordly oppressions of the mightier, and unbridled rule, or licentious misrule rather of the multitude: to wit, when the prince in his absolute roialtie taketh upon him insolent pride, to commit wrong and outrage unto whom he list: when some fewe senators or rulers in their seignorie enter into an arrogant and presumptuous lordlinesse, whereby they contemne and oppress all others: also when the multitude in their popular isonomie, runne into anarchie, unrulinesse, disobedience, teames of equalitie, and unmeasurable libertie: and in one word, when all these sorts of government fall to rash and witlesse folly: like as therefore a skilfull and harmonick musician can make use of all kinds of instruments, framing and accommodating himselfe by art and cunning unto every one, striking each one according as he knoweth the quality and nature thereof, to give the sweetest and most pleasant found: howbeit, if he follow the counsell of *Plato*, will passe by the fiddles, rebeckes, dulcimers, the many stringed psalteries or virginals, the vials likewise & the triangled harpes, preferring before all others the lute and the citheron or bandora: even so a good politician, will handle with dexteritie the Laconicke seignorie, and manage well enough *Lycurgus* his Oligarchie, applying and fitting his companions in government, who have equall authoritie unto himselfe, gently drawing and reducing them by little and little unto the bent of his bow: sensibly, he will carie himselfe with wisdom and discretion in the popular State, as if he had to deale with an instrument of many sounds, and as many strings, letting downe and remitting some matters, setting up and extending other things in the government, as he seeth his time, giving ease and liberty, and againe, carying a hard hand and a rigorous, as one who knoweth when to resist and withstand stoutly any proceedings: But if he were put to his choise, among these musickall instruments as it were of a politicke government; certes if he be ruled by *Plato*, he would never chuse any other but that regall and princely *Monarchie*, which onely

\* Epigram.

is able to mainteine that direct, absolute and \* loftie note (indeed) of vertue, and not suffer it either by force of necessitie, or upon affectionate favour and grace, to frame it selfe to gaine and profit; for other governments after a sort as they be ruled by a politician, so they rule him, and as he leadeth them, so they cary him, for that he hath no assured power over those, from whom he hath his authority, but oftentimes he is enforced to exclaim and refound these verses of *Aeschylus* the poet, which *Demetrius Poliorcetes* was wont to alledge unto fortune, after that he had lost his kingdom:

*Thou mad'st me budde and burgen fresh  
at first, but now at last,  
Thou seem'st my lovely bloume to burne,  
and beauty for to blast.*

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## A BREVIARIE OF THE COMPARISON BE- TWEENE ARISTOPHANES AND MENANDER.

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### The Summarie.

**H**E preferreth *Menander* an excellent comical poet, in all respects before *Aristophanes*, who is here described and painted in his colours. Then examineth he in particular what he had said before in generality. He considereth the stile, disposition, uniformity, and artificiall contriving of *Menanders* comedies, shewing that *Aristophanes* in comparison of him was no better than a counterfett cosier, a craftie and prating companion, ignorant, audacious and intollerable unto all: having written his comedies not to be read of any honest men, but onely for lewd and dissolute persons.

## A BREVIARIE OF THE COM- parison betweene *Aristophanes* and *Menander*.

40



**T**O speake in generall and summarily, he preferreth *Menander* by many degrees before *Aristophanes*; but to come unto particularities, see what he addeth moreover: The stile of *Aristophanes*, and his manner of language is unfavorie and unpleasant, counterfeite, base and mechanically, whereas in *Menander* there is no such thing to be seene. And verily a grosse, ignorant, and unlettered idiot may take pleasure and be delighted in *Aristophanes* his speeches; but a learned man will soone bee displeased and discontented therewith. I meane, his *Amisthera* or oppositie rearmes; his clauses ending alike, and his allusions to names, which *Menander* useth but now and then to good purpose, and with great reason and judgement, being therein verie sparie, warie, and religious: whereas the other ever and anon abuseth them hand over head, and out of season without all grace or life to commend them. Praised he is (forsooth) for these cold jests; namely, when he saith: That he had drenched over head and eares the treasurers, who were not so wise, but *laudes*. Also, This fellow doth breath out, either malice or slanderous calumnie. Again, Here is one that liveth for his belly, his entrails and his guts. Likewise, Even for verie laughter, I shall breake out a laughing. Moreover, What shall I do to thee thou unhappy damned picher, and

and banished: semblaby, You women, here I shall make you wild and savage evils, like as I am my selfe, who have beene fed among wild and savage worts: but these curled tresses and frilled hairens surely have devoured my crest: lastly,

*Come bring him hither his target round,  
with Gorgons hideous head:*

*But give me here my cake as round,  
as face, buckler in his stead.*

besides many other bald jests of the like sort: for there is in the composition and texture of his words, that which is tragical and comical both: proude and insolent; base also and lowly; to darke and myttical, and anon plaine and familiar; swelled, puffed up and loftie; but afterwards, vannie, lightnes, and lothsome scurrilitie, enough to overturne a mans stomacke. Now there being in his writings such diversitie, difference, and dissimilitude; yet giveth not he to every person that which is proper and becomming. As for example, he attributeth not unto a king, a high and loftie language; to an oratour, eloquent and pithie speech; to a woman, a plaine and simple tongue; to an ignorant and unlettered commoner, base and lowly words; to a busie bariter or pragmaticall merchant, shrewd and odious rearmes; but he alloteth unto everie person at a venture whatsoever attributes come first to hand; so that a man cannot know nor discern by any speech, whether he be a sonne or a father that speaketh; a countrey peasant or a citizen; a god or an old woman, or some demi-god: whereas the stile and phrase of *Menander* is so uniforme; so consonant and like it selfe, that howsoever it be conversant in sundrie maners and divers passions, howsoever it be accomodate to all sorts of persons, yet it seemeth still one and the same, and to keepe the semblance in common and familiar words, and such as are alwayes in use. And if perhaps otherwhiles according to the matter and present occasion offered, there bee required some extraordinarie narration or strange bruit and unexpected noise; he setteth a worke and openeth (as it were) all the holes of his pipe; but presently and with a seemely grace he reducth and composeth his voice to the naturall state againe. Now albeit there be in all arts & mysteries excellent artificians; yet was there never known any shoemaker to make a shooe; nor artificer a make or visour; nor tailor a robe or garment; but would fit at one time a man and woman both; a young youth, an aged person, and a valet; but *Menander* hath so framed his phrase and speech, so that proportionate it is and futable to all natures & sexes, to each state and condition, yea and to every age, and this was he able to performe and doe in his very youth, when he began to write: for then died he when he entred into his floure and best time, either of composing or setting out and publishing his works, at such an age, when as the stile (as *Aristotle* saith) is come to the very growth and height in them who make profession to pen or write ought. And if a man would consider the first comedies of *Menanders* making, and conferre them with those in the middes, and which he made in his latter end, a man thereby may soone know how much hee would have added to these in other, if he had lived longer: for that of them who put forth their works to be seene and read, some write to the capacity of the multitude and vulgar sort, others for men of marke and understanding; and hardly is a man able to name the author, who

can skill how to observe that which is meet and besitting two kinds of people. As for *Aristophanes* he is neither pleasing unto the common sort, nor acceptable to men of worth and judgement; but his poeie may be likened unto an old stale and overworne whoore, who forsooth would counterfett an honest married wife; for as the people cannot endure his arrogance; so men of account and quality, detest his intemperance and maliciousnesse: whereas *Menander* on the contrary side, with a good and seemely grace, satisfieth and contenteth all, serving as a lecture, a knowledge and exercise common to theaters, schooles, sports, pastimes, feasts, and bankets, shewing thereby, that his poeie is one of the goodliest things that ever *Greece* brought forth; making it to appeere what a gay matter, and how puissant is the dexteritie of speech and language, passing throughout, with an attractive grace, which it is impossible to escape, ravi-  
shing and winning everie mans eare and understanding, who hath the knowledge of the Greeke tongue. For wherfore should a learned man take paines to go unto the theater, but for *Menanders* sake? when are the theaters frequented and full of great clearks, but when there is a masked shew before of acting his comedies? And at banquets, for whom doth the table make room or *Bacchus* give place more justly than for *Menander*? And as for philosophers, great scholars and students, like as painters when they have wearied their eies with looking upon fresh, lively & bright colours, turne them to those that are verdant and Greene; as namely, upon herbes and flowers for to recreat and refresh their sight; even so *Menander* is he who intertaineth their minds and

spirits







an armie and went against them, under the leading of *Phedrus*, who at that time was the chiefe ruler of *Thebes*, and laid siege unto the said towne; which being otherwise strongly fortified, was in the end forced for want of water: where they stoned to death the murderers; brought the inhabitants unto bondage and slavery; rased their wallles; overthrew their dwelling houles; and devided their whole territorie among the Thebanes and Coronæans. The report groweth, that over-night before that this towne of *Hippocrene* was wonne, there was a voice heard from the mount *Helicon* of one estoones iterating these words: *Here I am, Here I am*; which voice the thirty wooers knew all verie well to be the speech of *Phocæus*. Also the same day that they were stoned, it is said that the monument or tombe of this old man, which stood at *Gleissas*, flowed and ran with saffron. Thus when *Phedrus* the captaine and ruler of the Thebanes, returned from warre with 10 victorie, newes came unto him that his wife was delivered of a daughter; which he taking to be a good presage, named her thereupon *Neosfrata*.

5 *Alcippus*, a Lacedæmonian borne, espoused a ladie named *Democrita*; by whom hee was the father of two daughters, who alwaies both giving counsell unto the citie for the best things, and also ready in person to serve, & execute the same in al occurrences presented, for the good of his country, incurred the envie and emulation of his concurrents in the government of the State, who with false surmises and slanderous imputations, went about to seduce the *Ephori*, buzzing into their heads, how this *Alcippus* would overthrow the lawes, and change the whole State and common-wealth of *Sparta*: inso much as they banished him out of his country, and would not suffer his wife with her daughters to follow him: and that which woore is, 20 they did confiscate his goods, to the end that his daughters might have no portions to bestow them for their advancement in marriage. And notwithstanding that divers yoong men in regard of their fathers vertue, made meanes for to marie these maidens without any dowry, yet his adversaries wrought so cunningly, that they passed an act and publicke edict, forbidding exprelly, that any man should seeke unto them for marriage: for they alledged and pretended that their mother *Democrita* had often times made her praiers unto the gods, that her daughters might quickly bring forth children who might be revenged for the iniurie done unto their father. *Democrita* then perceiving how on every side she was hardly belted & driven to a straight, 30 observed her time, and waited a certaine solemne and festivall day, which the dames of the citie, with their daughters virgins, with their maid-servants likewise and little children, did celebrate: 30 on which day, the wives of magistrates and men of honour, watched and passed the whole night by themselves in a great and spacious hall. When this day was come, she girded herselfe with a dagger or skeine under her clothes, and taking her daughters with her, when night came, went into the temple; and observing the opportunitie of the time when all the said dames were busie in their divine service and hard at their devotions in the hall above said, when all the waies and passages were shut up, she brought a great deale of wood which was provided for the sacrifice, and piled the same against the doores, and so fet it on fire. But when their husbands came running for to helpe from all parts, *Democrita* killed her two daughters and herselfe up- 40 on them. The Lacedæmonians not knowing upon whom to discharge their anger, caused the dead bodies of *Democrita* and her two daughters to be thrown without the confines and liberties of their territorie: for which act of theirs, God being highly displeased, sent (as the Chronicles do record) a great earthquake among the Lacedæmonians.

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## WHETHER CREATURES BE MORE WISE, THEY OF THE LAND, OR THOSE OF THE WATER.

The Summarie.

**I**N this treatise and discourse, affording (among other things) much pleasure in the reading, Plutarch bringeth in two yoong gentlemen, Aristotimus and Phœdinus, who in the presence of a frequent companie plead the cause of living creatures: Aristotimus in the first place, for them of the land; and Phœdinus in the second, for those 10 of the water: the drift and conclusion of whose pleas cometh to this point, that without respecting unto whom the prize ought to be adjudged, one of the companie inferreth that the examples alledged both of the one side and of the other, do prove that those creatures have some use of reason. Moreover, we may distinctly divide this booke into three principall parts: the first containeth a conference betweene Soclarus and Autobulus, who gave ear afterwards unto the others: for Soclarus taking occasion to speake of a written discourse recited in the praise of hunting, commendeth this exercise, and preferreth it before combats of sword plaiers and sencers; which Autobulus will in no wise approve, but holdeth that this warre against beasts, schooleth (as it were) and traineth men to 20 learne for to kill one another afterwards. And for that some entrance and acceſſe there was to be given unto the principall disputation of the intelligence and knowledge which is in brute beasts, they doe examine the opinion of the Stoicks, who bereserve them of all understanding, passion and pleasure: which opinion of theirs being at large debated, is afterwards refuted; with this resolution that man out-goeih beasts in all subtiltie and quicknesse of wit, in justice and equitie meet for civill societie: and yet beasts, although they be more dull and heavier than men, are not therefore void of all discourse and naturall reason. Then Autobulus confirmeth this by the consideration of horses and dogges enraged: a sufficient testimonie that such creatures before time had reason and understanding. Soclarus opposeth himselfe against such a confirmation, in the behalfe of the Stoicks and Peripateticks: whereupon Autobulus distinguisheth of the arguments, and inclining partly to the side of the Pythagoreans, sheweth what manner of justice or injustice we ought to consider in the carriage of men toward beasts. And then come the two yoong gentlemen above named in place; where Aristotimus taking in hand the cause of 40 land-beasts, discourses at large thereupon, which is the second part of this present treatise. True it is, that all the beginning of his plea is defective and wanting: howbeit, that which remaineth and is extant, sheweth sufficiently the careful industry of our author in searching into the history of nature, and examples drawn out thereof, as also out of an infinit number of booke, to passing good purpose. Well then, Aristotimus sheweth in the first place, that the hunting of land-beasts, is a far nobler and more commendable exercise than that of the water: and coming then to the point; namely, to the use of reason, which consisteth in the election and preference of one thing before another, in provisions, forecasts and prerogatives in affections, as well those which be mild and gentle, as the other which are violent: in diligence and industry in arts and sciences, in hardihood, equitie, temperance, courage and magnanimitie, he proveth all this to be (without comparison) farre more in land-creatures than in other: 50 for the prooffe and verifying whereof, he produceth bulles, elephants, lions, mice, swallows, spiders, ravens, dogs, bees, geese, cranes, herons, pismires, wolves, foxes, mules, partridges, hares, beares, urchins, and divers sorts besides of fowle footed beasts: of fowles likewise, insects, worms and serpents: all which are specified in particular afterwards. In the last part, Phœdinus making some excuse that he was not well prepared, taketh in hand nevertheless, the cause of fishes; and in the very entrance, declareth, that notwithstanding it be an hard matter to shew the sufficiency of such creatures, which are so divided and severed from us; yet notwithstanding, produce he will his prooffs and arguments drawn from certaine and notable things, recommending fishes in thurselves, that they are so wise

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and considerate (as he sheweth by examples) being not taught nor monished unto any waies framed and trained by man, like as most part of land beasts be; and yet by the way he prooveth by eeles, lampreys, and crocodiles, that fishes may be made tame with men, and how our ancients esteemed highly the institution of such mute creatures: after this he describeth their naturall prudence, both in defending themselves and also in offending and assailing others, alleading infinite examples to this purpose: as the skill and knowledge they have in the Mathematicks, their amity, their fellowship, their love, their kinde affection to their young ones: alleading in the end drivers histories of dolphins love unto men: whereupon Soclarus taking occasion to speake, inferreth that these two pleaders agree in one point, and if a man would joine and lay together their arguments, proofes, and reasons, they would make head passing well and strongly against those, who would take from beasts both of land and water, all discourse of reason.

## WHETHER CREATURES BE more wise; they of the land, or they of the water.

AUTOBULUS.



*Eonidas*, a king of *Lacedemon*, being demanded upon a time what he thought of *Tyrtam*: I take him to bee (quoth he) a good poet, to whet and polish the courages of young men; for that by his verses he doth imprint in the hearts of young gentlemen an ardent affection, with a magnanimous desire to winne honour and glorie, in regard whereof, they will not spare themselves in batels and fights, but expose their lives to all perils whatsoever: Semblably, am I greatly afraid my very good friends, lest the discourse as touching the praise of hunting, which was read yesterday in this company, hath so stirred up and excited beyond all measure our young men, who love that game so well, that from henceforth they will thinke all other things but accessories and by-matters, or rather make no account at all of other exercises, but will runne altogether unto this sport, and minde none other besides, considering that I finde my selfe now a fresh more hotly given, and youthfully affectionate thereunto than mine age would require, inso much as according to the words of dame *Phadra* in *Euripides*:

*All my desire is now to call  
And cry unto my hounds in chase,  
The dapple stagge and hinde withall,  
To hunt and follow hard at trace.*

So neere unto the quicked did that discourse touch me, alleaging such a number of proper and pitthy reasons.

SOCLARUS.

True it is that you say *Autobulus*, for me thought that therein he stirred up and awakened his singular eloquence and skill in Rhetoricke, which some time he had discontinued & which lay asleepe, to gratifie (as I take it) those young gentlemen who were present in place, and withall to solace and disport himselfe among them, but that which pleased me most was this: When hee represented unto our eyes by way of comparifon, sword-fencers fighting at sharpe one with another to the utterance, alleading this for one of his reasons, wherefore he principally commending hunting, in that it diverteth and calleth away a certaine affection that we have either naturally engrafted, or else acquired by use and custome to take pleasure in seeing men at sword point enter into combat for life & death one against another, & turneth it especially hither, yielding unto us a faire pure and innocent spectacle of artificial cunning, conjoined with hardinesse and courage, guided with reason, against brutish force and witlesse strength: and in so doing giveth us to understand that this sentence of *Euripides* is worthy to be praised when he saith:

*Small is mans strength and puissance corporall;  
His wit is great and prudence naturall;  
It tames all fish beneath his safo deepe  
And wily beasts aloft on earth! hat keepe.*

AUTOBULUS.

AUTOBULUS.

And yet my good friend *Soclarus*, some there be who hold, that this inflexible rigour and savage impassibility of not being moved at all with pity, came from hence into mens hearts, namely, from the custome of killing of beasts in chase, and of learning not to have in honour the sight of bloudshed, and of the grievous wounds of beasts which they received, but to take delight in seeing them to die, and to be cut in pieces: and like as in the citie of *Athen*, when it was reduced under the tyrannie of the thirtie usurpers, the first man whom they put to death was a lycophant, of whom it was said then, that hee had well deserved it, and was rightly served; and so they said by a second and a third: but from thence they went forward by little and little, untill they came to lay hold upon honest men, and in the end spared not the best and most vertuous citizens: even so he that killed at the first a beare, or a wolfe, was highly commended, and thought to have done a very good deed; and an oxe or a swine that had eaten some things provided for a sacrifice or oblation to the gods, was condemned as fit and worthy to die: heereupon staggies and hinds, hares also and goates, which men began already to eat, invited also the flesh of theeepe, yea, and in some places of dogges and horses to the table. But they who taught first to dismember, and cut in pieces for meat, a tame goose, a house dove, and familiar pigeon, a dung-hill cocke, or domesticall henne of the rount, and that not for to satistie and remedie the necessitie of hunger, as doe these wezzils and cattes, and but onely for pleasure, and to feed a daintie tooth, surely have confirmed and strengthened all that bloudiness and savage cruelty which was in our nature, and made it altogether inflexible and immoveable without any compassion: but contrariwise enfeebled and dulled for the most part all naturall mildnesse and humanitie; whereas on the other side the Pythagoreans would have men to accustom themselves to use gentlenesse even towards beasts, as an exercise of pity and mercy to men: for custome which traineth us familiarly by little and little to any passion and affection, hath a wonderous efficacie, to set a man forward thereunto. But I wot not how, being entred into speech, we have forgotten our selves, and not kept us to that which was begun yesterday, and should be continued and held on this day: for yesterday as you know very well, having agreed upon this: That all sorts of living creatures have in them some little discourse and reason, we gave good occasion and matter of a learned and pleasant disputation, unto our young gentlemen, who love hunting so well, namely, as touching the wit and wisdom of beasts, whether there be more in them of the land, or those of the sea? which question we are as I take it, this day to decide, in case *Aristotimus* and *Phadimus* hold on still, and persist in their defiances and challenges, which yesterday they gave one another; for the one of them undertooke unto his friends and companions, to maintaine that the earth bringeth forth beasts of more sense, capacitie and understanding; and the other contrariwise promised as much in the behalfe of the water.

SOCLARUS.

That they do, *Autobulus*, they are of the same mind still to dispute it out, and here they will be anon for this very purpose; for I saw them in the morning betimes, addresseing & making themselves readie: but if you thinke it good, before this combat begin, let us go in hand againe with that which yesterday should have been handled, and was not; partly for that the time and place served not thereto; or rather because the matter was proposed unto them at the table, and among the cups of wine, which went merrily about, and not treated of in good earnest and sadnesse in deed: for one there was, who seemed after a pragmaticall sort to relound on the adverse part not impertinently, as if he came out of the Stoicks schoole, thus much: That like as mortal is opposite unto immortal, corruptible unto incorruptible, and corporall to incorporall; even so, confess we ought, that reasonable is contrarie to unreasonable; so that if one of them be, the other ought likewise of necessitie to be, and that this onely couple of contraries among so many other, ought not to be left defectuous or imperfect.

AUTOBULUS.

And what is he, friend *Soclarus*, who will say, that if we admit in nature, that which is reasonable to subsist and have being; we should not likewise allow that which is unreasonable: for (no doubt) it is, and that in great measure, namely in all creatures which have no life nor soule: neither need we to seeke farther for any other opposition unto that which is reasonable; for whatsoever is without life and soule, is incontinently opposite unto that which together with soule, hath the use of understanding and reason: and if any one there be who maintaineth, that nature for all this is not unperfect, in that everie substance having soule is either reasonable or

unreasonable: another will say unto him likewise, that a nature endued with life and soule, is not defective, namely in that, either it hath imagination, or else it without; it is either sensitive, or else hath no sense; to the end that it may have on either side these two oppositions or privations, making counterpoise one against another, about one and the same kind, as two contrarie branches arising out of one stemme or trunk. And if he thinke him to be absurd, who demaundeth that it should be granted unto him, that of a nature endued with soule, one branch should be sensitive, and another senseless; for that he thinketh that everie nature which hath a soule is incontinently both sensitive, and also imaginative: yet for all this shall he have no more appearance to require that one should suppose this unto him for to be true; namely, that whatsoever hath soule, should be either reasonable or unreasonable, discoursing with those men, who held to opinion that nothing hath sense, but the same hath understanding withall; and that there is not one kind of animal creatures, but it hath some manner of opinion and discourse of reason, like as it hath sense and naturall appetite: for nature, who as men say, and that right truly, maketh all things for some cause and to some end, hath not made a living creature sensitive, onely and simply to have a passive sense: but whereas there be a number of things proper and agreeable to it, and as many againe for the contrarie, it could not possibly endure and continue the minute of an hour, if it knew not how to fit it selfe with one, and to take heed and beware of the other. So it is therefore, that sense giveth unto every animal creature the knowledge of them both indifferently: but the discretion which accompanieth the said sense, in chusing, receiving, and pursuing after that which is profitable; or refusing, rejecting and flying from that which is hurtfull and pernicious: there is no appearance at all of reason to induce us to say that those creatures have, if they had not withall some meane facultie and aptitude naturall, to discourse, judge, conceive, comprehend, retaine, and remember: as for those creatures verily, from which you take altogether the gift of expectation, remembrance, election, provision, and preparation afore hand: and moreover, the facultie of hoping, fearing, desiring and refusing; good have they none at all of their eies, or of any other sense, apprehension or imagination, in case there be no use thereof: and farre better it were for them, that they were cleane destitute and quite deprived of such faculties, than to suffer travell, paine and sorrow, and have not wherewith to purby and repell such inconveniences: and yet there is a discourse extant of the naturall philosopher *Strato*, shewing by plaine demonstration, that impossible it is to have any sense at all, without some discourse of reason: for many times we runne over the letters in bookes and writings with our eies; yea and we heare the sound of words with our eares, without conceiving and comprehending either the one or the other, but they fly and passe away, when as our mind is otherwise occupied: but afterwards when the mind is come againe to it selfe and united it, it runneth and pursueth after the same, and gathereth every thing together againe which was scattered: In regard whereof it was not said amisse in old time:

*The mind it is, that doth both heare and see:  
As for the rest, full deafe and blind they bee.*

as if the motion and passion about the eies and eares, caused no sense at all, if the mind and understanding were away. And therefore *Cleomenes* king of *Lacedemon*, being one day at a feast in *Egypt*, where there was rehearsed at the table a pretie Acroame or eare-delight, which pleased the companie verie well; being demaunded the question what hee thought of it? and whether hee judged it not verie well penned and set downe? As for that (quoth he) I report me unto you that heard it, and I referre it to your judgement: for mine part, my mind was all the while in *Peloponnesus*. And therefore necessarie it is, that everie creature which hath sense, should likewise be endued with discourse of reason and understanding, considering that by our understanding wee come to sense. But set the case that the senses have no need at all of the understanding, to exercise their functions & operations: but when the sense hath done her part, in discerning that which is proper and familiar unto a living creature, from it that is contrarie & adverse unto it, it passeth away and is gone: What is it then that remembereth and calleth to minde? what is it that seareth things noisome and offensive, and contrariwise desireth those which be good and holosome? what is it that seeketh meanes to compassse and get things when they are not present? what is it that deviseth and prepareth offensive, torts and retracts, yea, and engins to catch and take; or contrariwise, shifts and policies to escape nets and grinnas laied for them when they are at the point to be caught and surprisid? and yet these men say as much as this comes to, when ever and anon in all their introductions they dull our eares and make our heads ake againe with their definitions; for they define *meditations*, that is to say, a project or deliberat purpose, to be a desieigne of

\* That is to say, *Stoicks*.

of bringing somewhat to effect; *meditatio*, that is to say, endeavour, to be an appetite or desire before an appetite; *meditatio*, that is to say, provision, to be an action before action; *meditatio*, that is to say, remembrance or memorie, to be the comprehension of a proposition affirmative or negative, already past; whereof the present truth was otherwise comprised by the sense: for of all these faculties, there is not so much as one reasonlesse (I meane) not proceeding from the discourse of reason: and yet they all concur, and are to be found in every living creature: and even so verily, they define *visions*, that is to say, intelligences, to be notions laied up apart and reserved within; but *visions*, that is to say, cogitations, to be notions still in motion: as for passions, they confesse and defining them all in generality to be evil judgements & false opinions, 10 a wonder it is, how they passe over so many effects and motions which are to be found in brute beasts; some proceeding from anger and choler, others againe from feare: and besides all this, envie (I may tell you) and jealousie; when as they themselves (beleeve me) sticke not to punish their horses, and beat their dogs, when they do a fault; not rashly and in vaine, but consideratly, for to correct them and make them wiser, working thereby & imprinting in them a displeasure with themselves proceeding from paine, which we call repentance: as touching other pleasures and delights, that which passeth and is received by the eares, they terme it (forsooth) *visions*, that is to say, an enchantment; that which cometh by the eie, *visions*, that is to say, bewitching: and they use both the one and the other against wilde beasts; for certein it is, that staggas and horses do joy in the sound of whistles, flutes and hautboies: also men call forth crabfish, crevilles and grampels out of their holes perforce, with burning torches and light fire brands: more- 20 over, it is said, that the fish *alosa* hearing men to sing, to clap their hands, or otherwise to make a noise, will arise out of the water, and come abroad: likewise, the home owle or bustard is (as it were) enchanted with the beholding of men dancing together in his sight, and so far overtaken he is with the delight thereof, that whiles he thinketh to counterfeite their jestures, stirring and moving his shoulders according to the measures with them, he suffereth himselfe (like a toole) to be taken by the fowler. As for those who of these matters speake so foolishly and absurdly, saying, that beasts rejoice not, are not angry, nor fearfull; and namely, that the \* nightingale doth not studie, meditate and prepare against her singing; that the bee hath no memorie; but that the swallow seemeth onely to make provision by a kinde of providence; that the lion is (as 30 it were) angry; and the hinde given as though she were afraid: I wot not what answer they will make to those who shall urge them to this, that they may awell say, that the same creatures neither see nor heare, but seeme onely (as it were) to heare and see and to have a voice; and in one word, that they live not at all, but seeme to live: for I assure you (in my judgement) these are no more repugnant to evidence and daily experience, than the other.

#### SOCLARUS.

I thinke no lesse (6 *Autobulus*) and therefore range me among those of your opinion in this point. But to compare the maners, lives, actions, behaviours and conversations of men, with those of beasts, & to affirme that beasts herein fort with us: besides, that I see in this, great indignitie derogatorie to mans worthinesse, I doubt much, and can not conceive how nature hath 40 given unto them the beginning of vertue, which is reason, and unto which reason is referred and doth aime, considering they can not attaine unto the end: and besides, there is not one of them all that sheweth any signe of tending thereto, of progresse therein, or of desire and appetite that way.

#### AUTOBULUS.

Yea, but this (my good friend *Soclarus*) is no strange and absurd thing with these men, I meane the Stoicks: for notwithstanding that they put downe the naturall love and affection which we have to the issue of our owne bodies begotten, for the foundation of civill societie and of justice, and see the same in brute beasts very evident and puissant, yet for all that, they flatly and stoutly denie that they have any part of justice in them. And that which more is, mules are 50 not without all the instruments of generation; for nature hath given to the males generative members, and to the females the parts fit for conception; yea, and in the use of these members and instruments they have the same delight and pleasure which other creatures have; howbeit, they never speed, nor attaine to the end of generation. Consider againe on the other side, whether it were not a ridiculous absurditie for such philosophers as they would seeme to be, to affirme and mainteine, that *Socrates* and *Plato*, and such men as they, were no lesse vicious than any vile slave or wicked wretch in the world, but that all were foolish, wideffe, lascivious and unjust alike (because forsooth, all sinnes with them be equal) and then to lay the blame and fault

in the source and beginning of vertue, that is to say, Reason, as being not pure nor perfect in brute beasts to the accomplishment of vertue: as if this were not some defect and imbecillitie of reason, seeing they confesse themselves that there is an imperfection in the use of reason, of which all beasts be full: for we see in many of them, that there is cowardise, intemperance, injustice and malice. Now he who affirmeth that whatsoever is not apt and fitted by nature, to receive reason aright and in absolute manner, is simply not capable of reason: first he doth as much as if he mainteined, that neither the ape is capable of illfavoured deformitie, nor the tortoise of slow pace, because the one of them is not susceptible of beautifull favour, nor the other of swiftnesse and good footmanship. Again, he doth not see and marke the difference between reason perfect, and simple reason; for reason simply proceedeth from nature, but honest, virtuous, and perfect reason commeth by industry, study, diligence, and teaching; which is the cause that all creatures endued with a sensitive soule, are capable and susceptible of a kinde of discipline and learning by the meanes of this facultie of discourse and reason: many this absolute and right reason indeed which we affect and seeke for, and is nothing else but sapience and wisdom, they are not able to name any one man, that ever attained unto it. Like as therefore a difference there is betweene sight and sight; betweene flight and flight; for hawks see otherwise than grasshoppers doe; eagles also and partridges flie not alike; even so all creatures endued with reason, have not the like vivacity, promptitude and nimblenesse of reason, as to reach up to the highest pitch and perfection thereof: for we may observe in some beasts many evident tokens of just societie, of valour, of witty industry in their provision and dispose: and contrariwise, in others as many signes of insociable violence and injustice, of cowardise and sottishnesse, as witnesseth that which now mooveth the contention and debate betweene our young gentlemen; for as if they both supposed there was a difference in this behalfe, some of them mainteine that naturally, the beasts of the land are proceeded farther in vertue; and others contrariwise affirme, the same of those in the sea and waters: a thing very evident, whosoever will compare storkes with the river horses; for those doe nourish and feede their fathers who engendred them, whereas these doe kill them, because they might ride and cover their mothers: as also who will but conferre cocke-doves with partridges; for doves doe oftentimes squash and marre the egges, yea, and otherwhiles kill the hennes when they cover or sit, because they are not willing during that time to be troden; whereas the male partridges take upon them part of the care and paine in sitting upon the egges, and in their turne doe keepe them warme, that they chill not; yea, and that which more is, they be the first that bring meat in their bills unto the little ones newly hatched; and if haply the damme raunge abroad, tarie forth too long out of the nest, the male beats and pecks her with his bill, drives her home to her egges and young birds. As for *Antipater* who reprocheth and rebuketh both asses and sheepe for their filthinesse, and being so negligent in keeping themselves cleane, he hath forgotten (I wot not how) to speake of ounces and swallows: for the ounces seeke a by-place by themselves apart, where to bestow their urine, and by all meanes hide and conceale that fine stony substance, called *Lyncurium*, which is engendred of it: and the swallows teach their young ones to turne their tails so, as they may meut out of their nests. Moreover, why say we not that one tree is more ignorant or untaught than another, like as we hold, and that truly, that a sheepe is more dull of capacitie than a dogge? or that this herbe is more fearefull than that lion, like as we affirme very well, that a stagge is more timorous, or rather lesse valourous than a lion: and as in things which are unmooveable, we never say, that one is more flow than another; not among such things as yeeld no sound at all, that this hath a smaller or bigger voice than that; Semblably, it is never said, that there is lesse witte, more dulnesse, and greater intemperance in such or such things, unlesse it bein that kinde, whereof all by nature are endued with the gift of reason, and of prudence in some measure, which puissance and facultie being given to some more, and to others lesse, is that which maketh all the difference that we see. Yea mary, but there is no comparifon will some man say, betweene men and beasts; so infinitely surpasseth he them in finenesse of witte, in justice and equity, befeeming civill societie, that it is wonderfull: And even so, (my good friend) there be many which in biggenesse and strength of bodie, in swiftnesse of feet, in quicknesse of eie-sight, and subtilty, of hearing out-goe all the men in the world, and leave them farre behinde, and yet for all this, we are not to inferre and conclude that man is blinde, that he is impotent of hand and foot, or otherwise deafe: neither hath nature deprived us altogether of bigge armes and bodies, or of strength both in the one and the other, although in comparifon of the elephant and the camell, our force and bulke of body

dy is nothing: after the same maner may we speake of beasts; if their discourse and understanding be more grosse, if their witte be more dull than ours, it followeth not thereupon, that they have neither reason nor naturall witte: for without all question, both they have, feeble though they be and troubled, like as an eie is otherwhiles weake, dimme, and muddy: and were it not that I certainly expect, and that among our young men who are studious, learned and verie well seene in the books of our auncient writers, that they will alleadge an infinit number of examples, the one from the land, and the other out of the sea; I could not containe my felicitie but recite and alledge heere before you an innumerable sort of proofes and arguments, as well of the naturall subtilty of beasts, as of their docility, which the beautifull and famous city of *Rome* hath afforded unto us to draw and lade up abundantly by whole scuppets and buckets full (as they say,) from the stately theaters of their emperours, and the princely games exhibited there.

But let us leave this matter fresh and entire for those young men, thereby to embellish their discourses, and let out their eloquence: meane while I would gladly examine and consider one point with you now that we are at leisure. For I suppose that in every part & naturall power or facultie of our bodie, there doth befall some proper defect, some maiime or maladie; as namely, in the eie, blindnesse; in the legges, lamenesse; in the tongue, stutting and stammering; and that which is proper to one member, is not incident unto another: for wee use not to say, that a thing is become blinde, which never had power by nature to see, nor lame which was not ordained to goe; neither was there ever man who would say, that a thing stammered which never had tongue, or muffed and wharled, which naturally yeeldeth no voice at all: and even so we cannot (to speake properly and truly) reame that foolish, furious, or enraged, which by course of nature is not capable of understanding, discourse and reason: for impossible it is, that a part may be said to be interested, affected or prejudiced in a thing, which never had an aptitude or naturall power, that might receive diminution, privation, mutilation, or otherwise some infirmity: and yet I doubt not but you have otherwhiles seene dogges runne madde; and for mine owne part I have knowne horses enraged; and there be moreover, who affirme that kine and other beestes will be horne-wood, yea and foxes as well as dogges: but the example of dogges whereof no man makes doubt, may suffice to proove and beare witnesse, that this kinde of beast hath reason and understanding, and therefore not in final measure to bee contented but when it chanceth that it is troubled and confounded, then comes upon them that disease which is called rage and madnesse; for at such a time we cannot perceive in them, that either their sight or their hearing is altered: but like as he that should give out of a man who is overcharged with a melancholike humour, or given to rave and go beside himselfe, that his understanding is not transported and out of order, that his discourse of reason is not out of the way, nor his braines broken, or memorie corrupt, were very absurd: for that the ordinary custome and behaviour of such foolish and bestraght persons sufficiently convinceth, that they are past themselves, and have lost the discourse of reason; even so, whosoever thinketh that mad dogges suffer any other passion, than a confusion and perturbation of that part in them, which before 40 time was wont to imagine, discourse and remember, in such sort that when they be thus surprised with rage, they are so foolish and sottish, as they know not their best friends, who were wont to make much of them, but flie those places of their feeding and bringing up, which they used most to haunt & to converse in, & do not so much as disceerne; but oversee that which is presented plaine before them: this man (I say) seemeth obstinately to strive against the truth, and not to comprehend that which daily experience doth shew.

## SOCRUS.

Certes, your conjecture in mine opinion is very good, and you are in the right: but the Stoicks and Peripateticks stify stand against all this, and impugne it with tooth and nail, saying: That justice cannot have any other breeding and beginning; and that impossible it is to main- 50 taine that there is any justice in the world, if it be confessed that all beasts are any waies capable of reason: for that necessarie it is, either that we do injurie in not sparing them; or in case we make no use of them for our food, that impossible it were for us to live; or else our life should remaine destitute of such things as well it may not misse and be without. In summe, that we were to live in some sort a savage and beastlike life, if wee should reject the profits and commodities which they afford. For I passe by infinit thousands and millions of the Troglodyts and Nomades, that know no other feeding, but of flesh only and nothing else: but as for us who seeme to leade a mild, civill, & more gentle life, what worke were there left for us to do upon the land; what bu-  
finelle

finesse have wee at fear? what skill or art should wee exercise among the mountaines? what ornament or beautie would there be in our life, if wee were taught this once as a true lesson, that we ought to respect all beastes, and use all equitie towards them, as being reasonable creatures as we are, and made of the same mould that we be? Certes, it were verie hard to say; and therefore there is no answer to asfoile this doubt; no medicine or salve to heale this fore; no device to undo this knot, and difficulty which taketh away, either all civillitie, or else all iustice out of mans life, unless wee keep that ancient limet and lawe, whereby God having separated (according as *He iudex* faith) sundrie natures and distinguish'd every kind a part by it selfe:

To fishes, beasts and feathered fowles, hath graunted power and might,  
One of another for to feed, because they haue no right  
To doe so: he iustifie his herein to take delight.

Given (I say) he hath justice unto them for to exercise among themselves; and as for other living creatures as they cannot deal justly with us; so it is certain that we cannot use injustice to them: and looke who ever reject this conclusion and resolution, have left no other use, nor so much as a simple way whereby justice may enter and come among us.

Autovulus.

Now truly my friend, you have said this very well, and even according to the mind and hearts desire of these men: howbeit we are not to give & grant unto these philosophers (as the manner is to be about those women who have hard travell, some *Oxytocium*, or medicinable drogue, to cause them forth to have more speedy and easie deliverance) this device to hang upon them, that so they may with ease and without all paine, beare and bring forth iustice unto us; seeing that in the maine and most important points of all philosophie, they would not allow *Epicurus* to smale a thing, & so vile, as to decline one only atomic, or indivisible body never to little aside, for to make way for the farrres, for living creatures, and fortune to come into the world, and that thereby our free will might be saved: for they ought either to prove by demonstration, that which is doubtfull, or to suppose that which of it selfe is manifest; and not to take this article as touching beasts, for to establish iustice, seeing that it is neither confessed & granted unto them, nor they otherwise doe prove it: for another path-way there is to bring in iustice among men, which is nothing to slipperie, dangerous, and full of steepe downfalles, nor that which leadeth thorough the subversion and overthrow of things most evident; even that which my sonne 30 and one of your familiar friends (*Soclarus*) having learned of *Plato*, doeth shew and teach those who will not obstinately contest, but follow reason and learne: for that man is not altogether cleere and void of injustice, in using beasts, and dealing with them as he doeth. *Heraclitus* and *Empedocles* receive as an undoubted truth, complaining in many places, and reproaching nature, as if she were under necessity, and a very warre, having in her nothing that is simple, pure, sincere, and unmixt, but performing all her operations by many unjust accidents and passions; seeing they hold that even her generation proceeded from injustice, namely, by conjunction of mortall with immortal, and in that the thing which is engendered thereof, rejoiceth to dismember unnaturally, that which engendered it: but haply all this may seeme too bitter and exceeding sharpe: well there is another gentle meane, and easie remedy of this inconvenience which doth not quite bereave beasts of all use of reason, and saveth iustice in those who use them as they ought: which meane and indifferent way being in times past brought in by wise men, was afterwards rejected and wholly destroyed by a conspiracie of gourmandise and fleshly pleasure together; howsoever *Pythagoras* would have recovered it againe, by teaching men how they might make use and commoditie of beasts, and yet doe them no wrong nor injurie; for they who punish and put to death those wilde beasts which have no societie nor fellowship at all with man, but rather doe him much hurt and damage, commit no injustice; no more than they who make them tame and familiar, training them up to their use and employing them in services, whereunto they are by nature most fit:

*The race of horse and asses for to breed,  
With bulles encrease, which in the fields doe feed.*

whom *Prometheus* in a tragœdie of *Aeschylus*, saith he bestowed upon us,

To serve and drudge in stead of us,  
And do our works laborious.

Neither do they any wrong, who make use of dogges to keepe their flocks of goats and sheepe: not they who milke goats and sheepe, and sheare their fleeces for the wooll, especially if they give them pasture: for it can not be said, that men can not live, or their life is utterly undone,

if they have not their platters of fish, or their livers of geese, or if they cut not beefs and goats into pieces for to serve up at their feasts : or if for their idle disport in theaters, or to take their pleasure in chase and hunting, they put not some to the combat and force them to fight whether they will or no ; and kill others which have no defence of their owne , nor any means to make resistance : for he who needs will have his delights and pastimes, ought in all reason (as I thinke) to make himselfe merrie, and solace his heart with those that can play and disport together with him ; and not to do (as *Bien said*) like to little children, who joy in throwing stones at frogs, and make a game of it ; meane while, the poore frogges have no pleasure in this their game, for they are sure to die for it in good earnest ; even so we are not either to hunt or fish for any delight to that we have in the paine, and much lesse in the death of other creatures : no more to take a pleasure in driving or taking them away from their whelps and young ones , a pitifull sight to behold ; for they be not they that commit injustice, who use beasts, but such as misuse them unmercifully and cruelly, without any respect and commiseration.

SOCULARUS.

Stay a while, good *Aristobolus*, and put off this invective of yours unto another time; for now I see coming toward us neere at hand, a crew of young gentlemen, all great hunters and lovers of the game, whom it were neither an easie matter to drive off unto another day, neither is it needfull to provoke and offend them.

AUTOEULUS.

10 True it is that you say, and I like your admonition; but as for *Eubiotus*, I know very well, and my nephew *Ariston*; the two sonnes also of *Dionysius* a citizen of *Delphos*, to wit, *Acides* and *Aristonimus*, yea, and after them, *Nicander* the sonne of *Euthydamus*,

All skilfull hunters (in good faith)  
upon the land (as Homer saith)

and therefore (no doubt) they will side every one with *Aristotimus*, and take his part; whereas contrariwise, the others who be Islanders, and were borne along the sea side, I meane *Heracleon* of *Megara*, and *Philostatus* of the isle *Eubœa*,

Who cunning are upon the seas,  
And therein much themselves do please.

20. Loq. how they accompanie your friend *Phadimus*, and are ready to stand with him :

*As for Tydides there, 'tis hard to say,  
To whether side he will in judgement sway.*

I meane that same *Opratus*, our fellow and companion in yeeres,

Who of wilde beasts on mountaines slaine,  
and fishes caught in sea,

With many first fruits and essays,  
to testifie his prea.

*Hath often duly honoured*

Diana goddess bright,

40 *Who cleped is \* Agrotera,*  
*and is \* Dictynna hight.*

for lo, how he commeth directly toward us, as one who will not range himselfe to one side more than to another. How say you, *Oprato*, do we not conjecture well, that you meane to be an indifferent arbitratour or common umpire betwene these two yong gentlemen.

OPTATUS.

Very well guessed of you *Autobulus*, I purpose so indeed; for long since was that law of *Solon* repealed and abolished, by vertue wherof, they were punished who in a civil sedition joined not to the one side nor to the other.

Autoreulus.

50 Come hither, therefore, and sit by us, that if we have need of any testimonies, we trouble not the books of *Aristotle*, with dripping and turning over their leaves; for that we will referre our selves and stand to that which you shall say, as justly and truly delivered, in regard of your great knowledge and experience.

SOCULARUS.

How now my masters, you two gentlemen, are you agreed betwene your selves of the order, who shall begin first to speake?

PHAEDIMUS.



## PHABIDIMUS.

Yes *Soclarus*, we are at a point for that now, although we were long enough debating about it, for in the end (to use the very words of *Enripides*)

*Lot, Fortunes childe, hath this case cried,  
As one ordain'd doubt's to decide.*

and hath appointed that the land-beasts cause should be pleaded before theirs of the sea.

## SOCLARUS.

Well then it is time (*Aristotimus*) that both you begin to speake, and we also to heare.

\* \* \* \* \*

In this place a great defect and breach there is in the Greeke originall, which can not be made up and supplied without the helpe of some ancient copie, not yet extant.

\* It may seeme he speaketh of certaine milt- to rem the kind of fishes, by way of opposition to some land-creatures.

The barre and the hall is for them that plead. \* But these destroy the spawne within the wombe, by running upon their females when they be great and neere the time of casting the same. And one kinde there is of spotted mullets, called thereupon *Perdia*, which feed upon their owne

\* slime and glutinous substance that proceedeth from themselves. As for the poule or polyp fish, he catcheth and gnaweth himselfe, sitting still all Winter

*In house full colde, without fire-light,  
In wofull bale and wretched plight.*

so idle is he, or so blockish and senselesse, or els so gluttonous, or rather subject to all these vices together: which is the reason that *Plato* also in his booke of lawes, forbiddeth chisloones young men to set their minds upon fishing in the sea, or rather he detesteth it in them, as an abominable thing, if they should take a love thereto. For no exercise there is of hardinesse and valour, no proofe of wit or triall of wisdom; no imploiment of strength, swiftnesse or activitie of bodie in combats and fights with the wide mouthed sea-pikes, with congres or gultheades, like as there is in hunting upon the land, where the fierce and courageous beasts exercise the fortitude of those who encounter them, and stirring up their animositie to enter upon dangers: the wily and craftie, whet and sharpen the wits of such as set upon them, causing them to looke about and bestirre themselves every way with great circumspection: and the swift and light-footed, trie the able, nimble, and painfull bodies of those who have them in chase: in all which respects hunting is reputed an honest and commendable exercise: whereas contrariwise, fishing hath nothing in it to commend the game, and make it honourable; neither shall you ever finde my good friend, any one of the gods, desirous to be called *Congroffonus*, that is to say, the conger-killer; as *Apollo* gloried to be named *Lycoglossus*, that is to say, the killer of wolues: nor any of them delighted in the name of *Triglobolus*, that is to say, the striker of barbels: like as *Diana* joied in the epithit of *Elaphobolos*, that is to say, a shooter at stagges and hindes: and no marvell, considering that it is more laudable for a gentleman to take in chase a wilde boare, a stagge, a fallow deere, a roe bucke, yea, & it were but an hare, than to buie any of these with his money: but surely it is more for his credit & reputation to go into the fish market as a cater to exchange his coine for a tunny, a lobster, or the \* *Amia*, than to be seene fishing for them: for the cowardise, blockishnesse, stupiditie, want of shifts and meanes in fishes, either offensive, or defensive, cause the taking of them to be dishonest, discommendable, unlovely, and illiberrall.

\* Or *Hamia*, as appeareth afterwards.

In summe, forasmuch as the proofes and arguments which philosophers alledge, to shew that beasts have some discourse and use of reason, are drawn from their projects, their elections in preferring one thing before another, their provisions and forecasts, their memories, their affections, their tender care of their young ones, their thankfulness to those who have done them good, their hatred & rankor against them who have done them a shrewd turne: their industry to find out things necessary for them, the evident apparence of vertues in them, to wit, of fortitude, sociable equity & communion, temperance and magnanimitie: Let us consider these maritime sea creatures, whether they have any one at all of these parts, or if there be any little shew thereof, it is so darke and obscure, that uneth or hardly it can be perceived, how diligent soever we be in searching after it; whereas in these terrene beasts, and such as the land breedeth, a man may conceive, yea and plainly see most cleere, evident, and assured examples of ech, of the qualities before said. First & formost behold I pray you the first setting out, the preparatives and

and flourisheth as it were, that bulles and boares make against their combat, how they raise and cast up the dust with their feet al about them, as also how these whet & sharpen their tusks; the elephants likewise for that one of their two teeth wherewith they root in the earth, or plucke up and cut such matter as they feed upon, is ordinarily thereby worned dull and blunt, they use it onely for these purposes, but the other they keepe and reserve alwaies sharpe pointed and keene edged, for to serve their turnes when they are to fight; the lion when he goeth in the forrell, marcheth evermore with his pawes drawn in close and turned round, hiding his cleies and nailes within, for feare lest being worned with going, their points should be dull and blunt, as also because he would give no light by his tractes to the hunters that follow in chase; for hardly and with much ado shall you trace a lion by his foot, the print of his clawes is so small that it cannot be seene, whereby they that are full upon their footing, yet misle of him, and wander a contrary way.

Yee have heard I am sure of the Ichnewnon or ratte of *India*, how he prepares himselfe against he should fight with the crocodile, no lesse than a legionarie souldiour armed at all pieces, in compleat harnesse, such a deale of muddle, and the same hardened and baked in maner of a crust, hath he all over his body, as it were a good curace of prooffe.

What provision and preparation the swallows or martines make against their breeding and laying time, we daily see; namely, how in building of their nests, they lay first as a ground-work underneath, good stickes, stiffe straws, and sound bents, and those they entrelace afterwards with others that be more gentle and pliable; and if they see that their nests had need of some glutinous muddle to glue and fodder all together, what doe they? many they flie floting to close to the water of some river, lake, or the sea, that lightly they dippe their wings therewith, so that they may be onely wette, and in no wise heavy and overcharged with moisture, then they role and basker themselves in the dust, by which means they close up, binde, and knit as with parget or plastre, all chinks and breaches, and whatsoever was not well compact and united together in their nests: as for the forme and figure thereof, they make them not cornered nor yecliding many sides and faces, but even and smooth as possible may be, and the same round as a ball; for surely this kinde of workmanship is most durable without, and of greatest capacity within, and such as giveth least hold unto other beasts abroad that lie in wait to destroy them.

The copwebs that spiders weave, which serve for patterns, as wel for our women to make their webbes of cloth, as for fishers to knit and worke their nets, are in many respects very admirable: first in regard of the fine threads, and the subtil weaving thereof, which are not distinct one from another, nor ranged after the order of the warpe & woofe in our artificiall webbes upon the loome, but are continued and runne all into one, in maner of thinnelme, kell, & skin, united and sodred as one would say, with I wot not what glutinous humidity mingled among, after an invissible and imperceptible maner; then the tincture and colour thereof, which maketh it seeme a farre off like unto some thicke or dusky aire, to the end that it selfe might the lesse be perceived; but principally and above all, the very governing, conduct, and managing of this fabrick & device made by her selfe, surpasseth; namely, when some flie or small creature is gotten within the compasse of this toile & entangled, to see how immediately the perceiveth it, and can skill quickly to pull in and draw the nette; no hunter & fouler in the world, be he never so cunning, more nimble, for to enclose the prey: al which because we daily see in our continuall experience presented unto our eyes, we beleve and know to be true; otherwise we would hold all to be fables: like as wee thinke that to be a tale of the crows and ravens in *Barbary*, who when they are very thirsty & the water settled so low where they should drinke, that they can not reach unto it, cast stones into it for to make it arise so high as they may easily meet with it. And verily upon a time, I marvelled my selfe very much when I saw a dog within a ship, while the mariners were out of the way, to cast little stones into an earthen pot, which was nothing neere full of oyle, how he should discourse and reason thus in his mind, that the lighter things, as namely oyle, must needs mount up & be driven aloft, when the weightier such as the stones were went downe to the bottome. As much may be said of the bees in *Candia*, and the geefe of *Cilicia*. As for the bees, being to double a point or capelying into the sea, which is much exposed to the winds, they ballast themselves with small grit or pretie stones, for to bee able to endure the weather, and not be carried away against their wils with the wind through their lightnes otherwise. And the geefe aforesaid being afraid of the eagles, which have their aeries upon the high rocks, at what time as they should passe over the mountaine *Taurus*, take every one within their bills a good big stone, thereby to stop and muzzle (as it were) their mouthes, that being by nature clamorous

morous and given much to gagling, they might make no noise nor crie at all during their flight, and so in silence and safetie both, get beyond the said hill. The verie order that cranes keepe in their flying is wonderfull and memorable: for when the aire is troubled and the wind aloft, they fly not as they use to do when it is faire weather and calme, either all afront, or in manner of the halfe moone or croissant: but presently at their first setting out, they cast themselves into a triangle with the point forward, thereby to cut and pierce the wind that bloweth before and about them, to the end that their ranke thus raunged and set in order, might not possibly bee broken: afterward when they are alighted and settled upon the ground; looke whose course and charge it is to watch at night, stands up right upon one leg, & in the foot of the other claspes a stone and holds it up aloft; for the continuall streining of themselves to hold the said stone, keepeth them 10 that long they cannot sleepe: and when once they chance to let go their hold, the stone falling upon the rocke, quickly awaketh her that let it fall. So that after I had seene this, I did not greatly wonder at *Heracles*, if putting his bow under his arme hole, and clipping it hard with his mightie strong arme

*Holding full fast in his right hand,  
His miserie club, a sleepe doth stand.*

neither marvelled I much at him who first devised the meanes how to open an oyster clofe and hard shut, when I beheld once the craftie subtiltie of herons: for the heron when he hath swallowed downe an oyster, or other shell fish, all whole and fast shut, although it put him to some trouble, yet he endureth for a time and keepeth it within his craw or giser, untill he perceive that it 20 is mollified and relaxed by the naturall heat of his bodie, then casteth he it up againe by vomit, findeth it gaping and wide open, and so picketh out of it the good meat therein.

As touching the industrious provision and care of housekeeping which is in pismires, to discourse thereof in particular, and exquisitely to deliver the same were a verie hard piece of worke, if not impossible; and to passe the same over in silence, argueth supine negligence: for looke throughout the whole historie of nature, you shall not find so small a mirrour againe for to represent greater things and more beautifull, being (as it were) a most pure and cleere drop, wherein appeareth most apparently the full resemblance of entier vertue. Here may be seene lovely friendship and civill societie: here sheweth it selfe the verie image of valour and prowesse, with painfull patience and industrie: here may a man behold many feeds of continence, many sparks 30 of wisdom, and as many of righteoufnes. *Cleanthes* the philosopher, although he maintaineth not that beasts have any use of reason, made report nevertheless that he was present at the sight of such a spectacle and occurrent as this. There were (quoth he) a number of ants which went toward another ants hole, that was not their owne, carrying with them the corps of a dead ant: out of which hole, there came certaine other ants to meet them on the way (as it were) to parle with them, and within a while returned backe and went downe againe: after this they came forth a second, yea a third time, & retired accordingly untill in the end they brought up from beneath (as it were a ransom for the dead body) a grub or little worme; which the others received and tooke upon their shoulders, and after they had delivered in exchange the foresaid corps, departed home: moreover, it is worth the observation, although it be a thing daily seene of everie 40 man, what curtesie and civilitie they use in meeting one another, how those who be light and carie nothing, willingly give way unto such as bee charged and loaden, and suffer them to passe: likewise how they gnaw asunder and divide piece meale such burdens, as they being single, cannot beate whole, to the end that the same may be caried and transported from place to place by more in number. *Aratus* in his prognostickes setteth this downe for a signe of raine toward, when they bring forth their feeds and graines, and lay them abroad to take the aire:

*When ants make haste with all their eggs abroad,  
Forth of their holes to carrie them abroad.*

And yet there be some who in this place write not *eggs*, that is to say, eggs, but *eggs*, as if they would say, their goods, to wit, the fruits or seeds which they have gathered and laid up for their provision, when they perceive them to begin to mould or bee fustie, or feare that they will corrupt and putrifie. But that which surpasseth all other prudence, policie and wit, is their caution and prevention which they use, that their wheat or other come may not spurt and grow. For this is certaine, that dry it cannot continue alwaies nor found and uncorrupt, but it will in time waxe soft, resolve into a milkie juice, when it turneth and beginneth to swell and chit: for feare therefore that it become not a generative feed, and so by growing, loose the nature & property of food for their nourishment, they gnaw that end thereof or head, where it is wont to spurt and bud forth. For

For mine owne part, I do not admit or beleve all that which some do anatomize of their caves and holes: who give out that there is not one direct and straight way leading downe thereinto, nor the same easie and ready for any other creature to passe through; but there be certaine secret allies, blinde-pathes, crooked turnings, and hollow cranks, which meet all at the end in three holes or concavities; whereof the one forsooth is the common hall for them to meet all together: the second is their cellar or ambry for their victuals and provision; and the third a by-roome where they bestow their dead.

Well, I thinke it not amisse nor impertinent, if next after pismires, I bring forth upon the stage before you the elephants, to the end that we may know the nature of this art, and intelligence which now is in question, as well in the greatest beasts as the smallest creatures, and see how as it appeareth in the one, so it is not defective or wanting in the other. Other men I am sure doe make a wonder at that which the elephant learneth, and is taught, whose docilitie is exhibited unto us in the theaters, by his sundry sorts of gestures, and changes in dauncing, such as for their varietie and exquisite elegancie, it were very hard for men with all their memorie, perfection of witte, and exercise, to remember, to expresse, and performe accordingly: but I for my part, me thinks, doe see more cleerly and evidently the prudence and sagacitie of this beast, in the passions, affections, and motions which he hath of himselfe without teaching, as being more simple, sincere, and naturall; for not long since, at *Rome* there were a number of them trained and exercised against the solemnity of their games and plaies, in certaine strange 20 stations, intricate motions, and hard turnings round, to goe, to come, to stande, and wheele about in a trice: but among them, there was one more dull, blockish, grosse, and slowe, than the rest, both in conceiving, and also in reteining; by reason whereof, he being ever and anon reproched and rated with shamefull words, yea, and many times beaten well for his untowardnesse, was found otherwhiles alone by himselfe in the night, repeating as it were and conning his lessons by moone-shine, labouring hard for to expresse and attaine unto that which hee had beene taught. *Agnon* writeth, that before this time, in *Syria* there was an elephant kept and nourished in a private mans house, whose governour had allowed unto him from his master, a certaine measure of barley every day for his provender; but there was not a day went over his head, wherein he robbed and deceived him not of the one halfe: it fortuned, that one time above the rest, the master of the house would needs see the elephant served, then his governour powred out before him his full allowance, even the whole measure that was his due; but the elephant casting an unhappy and untoward eie at him, divided his barley with the snout of his trunk, and put a part the one moiety therof, shewing the best way he could devise unto his master, the wrong that the governour aforesaid had done unto him: He reporteth likewise of another, who seeing that his keeper blended earth and stones among his barley, to make the measure to seeme compleat; spied his time and came unto the potage pot standing over the fire, wherein was flesh a seething for dinner, and filled it up with ashes.

Another being provoked and misused at *Rome*, by certaine little boies, who with their bodkins and penknives used to pricke and punch his snout or trunk; caught up one of them by the 40 middle, and held him up in the aire, so as it was thought he would have crushed and squeezed the guttes out of his belly; they that saw the manner of it, tooke up a great cry incontinently for feare of the poore boy, but the elephant set him downe softly againe upon the ground, in the very place where he caught him up, and doing him no hurt at all passed by: judging it a sufficient chastisement for so little a childe, that he was onely put in a fright: Thus much of tame and trained elephants. As for those which are savage, and live in the wilde fields at their liberty, wonderfull things be reported of them, and namely as touching their passage over rivers; for the yongest and least of them all, exposing himselfe to hazard for the rest, leadeth the way, and wadeth first thorough; the other seeing him landed upon the banke on the other side, make this account, that if the least and lowest of their heard be tall enough to surmount the depth of 50 the chanell, they which are bigger and higher, have no cause to feare any thing, but that they also may get over in safetie.

And since I am fallen into this argument, and proceeded to farre into it, me thinks I should not forget one example of *Reimar*, for the affinitie and conformity it hath with this device last rehearsed: Those who have invented fabulous tales make report, that during the great deluge, *Deucalion* used to let forth a dove out of the arke, to know what weather it was like to be abroad; for if she returned soone againe, she brought newes of tempest and raine, but if she

Mmm

flew



backe, he would runne a front upon them snuffing, snorting and neighing, rising up all afore at them; and if they made not good haste to retire behind him and fly, hee would bee sure to have them under his feet and trample over them. I know full well that you thinke these examples are huddled together in a confused varietie: but surely it is no easie matter to find any action of these noble beasts, which representeth one bare vertue and no more: for together with their kindnesse and naturall love there is to be seene a certaine desire of honour: amid their generositie a man may perceive a kind of industrious sagacitie and wisdom; neither is their wit and subtiltie void of courage and magnanimitie: howbeit, if men be disposed to distinguish and separate one from another by themselves; the dogs do represent an example of a mild and gentle nature together with an haughtie courage and high mind, namely when they passe by and turne aside from those to that submit themselves before them, according to that which *Homer* saith in one place:

*The dogs ran forth with open mouth,  
they cried and bark't aaine:  
ulysses wife his sife let fall,  
and stirr'd not againe.*

For their manner is not to fight any longer against those who humbly fall downe prostrate, or shew any semblance of lowly supplants. Certes, the report goeth of a principall Indian dogge, who being for a singularity above all other, sent to fight a combat before king *Alexander* the Great, when there was let looke at him first a stag, then a wild boare, and afterwards a beare, made no reckoning of them, nor deigned once to stirre out of his place nor rise up: but when hee saw a lion presented unto him, then incontinently he stood upon his feet, and addressed himselfe to the combat; shewing evidently that he esteemed the lion alone worthie to fight with him, and disdained all the rest. As for those here among us which are wont to hunt hares, if they themselves chauce to kill them with faire play in the open field, they take pleasure to teare them in peeces; they like and lap their blood full willingly: but if the hare being out of heart and in despaire of her selfe, as many times it falleth out, employe all the force and strength that shee hath in one course for all, and run her selfe out of breath, so as her winde is now cleane gone, and shee dead withall: the hounds finding her so, will not once touch her, but they keepe a wagging of their tails round about her body, as if they would say, it is not for greedinesse of hares flesh, but an earnest desire to winne the prize in running, that we hunt thus as we do.

As touching the craft and subtiltie which is in beasts; forasmuch as there be infinit examples thereof, overpasse I will the wily pranks of foxes, wolves, cranes and jakes: for common they be and every man seeth them; onely produce I will the testimonie of wife *Thales*, the most ancient of the seven sages, who by report was not least admired for his skill and cunning, in that hee discovered right well the craftines in a beast, and went beyond it. There was a companie of mules that had salt a load, and were carrying it from one place to another; and as they passed through the foord of a river, one of them chanced to fall under his burden into the water: the salt in his sack by this meane taking wet, melted and resolved into water for the most part of it, in such sort as the mule having recovered himselfe upon all foure, found that he was well lightened of his load, and presently conceived what was the reason: which gave so deepe an impression in his memorie, that ever after, as often as he was to go thorow a river, hee would be sure to stoupe and couch his bodie low; first leaning of one side, and then of another, purposely and for the nonce to wet and drench the bags on his backe which had salt in them. *Thales* hearing of this unhappy and shrewd wit of the mule, commaunded the muliter to fill the sacks with the same weight of wooll and spunges, in stead of salt, to lay them upon his backe, and so to drive him with the rest. The mule left not his old wont; but when he perceived that he was overcharged now with water besides his ordinary load of wooll and spunges, he tooke himselfe in the maner, and found that his craft now stood him in small stead, but did him hurt: whereupon, ever after, he would go upright whensoever he waded, and was very carefull that none of his packs or carriages should once (though full against his will) touch the water.

Partridges have another kinde of subtiltie and craft by themselves, and the same proceedeth from a certaine naturall love and motherly affection to their yong birds, whom, when they are yet so feeble that they cannot flie & make shift for themselves being pursued, they teach to cast themselves on their backs, with their heeles and bellies upward, and to hold either a clot of earth or some Locke of straw or such like stuffe, to cover and shadow their bodies withall: meane while, the olde rowens turne those that follow in chase another way, drawing them toward themselves in flying to and fro just before them, even at their feet, seeming (as it were) by little and little to retire,

retire, and making as though they were scarce able to arise from the earth, and as if they were ready to be taken, untill such time as they have trained the fowlers farre from their little ones.

The hares when they have kinked, and be affraied of the hunters, returne to their formes, and carrie their leverets, some one way and some another, so as many times there is an arpent or good acre of ground distance betweene them, to the end that if either hound or hunter should come upon them, they might not be all in danger at once to be taken; and they themselves runne up and downe backward and forward in divers places, crossing this way and that way, leaving their tracts very confused, and in the end take one great leape as farre as ever they can, from their foresaid footing, and spring unto their forme, where they rest and take their repose.

The beare being surpris'd with a certaine drowfie disease, called *Pholia*, before she be altogether so heavily benumbed and stupified therewith, that she can not well stirre, maketh cleane the cave into which she meaneth to retire herselfe: & when she is to go downe into it, all the way besides which is toward it, she treadeth very lightly, bearing herselfe (as it were) upon her tip-toes: and being come neere unto it, she turnes upon her backe, and so citcheth forward her bodie as well as she can into her den.

Ofted deere, the hynds commonly calve neere unto highway sides, where ravenous beasts, such as live by prey, doe not ordinarily haunt. The stags when they perceive themselves to be fat, well fleshed, and good venison, seeke blinde corners to hide themselves in, for the better security of their lives, as not trusting then to their heeles and swift running.

The land-urchins are so wise and wary in defending and saving themselves, that they have thereby given occasion of this proverbe:

*At thou and wiles and me,  
of craftie fox there are:  
The urchin one doth know,  
and that is singular.*

for when the urchin perceiveth Renard comming toward him,

*All of a lump, as round as bur or ball,  
His bodie lies, with prickles beset withall:  
No meane she hath, for thornie bristles thicke,  
To bite, to pinch, or touch him to the quicke.*

and yet more ingenious is their forecast and providence for the feeding of their little ones; for in Autumne, a little before vintage time, you shall have an urchin or hedge-hogge get under a vine, and with his feet shake the stocke untill the grapes from their branches be fallen upon the ground, then he rouleth himselfe round like a foot-ball among them, and catcheth them up with his sharpe prickles; inasmuch as when we stood all of us sometime to behold the manner of it, it seemed as if a cluster of grapes had beene quicke, and so crept upon the ground; so befor went he and covered all over with grapes: then so soone as he is gotten into his hole or nest, he offereth them unto his yong ones to eat, to take from him and lay up for store. This hole hath two faces or prospects; the one regardeth the fourth, the other looketh into the north. When they foresee change & alteration of weather, like as skillful ship-masters turne their failes according to the time; even so, they shut up that hole or entrie which standeth in the wind, and let open the other: which when one of the citie *Cyzicum* had once observed and learned, he got a great name and reputation of a weather-wife-man, as if he foreknew of himselfe by some singular gift, and could foretell from which coast the wind would blow.

As touching social love and fidelitie, accompanied with wit and understanding, the elephants asking *Juba* writeth, shew unto us an evident example: for they that hunt them are wont to dig deepe trenches, and thatch them over with a thinne cote of light straw or some small brush. Now when one of the heard chanceth to fall into a trench, for many of them use to go and feed together, all the rest bring a mighty deale of stones, rammed wood, and whatsoever they can get, which they fling into the ditch for to fill it up, to the end that their fellow may have meane thereby to get up againe. The same writer recordeth also that elephants use to pray unto gods, to purifie themselves with the sea water, and to adore the sunne rising, by lifting up their trunked snout into the aire (as if it were their head) & all thus of their own accord & untaught. And to say a truth of all beasts the elephant is most devout & religious, as *K. Ptolemæus Philopater* hath well testified: for after he had defeated *Antiochus*, & was minded to render condign thanks unto the gods for so glorious a victorie, among many other beasts for sacrifice, he slew foure elephants: but af-

terwards being much disquieted and troubled in the night with fearefull dreames, and namely, that God was wroth and threatned him for such an uncouth and strange sacrifice; hee made meanes to appeale his ire by many other propitiatorie oblations, and among the rest, hee dedicated unto him fower elephants of brasse, in steed of those which were killed: no lesse is the forcible kindeesse and good nature which lions shew one unto another; for the younger sort which are more able and nimble of body, lead forth with them into the chace for to hunt and prey those that be elder and unweldd; who when they be weary, sit them downe and rest, waiting for the other; who being gone forward to hunt if they meet with game and speed, then they all set up a roaring note altogether, much like unto the bellowing of bulles, and thereby call their fellowes to them; which the old lions hearing, presently runne unto them, where they take their part, and devourt they prey in common.

To speake of the amorous affections of brute beasts, some are very savage and exceeding furious: others more milde, and not altogether unlike unto the courting and wooing used betwene man and woman, yea, & I may say to you, smelling somewhat of wanton and venericious behaviour: and such was the love of an elephant, a counterfuter or corivall with *Aristophanes* the grammarian, to a woman in *Alexandria*, that fold chaplets or garlands of flowers: neither did the elephant shew lesse affection to her than the man, for hee would bring her alwaies out of the fruit market, as he passed by, some apples, pears, or other fruit, and then he would stay long with her, yea, and otherwhiles put his snout, as it were his hand, within her bosome under her partler, and gently feele her soft pappes and white skinn about her faire brest.

A dragon also there was enamoured upon a young maiden of *Aetolia*: it would come to visit her by night, creepe along the very bare skinn of her body, yea, and winde about her without any harme in the world done unto her, either willingly or otherwise, and then would gently depart from her by the breake of day: now when this serpent had continued thus for certaine nights together ordinarily; at the last the friends of the young damosell remooved her, and sent her out of the way a good way off; but the dragon for three or fower nights together came not to the house, but wandred and sought up and downe heere and there as it should seem for the wench; in the end, with much ado, having found her out, he came and clasped her about, not in that milde and gentle manner as before time, but after a rougher sort; for having with other windings and knots bound her hands and armes fast unto her body, with the rest of his taile he flapped and beat her legges, shewing a gentle kinde of amorous displeasure and anger, yet so, as it might seeme he had more affection to pardon, than desire to punish her.

As for the goose in *Aegypt* which fell in love with a boy; and the goat that cast a fanste to *Glauce* the minstrell wench: because they are historioes so wel known, and in every mans mouth: for that also I suppose you are wearie already of so many tedious tales and narrations, I forbear to relate them before you: but the merles, crows, and perroquets or popinjays, which learne to prate, and yeeld their voice and breath to them that teach him, so pliable, so tractable and docible, for to forme and expresse a certaine number of letters and syllables as they would have them, me thinks they plead sufficiently, and are able to defend the cause of all other beasts, teaching us as I may say, by learning of us, that capable they be not onely of the inward discourse of reason, but also of the outward gift uttered by distinct words, and an articulate voice: were it not then a meere ridiculous mockerie, to compare these creatures with other dumbe beasts which have not so much voice in them, as will serve to houle withall, or to expresse a groane and complaint? but how great a grace and elegancie there is in the naturall voices and songs of these, which they resound of themselves, without learning of any masters, the best musicians and most sufficient poets that ever were do testifie, who compare their sweetest canticles and poems unto their songs of swannes and nightingals: now forasmuch as to teach, sheweth greater use of reason; than to learne we are to give credit unto *Aristotle*, who saith: that brute beasts are endued also with that gift, namely, that they teach one another: for hee writeth that the nightingale hath beene seene to traine up her young ones in singing; and this experience may serve to testifie on his behalfe, that those nightingales sing nothing so well, which are taken very young out of the nest, and were not fedde nor brought up by their dammes; for those that be nourished by them, learne withall, of them to sing, and that not for money and gaine, nor yet for glory, but because they take pleasure to sing well, and love the elegancie above the profit of the voice: and to this purpose report I will unto you a storie which I have heard of many, as well Greeks as Romans, who were present and eie witnesses: There was a barber within the city of *Rome*, who kept a shoppe over against the temple, called *Grecosifis*, or *Forum Graecum*,

and there nourished a pie, which would so talke, prate, and chatte, as it was wonderfull, counting the speech of men and women, the voice of beasts, and found of muscicall instruments, and that voluntarily of her selfe without the constraint of any person, onely she accustomed her selfe so to doe, and tooke a certaine pride and glory in it, endeavouring all that she could to leave nothing unspoken, or not expressed: now it hapned that there were solemnized great funerals of one of the welthiest personages in the city, and the corps was caried forth in a great state, with the found of many trumpets that marched before; in which solemnitie, for that the manner was that the pompe and whole company should stand still and rest a time in that verie place, it fell out so, that the trumpeters who were right cunning and excellent in their arte, staid there, founding melodiously all the while: the morrow after this, the pie became mute and made no noise at all, nor uttered not so much as her naturall voice which she was wont to doe, for to expresse her ordinarie and necessarie passions; inso much, as they who before time wondered at her voice and prating, marvelled now much more at her silence, thinking it a very strange matter to passe by the shop and heare her say nothing; so as there grew some suspition of others professing the same art and trade, that they had given her some poison: howbeit, most men guessed that it was the violent found of the trumpets which had made her deafe, and that together with the sense of hearing, her voice also was utterly extinct: but it was neither the one nor the other; for the truth was this, as appeared afterwards: she was in a deepe studie, and through meditation retired within herselfe, whiles her minde was busie and did prepare her voice like an instrument of musick, for invitation; for at length her voice came againe and wakened (as it were) all on a sudden, uttering none of her olde notes nor that which she was accustomed before to prate and counterfeit; onely the found of trumpets she resembled, keeping the same periods, the same stops, pauses and straines; the same changes, the same reports, and the same times and measures: a thing, that confirmed more and more that which I have said before; namely, that there is more use of reason in teaching of themselves, than in learning by another. Yet can I not containe my selfe, but I must needs in this place recite unto you one lesson that I my selfe saw a dogge to take out, when I was at *Rome*: This dog served a plaier who professed to counterfeit many persons, and to represent sundry gestures; & among sundry other pretty tricks which his master taught him, answerable to divers passions, occasions and occurrences represented upon the stage, his master made an experiment on him with a drogue or medicine which was somniferous indeed and sleepe, but must be taken and supposed deadly; who tooke the piece of bread wherein the said drogue was mingled, and within a litle while after he had swallowed it downe, he began to make as though hee trembled, quaked, yea and staggered, as if he had beene astonished, in the end he stretched out himselfe, and lay as stiffe as one starke dead, suffering himselfe to be pulled, haled, and drawn from one place to another, like a very blocke, according as the present argument and matter of the place required; but afterwards, when hee understood by that which was said and done, that his time was come, and that he had caught his hint, then beganne he at the first to stirre gently by litle and litle, as if hee had newly revived or awakened, and started out of a dead sleepe, and lifting up his head, began to looke about him too and fro; at which object all the beholders wondered not a litle; afterwards he arose upon his feet, and went directly to him unto whom he was to goe, very jocund and mery: this pageant was performed so artificially, I cannot tell whether to say or naturally, that all those who were present, and the emperor himselfe (for *Vespasian* the father was there in person, within the theater of *Marcellus*) tooke exceeding great pleasure, and joied wonderfully to see it.

But peradventure we may deserve well to be mocked for our labour, praising beasts as we do so highly, for that they be so docible and apt to learne, seeing that *Democritus* theweth and proveth, that we our selves have beene apprentices and scholars to them in the principall things of this life; namely, to the spider, for spinning, weaving, darning, and drawing up a rent; to the swallow, for architecture and building; to the melodious swanne and shrill nightingale, for vocall musick, and all by way of imitation. As for the art of physicke, and the three kindes thereof, we may see in the nature of beasts, the greatest and most generous part of each of them: for they use not onely that, which ordained drogues and medicines to purge ill humours out of the body, seeing that the tortoises take origin; wezels, rue, when they have eaten a serpent; dogges also when they be troubled with choler of the gall, purge themselves with a certaine herbe, thereupon called dogges-grasse; the dragon likewise if he finde his ciesto to be dimme, cleneth, scoureth, and dispatcheth the cloudinesse thereof with fenell; and the beare so soone



as she is gone out of her denne, seeketh out the first thing that she doth, the wilde herbe called *Arum*, that is to say, wake-robin, for the acrimonie and sharpnesse thereof openeth her bowels when they are grown together, yea, and at other times finding herselfe upon fullnesse, given to loth and distaste all food, she goes to finde out ants nests, where she fits her downe lilling out the tongue which is glibbe and soft, with a kinde of sweet and slimy humour, untill it be full of ants and their egges, then draweth she it againe, swalloweth them downe, and thereby cureth her loathing stomacke. Semblably it is said, that the Egyptians having observed their bird *Ibis*, which is the blacke storke, to give herselfe a chifter of sea water, by imitation of her did the like by themselves. Certaine it is, that their priests use to besprinkle, purifie, and hallow themselves with that water out of which she hath drunke; for let any water be venemous, or otherwise hurtfull and unholsome, the *Ibis* will none of it: but also some beasts there be, which feeling themselves ill at ease, are cured by diet and abstinence; as namely wooves and lions, when they have devoured too much flesh, and are cloied or glutted therewith, they lie me downe, take their ease, cherishing and keeping themselves warme.

It is reported likewise of the tygre, that when a yooing kiddie was given unto her, she fasted two daies, according to the diet which she useth, before she touched it, and the third day being very hungry, called for other food, ready to burst the cage wherein she was enclosed, and forbare to eat the said kid, supposing that now she was to keepe it with her, as a familiar & domestical companion. Nay that which more is, recorded it is, that elephants practise the feat of chirurgery; for standing by those that are wounded in a battell, they can skill of drawing out tron-chions of speares, javelin heads, arrows and darts out of their bodies, with such dexterity and ease, that they will neither teare and hurt their flesh, nor put them to any paine whatsoever. The goats of *Candy* when they be shotte into the body with arrowes or darts, fall to eat the herbe *Dichamus*, & thereby thrust them out, and make them fall off with facility, & by this means they have taught women with child that this herbe hath a propertie to cause abortive birth, and the child in their wombe to miscarrie: for the said goats are no sooner wounded, but they runne presently to this herbe, and never seeke after any other remedy. Woonderfull these things are (no doubt) howbeit lesse miraculous, when we consider the natures of beasts, how they be capable of arithmeticke, and have the knowledge of numbring and keeping account: as the kine and oxen about *Susa*, for appointed they be there to water the kings gardens, drawing up water in buckets with a device of wheels that they turne about in manner of a windles; and everie one of them for their part must draw up an hundred buckets in a day: so many they will do just, but more you that not get of them, neither by faire means nor foule; for no sooner have they performed their task, but presently they give over & impossible it is to force them any farther then their account: notwithstanding triall hath bene made; so justly and exactly they both know, and also keepe the reckoning, as *Ctesimus* the Guidian hath left in writing. As for the Libians they mocke the Egyptians, for reporting this of their beast called *Oryx*, as a great singularity, that hee setteth up a certaine crie that verie day and houre, when as the star named by them *Sabe*, and by us the Dog, or *Antares* doth arise: for they give out, that with them all their goats together, at the verie instant when the said starre mounteth up within their horizon with the sunne, will bee sure to turne and looke in o the east: and this they hold to be an infallible signe of the revolution of that starre, agreeing just with the rules and observations of the Mathematicians. But to close up and conclude at length this discourse, that it may come to an end, let us (as it were) take in hand the sacred anchor, and for a finall conclusion knit up all with a brieve speech of their divinitie and propheticall nature. For certaine it is, that one of the greatest, most noble and ancient parts of divination or soothsaying, is that which being drawn from the flight and singing of birds, they call *Augurie*: and in truth the nature of these birds being so quicke, so active, so spiritually, and in regard of that agilitie & nimblenesse verie pliable, and obsequent to all visions & fantasies presented, offereth it selfe unto God, as a proper instrument to be used & turned which way he will; one while to motion, another while into certaine voices, laies & tunes, yea & into divers & fundrie gestures: now to stop and stay, anon to drive and put forward, in manner of the winds; by means whereof he impeacheth and holdeth backe some actions and affections, but directeth others unto their end & accomplishment. And this no doubt is the reason that *Euripides* teatmeth al birds in generall the heralds and messengers of the gods: and particularly *Socrates* said, that he was become a fellow servitor with the swans: semblably, among the kings, *Pyrrhus* was well pleased when as men called him the Eagle, and *Antiochus* tooke as great pleasure to be called the Sacre or the Hauke. Whereas contrariwise, when we are disposed to mocke, to flout, or to reproch those that be

be dull, indocible and blockish, wee call them fishes. To bee short, an hundred thousand things there be that God doth shew, foretell and prognosticate unto us by the meanes of beasts, as well those of the land beneath, as the fowles of the aire above. But who that shall plead in the behalfe of fishes or water-creatures, will not be able to alledge so much as one: for, deafe they be all and domb; \* blind also for any fore-sight or providence that they have, as being cast into a balefull place and bottomlesse gulfe, where impious Atheists & rebellious Titans or giants against God are bestowed; where they have no sight of God, no more than in hell where damned soules are; where the reasonablenesse and intellectuall part of the soule is utterly extinct, and the rest that remaineth, drenched or rather drowned (as a man would say) in the most base and vile sensuall part, so as they seeme rather to pant then to live.

## HERACLEON.

Plucke up your browes, good *Phedimus*, open your eyes, awake your spirits, and beslirre your selfe in the defense of us poore Ilanders and maritime inhabitants: for here we have heard not a discourse twis merrily devised to passe away the time, but a serious plea premeditate and laboured before hand, a verie Rhetoricall declamation which might beseme well to bee pronounced at the barre in judicciall court, or delivered from a pulpit and tribunall before a publicke audience.

## PHÆDIMUS.

Now verily, good sir *Heracleon*, this is a meere surprize and a manifest ambush laid craftily of so fet purpose; for this brave oratour (as you see) being yet fasting and sober himselfe; and having studied his oration all night long hath set upon us at the disadvantage, and altogether unprovided, as being still heavy in the head, and drenched with the wine that we drunke yesterday. Howbeit we ought not now to draw backe and recule for all this: for being as I am an affectionate lover of the poet *Pindarus*, I would not for any good in the world, heare this sentence of his justly alledged against me.

*When games of strife and combats once are set,  
Who shrinketh backe, and doth pretend some let,  
In darkness his eyes and obscuritie,  
His fame of vertue and activitie.*

so for at great leasure we are all, and not the dances onely be at repose, but also dogs and horses, cast-nets, drags, and all manner of nets besides: yea and this day there is a generall cessation given to all creatures as well on land as in sea, for to give eare unto this disputation. And as for you my masters here, have no doubt, nor be you affraid; for I will use my libertie in a meane, and not draw out an Apologie or counterplea in length, by alledging the opinions of philosophers; the fables of the Egyptians; the headlesse tales of the Indians or Libians, without prooffe of any testimonies; but quickly come to the point, and looke what examples be most manifest and evident to the eie, and such as shall bee testified and verified by all those mariners or travellers that are acquainted with the seas, some few of them I will produce. And yet verily in the prooffes and arguments drawn from creatures above the ground, there is nothing to impeach the sight, the view of them being so apparant and daily presented unto our eie, whereas the sea affoordeth us the fight of a few effects, within it & those hardly and with much adoe (as it were) by a glauce and glimmering light, hiding from us the most part of the breeding and feeding of fishes: the means also that they use, either to assaile one another or to defend themselves wherein I assure you there be actions of prudence, memory, societie, and equity not a few, which because they are not knownen, it cannot chuse but our discourse as touching this argument will be lesse enriched and enlarged with examples, and so by consequence the cause more hardly defended and maintained.

Over and besides, this advantage have land beasts, that by reason of their affinity as it were, and daily conversation with men, they get a tincture as it were from them, of their manners and fashions; and consequently enjoy a kinde of nurture, teaching, discipline, and apprentizing by imitation; which is able to dulce, allay, and mitigate all the bitterness and austerity of their nature, no lesse than fresh water mingled with the sea, maketh it more sweet and potable: likewise all the unfociable wildenesse, and heavy unwelldinesse therein, it stirreth up, when the same is once moved and set on foot by the motions that it learneth by conversing with men: whereas on the other side the life of sea-creatures being farre remote and divided by long and large confines from the frequentation of men, as having no helpe of any thing without, nor any thing to be taught it by use and custome, is altogether solitarie and by it selfe, as nature brought

it fourth, so it continueth and goeth not abroad; neither mingled nor mixed with forren fathions, and all by reason of the place which they inhabit, and not occasioned by the quality of their owne nature, for surely their nature conceiving and retaining within it selfe as much discipline and knowledge as it is possible for to attaine unto and apprehend, exhibiteth unto us many tame and familiar eeles (which they call sacred) that use to come to hand; such as are among the rest, of those in the fountaine *Archeusa*, besides many other fishes in diuers places, which are very obsequant and obsequious when they be called by their names, as is reported of *Marcus Crassus* his lamprey, for which he wept when it was dead; and when *Damius* upon a time reproched him for it, by way of mockerie in this wise: Were not you the man who wept for your lamprey when it was dead; he came upon him presently in this manner: And were not you the kinde and sweet husband who having buried three wives never shed teare for the matter? the crocodiles not only know the voice of the priests when they call unto them, and endure to be handled and stroked by them, but also yawn and offer their teeth unto them to be picked and clenched with their hands, yea and to be skowred and rubbed all over with linen clothes. It is not long since that *Philinus* a right good man and well reputed, after his returne from his voiage out of *Aegypt*, where he had bin to see the country recounted unto us, that in the city of *Antea* he had seene an olde woman ly a sleepe on a little pallet together with a crocodile, who very decently and modestly couched close along by her side. And it is found in old records, that when one of the kings called *Protolomai*, called unto the sacred crocodile, it would not come nor obey the voice of the priests, notwithstanding they gently praised and intreated her; a signe thought to be a prognosticke and preface of his death, which soone after ensued: whereby it is plaine that the kind and generation of these water beasts, is neither incapable, nor deprived of that sacred and highly esteemed science of divination and foretelling future things; considering that even in the country of *Lycia*; betweene the cities of *Phellus* and *Myrz*, that is, a village called *Sura*, where I heare say, the inhabitants use to sit and behold the fishes swimming in the water, like as in other places they observe birds flying in the aire, marking their lying in wait and ambush, their scudding away and pursue after them; whereby according to a certeine skill that is among them, they can foretell future things to come. But this may suffice to shew and declare, that their nature is not altogether estranged from us, nor unfociable.

As touching their proper wit, and naturall prudence, wherein there is no mixture at all borrowed from other, this is ingenerall, a great argument thereof, that there is no creature that swimmeth or liveth in the waters, except those which sticke to stones, and cleave to rocks, that is so easie to be caught by man, or otherwise to be taken without trouble, as asses are by wolves; bees by the birds *Meropes*; grashoppers by swallowes; or serpents by flagges, who are so easily caught up by them; in Greeke they tooke the name *εναγοι*, not *εναγεσμοι*, that is to say, of lightnesse: but *εναγοι*, that is to say, of drawing up a serpent out of his hole. The sheepe calleth as it were the wolfe, by the foote; like as by report the leopard allureth unto him the most part of beasts, who are willing to approach him for the pleasure they take in his smell, and above all others the ape. But sea creatures generally all, have a certeine inbred sagacity, a wary perceivance before hand, which maketh them to be suspicious and circumspect, yea, and to stand upon their guard against all fore-laying; so that the arte of hunting and catching them is not a small piece of worke, and a simple cunning; but that which requireth a great number of engines of all sorts, and asketh wonderfull devices, and subtil sleights to compass and goe beyond them; and this appeereth by the experience of such things, as we have daily in our hands: For first and formost the cane or reed of which the angle rodde is made, fishers would not have to bee bigge and thicke, and yet they had need of such an one as is tough and strong, for to plucke up and hold the fishes, which commonly doe mightily sting and struggle when they be caught; but they chuse rather that which is small and slender, for feare lest if it cast abroad shadow, it might moove the doubt and suspicion that is naturally in fishes: moreover the line they make not with many water-knots, but desire to have it as plaine and even as possibly may be without any roughnesse, for that this giveth as it were some denuntiation unto them of fraud and deceit: they take order likewise that the haire which reach to the hooke, should seeme as white as possibly they can devise, for the whiter they be, the lesse are they seene in the water, for the conformity and likenesse in colour to it: as for that which the poet *Homer* saith;

Downe right to bottome of the sea,  
like plumbe of leade she went,

That

That peseth downe the fishers hooke,  
and holdes the line extant;  
Which passing through transparent \* borne,  
that small oxes head bare,  
To greedy fishes secretly  
brings death ere they be ware.

Some misundersanding these verses, would infer thereupon; that men in old time used the hairs of an ox to make there lines withal, saying that this word *αγεσ*, which commonly in Greeke is taken for an horne, signifieth in this place haire; & that hereupon *αγεσ* is derived, which betokeneth to sheere or cut haire; and *αγεσ*, that is to say, sheering or clipping; as also, that from hence it is that *Archilochus* tearmeth a daintie & wanton minion, who taketh delight in tricking and trimming the haire & wearing a peruke curiously fet, *αγεσ*. But surely, this their collection is not true, for they used as we do, the haire of horse tiales, to make their angle-lines withal, chusing those that grow either on stone-horses or geldings, and not of mares, for that ever & anon they wet their tiales with staling, and by that means the haire of them are tender and apt to breake. And *Aristotle* himselfe writeth, that in those verses above cited there is no deepe matter that requireth such an exquisit & curious scanning; for that (in truth) fishers use to overcast the line neere unto the hooke with a piece of horne, for feare lest fishes when they have swallowed down the hooke, should with their teeth bite or fret a two the line. And as for the hooke, they use those that be round, for to take mullets and the fishes *amia*, because they have narrow moulthes: for very wary they are to avoid the longer and freighter kind; yea, and many times the mullet suspecteth the round hooke, swimming round about it, and flurting with the taile the bait and meat that is upon it, and never linnes flapping, untill he have shaken it off, and then devourereth it; but say, he can not speed that way, he drawes his mouth together, and with the very edge and utmost brim of his lips he nibbleth about the bait, untill he have gnawed it off. The wide mouthed sea-pike, when he perceiveth that he is caught with the hooke, sheweth herein more valour and animositie than the elephant; for he plucketh not out of another the dart or arrow sticking the bodie; but maketh meanes to deliver himselfe from the said hooke, shaking his head and writhing it to and fro untill he have enlarged the wound and made it wider; enduring most stoutly and resolutely the dolour to be thus rent and torne, and never gives over, untill he have wrestled and wrung the hooke out of his bodie. The sea fox will not many times come neere unto an hooke, he reculeth backe and is afraid of some deceitfull guile; but say that he chance to be surprised quickly, he maketh shift to winde himselfe off againe: for such is his strength, agilitie and slipperie moisture withall, that he will turne himselfe upside downe with his taile upward, in such sort, that when by overturning his stomacke all within is come forth, it can not chuse but the hooke loofeth the hold which it had and falleth fourth.

These examples do shew a certeine intelligence, and withall a wittie and readie execution of that which is expedient for them, as need and occasion requireth. But other fishes there be, which besides this indoltrious sagacitie in shifting for themselves, do represent a sociable nature and loving affection one unto another; as for example, the *anthia* and *cari*: for when the *caru* hath swallowed downe an hooke, other of his fellowes come leaping about him, and gnaw the line asunder; and if peradventure there be any of them gotten within a net and entangled, their companions give them their tiales without, which they holde as fast as they can with their teeth, and the other lie pulling and haling of them untill they have drawn them forth. As for the *anthia*, they come to rescue and succour one of their owne kinde with more audacitie, for putting the line against their backe, they set to it the ridge bone, which is sharpe toothed in manner of a saw, and with it they endeavour to file and saw it in twaine. And verily, there is not a creature living on the land (as farre as we know) that hath the heart and courage to aid their fellows being in danger of life, neither beare, bore, lion, nor leopard. Well may those gather all together in heaps, which are of the same kind and run one with another round about the cirque or show-place with the Amphitheaters: but to rescue or succour one another neither know they the meanes how, nor have the courage to doe it: for they fly and leape backward as fast as ever they can possibly from one that is hurt or killed in their fight: as for that story my good friend that you alledge of the elephants, that they cast into the ditch or trench whereinto one of their company is fallen all that ever they can get & gather together, thereby to make a banke, that he may cast himselfe upon, & besides so get forth; it is very strange and farret: and because it cometh

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*That*

*That periseth downe the fishers hooke,  
and holdes the line extant;  
Which passing through transparent \* horne,  
that rursall oxes head bare,  
To greedy fishes secretly  
brings death ere they be ware.*

Some misunderstanding these verses, would infer thereupon; that men in old time used the hairs of an ox to make there lines withal, saying that this word *κερας*, which commonly in Greeke is taken for an horne, signifieth in this place haire; & that hereupon *κερας* is derived, which betokeneth to sheere or cut haire; and *κερας*, that is to say, sheering or clipping; as also, that from hence it is that *Archilochus* termeth a daintie & wanton minion, who taketh delight in tricking and trimming the haire & wearing a peruke curiously fect, *κεραμας*. But surely, this their collection is not true, for they used as we do, the haire of horse tails, to make their angle-lines withal, chusing those that grow either on stone-horses or geldings, and not of mares, for that ever & anon they wet their tails with staling, and by that means the haire of them are tender and apt to breake. And *Aristotle* himselfe writeth, that in those verses above cited there is no deepe matter that requireth such an exquisit & curious scanning; for that (in truth) fishers use to overcast the line neere unto the hooke with a piece of horne, for feare lest fishes when they have swallowed down the hooke, should with their teeth bite or fret a two the line. And as for the hooke, they use those that be round, for to take mullets and the fishes *amia*, because they have narrow mouths: for very wary they are to avoid the longer and freighter kind; yea, and many times the mullet suspecteth the round hooke, swimming round about it, and flurting with the taile the bait and meat that is upon it, and never linnes flapping, untill he have shaken it off, and then devourerth it; but say, he can not speed that way, he drawes his mouth together, and with the very edge and umost brim of his lips he nibbleth about the bait, untill he have gnawen it off. The wide mouthed sea-pike, when he perceiveth that he is caught with the hooke, sheweth herein more valour and animosities than the elephant; for he plucketh not out of another the dart or arrow sticking the bodie; but maketh meanes to deliver himselfe from the said hooke, shaking his head and writhing it to and fro untill he have enlarged the wound and made it wider; enduring most stoutly and resolutely the dolour to be thus rent and torne, and never gives over, untill he have wrestled and wrung the hooke out of his bodie. The sea fox will not many times come neere unto an hooke, he reculeth backe and is afraid of some deceitfull guile; but say that he chanceth to be surprisid quickly, he maketh shift to winde himselfe off againe: for such is his strength, agility and slipperie moisture withall, that he will turne himselfe upside downe with his taile upward, in such sort, that when by overturning his stomacke all within is come forth, it can not chuse but the hooke loofeth the hold which it had and falleth fourth.

These examples do shew a certeine intelligence, and withall a wittie and readie execution of that which is expedient for them, as need and occasion requireth. But other fishes there be, which besides this indolentious sagacitie in shifting for themselves, do represent a sociable nature and loving affection one unto another; as for example, the *anthia* and *scari*: for when the *scari* hath swallowed downe an hooke, other of his fellowes come leaping about him, and gnaw the line asunder; and if peradventure there be any of them gotten within a net and entangled, their companions give them their tails without, which they holde as fast as they can with their teeth, and the other lie pulling and haling of them untill they have drawn them forth. As for the *anthia*, they come to rescue and succour one of their owne kinde with more audacitie, for putting the line against their backe, they set to it the ridge bone, which is sharpe toothed in manner of a saw, and with it they endeavour to file and saw it in twaine. And verily, there is not a creature living on the land (as farre as wee know) that hath the heart and courage to aid their fellows being in danger of life, neither beare, bore, lion, nor leopard. Well may those gather all together in heaps, which are of the same kind and run one with another round about the cirque or show-place with the Amphitheaters: but to rescue or succour one another neither know they the meanes how, nor have the courage to doe it: for they fly and leape backward as far as ever they can possibly from one that is hurt or killed in their fight: as for that story my good friend that you alledge of the elephants, that they cast into the ditch or trench whereinto one of their company is fallen all that ever they can get & gather together, thereby to make a banke, that he may cast himselfe upon, & besides so get forth, it is very strange and far fet: and because it cometh

meth out of the books of king *Juba*, it would seeme to command us (as it were) by a roiall edict, to give credit thereto. But say it were, true there be examples of sea-creatures enough to prove that for sociable kindnesse and prudence withall, there be many of them which give no place to the wisest of all those which the land affordeth: but as touching their communion and fellowship, we will treat thereof apart, and that anon.

To returne unto our fishers: perceiving as they doe, that the most part of fishes scorne the line and hooke as stale devices or such as be discovered, they beake themselves to fine force, and shut them up within great casting nets, like as the Persians use to serve their enemies in their warres, making this account, that if they be enclosed once within those nets, they are theirs sure enough, as if no discourse of reason in the world, no wit & policie whatsoever will serve them to escape: for with hoopnets or castnets are mullets caught, & the *iulides*, the *marmyri* also, the *gar-ge*, sea-gogoon, and the wide mouthed pikes: but such as plunge themselves downe to the bottome of the water, called thereupon *scorpius*, such as are the barbel, the gulleheads, and the scorpions of the sea, those they use to catch and draw up with great drags and sweepnets. And verily this kinde of net *Homer* calleth *Panagra*, which is as much to say, as catching and swooping all afore it. And yet as cunningly devised as these engins be, the sea-dogs have devices to avoid the same, as also the wide mouthed *labrax*; for when he perceiveth that the said sweepnet is a drawing along the bottome, he setteth all his strength to, scrapeth in the earth, and putteth it so, as he maketh an hole therein; and when he hath thus digged (as it were) as deepe a trench as will hide him against the incursion of the net, then he coucheth himselfe close within it, waiting untill the net be glided over him and past. The dolphin, if he be surprisid, and perceiveth that he is inclosed and claipeid within the armes (as one would say) of a net, endureth his fortune resolutely, and never dismayeth for the matter; nay, he is very well appeased and pleased; for he is glad in his heart, that he hath so many fishes about him caught in the same net, which hee may devour and make merrie with at his pleasure without paines taking: and when he sees that he is drawn up neere to the land, he makes no more ado but gnawes a great hole in the net, & away he goes. But say that he cannot dispatch this feat so quickly, but he comes into the fishers hands, yet hee dieth not for this at the first time; for they draw a rish or reed thorow the skinn along his crest, and so let him go: but if he suffer himselfe to be taken the second time, then they beat and cudgell him well; and know him they do by the feames or skars remaining of the forehead. Howbeit, this falleth out verie seldome; for the most part of them when they have beene once pardoned, do acknowledge what favour they have received, and beware for ever after how they do a fault and come into danger againe. But whereas there be infinit other examples of subtle flights and wittie wiles which fishes have invented, both to foresee and prevent a perill, & also to escape out of a danger, that of the cuttle is woorthie to be recited and would not be passed over in silence: for having about her necke a bladder or bag hanging, full of a blacke muddie liquor, which thereupon they call *blow*, that is to say, Inke: when she perceives herselfe beset & compassed about, so as she is ready to be taken, she casteth forth from her the said inke full craftily, that by troubling the water of the sea all about her, and making it looke thicke and blacke, she might avoid the sight of the fisher, and so make an escape unseene. Following heerein the gods in *Homer*, who many times with overspreading a back cloud with draw and steale away those whom they are minded to save: but enough of this.

Now as touching their craft and subtiltie in assailing and chafing others, there be many experiments and examples presented unto our sight: for the fish called the Starre, knowing full well, that whatsoever he toucheth wil melt and resolve, offreth and yeeldeth her body to be handled, suffering as many as passe by her, or approach neere to stroke him: and as for the cramp-fish *Torpedo*, you all know well enough her powerfull proprietie; not onely to benumme and stupifie those who touch her, but also to transmit a stupefactive qualitie, even along the maihes and cords of the net, to the verie hands of the fishers who have caught her. And some there be who report thus much more over, as having farther experience of her woonderfull nature, that in case she escape and get away alive, if men do baddle aloft in the water, or dash the same upon them, they shall feele the said passion running up to the verie hand, and benumbing their sense of feeling, as it should seeme, by reason of the water which before was altered and turned in that manner. This fish therefore having an imbred knowledge hereof by nature, never fighteth a front with any other; neither hazardeth himselfe openly: but fetching a compass about the prey which it hunteth after, shooteth forth from her these contagious influences like darts, infecting

ting or charming rather the water first therewith, and afterwards by meanes thereof the fish that she laeth for; so that it can neither defend it selfe, nor flee and make an escape, but remaineth as it were arrested, and bound fast with chaines, or utterly astonied.

The sea-frog, called the *Fisher*, which name hee gar by a kind of fishing that he doth practise, is known well enough to many: and *Aristotle* saith, that the cuttle aforesaid useth likewise the same craft that he doth. His manner is to hang downe as it were an angle line, a certaine small string or gut from about his necke, which is of that nature, that hee can let out in length a great way when it is loose, and draw it in againe close together verie quickly when he list. Now when he perceiveth some small fish neere unto him, hee suffreth it to nibble the end thereof and bite it, and then by litle and litle privily plucketh and draweth it backe toward him, untill he can reach with his mouth the fish that hangeth to it.

As touching poulps or purpules, and how they change their colour, *Pindarus* hath ennobled them in these verses:

*His mind doth alter most mutable,  
To poulpe the sea fish skinnes semblable,  
Which changeth hue to all things suable,  
To live in all worlds he is pliable.*

The poet *Theognis* likewise:

*Put on a mind like polyp fish,  
and learne so to dissemble,  
Which of the rocks where it sticks,  
the colour doth resemble.*

True it is that the chameleon also effoone changeth colour, but it is not upon any craftie desaigne that he hath, nor yet for to hide himselfe, but only for that he is so timorous; for cowardly he is by nature, and feareth everie noise. Over and besides (as *Theophrastus* writeth) full he is of a deale of wind; and the bodie of this creature waiteth but a litle of being all lungs and lights; whereby it may be guessed that it standeth altogether upon ventositie and wind, and so consequently verie variable and subject to change: whereas that mutabilitie of the polype is a powerfull and settled action of his, and not a momentarie passion or infirmitie: for hee altereth his colour of a deliberate purpose, using it as a sleight or device, either to conceal himselfe from that whereof he is afraid; or else to catch that whereof hee feedeth: and by meanes of this deceifull wile, hee praeth upon the one that escapeth him not, & escapeth the other that passeth by & sees him not. But to say that he catcheth his owne cleies or long armes that he useth to stretch forth, is a loud lie; marie that he standeth in feare of the lampray and the conger, is verie true: for these fishes do him many throwd turnes, and he cannot requite them the like, so slipperie they be and so soone gone. Like as the lobster on the other side if they come within his clutches, holdeth them fast & squeezeeth them to death: for their glibby slicknesse serveth them in no stead against his rough cleies; and yet if the polype can get & entangle him once within his long laces, hee dies for it. See how nature hath given this circular vicissitude to avoid and chafe one another by 40 turnes, as a verie exercise and trial to make prooffe of their wit and sagacitie.

But *Aristotimus* hath alledged unto us the hedgehog, or land urchin, and stood much upon I wot not what foresight he hath of the winds: and a woondrous matter he hath made also of the triangular flight of cranes. As for me, I will not produce the sea urchins of this or that particular coast, so wit, either of *Bizantine*, or of *Cyzicum*, but generally all in what fase forever; namely, how against a tempest and storme, when they see that the sea will bee very much troubled, they charge and ballast themselves with little stones, for feare of being overturned or driven to and fro for their lightnesse, by the billowes and waves of the sea: and thus by the meanes of this weight, they remaine firme and fast upon the little rocks whereto they are settled. As for the cranes, who change their maner of flying according to the winde; I say, this is a skillfull quality, so not proper and peculiar to one kinde of fishes, but common unto them all; namely, to swimme evermore against the waves & the current; yea, and very warie they be, that the winde blow not their tiales, and raise their skales, and so hurt and offend their bodies laid bare and naked, yea and made rugged by that meanes. Hereupon they carie their snouts and muzzels alwaies into the winde, and so direct their course: and thus the sea being cut afront at their head, keepeth downe their finnes, and gliding smoothly over their body, laeth their scales even, so as none of them stand staring up. This is a thing, as I have said, common unto all fishes, except the Elops, whose nature is to swimme downe the winde and the water; neither feareth he that the winde

will drive up his scales in so swimming, because they doe not lie toward his taile, but contrary to other fishes, toward his head.

Moreover, the tuny is so skillfull in the solstices and equinoxes, that he hath taught men to observe them without need of any astrological rules; for looke in what place or coast of the sea the winter tropicke or solstice findes him, there resteth he, and stirreth not untill the equinox in the spring. But a wonderfull wisedome (quoth he) there is in the crane, to hold a stone in his foot, that by the fall thereof he may quickly awaken. How much wiser then, my good friend *Aristotimus*, is the dolphin? who may not abide to lie still and cease stirring, for that by nature he is in continuall motion, and endeth his mooving and living together: but when he hath need of sleepe, he springeth up with his body to the toppe of the water, and turneth him upon his backe with the belly upward, and so suffreth it partly to flote and hull, and in part to be caried through the deepe, waving to and fro as it were in a hanging bedde, with the agitation of the sea, sleeping all the while, untill he settle downe to the bottom of the sea, and touch the ground: then wakeneth he, and mounting up with a jerke a second time, suffreth himselfe to be carried untill he be fetled downe againe; and thus hath he deviled to have his repose and rest intermingled with a kinde of motion. And it is said that the tunies doe the like, and upon the same cause.

And now forasmuch as we have shewed already the mathematicall and astrological foreknowledge that fishes have in the revolution and conversion of the sunne, which is confirmed likewise by the testimonie of *Aristotle*, listen what skill they have in arithmeticke; but first (be-<sup>10</sup> leave me) of the perspective sciences; whereof as it should seeme, the poet *Aeschylus* was not ignorant: for thus he saith in one place:

Like tuny fish he seemes to spie,  
He doth so looke with his left eye.

For tunies in the other eye are thought to have a dimme and feeble sight: and therefore when they enter *Mer major* into the sea of *Pomus*, they coast along the land on the right side; but contrariwise when they come forth, wherein they doe very wisely and circumspectly, to commit the custody of the body alwaies to the better eye. Now for that they have need of arithmeticke, by reason of their societie (as it may be thought) and mutuall love wherein they delight; they are come to that height and perfection in this arte, that because they take a wondrous<sup>30</sup> pleasure to feed together, and to keepe one with another in sculles & troupes, they alwaies cast their company into a cubicke forme, in manner of a battailon, solid and square every way, close, and environed with six equall sides or faces; and arranged in this ordinance as it were of a quadrat battell doe they swim, as large before as behind, & of the one side as of the other, in such sort, as he that lieth in espiall to hunt these tunies, if he can but take the just number how many there be of that side or front that appeareth next unto him, may presently tell what the number is of the whole troupe, being assured that the depth is equall to the bredth, and the bredth even with the length.

The fish called in Greeke\* *Hamia*, tooke that name, it may be thought, for their conversing in companies al together: and so I suppose came the *Pelamides* by their name. As for other fishes<sup>40</sup> that be sociable & love to live & are seene to converse in great companies together, no man is able to number the, they be so many. Come we rather therefore to some particular societies & inseparable fellowships that some have in living together: among which is that\* *Pinnotheres*, which the philosopher *Chrysippus* so much inke in his description, for in all his books as wel of moral as naturall philosophie, he is ranged formost. As for the *Spongotheres*, I suppose he never<sup>50</sup> knew, for otherwise he would not have left it out. Well, this *Pinnotheres* is a little fish, as they say, of the crabs kind, which goeth & cometh evermore with the *Naere*, a big shell fish keeping still by it, and sits as it were a porter at his shell side, which he letteth continually to stand wide open, untill he spie some small fishes gotten within it, such as they are wont to take for their food: then doth he enter likewise into the *Naeres* shell, and seemeth to bite the fleshy substance thereof; whereupon presently the *Naere* shutteth the shell hard, and then they two together feed upon the bootie which they have gotten prisoners within this enclosure.

As touching the *Spongotheres*, a little creature it is, not like unto the crabbe fish as the other, but rather resembling a spider, & it seemeth to rule and governe the sponge, which is altogether without life, without bloud and sense; but as many other living creatures within the sea, cleaveth indeed heard to the rocks, and hath a peculiar motion of the owne, namely, to stretch out and draw in its selfe: but for to do this need, she hath of the direction and advertisement of another

ther: for being of a rare, hollow, and soft constitution otherwise, and full of many concavities, void & so dull of sense besides, & idle withal, that it perceiveth not when there is any substance of good meat gotten within the said void and empty holes; this little animal at such a time giveth a kind of warning, and with it she gathereth in her body, holdeth it fast, and devoureth the same: but much more will this sponge draw in her selfe when a man comes neere and touches her; for then being better advertised and touched to the quick, she quaketh as it were for feare, and plucketh in her body so streight and so hard, that the divers, and such as seeke after them have no small adoe, but finde it to be a painfull matter for to get under and cut them from the rocks.

The purple fishes keepe in companies together, & make themselves a common cel, much like to the combs which bees doe frame, wherein by report, they do engender & breed: and looke what they have laid up for their store and provision of victuals, to wit, moffe, reits and such seaweeds, those they put forth out of their shells, & present them unto their fellows for to eat, banqueting ground as it were every one in their turne, and keeping their course to feast, one eating of anothers provision. But no great marvell it is to see such an amiable societie and loving fellowship among them, considering that the most unfociable, cruel and savage creature of all that live either in rivers or lakes or seas, I meane the crocodile, sheweth himselfe wonderfull fellow-like and gracious in that societie and dealing that is betwene him & the *trochilus*. For this *trochilus* is a little bird of the kinde of those which ordinarily doe haunt meres, marshes and rivers,<sup>10</sup> waiting and attending upon the crocodile as it were one of his guard: neither liveth this bird at her owne finding nor upon her owne provision, but of the reliques that the crocodile leaveth. The service that she doth for it is this: when the seeth the ichneumon, having plaitred his body as it were with a coat of mud baked hard in manner of a crust, and like unto a champion with his hands all dusty, ready to wrestle & prepared to take hold of his enemy, ly in wait for to surpris the crocodile asleepe, she awakeneth him partly with her voice, and partly by nebbing him with her bill. Now the crocodile is so gentle and familiar with her, that he will gape with his chawes wide open, and let her enter into his mouth, taking great pleasure that she should picke his teeth and pecke out the little morsels of flesh that stick betwene, with her pretty beake, & withal, to<sup>20</sup> scarifie his gummies. But when he hath had enough of this, & would flout and close his mouth againe, he letteth fall the upper chaw a little, which is a warning unto the bird for to get forth: but he never bringeth both jawes together, before he knowe that the *trochilus* is flown out.

There is a little fish called the guide, for quantity & proportion of shape, resembling the gudgeon, only without forth it seemeth like unto a bird, whose feathers for feare stand up; the scales stare so, and are so rough. This fish is ever in the company of one of these great whales, swimming before, and directing his course as if he were his pilot, for feare lest he should light upon some selves, runne upon the sands in the shallows, or otherwise shoot himselfe into some narrow creeke where he can hardly turne and get forth. The whale followeth hard after, willing to be guided, and directed by him, even as a shippe by the helme: and looke what other thing soever besides cometh within the chaos of this monsters mouth, be it beall, boar,<sup>40</sup> or stone, downe it goes all incontinently that foule great swallow of his, and perisheth in the bottomlesse gulfe of his panch: onely this little fish he knoweth from the rest, and receiveth into his mouth and no farther, as an anchor, for within it clepeth; and while the fish is at repose, the whale likewise resteth still, as if he ridde at anchor; no sooner is it gotten forth, but he followeth on a fresh, never leaving it by day nor by night, for otherwise hee would wander heere and there: and many of these whales there have beene lost in this manner, wanting their guide & pilot, which have runne themselves a land, for default of a good pilot. For we our selves have seene one of them to cast away not long since about the ile *Anticira*: and before time by report, there was another cast upon the sands, and not farre from the city *Buna*, which lay then stinking and purrified; whereupon by the infection of the aire, there ensued a pestilence<sup>50</sup> in those parts adjoining. What should one say? Is there any other example woorthy to be compared with these societies so streightly linked, & enteraled with mutuall benevolence? *Aristotle* indeed reporteth great friendship and amitie betwene foxes and serpents, joining and combining together against their common enemy the eagle; also betwene the *Ottides* and horses; for the bird *otus* delighteth in their company, and to be neere them, for that they may rake into their dung. For mine owne part, I cannot see that the very bees, or the pismires, are so industrious and carefull one for another. True it is, that they travell and labour in common for a publicke weale; but to aime at any particular good, or to respect the private benefit one



*Most swift of course, with browes as bright as golde,  
This is the fish which I doe sacred holde.*

Moles or Le-  
<sup>2</sup> 00.00

vering and defending thew with their spawne and frie against the waves of the sea.  
Dog-filthes get not place in any fort to the most tame and gentle beafts in the world, for kinde love and naturall affection to their yong: for first they engender spawne, and after that, a quicke frie; and that not without, but within, nourishing and carrying the fame within their owne bodies, after a kind of second generation; but when they are grown to any bignesse, they put them forth and teach them how to swim hard by them, and afterwards receive them by the mouth into their bodie, which serveth in stead of a place of abode, of nourishment and of refuge, untill such time as they be so big, that they can shift for themselves.  
Moreover, the provident care of the tortoise in the generation, nourishment and preservation of yere yong, is wonderfull: for our the goeth of the sea, and laith her egges or calfeith her spawne upon the banke side; but being not able to cove or sit upon them, nor to remaine herselfe upon the land out of the sea any long time, the bestoweth them in the gravell, and afterwards covereth them with the lightest and finest sand that she can get: when the hath thus hidden them surely, some say, that with her feet she draweth raies or lines, or els imprinteth certeine pricks, which may serve for privy marks to herselfe, to finde out the place againe: others affirme, that the male turneth the females upon the backe, and so leaveth the print of their shell within the

The crocodiles deale much after this manner in all other points; but at what marks they aime in chusing or finding out the place where they breed, no morrall man is able to imagine or give a reason whereupon it is commonly said, that the foreknowledge of this beast in that respect, proceedeth not from any discourse of reason, but of some supernaturall divination: for going neither farther nor nerer than jult to that gage and height where *2* *the* river for that yeare  
10 will rise and cover the earth, there laieith her eggcs: so that when the paifant or countrey man chanceth by fortune to hit upon a crocodiles nest, himselfe knoweth and telleth his neighbours how high the river will overflow that Summer following: so jult doth the measure the place that will be drowned with water, that herselfe may be sure not to be drenched while she sit-  
teth and coveth: furthermore, when her young be newly hatched, if she see any one of them  
(so soone as ever it is out of the shell) not to catch with the mouth one thing or other coming  
next in the way, be it flie, pismire, gnar, earth-worme, straw or grasse, the damme taketh it be-  
tweene her teeth, teareth it and killeth it presently; but such as give some prooffe of animosities,  
audacitie and execution, those she loveth, those she cherisheth and maketh much of, bestowing  
her love as the wisest men judge it meet and reasonable, according to reason and discretion, and  
.. not with blinde affection.

But (oh fweet *Neptune*) what a foule fault and grosse error was I like to have committed ; how absurd and ridiculous should I have made my selfe, if being amused and busied to speake of these sea-calves and frogs, I had forgotten and overpatted the wisest creature, and that which the gods love best, of all those that do frequent and haue the sea? for what musicke of the nightingale is comparable to that of the halcyon? what \* artificial building of the swallows, and martinetts ; what entier amitie & love of doves ; what skillfull cunning of the bees, deserveth to be put in balance with these sea-fowles halcyones? Of what living creatures have the gods and goddeses so much honored the breeding, travell and birth? for it is said that there was but one onely Iffe, to  
40 wit *Delos*, that was so wel beloved, that it received the childbirth of *Latona*, when she was delivered of *Apollo* & *Diana* : which island floating before time, continued afterwards firme-land; whereas the pleasure of God is such, that all seas should be fill and calme without waves, winds or drop of raine falling upon them , all the while that the halcyon laiceth and coveth, which is just about the winter solstice, even when the daies bee shortest : which is the reason that there is no living creature that men love so well ; by whose meanes seven daies they have, and seven nights even in the verie heart of winter, during which time they may safely faile, having their voyage by sea for those daies space, more secure than their travell by land. Now if I must say somewhat likewise of  
each particular vertue that this bird hath: first and foremost the female is so loving to the male her mate, that the tariest not with him for one season only, but all the yeere long keepeth him com-  
50 pany; and that not for shamelesse lust & wantonnesse (for she never admitteth any other male to tread her) but onely upon a kind love and tender affection ; even like an honest wedded wife that keepeth only to her husband. And when the male groweth to be for age weak and unwelldie; in such sort as he cannot follow her, but with much ado, she beareth and feedeth him in his old age ; she never forsaketh nor leaveth him alone for any thing, but she taketh him upon her shoulders, carrieth him everie where about, tendeth him most tenderly, and is with him stil until his dying day. Now for the affection which she beareth to her young, and the care that she hath of them and their safetie: when the perceiveth once that she is with egges, presently she goeth about the

building of her nest; not tempering mudde or cley for to make thereof mortar; not dawbing it upon the walles, and spreading it over the rouse as the swallows do; and yet employing her whole body or the most part thereof about her worke, as doth the bee, which entering in the honey-combe with her entier bodie; and working withall the six feet together, devideth the place in six angled cels: but the alcyon having but one instrument, one toole, one engine to worke withall, even her owne bill, without any thing else in the world to helpe her in her travell and operation; yet what workmanship she makes & what fabricks she frameth, like unto a master carpenter or shipwright, hard it were to beleieve, unlesse a man had seene it, being in deed such a fat-  
bricke and piece of worke, which onely of all other cannot bee overthrowen nor drenched with the sea: for first and formost shee goes and gathers a number of bones of the fish called 10 Belone, that is to say, a Needle, which shee joineeth and binderh together, interlacing them some long-wise, others overthwart, much like as the woofe is woven upon the warpe in a loome, winding, plaiting and twisting them up and downe one within another; so that in the end fashioned it is in forme round, yet extended out in length like unto a filthers weele or bow-net: after shee hath finished this frame, shee bringeth it to some creeke, and opposeth it against the waves, where the sea gently beating and dashing upon it, teacheth her to mend that was not well compact, and to fortifie it in such places where shee sees it gapeth, or is not united close by reason of the sea-water that hath undone the composition thereof: contrariwise, that which was well jointed, the sea doth so settle and drive together, that hardly a man is able to breake, dissolve or doe it injurie either with knocke of stone or dint of edged toole. But that which yet maketh it 20 for more admirable, is the proportion and forme of the concavities and hole within this vesseil; for framed it is & composed in such sort, that it will receive and admit no other thing, but the verie bird which made it, for nought else can enter into it, so close it is and shut up, no not so much as the very water of the sea. I am assured that there is not one of you all, but he hath many times seene this nest: but for mine owne part, who have both viewed, touched and handled it, and that verie often, I am ready to say and sing thus:

*The like at Delos once I weene,  
Was in Apollos temple seene.*

I meane the altar made al of hornes, renowned amongst the seven wonders of the world; for that without solder, gliew, or any other matter to binde and holde the parcels together, made it was 30 and framed of hornes which grew on the right side of the head onely. But o that this god would be so good and gracious unto me, being in some sort muscical and an islander, like himselfe, as to pardon me if I sing the praise of that sirene and mer-maid so highly commended; as also gently to heare mee laugh at these demands and interrogatories that these propound, who in mockerie seeme to aske, Why *Apollo* is never called *Korymbos*, that is to say, the killer of conger, nor *Diana* his sister *Tergelobos*, that is to say, a striker of barbelles, knowing that even *Pennu*, borne as she was of the sea, and instituting her sacrifices neere unto it, taketh no pleasure that anything should be killed. And moreover, ye wot well enough, that in the city of *Leptis*, the priests of *Neptune* eat nothing; that cometh out of the sea, as also that in the citie *Elexus*, whose who are professed religious, and admitted to the holy mysteries of *Ceres*, honour the barbell; 40 yea, and in the city of *Argos* the priestesse of *Diana* upon a devout reverence forbeareth to feed with this creature; for that these barbelles doe kill and destroy all that ever they can, the sea-hare, which is so venomous and so deadly a poison to man: in regard of which benefit, reported they are friendly unto mankind, and preservers of their health, and therefore honoured they be, and kept as sacrosanct: and yet you shall see in many cities of *Greece*, both temples and altars dedicated unto *Diana* surnamed *Delphinia*, as one would say, affected unto fishers nets: like as to *Apollo Delphinus*: for certeine it is, that the place which he especially chose above all others for his abode, the posteritie descended from the Cretans came to inhabit and people, being conducted thither by the guidance of a dolphin: and not because himselfe (as some fabulous writers report) being transformed into a dolphin, swam before their fleet; but surely a dolphin 50 he sent to direct those men in their navigation, and so he brought them to the bay of *Cirra*.

Also written it is in histories, that those who were sent by king *Ptolomeus* surnamed *Soter*, to the city *Sinope*, for to carie the god *Serapis*, together with their captaine *Dionysius*, were by force of winde and tempest driven against their willes beyond the cape or promontorie *Malea*, where they had *Peloponnesus* on the right hand; and when they wandered and were tossed to and fro upon the seas, not knowing where they were, making account they were lost and cast away, there shewed himselfe before the prow of their ship, a dolphin, which seemed to call unto them, and who

who guided them unto those coasts where there were many commodious havens and faire bates for ships to harbour and ride in with safetie; and thus he conducted and accompanied their ship from place to place, untill at length he brought it within the rode of *Cirra*; where after they had sacrificed for their safe arrivall and landing, they understood that of two images there, they were to have away that of *Pluto*, and carrie it with them, but the other of *Proserpina* to leave behinde them, when they had taken onely the mould and patterne thereof. Probable it is therefore, that the god *Apollo* carried an affection to this dolphin, for that it loveth musike so well: whereupon the poet *Pindarus* comparing himselfe unto the dolphin, saith that he was provoked 10 and stirred up to musike by the leaping and dauncing of this fish,

*Like as the dolphin swimmes apace  
Directly forward to that place  
Whereas the pleasant swarms doe sound,  
And whence their noise doth soone rebound:  
What time both winds and waves doe lie  
At sea, and let no harme be.*

or rather we are to thinke that the god is well affected unto him, because he is so kind and loving unto man: for the onely creature it is, that loveth man for his owne sake, and in regard that he is a man: whereas of land-beasts, some you shall have that love none at all; others, and those that be of the tamest kinde, make much of those onely, of whom they have some use and benefit; 20 namely, such as feed them or converse with them familiarly, as the dogge, the horse and the elephant: and as for swallows, received though they be into our houses, where they have entertainment, and whatsoever they need, to wit, shade, harbour and a necessary retreat for their safetie, yet they be afraid of man, and shun him as if he were some savage beast; whereas the dolphin alone of all other creatures in the world, by a certeine instinct of nature, carrieth that sincere affection unto man, which is so much sought for and desired by our best philosphers, even without any respect at all of commoditie: for having no need at all of mans helpe, yet is he neverthelesse friendly and courteous unto all, and hath succoured many in their distresse; as the storie of *Arien* will testifie, which is so famous, as no man is ignorant thereof: and even you *Aristotimus* your owne selfe, rehearsed to very good purpose the example of *Hesiodus*:

*But yet by your good leave, my friend,  
Of that your tale you made no end.*

for when you reported unto us the fidelitie of his dogge, you should have proceeded farther, and told out all, not leaving out (as you did) the narration of the dolphins: for surely the notice that the dogge gave, by baying, barking, and running after the murderers with open mouth, was (I may tell you) but a blinde presumption, and no evident argument. About the citie *Nemius*, the dolphins meeting with the dead corps of a man floating up and downe upon the sea, tooke it up and laied it on their backs, shifting it from one to another by turnes, as any of them were wearie with the carriage, and very willingly, yea, and as it should seeme, with great affection, they conveyed it as farre as to the port *Rhium*, where they laied it downe upon the shore, and so made 40 it known that there was a man murdered. *Myrtilus* the Lesbian writeth, that *Aenaeus* the Acolian being fallen in fantasie with a daughter of *Phineus*, who according to the oracle of *Amphirite*, was by the daughters of *Penthem* cast downe headlong into the sea, threw himselfe after her; but there was a dolphin tooke him up, and brought him safe unto the ille *Lesbos*. Over and besides, the affection and good will which a dolphin bare unto a young lad of the citie *Sagor*, was so hot and vehement, in the highest degree, that if ever one creature was in love with another, it was he; for there was not a day went over his head, but he would disport, play and swimme with him, yea, and suffer himselfe to be handled and tickled by him upon his bare skinn; and if the boy were disposed to mount aloft upon his backe, he would not refuse, nor seeme to avoide him; nay hee was verie well content with such a carriage, turning what way soever 50 hee reined him, or seemed to encline: and thus would hee doe in the presence of the Iasiens, who oftentimes would all runne forth to the sea side of purpose to behold this sight. Well on a daie above the rest, when this ladde was upon the dolphins backe, there fell an exceeding great shower of raine, together with a monstrous storme of haile; by reason whereof the poore boy fell into the sea, and there died: but the dolphin tooke up his bodie dead as it was, and together with it shut himselfe upon the land; neither would he depart from the corps so long as there was any life in him, and so died, judging it great reason to take part with him of his death, who seemed partly to be the cause thereof. In remembrance of which memorable accident,

cident, the Latians represent the historie thereof stamped and printed upon their coine, to wit, a boy riding upon a dolphin; which storie hath caused that the fable or tale that goeth of *Ceramus* is beleev'd for a truth: for this *Ceramus*, as they say, borne in *Paros*, chanced to be upon a time at *Byzantium*, where seeing a great draught of dolphins taken up in a casting-net by the fishers, whom they meant to kill and cut into pieces, bought them all alive, and let them go againe into the sea. Not long after, it hapned that he sailed homeward in a foist of fiftie oares, which had aboard (by report) a number of pyrates and rovers; but in the streights betwene *Naxos* and *Paros* the vessel was cast away, and swallowed up in a gulf: in which shipwracke, when all the rest perished, he onely was saved, by meanes as they say of a dolphin, which comming under his bodie as he was newly plunged into the sea, bare him up, tooke him upon his backe, and carried to him as farre as to a certaine cave about *Zacynthus*, and there landed him: which place is shewed for a monument at this day, and after his name, is called *Ceranium*. upon this occasion, *Archilochus* the poet, is said to have made these verses:

*Off sicke men by tempest drown'd,  
And left in sea all dead behind:  
Ceeran alone alive was found,  
God Neptune was to him so kind,*

Afterwards the said *Ceramus* himselfe died: and when his kinsfolke & friends burned his corps nere to the sea side in a funerall fire, many dolphins were discovered along the coast hard by the shore, shewing (as it were) themselves how they were come to honour his obsequies; for depart they would not before the whole solemnitie of this last dutie was performed. That the scutcheon or shield of *Ulysses* had for the badge or ensigne, a dolphin, *Stesichorus* hath testified, but the occasion and cause thereof, the *Zacynthians* report in this manner, as *Critemus* the historian beareth witnesse. *Telemachus* his sonne being yet an infant, chanced to slip with his feet, as men say, to fall into a place of the sea, where it was very deep; but by the means of certaine dolphins who tooke him as he fell, saved he was and carried out of the water: whereupon his father in a thankfull regard and honour to this creature, engraved within the collet of his signet, wherewith hee sealed the portrait of a dolphin, & likewise carried it as his armes upon his shield. But forasmuch as I protested in the beginning that I would relate to you no fables, and yet (I wot not how) in speaking of dolphins, I am carried farther than I was aware, and fallen upon *Ulysses* and *Ceramus*, somewhat beyond the bounds of likelihood and probabilitie, I will set a fine upon mine owne head, and even here for amends lay a straw and make an end. You therefore my masters who are judges, may when it pleaseth you proceed to your verdict.

S O C L A R U S.

As for us, we were of mind a good while since to say according to the sentence of *Sophocles*:

*Your talke ere while which seem'd so disagree,  
Will soone accord and joint-wise framed be.*

for if you will, both of you conferre your arguments, proofes and reasons which you have alledged of the one side and the other, and lay them all together in common betwene you, it will be seene how mightily you shall confute and put downe those who would deprive bruite beasts of all understanding and discourse of reason.



WHETHER



## WHETHER THE ATHE- NIANS WERE MORE RE- NOWMED FOR MARTIALI ARMES OR GOOD LETTERS.

The Summarie.

**W**E have here the fragments of a pleasant discourse written in the favour of Athenian warriors and great captaines; which at this day hath neither beginning nor end, and in the middle is altogether maimed and imperfect: but that which the infortunatize of the times hath left unto us is such yet, as therout we may gather some good, and the intention of Plutarch is therein sufficiently discovered unto us: for he sheweth that the Athenians were more famous and excellent in feats of armes than in the profession of learning. Which position may seeme to be a strange paradox, considering that Athens was reputed the habitation of the muses: and if there were ever any brave historians, singular poets, and notable orators in the world, we are to looke for them in this citie. Yet for all this, he taketh upon him to prove that the prowess of Athenian captaines was without all comparison more commendable and praiseworthy than all the dexteritie of others, who at their leisure have written in the shade and within house the occurrences and accidents of the times, or exhibited pleasures and pastimes to the people upon the stage or scaffold. And to effect this intended purpose of his, he considereth in the first place, historiographers, and adjoineeth thereto a brieve treatise of the art of painting: and by comparison of two persons, bringing newes of a field fought, whereof the one was onely a beholder and looker on; the other an actor himselfe, and a souldier fighting in the battell, he sheweth that noble captaines ought to be preferred before historians, who pen and set downe their desseignes and executions. From history he passeth on to poesie, both comick and tragick, which he reproveth and debaseth, notwithstanding the Athenians made exceeding account thereof; giving to understand, that their valor consisted rather in martiall exploits. In the last place he speaketh of orators, and by conference of their orations and other reasons, proveth that the great speakers deserve not that place, as to have their words weighed in ballance against the deeds of so many polinike and valiant warriors.

## WHETHER THE ATHENIANS were more renowned for martiall armes or good letters.



**W**ELL said this was (in truth) of him unto those great captaines and commanders who succeeded him, unto whom hee made way and gave entrance to the executions of those exploits which they performed afterwards, when himselfe had to their hands chased out of Greece the barbarous king *Xerxes*, and delivered the Greeks out of servitude: but aswell may the same be said also to those who are proud of their learning and stand highly upon their erudition. For if you take away men of action, you shall be sure to have no writers of them: take away the polinike government of *Pericles* at home; the navall victories and trophies achieved by *Phormio*, nere the promontorie of *Rhum*; the noble prowesses of *Nicias* about the isle *Cythera*, as also before the cities of *Corinth* and *Megara*; take away the sea-fight of *Demosthenes* before *Pylos*; the foure hundred captives and prisoners of *Cleon*; the worthy deeds of *Tolmias* who scowred all the coasts of *Peloponnesus*; the brave acts

of

of *Myronides*, and the battell which he woon against the Boeotians in the place called *Oenophyta*; and withall, you blot out the whole historie of *Thucydides*; take away the valiant service of *Alcibiades* shewed in *Helleſpont*; the rare manhood of *Thraſylus* neere unto the ille *Leibos*; the happie ſuppreſſion and abolition of the tyrannicall oligarchie of the thirty uſurpers, by *Themistocles*; take away the valourous endeouers of *Thraſylus* and *Archippus*, together with the rare deſignes and enterpriſes executed by thoſe ſeven hundred, who from *Phyla* roſe up in armes and were ſo hardie and reſolute as to leuie a power and wage warre againſt the lordly potentates of *Sparta*; and laſt of all *Conon*, who cauſed the Athenians to go to ſea againe and maintaine the warres; and therewithall, take away *Cratippus* and all his Chronicles. For as touching *Xenophon*, he was the writer of his owne hitorie, keeping a booke and commentarie of thoſe occurrents and proceedings which paſſed under his happie conduct and direction: and (by report) he gave it out in writing, that *Themistocles* the Syracuſian compoſed the ſaid narration of his acts, to the end that *Xenophon* might win more credit and be the better beleued, writing as he did of himſelfe as of a ſtranger, and withall, gratifying another man by that meanes with the honour of eloquence in digeſting and penning the ſame. All other hitorians beſides, as theſe, *Clinodemi* and *Diylli*, *Philochorus* and *Philarchus*, may be counted as it were the actors of other mens plaies: who ſetting downe the acts of kings, princes and great captaines, ſhrowded cloſe under their memorials, to the end that themſelves might have ſome part with them of their light and ſplendor. For ſurely there is a certaine image of glorie, which by a kinde of reflexion, as in a mirrour, doth rebound from thoſe who have achieved noble acts, even unto them that commit the ſame to writing, when as the actions of other men are repreſented by their reports and records.

Certes this city of *Athens* hath bene the fruitfull mother and kinde nourse of many and ſundry arts, whereof ſome ſhe firſt invented and brought to light; others ſhe gave growth, ſtrength, honour and credit unto. And among the reſt, the ſkill of painters craft hath not bene leaſt advanced and adorned by her. For *Apollodorus* the painter, the firſt man who deviſed the mixture of colours, and the manner of darkning them by the ſhadow, was an Athenian: over whole works was ſet this epigram by his owne ſelfe.

Sooner will one ſee this carpe and rive;

Than doe the like or ſample it.

So were *Euphranor* and *Nicias*, *Aſclepiodorus* alſo, and *Pliſtanes* the brother of *Phidias*, whereof ſome portraied victorious captaines, others painted battels, and others drew to the liſe the worthies and demigods: like as *Euphranor* who painted noble *Theſeus*, and ſet this picture as a paragon in compariſon with another of *Parhaſius* making; ſaying that the *Theſeus* of *Parhaſius* had eaten roſes, but his *Theſeus* had bene fed with good oxe beefe: for to ſay a trueth, that picture of *Parhaſius* was daintily and delicately made, reſembling in ſome ſort that which *Euphranor* talketh of; but he that ſhould ſee this of *Euphranor*s doing, might ſay (not unſuly) theſe verses out of *Homer*:

The people of Erechtheus ſont,  
whom Pallas, daughter deare  
Of Jupiter that mighty god,  
ſometime diſſeed and reare.

*Euphranor* alſo depainted the battell of horſemen before the citie *Mantineia*, againſt *Epaminondas*, which ſeemeth not to be without ſome furious and divine inſtinct. The argument and ſubject matter whereof was this: *Epaminondas* the Theban, after the battell which he won before the towne *Leuctra*, puffd up with glory in this greatneſſe of his, determined reſolutely to inſult over *Sparta*, which now was already downe the winde, and at once to tread and trample under foot the high ſpirit and reputation of that city. Firſt therefore he invaded *Laconia* with a mightie power of threeſcore and ten thouſand fighting men, ſpoiling and harrowing the countrey as he went; whereby he withdrew all the neighbour-nations from their confederacie and alliance with the *Lacedaemonians*. After this, when they put themſelves in battell ray, and made head againſt him before *Mantineia*, hee challenged and provoked them to fight: which they neither would nor durſt accept, expecting aid that ſhould come unto them from *Athens*. Whereupon he brake up his campe, and diſlodging in the night ſeaſon ſecretly and contrary to all mens expectation, entred againe into *Laconia*, in which journey and expedition he went within a litle of purſuing the cite of *Sparta* and winning it, naked as it was and without defendants. But the allies and confederates having intelligence of his comming, came with all ſpeed to ſuccour the citie.

citie. Then *Epaminondas* made ſemblance that hee would turne and bend his forces to the waſting and ſpoiling of their territorie, as hee had done before. Thus having by this ſtratagem deluded his enemies, and lulled them aſleepe in ſecuritie, hee departed ſuddenly by night out of *Laconia*, having over-runne and deſtroied all before him with great celeritie, and preſented himſelfe with his whole armie before them of *Mantineia*, who looked for nothing leſſe than ſuch a gueſt, but were in conſultation ſo to ſend helpe to *Lacedaemon*: but he interrupting & breaking their counſels, immediatly commanded the Thebans to arme, who being brave & couragious ſouldiours, inveſted the city of *Mantineia* round about, ſtoke up the alarme and gave an aſſault. The *Mantineans* heereat aſtonied, ran up and downe the ſtreets, howling and wailing, as being not able to ſuſtaine, and much leſſe put backe ſo great a puiffance, which all at once in manner of a violent ſtreame, came running upon them; neither did they thinke of any aid or meanes to relieve themſelves in this diſtreſſe. But at the very point of this extremity, the Athenians were diſcovered, deſcending from the hilles downe into the plaines of *Mantineia*, who knowing nothing of this ſudden ſurpriſe and preſent danger wherein the citie ſtood, marched ſoſly, and tooke leiſure; but when they were advertiſed heereof by a vaine courtier who made meanes to get forth of the city; notwithstanding they were but a handfull in compariſon of the great multitude of their enemies, and withall ſomewhat wearie with their journey, and not ſeconded with any other of their allies and aſſociates; they advanced forward, and put themſelves in order of battell againſt their enemies, who were in number many for one: the horſemen alſo for their parts being likewiſe arranged, ſet ſpurs to their horſes, and rode hard to the gates and walles of the city, where they charged their enemies ſo hotly with their horſes, and gave them ſo cruell a battell, that they gat the upper hand, and reſcued *Mantineia* out of the danger of *Epaminondas*. Now had *Euphranor* painted this conflict moſt lively in a table, wherein a man might have ſcene the furious encounter, the couragious charge and bloudie fight, wherein both horſe and man ſeemed to puffe and blow againe for winde.

But I ſuppoſe you will not compare the wit or judgement of a painter, with the courage and policy of a captaine, nor endure thoſe, who preferre a painted table before a glorious trophie; or the vaine ſhadow before the reall ſubſtance and thing indeed: howſoever *Simondes* ſaid that picture was a dumbe poeſie, and poeſie a ſpeaking picture: for looke what things or actions painters doe ſhew as preſent and in manner as they were in doing, writings doe report and record as done and paſt; and if the one repreſent them in colours and figures, and the other exhibite the ſame in words and ſentences, they differ both in matter and alſo in manner of imitation, howbeit both the one and the other ſhoote at one end, and have the ſame intent and purpoſe. And hee is counted the beſt hitorian who hath the ſkill to ſet out a narration, as in a painted table with divers affections, and ſundry conditions of perſons, as with many images and portraictures. And verily this may appeere in *Thucydides*, who throughout his whole hitorie contendeth to attaine unto this diluciditie of ſtile, ſtriving to make the auditour of his wordes the ſpectatour as it were of the deeds therein contained, and deſirous to imprint in the readers the ſame paſſions of aſtoniſhment, wonder and agony, which the very things themſelves would worke when they are repreſented to the eie. For *Demosthenes* who put the Athenians in ordinance of battell, even upon the very ſands and ſhore within the creeke of *Pylos*; and *Brasidas* who haſtening the pilot of his galley to runne with the prow a land, walking along the hatches himſelfe, and being there wounded and ready to yeeld up his vitall breath, ſunke downe among the ſeats of the rowers; alſo the *Lacedaemonians* who fought a battell at ſea, as if they had bene on firme land: the Athenians likewiſe who upon the land embattailed themſelves, and fought as if they had bene within their gallies at ſea againe, in the Sicilian warre: the deſcription which he maketh of the two armies arranged on the land, hard by the ſea ſide, to behold their men fighting a navall battell, wherein the victory hung a long time in equall ballance, and inclined neither to the one ſide nor the other, by occasion of which doubtfull iſſue, they were in an intolerable agony, diſtreſſe, and perplexity, to behold the ſundry encounters and reciprocall charges and recharges, communicating their violence and heat of contention even to the very bodies of the beholders upon the ſtrond, who puffing, blowing, panting, and ſweating in as great paine and feare, as if they had bene perſonally in the very conflict: the orderly diſpoſition, the graphically deſcription and the lively narration which he maketh of all this, what is it but an evident representation of a picture? Now if it be not meet to compare painters with captaines, there is as litle reaſon to ſet hitorians in compariſon with them.

He who brought the newes of the battell and victorie at *Marathon*, as *Heraclides* of *Pontus* writeth, was one *Thersippus* of *Eroe*, or as most historians report, it was one *Euclees*, who came running in a great heat from the field in his armour as he was, and knocking at the gates of the principall mens houses of *Athen*, was able to say nothing else but this, *ῥητορ, ἔρχομαι*, that is to say, rejoyce yee, all is well with us, and therewith his breath failed, and so he gave up the ghost, and yet this man came and brought tidings of that battell wherein himselfe was an actour. But tell me I pray you; if there were some goat-herd or neat-herd, who from the toppes of an hill or an high banke, had beheld a farre off this great service, and indeed greater than any words can expresse, should have come into the city with newes thereof, not wounded himselfe, nor having lost one droppe of blood, and for his good tidings demaund afterwards to have the same honors and memorials which were graunted unto *Cynegirus*, to *Callimachus*, and *Polyxetus*, onely becaule forthwith he had made report of the doughty deeds, the wounds and death of these brave men; would you not thinke that he surpassed all the impudencie that can be imagined? considering especially, that the Lacedaemonians, by report, sent unto him who brought the first word of the victory at *Mantineia*, which *Thucydides* described in his story, a peece of flesh from one of their dinners, or hals, called *Fichititia*, for a recompence of his happy newes? And (to say a truth) what are historiographers else; but certeine messengers to relate and declare the acts of others, having a loud and audible voice, and who by their pleasant eloquence and significant phrases, are able to set forth the matter to the best, which they take in hand: unto whom they owe indeed the reward due for good tidings, who first doe light upon their compositions, and have the first reading of them: for surely, praised they bee onely when they make mention of such exploits, and read they be in regard of those singular persons whom they make knowne, as the authours and actours thereof. Neither are they the goodly words and fine phrases in histories that performe the deeds, or deserve so greatly to be heard: for even poetry hath a grace, and is esteemed, for that it describeth and relateth things as if they had beene done, and which carie a resemblance of truth: and according as *Homer* in one place saith:

*Many false tales how for to tell,  
Much like to truthe, she knowes full well.*

And it is reported, that one of *Alexanders* familiar friends said unto him upon a time: *Alexander*, the Bacchanale feasts are at hand, and hast not thou yet done thy comedy? who returned him this answer: Yes iwis have I, so helpe me the gods, composed it I say, I have: for the matter thereof is laid forth, and the disposition digested already; there remaineth no more to be done, but onely to set thereto the verses that must go to it. So that you see that the poets themselves reputed the things and deeds more necessary and important than words and speech. The famous courtizan *Corinna* one day reprooved *Pindarus*, who then was a yoong man, and tooke a great pride in himselfe, for his learning and knowledge: Thou hast no skill at all *Pindarus* (quoth she) in poeetrie, for that thou doest not invent and devise fables, which is indeed the proper and peculiar worke of poeisie; as for thy tongue, it ministreth some rhetorically figures, catachrefes and metaphrases, songs, muscally measures and numbers, unto the matter and argument onely, as pleasant sauces to commend the fame. *Pindarus* pondering well these words and admonitions of hers, thought better of the matter, and thereupon out of his poetically veine, powred out this canticke:

*Imenus, or the lancee with staffe of gold,  
Sir Cadmus, or that faerie race of old,  
Which dragons teeth they say sometime did yeeld,  
Of warriors brave, when fowen they were in field:  
Or Hercules who was in such account,  
And his maine force of body, so surmount, &c.*

Which when he had shewed to *Corinna*, she woman laughed a good, & said: That come should be sowne out of ones hand, and not immediately from out of the full sacke: for in truthe much so after this sort had *Pindarus* gathered and heaped up a miscellane deale of fables, and powred them forth all huddle together in this one canticke. But that poeisie consisteth much in the fine invention of fables, *Plato* himselfe hath written: and verily a fable or tale is a false narration, resembling that which is true, and therefore farre remote it is from the thing indeed, if it be so, that a narration is the image of an act done, & a fable the image or shadow of a narration. Whereupon this may be inferred, that they who devise and feigne fabulous deeds of armes, are so much inferiour to historiographers that make true reports, as historiographers who relate onely

onely such deeds come behinde the actours and authours themselves. Certes this city of *Athen* had never any excellent or renowned worke-men in the feat of poeetrie, no not so much as in the Lyrick part thereof, which professeth muscally odes and songs: for *Cynestus* seemeth to have made his dithyrambes or canticles in the honor of *Bacchus*, hardly and with much ado, and was himselfe barren and of no grace or gift at all; besides, he was so mocked and flouted by the comicall poets, that he grew to be of no reckoning and reputation, but incurred an ill and odious name: As for that part of poeetrie which dealeth in representation of personages in plaies upon a stage, so small account they made at *Athen* of the Comedians and their professions; nay they disdaind and scorned it so much, that a law there was enacted, forbidding expressely, that no senator of the counsell *Areopagus*, might make a comedy: contrariwise, the tragicke flourished, and was in much request, for delivering the best care-sport, and representing the most wonderfull spectacle that men in those daies could heare or behold; giving both unto fictions, & affections a deceivable power, which was of such a propertie, according to the saying of *Gorgias*: That he who deceived thereby, was more just than he who deceived not; and he who was deceived became wiser than he that was not deceived at all: the deceiver (I say) was more just, becaule he performed that which he promised, and the deceived person wiser; for that such as are not altogether grosse, doltish, and senselesse, are soonest caught with the pleasure and delight of words.

To come now to the maine point: what profit ever brought these excellent tragedies unto the citie of *Athen*, comparable unto that which the prudent policie of *Themistocles* effected in causing the walles of the citie to be built? or to the vigilant care and diligence of *Pericles*, who adorned the citie and citadell with so many beautifull buildings; or to the valour of *Miltiades* who delivered the citie from the danger of servitude; or to the brave minde of *Cimon*, who advanced that State to the soveraignie and command of all *Greece*? If the learning of *Euipides*, the eloquence of *Sophocles*, or the sweet and pleasant tongue of *Aeschylus* had freed them from any perils and extremities, or purchased and procured them any glory more than they had before, good reason peradventure it were, to compare poetically fictions and inventions with warlike triumphs and trophies; to set the theater against the generals pavilion and palace; and to oppose the schooling and teaching of plaies how to act comedies and tragedies, unto prowess and brave feats of armes. Will you that we bring in place the personages themselves? carrying with them the marks, badges & ensignes that testifie their deeds, and allow either of them entrance apart by themselves, and passage along by us. Then let there march on the one side poets with their flutes, harps, lutes and viols, singing and saying:

*Silence, my masters, or all words of good:  
Depart be must, there is no remedy,  
Our learning here who never under stood,  
And hath no skill in play or tragedie:  
Whose tongue is simple, or who in melody  
And dance unexpressed that doth belong  
To service of the sacred muses nine,  
Or who is not possessed by the tongue  
To Bacchus rites of bell-god Cratine.*

Let them bring with them their furniture, their vestments and players apparel, their masks, their altars, their rolling engins and devices to be turned and removed to & fro about the stage and scaffold, together with their trevets of gold the prizes of their victories. Let them be accompanied with their traine, of players and actours, to wit *Nicofrates*, *Callipides*, *Meniscus*, and *Pollus*, and such as they, attending upon a tragedie, to trick and trim her, or to beare up her traine, and carry her litter, as if she were some stately and sumptuous dame; or rather as enamellers, guilders, and painters of images following after. Let there be provision made I say of abilliments, of visours, of purple mantles & royall robes of estate, of fabricks & pageants deviled to stand and be employed upon the stage, of dancers, jelllers, of stage keepers, waiters & henchmen a troublesome sort and rable of grooms: and in one word let there be brought all the geere and implements belonging to such plaies exceeding costly & chargeable: such as when a Laconian saw upon a time and wisely beheld, brake out into this speech, and that to very good purpose: & how farre amisse and out of the way are the Athenians, to dispend so much mony, and employ such serious study in games and fooleries: surely they defray in the furniture and setting out of a theater, as much as would serve to set ashore a royall armada at sea, and mainteine a



puissant army upon the land. For he that would set downe and cast account, how much every comædie cost them, shall find that the people of *Athens* spent more in exhibiting the tragedies of *Bacche*, *Phenisse*, of both the *Oedipodes*, &c. of *Antigon*, or in representing the calamities of *Medea* and *Electra*, than they disbursed in their wars against the Barbarians, either to win the soveraignty and dominion over them, or to defend their owne freedom and libertie: for many times their great captaines and commanders led forth their souldiers to battell, having made proclamation before, for to carrie with them such victuals as \* required no fire for their dressing. This is certeine, that the captaines of galleies and war-ships, for their sailers, having provided no other cates and viands, but meale, onions and cheefe for their mariners, as well rowers as sailers, have to embarked them & gone to sea: whereas the wardens and Aediles who were to set forth plaies and dances have (to their great cost) fed their actors and plaiers with delicate eeles, with tender lectues, with cloves of garlick, and with good marrow-bones, feasting them a long time before, most deintilie, and whiles they did nought els but exercise their voice, scowle their throats and cleere their breasts, they made good cheere full merrily. And what good had these wastefull spenders of their goods (spent about such vanities) in the end? If their plaies sped nor well, but lost the victorie, they were well mocked, hissed and laughed at for all their paines and cost: but say they went away winners and having the better hand, what got they by it? surely not a trevet or threefooted stoole nor any other marke and monument of victorie, as *Demetrius* said, but to remaine a lamentable example of unthrifts, who have laied all they had upon toies and fooleries, and left behinde them their houses like emptic sepulchres and imaginarie toms. This is the end that commeth of such expensës about poetrie; and no greater honour is to be looked for.

Now on the other side, let us beholde likewise their brave captaines and warriours: and while these passe along,

*There should indeed be silence or good words:  
They ought to void out of this company,  
Whom live, and never drew their swords  
In field, or serv'd with care and agonie  
In common weale: whose heart would never stand  
To such exploits, whose minds be like profane,  
Who neither by Miltiades his hand,  
That slew the Medes nor by the Persians bane,  
Themistocles, was ever institute,  
And sworn to lawes of knight hood resolute,*

Yea marry, heere (me thinks) I see a martiall maske, and brave shew toward: set out with squadrons embattell'd on land, with fleetes arranged for to fight at sea, laden and heavily charged with rich spoiles and glorious trophæes:

*Alas! Alala, daughter deare,  
Of bloody warre, come forth and heare.*

Behold and see a Forrest of pikes and launces in the fore-front, the very preamble and flourish<sup>40</sup> before the battell: me thinks I heare one of them refund: Embrace death most hardy knights, the best sacrifice and most sant oblations, that is, (for so saith *Epaminondas* the Thebane) fighting valiantly, and exposing your selves to the most honorable and bravest services that be in defence of countrey, of your auncestors tombes and sepulchres, and of your temples and religion: mee thinks also I see their victories, coming toward mee in solemne pompe and procession, not drawing or leading after them for their prize and reward, an ox or a goat; neither be the said victories crowned with ivie, or smelling strong of new wine in the lees, as the Bacchanales doe; but they have in their traine, whole cities, islands, continents, and firme lands, as well mediterranean as maritime sea-coasts, together with new colonies of ten thousand men a peece, to be planted heere and there; and withall, crowned they be and adorned on every side with trophæes, with triumphes, pillage and booty of all forts; the ensignes, badges, and armes that these victorious captaines give; the images also that they represent in shew, be their stately & beautiful temples, as the Parthenon, the Hecatompesos; their city walles on the south side, the arcenals to receive & lodge their ships; their beautiful porches and galleries; the province of the demy isle *Chersonesus*, & the city *Amphipolis*; as for the plaine of *Marathon*, it goeth before the laureat garland and victorie of *Miltiades*; *Solanus* accompanieth that of *Themistocles*, trampling under his feet, and going over the broken timber and shipwracke of a thousand vessels:

vessels: as for the victory of *Cimon*, it bringeth with it an hundred Phœnician great galleies, from the rivers *Eurymedon*: that of *Demosthenes* and *Cleon*, comes from *Sphaetria*, with the targe of captain *Brasidas* wonne in the field, and a number of his souldiers captive and bound in chaines: the victory of *Conon*, walled the city, and that of *Thrasibulus* reduced the people with victorie and liberty from *Phyle*: the sundry victories of *Alcibiades* set upright the State of the city, which by the infortunat overthrow in *Sicilia*, reeled, and was ready to fall to the ground; and by the battels fought by *Nelem* and *Androclous* in *Lydia* and *Caria*: Greece saw all *Jona* raised up againe and supported. And if a man demand of each one of the other victories, what benefit hath accrued unto the city by them? one will name the isle *Lesbos*, and another *Samos*: 10 one will speake of the *Euxine* sea, and another of five hundred galleies, and he shall have another talke of ten thousand talents; over and above the honour and glory of trophæes. These be the causes why this city doeth solemnize and celebrate so many festivall daies, and hereupon it is that it oftenth sacrifices as it doeth to the gods; not iwis for the victory of *Aeschylus* or *Sophocles*, nor for the prizes of poetry: no, nor when *Carcinus* lay with *Aeolus* or \* *Affidamus* with *Hæstor*: But upon the sixth of May, even to this present day, the city holdeth festivall the memory of that victory, in the plaines of *Marathon*: and the sixth day of [ \* another \* ] moneth, maketh a solemne offering of wine unto the gods, in remembrance of that victorie which *Chabrias* obtained neere unto the isle *Naxos*: and upon the 12 day of the same moneth, there is another sacrifice likewise performed in the name of a thanks-giving to the gods, for their liberty recovered, because upon the same day those citizens which were prisoners and in bondage within *Phyle*, came downe and returned into the city: upon the third day of March they wonne the famous field of *Plataea*: and the sixteenth day of the said March, they consecrated to *Diana*; for on that day this goddesse shone bright, and it was full moone, to the victorious Greeks, before the isle of *Salamu*. The noble victory which they achieved before the citie of *Marinea*, made the twelfth day of September more holy, and with greater solemnity observed, for upon that day when all other their allies and associates were discomfited and put to flight, they onely by their valour wonne the field, and erected a trophæe over their enemies who were upon the point of victory. See what hath raised this city to such grandence! Lo what hath exalted it to so high a pitch of honor! and this was the cause that *Pindarus* called the city of *Athens*, the pillar that supported Greece; not for that by the tragedies of *Phrynichus* or *Thespis*, it set the fortune of the Greeks upright, but in regard of this, that as himselfe writeth in another place, along the coast of *Artemisium*:

*Where Athens youth as poet Pindar said,  
Off freedom first the glorious ground worke laid.*

And afterwards at *Salamis*, at *Mysale*, and *Plataea*, having setled it firme and strong as upon a rocke of diamonds, they delivered it from hand to hand unto others.

But haply some man will say: True it is indeed, all that ever poets doe, are no better than sports and pastimes: But what say you to oratours, they seeme to have some prerogative and ought to be compared with martiall captaines: whereupon it may seeme, as *Aeschines* scoffing<sup>40</sup> merily, and quipping at *Demosthenes* said: That there is some reason why the barre or pulpit for publicke orations, may commence action and processe against the tribunall seat of generals, and their chaire of estate. Is it then meer and reasonable that the oration of *Hyperides* intitled *Plataicus*, should be preferred before the victory which *Aristides* wonne before the city *Plataea*? or the oration of *Lysias* against the thirty tyrants, goe before the massacre and execution of them performed by *Thrasibulus* and *Archias*? or that of *Aeschines* against *Timarchus*, being accused for keeping harlots, and a brothell house, before the aide that *Phocion* brought into the city of *Byzantium*, besieged? by which succour he impeached the Macedonians, and repressed their insolent villanies and outrages committed in abusing the children of the Athenian confederates? or shall we compare the oration of *Demosthenes* as touching the crowne, with<sup>50</sup> those publicke and honorable coronets which *Themistocles* received for setting Greece free? considering that the most excellent place of all the said oration, and fullest of eloquence is that wherein the said oratour conjureth the soules of those their auncestors, and citeth them for witness, who in the battell of *Marathon* exposed their lives with such resolution for the saffie of Greece? or shall we put in balance to weigh against woorthy warriours, these that in schooles teach young men rhetoricke, namely, such as *Isocrates*, *Antiphon*, and *Isæus*? But certeine it is, that this city honored those valiant captaines with publicke funerals, and with great devoti-

on gathered up the reliques of their bodies; yea, and the same orator canonized them for gods in heaven, when he swore by them, although he followed not their steps: and *Socrates* who extolled and highly praised those who manfully fought & willing were to spend their hartbloud in the battell of *Marathon*, saying, that they made so little account of their lives, as if their owne and soules had bene else-where, & other mens in their bodies, magnifying this their resolution, and the small reckoning which they made of this life; yet when himselfe was very old, upon occasion that one asked him how he did: answered: I doe even as an aged man, (having above 90. yeeres upon my backe) may do; and who thinketh death to be the greatest misery in the world: piece of motion; not with bearing armes in the field; not by rowing in the gallies: but forsooth 10  
with couching, knitting, and gluing as it were together rhetorical tropes and figures; to wit, his *anatheta*, consisting of contraries, his *parisi*, standing upon equall weight and measure of his syllables, his *homoeoptata*, precisely observing the like termination, and falling even of his clauses, polishing, smoothing, and perusing his periods and sentences, not with the rough hammer and pickaxe, but with the file and plainer most exactly. No marvell then, if the man could not abide the rustling of harness, and clattering of armour; no marvell (I say) if hee feared the 20  
shock and encounter of two armies, who was afraid that one vowel should runne upon another, and leif he should pronounce a clause or number of a sentence which wanted one poore syllable: for the very morrow after that *Miltiades* had wonne that field upon the plaines of *Marathon*, he returned with his victorious armie into the citie of *Athens*: and *Pericles* having vanquished and subdued the Samians within the space of nine moneths, gloried more than *Agamemnon* did, who had much adoe to winne *Troie*, at the tenth yeeres end: whereas *Socrates* spent the time well neere of three, *Olympiades* in penning one oration which hee called *Panegyricum*: notwithstanding all that long time, he never served in the warres, nor went in any embassage: he built no city, nor was sent out as a captaine of a galley and warre-shipp, and yet that verie time brought forth infinit warres: But during the space that *Timotheus* delivered the 30  
idle *Eubæa* out of bondage; all the while that *Chabrias* warred at sea about the island *Naxos*, and *Iphicrates* defeated and hewed in pieces one whole regiment of the Lacedæmonians, neere the port of *Lechaum*, and in which time the people of *Athens* having enfranchised all cities, subdued *Greece* throughout with the same libertie of giving voices in the generall assemblie of the States, as they had themselves, hee sat at home in his house poring at his booke, seeking out proper phrases and choise words for the said oration of his; in which space, *Pericles* raised great porches, and the goodly temple *Hecatompedes*; and yet the comickall poet *Cratinus*, scoffing even at this *Pericles*, for that he went but slowly about his works, speaketh thus as touching his 40  
wal, halfe done and halfe undone:

*In words long since our Pericles,  
hath rear'd us up a wall,  
But in effect and very deed,  
he doth nothing at all.*

Consider now I pray you a little, the base minde of this great professour of rhetoricke, who spent the ninth part of his life, in composing of one onely oration: but were it meet and reasonable to compare the orations of *Demosthenes* as he was an orator, with the martiall exploits of *Demosthenes* being a captaine; namely, that which he made against the considerate folly of *Conon*, with the trophees which himselfe erected before *Pylus*, or that which hee wrote against *Anasthufus* as concerning slaves, with his woorthy service, whereby hee brought the Lacedæmonians to be slaves: neither in this respect, for that he composed one oration for the granting of free bounges to those who were newly come to inhabit *Athens*, therefore hee deserved as much honour as *Alcibiades* did, who combined the Mantineans and Elians in one 50  
league to be associates with the Athenians against the Lacedæmonians:

and yet this must needs be confessed, that his publicke orations deserved this praise, that in his *Philippiques*, he inciteth the Athenians to take armes, and commendeth the enterprife of *Leptines*.

WHETHER

## WHETHER OF THE TWAINE IS MORE PROFITABLE, FIRE OR WATER.

### The Summarie.

**I**N this Academicke declamation, Plutarch in the first places allegeth the reasons which ascribe more profit unto water. Secondly, he proposeth those that are in favor of the fire: whereunto hee seemeth the rather to incline, although hee resolveth not: wherein he followeth his owne manner of philosophizing upon naturall causes; namely, not to dispute either for or against ones thing: leaving unto the reader his owne libertie, to settle unto that which he shall see to be more probable.

## WHETHER OF THE TWAINE is more profitable, Fire or Water.

**H**E water is of all things best,  
And golde like fire is in request.  
Thus said the poet *Pindarus*: whereby it appeareth evidently, that he gives the second place unto fire. And with him accordeth *Hesiodus* when he saith:  
Chaos was the formost thing  
In all the world that had being.  
For this is certene, that the most part of ancient philosophers called water by the name of *Chios*, *ἑὸν αἶμα*, that is to say, for that it followeth so easily. But if we should stand onely upon testimonies about this question, the prooffe would be caried equally on both sides: for that there be in manner as many who thinke fire to be the primitive element and principle of all things, and the very 40  
seed which as of it selfe it produceth all things, so it receiveth likewise all into it selfe, in that universall conflagration of the world. But leaving the testimonies of men, let us consider apart the reasons of the one and the other, and see to whether side they will rather draw us. First therefore, to begin withall, may not this be laied for a ground? that a thing is to be judged more profitable, whereof we have at all times and continually need, and that in more quantitie than another? as being a toole or necessarie instrument, and as it were a friend at all seasons and every house, and such as a man would say, presenteth it selfe evermore to doe us service? As for fire, certainly, it is not alwaies commodious unto us; nay, contrariwise, it otherwhiles doth molest and trouble us; and in that regard we withdraw our selves farre from it: whereas water serveth our turnes both in Winter and Summer, when wee are sicke, and when wee are whole, by 50  
night and by day; neither is there any time or season, wherein a man standeth in no need of it. And this is the reason that they call the dead, *ἄνεμους*, as one would say *ἀνεμωδῶς*, that is to say, without juice, or wanting moisture, and so by consequence deprived of life. Moreover, without fire a man hath oft continued a long time, but without water never. And withall, that which hath bene from the first beginning and creation of man, is more profitable than that which was invented afterwards. And there is no question, but that nature hath given us the one, to wit, water, for our necessarie use; but the other (I meane fire) either fortune or industrie hath devised and found out as an appendant and accessorie. Neither can it be said, what time of the world 60  
O o o o

it

it was when as man had no water: nor ever read we in any records that one of the gods or demi-gods was the inventor thereof; for it was at the very instant with them: nay, what and we say that it gave them their being? But the use of fire was but yesterday or the other day, to speake of, it found out by *Prometheus*: so that the time was when as men lived without fire; but void of wa-  
 found out by *Prometheus*: so that the time was when as men lived without fire; but void of wa-  
 ter, our life never was. Now that this is no devised poetical fiction, this daily and present life of  
 ours doth plainly testifie: for there be at this day in the world diyers nations that are mainteined  
 our doth plainly testifie: for there be at this day in the world diyers nations that are mainteined  
 without fire, without house, without hearth or chimney, diving abroad in the open wide aire,  
 And *Diogenes* the Cynicke, feldome or never had any use of fire, inasmuch as having upon a  
 without fire, without house, without hearth or chimney, diving abroad in the open wide aire,  
 time swallowed downe a polype fish raw: *Loc* (quoth he) my masters, how for your sake we put  
 our selves in jeopardie: howbeit, without water there was never any man thought that either we  
 might live honestly and civilly, or that our nature would possibly endure it. But what need is  
 there that I should particularize thus, and go so neere, as to search farre into the nature of man?  
 considering that whereas there be so many, or rather so infinit kinds of living creatures, man-  
 kind onely in a maner knoweth the use of fire: whereas all the rest have their nourishment and  
 food without the benefit of fire. Those that broue, feed, sic and creepe, get their living by ea-  
 ting herbes, roots, fruits and flesh, all without fire: but without water there is not one that can  
 live, neither going or creeping on the land nor swimming in the sea, nor yet flying in the aire.  
 True it is, I must needs say, that *Aristotle* writeth, how some beasts there be, even of those that  
 devour flesh, which never drunke; but in very truth, nourished they be by some moisture.  
 Well then, that is more profitable without which no maner of life can consist or endure. Pro-  
 ceed we farther, & passe from those living creatures which use to feed upon plants & fruits, even  
 unto the same that are by us & them used for food: Some of them there be, which have no heat  
 at all: others so little, as it can not be perceived. Contrariwise, moisture is that which causeth  
 all kind of seeds to chur, to bud, to grow, and in the end to bring forth fruit: for what need I to al-  
 ledge for this purpose either wine and oile, or other liquors which we draw, presse out, or milke  
 forth out of beasts paps, which we do see daily before our eies: considering that even our wheat  
 which seemeth to be a drie nutriment, is engendered by the transmutation, putrefaction and dif-  
 fusion of moisture. Furthermore, that is to be held more profitable, which bringeth with it no  
 hurt nor damage: but we all know that fire, if it breake forth, get head and be at libertie, is the  
 most pernicious thing in the world: whereas the nature of water of it selfe doth never any harme.  
 Againe, of two things, that is held to be more commodious which is the simpler, and without  
 preparation can yeeld the profit which it hath: but fire requireth alwaies some succour and mat-  
 ter, which is the reason that the rich have more of it than the poore, and princes than private  
 persons; whereas water is so kind and courteous, that it giveth it selfe indifferently to all sorts of  
 people: it hath no need at all of tooles or instruments to prepare it for use; compleat and per-  
 fect it is in it selfe, without borrowing ought abroad of others. Over and besides, that which be-  
 comes multiplied as it were and augmented, loseth the utilitie and profit that it had, is by conse-  
 quence lesse profitable: and such is fire, resembling herein a ravenous wild beast, which devou-  
 reth and consumeth all that it commeth neere; in so much as it were by the industrie and ar-  
 tificiall meanes of him who knoweth how to use it with moderation, rather than of the owne na-  
 ture, that it doth any good at all; whereas water is never to be feared. Againe, of two things, that  
 which can do good being both alone, and also in the company of the other, is the more profit-  
 able of the twaine: but so it is, that fire willingly admitteth not the fellowship of water, nor by the  
 participation thereof is any way commodious; whereas water is together with fire profitable, as  
 we may see by the fountains of hot water how they be medicinable, and verie sensibly is their  
 helpe perceived. Never shall a man meet with any fire moist; but water as well hot as colde is  
 ever more profitable to man. Moreover, water being one of the foure elements hath produced  
 as one may say, a fit, to wit the sea, and the same well neere as profitable as any one of the rest  
 for many other causes besides, but principally in regard of commerce and trafficke. For whereas  
 before time, mans life was savage, and they did not communicate one with another; this ele-  
 ment hath conjoined and made it perfect, bringing societie and working amitie among men by  
 mutuall succours and reciprocall retributions from one to the other. *Heraclitus* saith in one  
 place: if there were no sunne, there had beene no night; and even as well may it be said; Were  
 it not for the sea, man had beene the most savage creature; the most penurious and needie, yea  
 and the least respected in all the world: whereas now this element of the sea hath brought the  
 vine out of the Indians as farre as *Greece*; and from *Greece* hath transported it unto the farthest  
 provinces: likewise from out of *Phania*, the use of letters for preservation of the memorie of  
 things:

things: it hath brought wine: it hath conveyed fruits into these parts, and hath beene the  
 cause that the greatest portion of the world was not buried in ignorance. How then can it  
 bee otherwise, that water should not be more profitable, since it furnisheth us with another ele-  
 ment?

But on the contrarie side, peradventure a man may begin hereupon to make instance oppo-  
 sitely in this manner: saying, that God, as a master-workman having the foure elements before  
 him, for to frame the fabrick of this world withall; which being repugnant and refusing one  
 another, earth and water were put beneath, as the matter to be formed and fashioned; receiving  
 order and disposition, yea and a vegetative power to engender and breed such as is imparted un-  
 to it by the other two, aire and fire, which are they that give forme and fashion unto them, yea  
 and excite the other twaine to generation, which otherwise had lien dead without any motion.  
 But of these two, fire is the chiefe and hath dominion, which a man may evidently know by this  
 induction. For the earth if it be not enchaied by some hot substance, is barren, & bringeth forth  
 no fruit: but when as fire spreadeth it selfe upon it, it infuseth into it a certaine power, which  
 causeth it to swell (as it were) and have an appetite to engender. For other cause there can bee  
 none rendered why rocks, cliffs, and mountaines be barren and drie, but this, that they have either  
 no fire at all, or else participate verie little the nature thereof: in summe, so farre off is water from  
 being of it selfe sufficient for the owne preservation or generation of other things, that without  
 the aide of fire it is the cause of the owne ruine and destruction. For heat it is that keepeth water  
 in good estate, and preserveth it in her nature and proper substance, like as it doth all things be-  
 sides: and looke where fire is away or wanteth, there water doth corrupt and putrifie; in such  
 sort as the ruine and destruction of water, is the default of heat, as we may evidently see in pools,  
 marshes, and standing waters, or whersoever water is kept within pits and holes without issue;  
 for such waters in the end become putrified and stinke againe, because they have no motion,  
 which having this propertie to stirre up the naturall heat which is in everie thing, keepeth those  
 waters better which have a current and runne apace; in that this motion preserveth that kind heat  
 which they have. And hereupon it is, that *To live*, in *Greece* is expressed by *to*, for that *to* sig-  
 nifieth to boile. How then can it otherwise be, that of two things it should not be more profitable  
 which giveth being and essence to the other, like as fire doth unto water? Furthermore, that  
 thing, the utter departure whereof is the cause that a creature dieth, is the more profitable: for  
 this is certaine and manifest, that the same without which a thing cannot bee, hath given the  
 cause of being unto the same when it was with it. For we do see that in dead things there is a moi-  
 sture, neither are they dried up altogether; for otherwise moist bodies would not putrifie, con-  
 sidering that putrefaction is the turning of that which is drie to be moist, or rather the corrup-  
 tion of humours in the flesh; and death is nothing else but an utter defect and extinction of  
 heat: and therefore dead things be extreme cold, inasmuch as if a man should set unto them the  
 very edge of rasours, they are enough to dull the same through excessive cold. And we may see  
 plainly, that in the verie bodies of living creatures, those parts which participate least of the  
 nature of fire, are more senselesse than any other, as bones and haire, and such as be farthest  
 removed from the heart: and in manner all the difference that is betwene great and small crea-  
 tures, proceedeth from the presence of fire; more or lesse: for humiditie simply it is not, that  
 bringeth forth plants and fruits; but warme humiditie is it that doth the deed: whereas cold wa-  
 ters be either barren altogether, or not verie fruitful and fertile; and yet if water were of the owne  
 nature fructuous, it must needs follow, that it selfe alone and at all times should be able to pro-  
 duce fruit: whereas we see it is cleane contrarie; namely, that it is rather hurtfull to fruits.

And now to reason from another head and go another way to worke, to make use of fire as it  
 is fire, need we have not of water; nay, it hurteth rather, for it quencheth and putteth it out  
 cleane: on the other side many there be who cannot tell what to doe with water without fire, for  
 being made hot it is more profitable, and otherwise in the owne kinde hurtfull. Of two things  
 so therefore, that which can do good of it selfe without need of the others helpe, is better and more  
 profitable. Moreover water yeeldeth commodity but after one sort onely, to wit, by touching,  
 as when we seele it or wash and bathe with it: whereas fire serveth all the five senses & doth them  
 good: for it is felt both neere at hand and also fenee afare of: so that among other meanes that  
 it hath of profitting, no man may account the multiplicity of the uses that it affordeth: for  
 that a man should be at any time without fire it is impossible: nay he cannot have his first ge-  
 neration without it: and yet there is a difference in this kinde, as in all other things. The very sea it  
 selfe is made more commodious by heat, so as it doth heat more by the agitation and current  
 that

that it hath, than any other waters: for of it selfe otherwise it differeth not. Also for such as have no need of outward fire, we may not say that they stand in need of none at all; but the reason is because they have plenty and store of naturall heat within them; so that in this very point, the commodity of fire ought to be esteemed the more. And as for water, it is never in that good state, but some need it hath of helpe without: whereas the excellencie of fire is such, as it is content with it selfe, and requirerh not the aid of the other. Like as therefore, that capitaine is to be repured more excellent, who knowes to order and furnish a citie so as it hath no need of forren allies; so we are to thinke that among elements, that is the woorthier, which may often times consist without the succour and aide of another. And even as much may be said of living creatures, which have least need of others helpe. And yet haply it may be replied contrariwise, that the thing is more profitable which we use alone by it selfe, namely, when by discourefe of reason we are able to chuse the better. For what is more commodious and profitable to men than reason? and yet there is none at all in brute beasts. And what followeth hereupon? Shall we inferre therefore that it is lesse profitable, as invented by the providence of a better nature, which is god? But since we are fallen into this argument: What is more profitable to mans life than is god? But there is no art which fire devised not, or at least wise doth not maintaine: And hereupon it is, that we make *Vulcan* the prince and master of all arts. Furthermore, whereas the time and space of life is very short that is given unto man, as short as it is, yet sleepe as, *Ariston* saith, like unto a false baily or publicane, taketh the halfe thereof for it selfe. True it is, that a man may lie awake, and not sleepe all night long; but I may aswell say that his waking would serve him in small stead, were it not that fire presented unto him the commodities of the day, and put a difference betweene the darkenesse of the night and the light of the day. If then there be nothing more profitable unto man than life, why should we not judge fire to be the best thing in the world, since it doth augment and multiply our life? Over and besides, that of which the five senses participate most, is more profitable: but evident it is, that there is not one of the said senses makeh use of the nature of water apart and by it selfe, unlesse some aire or fire be tempered with it: whereas every sense findeth benefit of fire as of a vivificant power and quickening vertue: and principally our sight above the rest, which is the quickest of all the senses in the bodie, as being the very flame of fire, a thing that conformeth us in our faith and beliefe of the gods: and as *Plato* saith, by the meanes of our sight we are able to conforme our soule to the motions of celestiall bodies.



## OF THE PRIMITIVE OR FIRST COLD.

### The Summarie.

**W**E have here another declaration of *Plutarch*, wherein he examineth and discusseth after the manner of the *Academicke* philosophers, without deciding or determining any thing, a naturall question as touching Primitive colde. And in the very first entrie thereof reseruteth those who are of opinion that this first colde is the privation of heat: viewing on the contrary side, that it is meere opposie unto heat as one substance to another, and not as privation unto habitude. Then proceedeth he to dispute of the essence, nature, and fountaine of this colde: for the clearing of which point, he examineth at large three opinions: the first, of the *Stoicks*, who attribute the primitive colde unto aire: the second, of *Empedocles* and *Chrysippus*, who ascribe the cause thereof unto water. Unto all their reasons and arguments he maketh answer, and inclineth to a third opinion; namely, that earth is that primitive colde. Which position he confirmeth by divers arguments, yet resolvethe he not, but leaveth it to the discretion of *Phavorinus*, unto whom he writeth, for to conserve all the reasons of the one part and the other, without resting in any particular opinion, supposing that to suspend and hold his judgement in matters obscure and uncertaint.

is the wiser part of a philosopher, than to yeeld and grant his consent either to one part or the other. Wherein we may see, that in regard of naturall philosophie, our author was of the *Academicke* sect: but as touching the morall part, we have seene before, and specially in divers treatises of the former tome, that he followeth of all the ancient philosophers, those who were least impure and corrupt, such I meane, as in all their discourses had no other light to direct them, but Nature.

## OF THE PRIMITIVE OR first colde.

**I**S there then (o *Phavorinus*) a certaine primitive power and substance of cold, like as fire is of heat, by the prelence and participation whereof, each one of the other things is said to be cold? or rather are we to hold and say, that cold is the privation of heat, like as darknes of light, and station of mooving; and namely, considering that cold is stationarie and heat motive? and the cooling of things which were hot, is not done by the entrance of any cold power, but by the departure of heat? for as soone as it is once gone, that which remaineth is altogether cooled; and the verie vapour and steim which seething waters doe yeeld, passeth away together with the heat, which is the reason that refrigeration diminisheth the quantitie thereof, in as much as it chafeth that heat which was, without the entrance of any other thing into the place? Or rather, may not this opinion be suspected? first and formost for that it overthroweth and taketh away many powers and puissances, as if they were not qualities and habitudes really subsisting, but onely the privations and extinctions of qualities and habitudes: as for example, heaviness of lightnesse, hardness of softnesse, blacke of white, bitter of sweete, and so of other semblable things, according as each one is in puissance contrarie unto an other and not as privation is opposite unto habit? Moreover, for as much as everie privation is idle and wholly without action, as blindness, deafnesse, silence and death, for that these bee the departures of formes, and the aboliutions of substances, and not certaine natures nor real substances apart by themselves. We see that cold after it be entred and imprinted (as it were) within the bodie, breedeth no fewer nor lesse accidents & alterations than doth heat; considering that many things become stiffe and congealed by cold, many things I say, are staied, retained and thickened by the meanes thereof: which consistence and stabilitie unapt to stirre and hard to be moved, is not therefore idle, but it is weightie and firme, having a force and power to arrest and to hold in. And therefore privation is a defect and departure of a contrarie power; whereas many things be cooled, although they have plenty of heat within: and some things there be, which cold doth constrain and confituate so much the more, as it findeth them hotter, like as we may observe in iron red hot, when by quenching it becommeth the harder. And the stoicke philosophers doe hold that the naturall spirits enclosed within the bodies of young infants lying in the wombe, by the cold of the ambient aire environing them about is hardened (as it were) and refined, and so changing the nature becommeth a soule. But this is a nice point and verie disputable; yet considering that we see cold to be the efficient cause of many other effects, there is no reason to thinke that it is a privation. Furthermore, privation is not capable of more or lesse; for so of twaine that see not at all, the one is not more blind than the other: and of two who cannot speake, one is not more dumble than another; neither of twaine who live not, is one more dead than the other: but among cold things we may well admit more & lesse: overmuch and not overmuch, and generally, intensions and remissions like as in those things that are hot, and therefore each matter according as it suffreth more or lesse, by contrarie puissances produceth of it selfe some substances, cold and hot, more or lesse than others, for mixture and composition: so on there can be none of habitude with privation; neither is there any power which receiveth or admitteth the contrary unto it, to bring a privation, nor ever maketh it her companion, but yeeldeth and giveth place unto it. But contrariwise, cold continueth very well, as it is mixed with heat, unto a certaine degree; like as blacke with white colours; bale notes with small and shrill; sweet favours, with tart & austere; and by this affociation, mixture & accord of colours, sounds, drogues, favours, and tastes; there are produced many compositions exceeding pleasant and delectable: for the opposition which is betweene habitude and privation, is alwaies an odde and enmity, without any meanes of reconciliation, considering that the essence and being

ing of the one, is the destruction of the other: whereas that fight which is occasioned by contrary powers, if it meet with fit time and season, serveth oftentimes in good stead unto arts, and to nature much more, as well in other productions and procreations, as in changes and alterations of the aire: for in the orderly governance and rule whereof, God who dispen-  
seth and disposeth them, is called Harmonicall and Musically; not in regard that he maketh a friendly accord betwene base and treble, or a loving medly of white and blacke, but for that by his providence he ordereth so well the accord and discord of the elementary heat & cold of the world, that in a certaine moderation, and without excesse they strive, and yet are reconciled againe, by taking from the one and the other that which was excessive and reducing them both in such a temperature and estate as apperteineth. Semblably, a man may sensibly feele cold as well as hee doth heat; whereas you shall never see, heare, or touch, nor by any other sense perceive a privation, for it need to have some substance with it that doth affect the senses, and where there appeareth no substance, there we must suppose a privation, which is as it were the deniall of substance, like as blindness is the negation of sight; silence, of voice; void emptinesse, of a body: for never shall one perceive voidnesse by the sense of feeling; but where there is not a body to be touched, there we must suppose it vacuity: neither doe we heare silence, but when we heare no noise at all, then we understand there is silence: the like we are to say of those who are blinde, of the naked and disarmed, there is no sense of such privations, but rather a bare and negative of sense: and even so, we should have no feeling and perceivance of cold, but only where there wanted heat; there we should have imagined cold to be, in case it were nothing else but a deprivation of heat; but if it be so, that like as heat is felt by the warmth of the skinned, and dilatation of the flesh; even so is cold also by the striction & condensation thereof, therefore it appeareth evidently, that it hath a proper, principle, and particular source, as well as heat: over and besides, in every kind, privation is one and simple, but substances have many differences, and as many powers and faculties, for silence is never but after one sort, whereas the voice is divers, one while troublesome, another while delightfull. Senses, colours, and figures sensibly have like differences, which dispose and affect diversly the subject which they approach unto, but that which is not palpable, not coloured, and generally not qualified with any quality, hath no diversitie, but is ever alike. Now then, doth this cold resemble these privatives in such sort, as it worketh no diversitie in the accidents thereof? Or rather is it cleane otherwise? for as sometimes there come unto bodies great and profitable pleasures by cold, so contrariwise it findeth as much hurt, as great displeasure, trouble, and encombrance thereby: by the offensive qualities whereof, the naturall heat of the body is not alwaies chased quite forth and cleane gone, but oftentimes being pent and restrained within the body, it fighteth and maketh resistance, which combat of two contraries, is called horrow, quaking or trembling; but when the said heat is altogether vanquished, there must needs ensue a benumbing and congelation of the body, but if heat get the victorie, it bringeth a certaine warmth and dilatation with pleasure, which *Homer* by a proper termine calleth *εὐπείρα*: whereby it appeareth evidently unto every man, and as much by these accidents it is manifest, or rather more, than by any other arguments, that cold is opposit unto heat, as one substance to another, or as a passion to passion; but not as privation to habitude, or negation to affirmation: and that it is not the corruption or utter destruction of heat, but a nature and puissance active by it selfe and powerfull, to corrupt and destroy: for if it were not so, wee must not have winter to bee one of the lower seasons of the yeere; nor the north winde one of the lower windes; as if the one were but a privation of the hotte season, and the other of the south winde, and we shall be driven to say, that they have no proper source and peculiar principle: howbeit there being in the universall world lower principall bodies, which in regard of their pluralitie, simple nature and puissance, most men call the elements, and suppose them to be the principles of all other bodies, to wit, fire, water, aire, and earth, it followeth by necessary consequence, that there be also lower primitive and simple qualities: and which be they, if they be not heat, cold, moisture, and drinesse? by the means whereof, the said elements, both doe and suffer all things interchangeably? And like as in the elements and principles of Grammar, which be the letters, there be briefes and longs; like as also in musicke notes, there is high and lowe, base, and treble, and one of these is not the privation of the other; even so we are to thinke, that in these naturall bodies of the elements, there be contrarieties of moisture against drinesse, and of colde against heat, if we will beleeve either reason or outward sense: or else we must say as old *Anaximenes* was of opinion; that there is nothing hot or colde absolutely in substance; but wee must con-

fidently

fidently thinke that these be common passions of the matter comming, and occasioned after mutations: for he affirmeth that the thing which is pent, constrict, and thickened in any matter, the same is colde, and that which openeth & relaxeth it selfe, for so he useth this proper termine *μακρύνει*, is hot; and therefore it is not without some reason, that we commonly say, that a man bloweth both hot and cold out of his mouth; for the breath is cooled when it is pressed close betweene the lippes, but issuing forth of the mouth all open, it is hot by reason of the raritie and laxity thereof: howbeit, *Aristotle* saith; that it was meere ignorance in him thus to say: For that when we breath with our mouthes wide open, wee let forth the hot aire that is within us, but when we make a blast with our lippes together, we blow not out the breath that ariseth from our selves, but drive that aire from us that is before our mouth, which is cold, & felt before the other that commeth out of us. Seeing then that upon necessitie enforced by so many reasons, we must admit a substance of colde and heat, proceed we and continue our first intent to search what is the substance, nature, and fountaine of the foresaid primitive colde? They then who say that starknesse and stiffnesse for colde, trembling and quaking of the body, and the staying and standing of haire upright, and such like accidents and passions, are occasioned by certaine triangular formes with unequal sides which are within our bodies, although they faile and misse the marke in particularity: yet so it is, that they fetch the beginning from whence they should, for surely the foundation and original of this inquisition ought to be drawn as it were from the goddess *Vesta*, after the common proverbe, even from the universall nature of all things. And herein it seemeth, that a philosopher moit of all differeth from an empiricke physician, a husbandman, a minstrell, and other such particular artificers, whom it sufficeth to know and understand the last and conjunct causes. For so it be, that a physician doe comprehend the necesse and next cause of his patients malady, for example, of an ague, that it is a shooting or falling of the blood out of the veines into the arteries; and the husbandman conceive that the cause of blasting or Maying his corne, is an hot gleame of the sunne after a shower of raine: and the plaier upon the flutes comprise the reason of the base sound, is the bending downward of his instrument, or the bringing of them one neere unto another: it is sufficient for any of these to proceed to their proper worke and operation: But a naturall philosopher who searcheth into the truth of things, onely for meere knowledge and speculation, maketh not the knowledge of these last causes the end, but rather taketh from them his beginning, and ariseth from them to the primitive and highest causes. And therefore well did *Plato* and *Democritus*, who searching into the causes of heat and of heavinesse, staid not the course of their inquisition, when they came to fire and earth, but referring and reducing things sensible unto intelligible principles, proceeded forward, and never staid until they came unto the least parcels as it were to the smallest seeds and principles thereof. Howbeit, better it were first to handle and discusse these sensible things, wherein *Empedocles*, *Straton*, and the Stoicks do repose the essences of all powers: the Stoicks attributing the primitive colde unto aire, but *Empedocles* and *Straton* unto water: and another peradventure would suppose the earth rather to be the substantiall subject of cold. But first let us examine the opinions of these before named. Considering then that fire is both hot and shining; it must needs be that the nature of that which is contrarie unto it, should be colde and darke: for obscuritie is opposit unto brightnesse, like as cold to heat: and like as darknesse and obscuritie doth confound and trouble the sight; even so doth colde the sense of feeling: whereas heat doth dilate the sense of him that toucheth it, like as cleerenesse the sight of him that seeth it: and therefore we must needs say, that the thing which is principally darke and mistie, is likewise colde in nature. But that the aire above all things els is dimme and darke, the very poets were not ignorant: for the aire they call darknesse, as appeareth by these verses of *Homer*:

For why, the aire stood thicke the ships about,  
And no moone shine from heaven shewed through out.

And in another place:

The aire anon be gone dispatcht,  
And mist did drive away:  
With this, the sunne shone out full bright,  
And battell did display.

And hereupon it is, that men call the aire wanting light, *ἀέρας*, as one would say, *vacuus aëres*, that is to say, void of light: and the grosse aire which is gathered thicke together, *νεφελή*, by way of privation of all light. Aire also is called *ἀέρας* and *καίμας*, that is to say, a mist: and looke what things





And *Homer* in a certaine battell oppoled *Vulcane* to the river, and with *Neptunne* matched *Apollon*, not so much by way of fabulous fiction, as by physicall and naturall reason: and as for *Pholoebus*, a wicked woman, who meant cleane contrary to that which she said and shewed, wrote elegantly in this wise:

*The crasy queane in right hand water cold,  
And in the left, hot fire did closely hold.*

And among the Persians the most effectuall maner of supplication and that which might in no wife be rejected and denied, was, if the suppliant with fire in his hand entred into a river, & there menaced to fling it into the water, if he might not have his request granted: & then he obtained verily his petition, but afterwards punished he was for that threatening which he used, as being wicked, wretched & unnatural. And what proverbe is there readier in every mans mouth than to say, when we would signify an impossible thing, This is to mingle fire and water together? which testifieth thus much, that water is the mortall enemy unto fire, warring with it, punishing & quenching it, and not the aire, which receiveth & entertaineth fire, & into the substance whereof it is transmuted: for if that into which a thing is turned when it perissheth, were contrary unto it, then fire should be more contrary to aire than water is. For aire when it doth gather and thicken is converted into water, but when it is made more subtil it resolveth into fire: as also in like case, water by rarefaction is resolved into aire and by condensation becommeth earth, not upon any enmity or contrariety that it hath to these both, as I take it, but rather by reason of some amity and kindred that is betweene them. Well, whether way of these two it is that these philosophers will take, they overthrow still their intent and purpose. But to say that it is the aire which causeth water to freeze and become yce, it is without all sense and most absurd: for we see that the very aire it selfe is never congelate nor frozen, nor hardened, considering that mists, fogs and clouds are no congelations, but onely gatherings and thickenings of a moist and vaporous aire: for the true aire indeed which hath no vapour at all and is altogether drie, admitteth no such refrigeration as may alter it to that degree and height. And certaine mountaines there be which are not subiect either to clouds, mists, or dewes, for that their heads reach up to that region of the aire which is pure and exempt from all humidity: wherby it is apparent, that these gatherings and thickenings which are scene in the aire beneath, proceed from cold and moisture, which is mingled therewith & runneth from els where. As for the bottoms of great rivers which be never frozen to yce; great reason there is of it: for that the upper part being glazed over with ice, sufficeth not the exhalation which riseth from beneath to passe thorow, but keepeth it enclosed & striketh it downward, wherby is engendered a certaine heat in the water that runneth in the bottome. And henceof we may see a faire demonstration in this, that when the yce is broken, the water riseth up, and there mounteth withall a great quantity of vapours and exhalations; which is the reason also that the bellies and other concavities within the bodies of living creatures, are alwaies hotter in winter, for that they hold and containe the heat, which the coldnesse of the circumstant aire driveth inward. As for the drawing & flinging up of water into the aire, it taketh not onely the heat away from waters but also their cold, and therefore they that desire to have their snow or the liquor expressed out of it exceeding cold, move it as little as they can, for this stirring chafeth away the colde both of the one and the other. But that it is the inward power of the water and not of the aire that doth it, a man may thus discourse and begin againe: First and formost, it is not probable that the aire being so neere as it is to the elementary fire, touching also as it doth that ardent revolution, and being touched of it againe, hath a contrary nature and power unto it: neither is it possible that it should be so, considering that their two extremities are contiguous, yea, and continue one to the other: neither foundeth it and is conformable to reason, that nature hath fastened with one tenon (as they say) and placed so neere together the killer and that which is killed, the consumer and that which is consumed; as if the were not the mediators betweene them of peace, unitie and accord, but rather the workmistrresse of warre, debate and discord. For surely her order and custome is not to joine front to front, substances that be altogether contrarie, and open enemies one to the other; but to place betweene them such as participate with the one and the other, which are so seated, disposed and interlaced in the middle, as that they tend not to the destruction, but to the association of two contraries. Such a situation and region hath the aire in the world, being spread under the fire, and before the water, for to accommodate and frame it selfe both to the one and the other, and to conjoine and linke them both together, being of it selfe neither hot nor colde, but as it were a medley and temperature of them both; not (I say) a pernicious mixture, but a gracious,

cious, which gently entertaineth and receiveth these contrarie extremities. Furthermore, the aire is alwaies equall, and yet the Winter is not evermore colde a little: but some parts of the world be cold and exceeding moist; others colde and as dry, and that not callally and by fortune, but for that one and the same substance is susceptible both of heat and colde. For the greater part of *Affricke* is hot and dry, altogether without water. And those who have travelled through *Scythia*, *Thracia* and *Pontus*, doe report that there be exceeding great lakes therein, and that those kingdoms be watered with many mighty deepe rivers; also that the countiees in the midst betweene, and those parts which adjoyne upon those huges, meres, and fens be extreme colde, by reason of the vapours that arise from them. As for *Papilionus* when he saith that the cause of that moisture is this, that the fenny and morish aire is ever fresh and moist, he hath not solved the question which was probable, but made it more doubtfull and without probability; for the aire seemed not alwaies so much colder as it is more fresh, in case cold be not engendred of moisture: and therefore *Homer* said much better:

*The winde from river, if that it hold,  
Is alwaies bleake, and blowes full cold.*

as if he pointed with his very finger to the source and fountaine of colde. Moreover, our sense doth oftentimes beguile and deceive us, as namely, when wee touch wooll or clothes that be colde, for we thinke that they be moist and wet, for that there is one substance common to both these qualities, and both these natures be neighbours and familiar. Also in those climates of the world where the winter is extreme hard and rough, the colde many times cracketh and breaketh vessels of brasle and of earth; not any I meane that is voide and empiric, but all full, by reason that the water by the coldnesse thereof doth violence unto them: howsoever *Theophrastus* thinketh, that it is the aire that bursteth such vessels; using colde as it were a spike or great nail to doe the feat. But take heed that this be not rather a pretty & elegant speech of his, than founding to truth; for if aire were the cause, then should vessels full of pitch or milke, sooner burst than other. More likely it is therefore, that water is colde of it selfe and primitive-ly, for contrary it is to the heat of fire, in regard of that coldnesse, like as to the drinnesse thereof, in respect of humidity. To be brieve, the property of fire ingenerall, is to dissipate, divide, and segregate; but contrariwise, of water to joine, conglutinate, unite, and binde, knitting and closing together by the vertue of moisture. And this makes me thinke that *Empedocles* upon this occasion, ever and anon calleth fire a pernicious debate, but water a fast anity; for so well and good of fire, is that which turneth into fire, and every thing turneth which is moist proper and familiar; as for that which is contrary, the same is hardly to be turned, as water which of it selfe it is impossible to burne, causing both greene or wet herbs, as also moist or drenched wood hardly to take fire, and so in the end with much a doe, they kinde and catch fire, although the same be not light and cleere, but darke, dimme, and weake, because the viridity or greenenesse by the means of colde, fighteth against the heat, as his naturall enemy.

Peising now and weighing these reasons, conferre them with the others. But for that *Chrysippus* esteeming the aire to be the primitive colde, in that it is dimme and darke, hath made mention of those onely who say, that water is more distant and farther remote from the elementary fire, than the aire, and being desirous to say somewhat against them: By the same reason (quoth he) may a man as well affirme that the earth is the said primitive cold; for that it is farthest from the elementary fire, rejecting this argument and reason as false, and altogether absurd. Me thinks that I can well shew that the earth it selfe wanteth no probable proofes, laying my foundation even upon that which *Chrysippus* hath taken for the aire: And what is that? namely, because it is principally and above all things els obscure & darke; for if he taking two contraries of powers, thinketh of necessitie the one must follow upon the other; certes, there be infinite oppositions and repugnances betweene the earth and the aire, for the earth is not opposit unto the aire, as heavy unto light, nor as that which benderh downward unto that which tendeth upward onely; nor as massive, unto rare; or slow and steadfast unto quick and moveable; but as most heavy unto most light; most massive unto most rare; and finally, as immoveable in it selfe, unto that which moveth of it selfe; or as that which holdeth still the center in the mids, unto that which turneth continually round. Were it not then very absurd to say; that upon so many, and those so great oppositions, this also of heat and cold did not likewise jointly follow? Yes verily: but fire is cleere and bright, and earth darke: nay rather it is the darkelt of all things in the world, and most without light; for aire is that which holdeth still that participate of the first light & brightnesse, which sooneft of all other burneth: being also once full thereof, it distributeth that

light every where, exhibiting it selfe as the very body of light: for as one of the Dithyrambick poets said:

*No sooner doth the sunne appeere  
In our horizon faire and cleere,  
But with his light the pallace grent  
Of aire and winde is all replent.*

And then anon it descendeth lower, and imparreth one portion thereof to the lakes and to the sea; the very bottomes of the rivers doe rejoyce and laugh for joy, so farre soorth as the aire pierceth and entreth into them: the earth onely, of all other bodies, is evermore destitute of light, and not penetrable with the radiant beames of sunne and moone; well may it be warmed a little, and present it selfe to be fomented with the heat of the sunne, which entrench a little way into it, but surely the solidity of it will not admit the resplendent light thereof; onely it is superficially illuminated by the sunne, for all the bowels and inward parts of it be called *Orphne*, *Chaos*, and *Ades*, that is to say, darknesse, confusion, and hell it selfe: and as for *Erebus*, it is nothing else, to say a truth, but terrestriall obscurity, and mirke darknesse within the earth. The poets feigne the night to be the daughter of the earth; and the mathematicians by reason and demonstration, prove, that it is no other thing than the shadow of the earth, opposed against the sunne: for the aire as it is full of darknesse from the earth, so it is replenished with light from the sunne; and looke how much of the aire is not lightned nor illuminate, to wit, all the shadow that the earth casteth, so long is the night, more or lesse; and therefore both man and beast make much use of the aire without their houses, although it be night season: and as for beasts, many of them goe to reliefe and pasturage in the night, because the aire hath yet some reliques and traces left of light, and a certaine influence of brightnesse, dispersed here and there: but he that is enclosed within house, and covered with the roofe thereof, is as it were blinde and full of darknesse, as one environed round about within the earth: and verily the hides and hornes of beasts, so long as they bee hole and found, transmit no light through them: let them be cut, sawed, pared, and scraped, they become transparent, because aire is admitted into them. And I thinke truly that the poets chisoomes heereupon call the earth blacke, meaning thereby darke and without light, so that the most important and principall opposition, between cleere and darke, is found rather in the earth than in the aire: But this is impertinent to our question in hand; for we have shewed already that there be many cleere things which are known to be cold, and as many browne and darke which be hot.

But there be other qualities and pussions more proper unto colde, namely, ponderositie, steadinesse, soliditie, & immutability, of which the aire hath not so much as one, but the earth in part hath them all more than the water. Furthermore, it may be saide, that colde is that which most sensibly is hard, as making things stiffe and hard: for *Theophrastus* writeth, that those fishes which be frozen with extreme rigour of colde, if they be let fall upon the ground, breake and knap in pieces, no lesse than glasses or earthen vessels: and your selfe have heard at *Delphi*, of those who passed over the hill *Parnassus*, to succour and relieve the women called *Rachee*, who were surprized with a sharpe pinching winde and drifts of snow; that their clothes and mantels through extremity of colde, were as sturke and stiffe as pieces of wood, in so much as they brake and rent into tatters, so soone as they went about to stretch them out. To say yet more, excessive colde causeth the sinewes to be so stiffe, as hardly they will bend: the tongue likewise looke, that it will not stirre or utter any voice, congealing the moist, soft, and tender parts of the body; which being seene by daily experience, they proceed to gather this consequence: Every power and facultie which getteth the maistrise, is wont to turne and convert into it selfe, that over which it is predominant: whatsoever is overcome by heat, becommeth fire; that which is conquered by spirit or winde, changeth into aire; what falleth into water, if it get not forth againe, dissolveth, and in the end runneth to water. Then must it needs follow, that such things as are exceeding colde, degenerate into that primitive colde whereof we speake: now excessive colde is first; and the greatest alteration that can be devised by colde, is when a thing is congealed & made an ice, which congelation altereth the nature of the thing so much, that in the end it becommeth as hard as a stone; namely, when the cold is so predominant, as well all the moisture of it is congealed, as the heat that it had driven out perforce. Heereupon it is that the earth toward her center, and in the bottom thereof, is frozen altogether, and in manner nothing else but ice, for that the excessive colde which never will yield and relent, there dwelleth and abideth continually, as being thrust and driven into that corner, farthest

farthest off from the elementary fire. As touching those rocks, craggies, and cliffes, which we see to appeere out of the earth: *Empedocles* is of opinion, that they were there let, driven up, sustained, & supported by the violence of a certaine boiling and swelling fire within the bowels of the earth: but it should seeme rather, that those things out of which all the heat is evaporate and flown away, be congealed and congelat to hard by the meanes of colde: and this is the cause that such craggies be named in Greeke *πύρι*, as one would say, congealed: toward the head and toppe whereof, a man shall see in them many places blacke againe, namely, whereas the heat flew out when the time was, so as to see to, one would imagine that they had heerebefore beene burnt; for the nature of colde is to congeale all things, but some more, others lesse; but above all, those in which it is naturally at the first inherent: for like as the property of fire is to alleviate, it cannot otherwise be, but the hotter that a thing is, the more light also it is: and so the nature of moisture is to soften; in so much as the moister any thing is, the softer also it is found to be: sensibly, given it is to colde, to astringe and congeale: it followeth therefore of necessity, that whatsoever is most astringe and congealed, as is the earth, is likewise the coldest; and looke what is colde in the highest degree, the same must be principally and naturally that colde, whereof we are in question. And thereupon we must conclude, that the earth is both by nature colde, and also that primitive colde; a thing apparent and evident to our very senses; for dirt and clay is colder than water: and when a man would quickly suffocate and put out a fire, he throweth earth upon it. Blacke smithies also, and such as forge iron, when they see it redde hot, and at the point to melt, they strew upon it small powder, or grit of marble or other stones that have fallen from them, when they were squared and wrought, for to keepe it from resolving too much, and to coole the excessive heat: the very dust also that is used to be thrown upon the bodies of wrestlers, doth coole them and represseth their sweats. Moreover, to speake of the commodity that causeth us every yeere to remove and change our lodgings, what is the meaning of it? winter maketh us to seeke for high lofts, and such chambers as be farre from the earth; contrariwise, summer bringeth us downe to the halles and parlours beneath, driving us to seeke retiring rooms, and willingly we lower to live in vaults within the bowels of the earth: doe we not thus thinke you, directed by the instinct of nature, to seeke out & acknowledge that which is naturally the primitive colde? and therefore when winter comes, we lay for houses and habitations neere the sea side, that is to say, we flee from the earth as much as we can; because of colde, and we compass our selves with the aire of the sea, for that it is hot: contrariwise, in summer time, by reason of immoderate heat, we cover mediterranean places farther within the land, and farre removed from the sea, nor for that the aire of it selfe is colde, but because it seemeth to spring and budde as it were out of the primitive colde, and to have a tincture as I may so say, after the manner of iron from the power which is in the earth: and verily among running waters, those that arise out of rocks, and descend from mountaines, are evermore coldest: but if welles and pittes, such as be deepest yeeld the coldest waters: for by reason of their profunditie, the aire from without is not mingled with these; and the others passe thorough pure and sincere earth, without the mixture of aire among.

As for example, such is the water neere the cape of *Tenarus*, which they call *Stryx*, destilling by little and little out of the rocke, and so gathered unto an head: which water is so extreme colde, that there is no vessell in the world will holde it, but onely that which is made of an asses hoofe; for put it into any other, it cleaveth and breaketh it. Moreover, we heare physicians say, that to speake generally, all kinds of earth do restrain and coole: and they reckon unto us a number of minerals drawn out of entrails of the earth, which in the use of physike yeeld unto them an astringent and binding power: for the very element it selfe from whence they come, is nothing incisive, nor hath the vertue for to stirre and extenuate; it is not active and quick, nor emollient, nor apt to spread; but firme, steadfast and permanent, as a square cube or die, and not to be removed: whereupon, being masse and ponderous as it is, the colde also thereof having a power to condense, congregate and to expresse forth all humors, procureth by the asperity and inequality of the parts, shakings, horrors and quakings in our bodies: and if it prevaile more and be predominant, so that the heat be driven out quite and extinct, it imprinteth an habitude of congelation and dead stupefaction. And hereupon it is, that the earth either will not burne at all, or els hardly and by little and little: whereas the aire many times of it selfe sendeth forth flaming fire, it thoreteth and floweth, yea, and seemeth as inflamed, to lighten and flash: and the humiditie which it hath, serveth to feed and nourish the heat thereof. For it is not the

solide part of wood that burneth, but the oleous moisture thereof; which if it be once evaporate and spent, the solide substance remaineth drie, and is nothing els but ashes. As for those who labour and endeavour to shew by demonstration, that the same also is changed and consumed, for which purpose they sprinkle it eftsometimes with oile, or temper it with greace, and so put it into the fire againe, prevaile nothing at all: for when the fatie and unctuous substance is burnt, there remaine still evermore behinde, the terrestriall parts. And therefore earth being not onely immoveable in respect of situation, but also immutable in regard of the very substance, the ancient called *isa*, that is to say, *vestra*, standing as it were sure and stedfast within the habitation of the gods: of which steadinesse and congelation, the bond and linke is cold, as *Archiloehus* the Naturallist said: And nothing is there able to relax or mollifie it, after it hath once bene baked in the fire or hardened against the Sun. As touching those who say that they feele very sensibly the winde and the water colde, but the earth not so well; surely these do consider this earth here, which is next unto us, and is no other thing in truth, than a mixture and composition of aire, water, sunne and heat; and we thinke this is all one, as if a man should say, that the elementarie fire is not the primitive and originall heat, but rather scalding water, or an iron red hot in the fire; for that in truth there is no touching of these or comming nere unto them; as also that of the said pure and celestiall fire, they have no sensible experience nor knowledge by feeling, no more than they have of the earth which is about the center, which we may imagine to be true, pure and naturall earth, as most remote and farthest separate from all other: howbeit, wee may have some guesse and token thereof by these rockes heere with us, which from their profunditie send forth a vehement colde, which is in manner intolerable. And they likewise who desire to drinke their water passing colde, use to throw pibble stones into it, which thereby commeth to be more colde, sharpe and piercing, by occasion of the great and fresh colde that ariseth from the said stones. And therefore we ought thus to thinke, that when our ancestors, those deepe clearks and great scholars I meane, thought there could be no mixture of earthly things with heavenly, they never looked to places high or low, as if they hung in the scales of a ballance, but unto the difference and diversitie of their powers; attributing the qualities of heat, cleerenesse, agilitie, celeritie and lightnesse, unto that immortal and eternall nature: but colde, darknesse and tarditie, they assigned as the unhappie lot and wretched portion of those infernall wights that are dead and perished. For the very bodie of a creature, all while that it doth breathe and flourish in verdure as the Poets say, hath life and heat, but so soone as it is destitute of these, and left in the onely portion and possession of the earth, it presently becometh stiffe and colde, as if heat were in any other body naturally, rather than in that which is terrestrial.

Compare now good sir *Phavorinus*, these arguments with the reasons of other men, and if you finde that they neither yeeld in probability, nor over-way them much, bid all opinions and the stiffe mainteining of them farewell, and thinke that to forbear resolution and to holde off in matters obscure and uncerteine, is the part of the wisest philosopher, rather than to settle his judgement and assent to one or other.



## NATVRALL QVESTIONS.

### The Summarie.



This collection of divers questions taken out of Naturall philosophie, and resolved by the author according to the doctrine of Naturalists, being so cleereley distinguished by it selfe, requireth no long deduction: for that at the very first sight each question may sufficiently be understood.

NATVRALL

## NATVRALL QVESTIONS.

What is the cause that sea water nourisheth no trees?



10

Is it for the same reason, that it nourisheth no land-creatures? For that a plant according to the opinions of *Plato*, *Anaxagoras* and *Democritus*, is a living creature of the land. For say that it serves for food to plants growing within the sea, as also to fishes, and is to them their drinke, yet we must not inferre thereupon, that it feedeth trees that be without the sea and upon the land: for neither can it pierce downe to their rootes, it is so grosse, nor rise up in the nature of fappte, it is so heavy. That it is grosse, heavy, and terrestriall, appeareth by many other reasons, and by this especially, for that it beareth up and susteineth both vessels and swimmers more than any other.

Or is it principally for this, that whereas nothing is more offensive and hurtfull to trees than drinnesse, the water of the sea is very defecative? which is the reason that salt withstandeth putrefaction so much as it doth, and why the bodies of those who are washed in the sea, have incontinently their skin exceeding dry and rugged.

Or rather may it not be, for that oile is naturally an enemy to all plants, causing as many of them as are rubbed or anointed therewith to die? Now the sea water standeth much upon a kinde of fattinesse, and is very unctuous, in such sort that it will both kinde and also increase fire: and therefore we give warning and forbid to throw sea water into flaming fire.

Or is it because the water of the sea is bitter and not potable, by reason (as *Aristotle* saith) of the burnt earth that is mixed with it? like as lie, which is made by casting fresh water aloft upon ashes: for the running and passing through the said ashes marreth that sweet and potable quality of the water: as also within our bodies, the unnatural heats of an ague turne humors into cholar. As for those plants, woods or trees, which are said to grow within the red sea, if they doe, certainly they beare no fruit; but nourished they are by the fresh rivers, which bring in with them a deale of mud; an argument heereof is this: for that such grow not farre within the sea but nere unto the land.

What might the reason be, that trees and seeds are nourished better with raine, than any other water that they can be watered withall?

Is it for that raine as it falleth, by the dint that it maketh, openeth the ground and causeth little holes, whereby it pierceth to the rootes, as *Latius* saith?

Or is this untrue? and *Latius* was ignorant heereof, namely that morish plants and such as grow in pooles, as the reed mace, canes and rushes, will not thrive if they want their kinde raine in due season? But true is that which *Aristotle* saith: That the raine water is all fresh and new made, whereas that of meeres and lakes is old and stale.

Or haply, this carrieth more shew and probability, with it than truth, for certeine it is, that the water of fountaines, brookes, and rivers, come as new and fresh as they: for as *Heraclitus* saith: It is impossible for a man to enter into one and the same river twice, because new water commeth still, and runneth away continually, and yet these nourish lesse than raine waters.

Is this therefore the reason, because the water from heaven is light, subtile, aireous, and mixed with a kinde of spirit, which by that subtiltie, entrench soone, and is easily caried to the root of plants: and heereupon in the fall it raiseth little bubbles, because of the aire and spirit enclosed within.

Or doth raine water nourish more in this regard, that it is sooner altered and overcome by that which it nourisheth; for this is it that we call concoction properly: contrariwise, cruditie and indigestion, when things are so strong and hard that they will not suffer; for such as be thinne, simple, and unfavory, are most easily and soonest altered: of which kinde is raine water, for being engendred as it is in the aire and the winde, it falleth pure and cleane; whereas springing waters, are like to the earth, out of which they issue, or the places through which they passe, gathering

gathering thereby many qualities, which cause them unwilling to be digested, and more slow to be reduced by concoction, into the substance of that which is to be nourished thereby: on the other side, that raine waters be easie to be changed and transmuted, it appeareth by this; that more subiect they are to corruption and putrefaction, than those either of rivers, or of pities and welles: and concoction seemeth to be a kinde of putrefaction: as *Empedocles* beareth witness saying:

*When in vine-wood the water purifies,  
It turnes to wine, whiles under barks it lies.*

Or rather the truest and readiest reason that can be alledged, is the sweetnesse and holsonnesse of raine waters, falling as they doe so presently, so soone as the winde sends them downe: and hereupon it is that beasts desire to drinke thereof before any other: yea, and the frogges and paddocks expecting a raine, for joy sing more thrill and merily, ready to receive and entertaine that which will season the dead and dormant waters of standing lakes, as being the very seed of all their sweetnesse: for *Aristo* reckoneth this also for one of the signes of a shewer toward, writing thus:

*When wretched brood,  
The adders food,  
from out of standing lake,  
(The ad-pole fires,  
I meane) de fires  
fresh raine, and loud doth \* coake.*

\* Coavent, Lat.  
Pest-poles,  
dead fires,  
Aristophan  
has.

*What might be the cause that shepherds and other herdsmen give salt unto their sheepe and cattell which they feed?*

Is it as most men doe thinke, to the end that they should fall the better to their meate, and so consequently feed fatter the sooner? because the acrimony of salt provoketh appetite, and opening the pores, maketh way unto the nourishment for to be digested and distributed more easily throughout the whole body: in regard whereof the physician *Apollonius*, the sonne of *Herophilus*, gave counsell and prescribed leane folke and such as thrived not in their flesh; not grosse sweet wine, thicke gruell, and frumentie, but salt fish out of the pickle, anchoves, powdered meats, and such as were condite in brine: the subtil acrimonie whereof might in maner of setting a peruke for want of haire, serve to apply nutriment through the pores of the body into those parts that need it.

Or rather may it not be for health-sake? in which regard they use their cattell to little salt, thereby to take downe their ranke feeding, and restraine their grossnesse and corpulencie: for such as grow exceeding fatter, are subiect to breed diseases: but salt consumeth and dispatcheth this fatter; and by this meanes also when they be killed, they are sooner and with greater expedition flaid, because the fatter which knit and bound the skinned flesh to the flesh, is now become more thinn, gentle, and pliable through the acrimony of the salt: besides, the bloud also of such as be ever licking of salt, becometh more liquid; and nothing there is within, that will gather and grow together, in case there be salt mingled therewith.

It may be moreover, that they doe it for to make them more fruitfull and apter for generation; for we see that salt bitches which have bene fed with salt meats, are more hot, apter to goe proud, and sooner with whelpes. And for this cause, those keeles and barges that transport salt, breed greater store of mice, for that they engender the oftener.

*How cometh it to passe, that of raine waters, such as fall with thunder and lightning, which thereupon be called \* as gemas, are better for to water seeds or yong plants, than any other?*

May it not be, because they be full of winde and ventositie, by reason of the trouble and confused agitation of the aire? And the nature of wind and spirit is to stirre the humiditie; and by that meanes doth lend it forth and distribute it the better?

Or is it not rather, that heat fighting against colde, is the cause of thunder and lightning in the aire? which is the reason that seldom there is any thunder in winter: but contrariwise, very often

often in the Spring and Autumne, for the inconstant and unequall dittemperature of the aire: which being supposed, the heat concocting the humiditie, causeth it to be more pleasant and profitable unto the plants of the earth.

Or why may it not be, because it thundreth and lightneth especially and more often in the Spring, than in any other season of the yeere, for the reason before alledged: now the Spring showers and raines are most necessarie for seeds and herbs, against the Summer time: whereupon those countries wherein there be many good ground showers in the Spring, as the idle *Sicilie*, bring forth plentie of good fruits.

*How is it, that there being eight kind of \* favours, there is no more but only one of them, to wit, saltish, that can not be found naturally in fruits? For as touching the bitter favour, the olive hath it at first; and the grape is soure at the beginning: but as these fruits begin to change and grow to their ripenesse, the bitternesse of the olive turneth into a fatie and unctuous favour, and the sharpe verdure of the grape into a smacke of wine: semblably, the harshnesse in the unripe dates, as also the austere and unpleasant shar pnesse in pomegranats changeth into sweetnesse. As for pomegranats, some there be, as also other apples, which are simply soure, and never have o'ther taste. And as for the sharpe and biting favour, it is ordinarie in many roots and seeds.*

Is it for that the salt favor is not primitive nor engendred originally, but is rather the corruption of other primitive favours; and in that regard can not serve to nourish any creature, living with grasse or graine? but it is to some in stead of a sauce, because it is a meanes that they should not upon fullnesse either lothe or distaste that which they feed upon.

Or because, that like as they who boile sea water, rid it from that salt, brackish and biting quality that it hath: so, in those that are hot by nature, the salt favour is dulled and mortified by heat?

Or rather, for that a favour or smacke, according as *Plato* saith, is a water or juice passing thorow the stem or stalk of a plant: but we see that the sea water running as thorow a streiner, loseth the saltnesse, being the terrestriall and grossest part that is in it. And hereupon it is, that when as men digge along by the sea side, they meet with springs of fresh and potable water. And many there be, who draw out of the very sea, fresh water and good to be drunke; namely, when it hath runne thorow certaine vessels of wax, by reason that the terrestriall and saltish parts thereof be streined out. In one word, \* clay or marle also, yea, and the carrying of sea water in long conduct pipes, causeth the same when it is so streined, to be potable, for that there are kept still in them the terrestriall parts, and are not suffered to passe thorow. Which being so, very probable it is that plants neither receive from without forth any salt favour, nor if haply any such qualitie breed in them, doe they transuse the same into their fruits; for that the conducts of their pores being very small and streight, there can not be transmited thorow them any grosse or terrestriall substance.

Or els we must say, that saltnesse is in some sort a kinde of bitternesse, according as *Homer* signifieth in these verses:

*Bitter salt-water at mouth he cast againe,  
And all therewith his head did drop amaine.*

And *Plato* affirmeth, that both the one and the other favour is absterfve and liquefactive; but the saltish, lesse of the twaine, as that which is not rough: and so it will seeme that bitter differeth from salt in excessse of drinesse, for that the salt favour is also a great drier.

*What is the cause, that if folke use ordinarily and continually to goe among yong trees or shrubs full of dew, those parts of their bodies which do touch the twigs of the said plants, are wont to have a scurfe or mange rise upon their skin?*

Is it (as *Lerus* saith) for that the dew by the subtiltie thereof doth fret and pierce the skin? Or rather, because like as the blast and mil-dew is incident to those seeds or plants that take wet and be drenched; even so, when the smoothe and tender superficiall parts of the skinned are fretted, scanfied, and dissolved a little with the dew, there ariseth a certeine humour, and filth the fretted place with a smart and angry scurfe: for lighting upon those parts which have but little bloud, such as be the smalles of the legs and the feet, it biteth & gnaweth the superficies of

\* Favours, are  
nam. Favours,  
I make choice  
on favours to  
expedite the  
object of taste,  
consuming to  
beere as a  
dust to St.  
fers, and in  
fices, and in  
beane it as  
which to say,  
This is a  
favour: or  
unfavoured  
which the aff-  
dith the aff-  
although I  
know, we co-  
monly attri-  
bute favours  
to our feel-  
ling: but yet  
as we say, as  
I think.

\* clay, haply  
will be setting.



of them. Now that there is in dew a certaine inordinate qualitie, it appeareth by this, that it maketh those who are grosse and corpulent, to be leaner and more spare of bodie: wittnesse our women who are given to be fat, and would be fine, who gather dew with linnen clothes, or els with locks or fleeces of wooll, thinking therewith to take downe and spend their fogginesse, and make themselves more gant and slender.

7  
*What is the cause that barges and other vessels in Winter time, go more slowly upon the rivers than at other seasons; but they do not so upon the sea?*

10  
**W**hat say you to this? May it not be, for that the aire of rivers being alwaies grosse and heavy, in Winter is more inspitiate by reason of the circumstant cold, and so is an hindrance to the course of ships?

Or haply this accident is to be imputed to the water of rivers, rather than to the aire about them; for colde driving in and restraining the water, maketh it more heavy and grosse; as we may perceive in water houre-glasses, for the water runneth out of them more leasurly and slowly in winter then in summer. And *Theophrastus* writeth that in *Thracia*, neere unto the mount called *Pangæon*, there is a fountaine, the water whereof is twice as much heave in winter than it is in summer, waigh it in one & the same vessell full. That the thicknesse of water maketh a vessell to passe more sluggishly, it may appeare by this, that the barges of the river carry greater fraights by farre, in winter than in summer: because the water being thicke, is stronger and able to beare more. As for the sea water it cannot be made more thicke in winter, by reason of the owne heat, which is the cause that it congealeth not, and if it gather any thickening, it seemeth to be very slender and little.

8  
*What is the reason that we observe, all other waters, if they be mooved and troubled, are the colder, but the sea the more surging and waving, the hotter it is?*

**I**t is because, if there be any heat in other waters, the same is a stranger unto it, and coming from without, and so the motion and agitation thereof doth dissipate and drive the same forth againe: but that heat of the sea which is proper and naturall to it, the windes doe stirre up and augment. That the sea is naturally hot, may evidently be proved by this, that it is so transparent and shining; as also for that it is not ordinarily frozen, heavy though it be and terrestriall.

9  
*What should be the cause that in winter the sea water is lesse bitter and brackish in taste?*

**F**or so (by report) writeth *Dionysius* the great conuair of conduicts, who in a treatise of that argument, saith that the bitternesse of the sea water is not without some sweetnesse, seeing that the sea receiveth so many and so great rivers: for admit that the sunne doe draw up that which is fresh and potable out of it, because it is light and subtill; that is but from the upper part onely: and withall, it doth more in Summer than in any other season, by reason that in Winter his beames are not so strong to strike, for that his heat likewise is but faint and feeble: and so a good portion of the sweetnesse remaining behinde, doth delay that excessive bitternesse and brackithnesse, like a medicine that it hath. And the same befalleth unto river waters, and all other that be potable: for even such in Summer time become worfe and more offensive to the taste than in Winter, by how much the heat of the sunne doth resolve and dissipate the light and sweet parts thereof: but in Winter it runneth alwaies new and fresh; whereof the sea cannot chuse but have a good part, as well because it is evermore in motion, as also for that the rivers running into it, be great and impart their fresh water unto it.

10  
*What is the reason, that men are wont to powre sea water into their wine vessels, among the wine?*

And the common report goeth that there were sometime certaine mariners and fisher-men who brought with them an oracle, commanding to plunge and dip Bacchus in the sea: And such as dwell farre from the sea, instead of sea water, put in baked plaster of *Lacynthus*?

**I**t is to this end, that the heat thereof (should helpe to resist the colde, that it take not away the heart of the wine? Or rather cleane contrary, doth it not weaken the headinesse of wine, by extinguishing the power and strength thereof?

Or

Or it may be, that seeing wine is much subiect to alteration, and will quickly turne, the terrestriall matter which is cast into it, having a naturall property to retrain, to binde and to stoppe, doth in some sort condensare and stay the waterish and spirituall substance of it. Now the salt together with the sea water, coming to subtilitate and confound that which is superfluous, and naught in the wine, and not the proper substance thereof, keepeth it so, as it will not suffer any strong & evill smell or corruption to be ingendered therein: Besides all the grosse and terrestriall parts of the wine, sticking and cleaving to that which sealeth to the bottom, and being drawn downward with it, maketh a residence of the lees and dregges, and by consequence leaveth the rest more cleere, pure, and neat.

11  
*What is the cause that those who saile upon the sea, are more sicke in the stomacke, than they that saile upon rivers, yea, though the weather be faire and the water calme?*

**I**t is for that of all the senses, smelling, and of all passions, feare, causeth men most to be stomacke sicke: for so soone as the apprehension of any perill seith upon a man, he trembleth and quaketh for feare, his haire stareth and standeth upright, yea and his belly groweth to be loose. Whereas there is none of all this that troubleth those who saile or row upon the river: for why, the smell is acquainted with all fresh and potable water, neither is the sailing so perillous: whereas upon the sea men are offended with strange and unusuall smells, yea, and be effected soone as affraid, how faire soever the season be, not trusting upon that which they see present, but misdoubting that which may fall out. And therefore little or nothing serveth the calme without, when the minde within is tossed, troubled, and vexed, partly with feare, and in part with distrust, drawing the body into the fellowship of like passions and perturbations.

12  
*What is the reason that if the sea be sprinkled with oile, there is to be seene a cleere transparenence, together with a calme and tranquility within?*

**W**hether it is (as *Aristotle* saith) because the winde gliding and glauncing over oile which is smooth and even, hath no power to stirre it, or to make any agitation.

30 Or, this reason may well carie with it some probability as touching the outward part, and upmost superficies of the sea: but seeing that they also by report, who plunge and dive to the bottom thereof, holding oile within their mouthes, if they spurt the same forth when they are in the bottome, have a light all about them, and are able to see cleere in the deepe; a man cannot attribute the cause thereof unto the gliding over of the wind. See therefore if it may not rather be, for that the oile by the soliditie and thicknesse that it hath, doth drive before it, cut, and open the sea water first, being terrestriall and unequall; which after being returned and drawn together againe into it selfe, there be left still in the mids betweene, certaine little holes which yeeld unto the eyes a through-light and transparenence.

Or rather is it, for that the aire mingled within the sea, is by reason of heat, naturally lighter and more peripicuous; but when it is troubled and stirred, becommeth unequall and shadowy: when as the oile therefore by meanes of soliditie commeth to pollish and smooth the said inequality, it resumeth againe the owne plainnesse and perpicuity.

13  
*What is the reason that fisher mens nets doe rot in Winter rather than in Summer, notwithstanding that all other things putrifie more in Summer than in Winter?*

**I**t is because (as *Theophrastus* supposeth) the heat then beset round about with the circumstant colde, giveth place thereto, and therefore causeth the bottome of the sea as well as of the earth, to be the hotter? which is the reason that spring waters be warmer, yea and both lakes and rivers doe teike and smooke more in Winter than in Summer, because the heat is kept downe, and driven to the bottome by the colde, which is predominant over it?

Or rather are we to say, that the nets rot not at all, but whensoever they be stiffe congealed with colde which drieth them up, soone broken afterwards they are with the violence of the waves, and so seeme as if they were rotten and putrified indeed; for in more danger they are in colde and frosty weather; and like as strings and sinewes over-stretched doe breake, seeing especially that the sea in Winter most commonly is troubled, which is the reason that they use to retrain

restreine and thicken them with certaine tinctures, for feare they should be overmuch relaxed and resolved; for otherwife, if it were not for that doubt, being not so died and besmeared all over, they would sooner deceive fishes, because they could not perceive them so soone; for that the colour naturally of the lines and threads resembling the aire, is very meet to deceive within the sea.

14

*What is the reason that the \* Dorians \* pray for to have ill inuing of their hey?*

**I**S not this the cause, because hey is not well inued wet, or having taken a shewre? for mowen downe it is not dry, but while it is greene and full of sappe; and if it take wet withall, it rotte incontinently and is marred: whereas contrariwise if standing corne be moistened with raine a little before haruest, it taketh much good against hot southerne windes, which will not suffer the corne to gather and knit in the eare, but cause it to be loofe that it cannot eare well by means of heat, were it not by the drenching and watering of the ground, the moisture did coole and mollifie the earth.

15

*What is the reason that a fat, strong, and heavy clay ground, beareth wheat best: but contrariwise a light and sandy soile, is better for barley?*

**M**ay not this be a reason, that of all corne, that which is more strong and solide, requireth larger food, and the weaker lesse, and more slender nourishment? now it is well known that barley is a more feeble and hollow graine than wheat is: in which regard it will not abide and beare plentifull nouriture and strong. An argument and testimonie hereof we may have of that kinde of wheat which is called three-moneth wheat, for that in drier grounds it liketh better, and commeth up in greater plenty: the reason is, because it is not so firme and solid as others, and therefore requireth lesse nutriment: in regard whereof, also it commeth sooner to ripeness and perfection.

16

*How commeth this common proverbe: Sow wheat in dust, and barley in dust?*

**I**S it not as I said before, because wheat is able to overcome more nourishment, but barley can not endure much moisture to drench and drowne it?

Or in this respect, that wheat being a stiffe and hard kinde of graine, resembling the nature of wood, doth sooner come and chit within the ground, in case it be well foked and softened with moisture, and therefore liketh better of a wet ground; whereas the drier soile at the first sowing agreeth better with barley, and is more commodious for it, being as it is, a more loofe and spongy kind of graine.

Or because such a temperature of the ground in regard of the heat, is more proportionable and lesse hurtfull unto barley, being as it is the colder graine?

Or rather, husbandmen are afraid to \* thrash their wheat upon a dry and sandy floore, because of \* ants; for soone will they take to that kind of graine in such a place. As for barley, they use lesse to beare it, because the cornes thereof be hard to be caried and recatied from one place to another, they are so bigge.

17

*What is the cause that silvers chuse the haire of stone-horse tiales rather than of mares, to make their angling lines?*

**I**S it because the male, as in all other parts, so in haire also, is more strong than the female? Or rather, for that they thinke the haire of mares tiales, drenched and wet as it is ever and anon with their staling, is more brittle and woofe than the other?

18

*What is the reason that when the \* Calamacie fish is seene in the sea, it is a signe of a great tempest?*

**I**S it because all soft and unscaley fishes are very impatient of colde and of foule weather, they be so bare and naked, and have withall their flesh exceeding tender, as being covered, neither with shell nor thicke skinn, ne yet scale; but contrariwise, having their hardy, gristly, and bony substance

substance within? which is the reason that all such fishes be called *Malacia*, as one would say, Soft and tender. For which cause naturally they soone foresee a tempest, and feele colde commings, for that it is offensive unto them: and therefore likewise, when the Poulpe or Polyp runneth to land, and catcheth holde of some little rocks, it is a token that there is great winde toward. And for the Calamacie, he leapeth forth for to avoid the colde and the trouble or agitation of the water in the bottome of the sea: for of other soft fishes, his flesh is most tender and apt to be pierced and hurt.

19

*Why doth the Polyp change his colour?*

**I**S it according to the opinon of *Theophrastus*, because it is a fearefull and timorous creature by nature; and therefore when he is troubled or amazed as his spirit trimeth, so he altereth withall his colour, even as we men do? whereupon we say in the common proverbe:

*The coward, in view  
Soone changeth brow.*

Or may this be a good probable conjecture of the change, but not sufficient, for the resemblance? considering that he changeth so, as here resembleth the rocks which he seeketh upon. Unto which properitie, *Pindarus* alluded in these verses:

*His munde doth alter most mutable,  
To Poulpe the sea-fish skin semblable;  
Which changeth hue to exhibiting futable:  
To live in all worlds he is pliable.*

And *Theognis*:

*Put on a minde like Polype fish,  
and learne so to dissemble:  
Which of the rocks where to it sticks,  
the colour doth resemble.*

Also, men usually say, such as surpasse others for cunning and cautelous dealing, studie and practise this: that for to save themselves, and not to be seene or known of those about them, they alwaies will be like unto the poulpe, and change their colours, that is to say, their maners and behaviour.

Or do they thinke such an one to make use of his colour readily, as of a garment, to change and put on another whensoever he will?

Well then, the poulpe fish himselfe, by his feare may haply give the occasion and beginning of this change and passion; but the principall point of the cause consisteth in something els. And therefore weigh and consider what *Empedocles* writeth:

*Wot well, all mortal things that be,  
Defluxions have in some degree.*

For there passe away continually, many defluxions, not onely from living creatures, plants, earth and sea, but also from stones, brasse and iron: for all things perish and yeeld a smell, in that there runneth something alwaies from them, and they weare continually: insomuch as it is thought that by these defluxions are all attractions and insulations: and some suppose their embracings and connexions; others, their smiling: some their impulsions, and I wot not what circumplexions and environments, to be attributed unto such defluxions; and especially from rocks and stones along the sea continually, washed and dashed with the waves, there be decisions passe of some parcels and small fragments, the which do cleave unto other bodies, and cling about those which have their pores more strict and close, or els passe thorow such as have the same over rare and open. As for the flesh of the Polype, it is to fee to, fistulous and spongy, like unto hony-combs, apt to receive all such defluxions and decisions from other bodies, when as then he is afraid, his winde goeth and commeth, and withall, shutteth up his bodie, and bringeth it together, that he may receive and retene in the superficies of his skin, the defluxions that come from that which is next it: for the rivels and wrinkles of his soft skin, which are knit with feare, are in stead of crooke and bending cleies fit to entertaine the defluxions and parcels lighting upon them, which scatter not heere and there, but gathering upon the skin, make the superficies thereof to be of semblable colour. And that this is a true cause, it may appeare by one great argument, namely, that neither the Polyp doth resemble in colour all that which is

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neere

neere unto it, nor the Chameleon the white colour; but both the one & the other, such things onely, as the defluxions whereof are proportionate unto their pores and small passages,

20

*What is the cause that the teares of wilde boares be sweet, but of staggas and hinds, saltish and unpleasant to the taste?*

**H**eat and colde are the cause of both; for the stagge is colde of nature, but the bore exceeding hot and fierie: whereupon it is, that the one fleeth away, the other maketh head, and stands to it when he is assaulted, and then is it most of all that he sheddeth teares, upon a fell heart: for when plentie of heat (as I said before) mounteth up unto his eies,

*His bristles stare and stand upright,  
His ardent eyes like fire are bright.*

and so the humour that distilleth from his eies, is sweet. Others say, that these teares are pressed and wrong out from the blood being troubled, like as whey from milke: and of this opinion was Empedocles. And forasmuch as the blood of the wilde bore is blacke and thicke in regard of heat, but that of stags and hinds, thin and waterish, great reason there is that the teares which passe from the one in anger, and the other in feare, should be such as is afore said.

21

*What is the reason, that tame swine doe farrow often in one yeere, some at one time, and some at another; whereas the wilde of that kinde, bring forth pigs but once in the yeere, and all of them in a manner upon the same daies, and those are in the beginning of Summer: whereupon we say in our vulgar proverbe:*

*The night once past, of wilde sowes farrowing:  
T will raine no more be sure, for any thing.*

**I**s it (thinke you) for the plentie they have of meat; as in trueth, fulnesse brings wantonnesse, and of full feeding comes lust of breeding: for abundance of food causeth superfluitie of seed, as well in living creatures as in plants. As for the wilde swine, they seeke their victuals themselves, and that with travell and feare: whereas the tame have alwaies store thereof, either naturally growing for them, or els provided by mans indoltry.

Or is the cause of this difference to be attributed unto the idle life of the one, and the painful labour of the other: for the domestickall and tame are sluggish, and never wander farre from their swineherds: but the other range and rove abroad among the forrests and mountains, running to and fro, dispatching quickly all the food they can get, and spending it every whit upon the subsistence of their bodies, leaving no superfluities, expedient for geniture or seed.

Or may it not be, that tame sowes doe keepe company, feed and goe in heards together with their bores, which provoketh their lust, and kindleth the desire to engender: according as Empedocles hath written of men in these verses:

*The sight of eie, doth kindle lust in brest,  
Of looking, liking, then loving and hereft.*

Whereas the wilde, because they live apart, and pasture not together, have no such desire and lust one to another; for their naturall appetite that way is dulled and quenched.

Or rather, that is true which Aristotle saith, namely, that Homer calleth a wilde bore *χελων*, as having but one genetoric, for that the most part of them, in rubbing themselves against the trunks and stocks of trees, doe crush and breake their stones.

22

*What is the reason of this usuall speech: that beares have a most sweet hand, and that their flesh is so most pleasant to be eaten?*

**B**ecause those parts of the body which doe best concoct and digest nourishment, yeeld their flesh most delicate: now that concocteth and digesteth best, which stirreth most, and doth greatest exercise: like as the beare moveth most this part, for his forepawes he useth as feet to goe and runne withall, he maketh use also of them as of hands to apprehend and catch any thing.

What

23

*What is the cause that in the spring time wilde beasts are hardly hunted by the sent, and followed by the trace?*

**I**s it for that hounds, as Empedocles saith,  
*By sent of nostrils, when they trace  
Wilde beast, to finde their resting place.*

doe take hold of those vapours and defluxions which the said beasts leave behind them in the wood as they passe: but in the spring time these are confounded or utterly extingished by many other smells of plants and shrubs, which as then be in their flower, and coming upon the aire that the beasts made, and intermingled therewith, do trouble and deceive the sent of the hounds, whereby they are put out and at default, that they cannot truly hunt after them by their trace; which is the reason, (men say) that upon the mountaine *Aetna*, in *Scitie*, there is never any hunting with hounds, for that all the yeere long there is such abundance of flowers, both in hills and dales, growing as it were in a meadow or garden, whereof the place smelleth all over so sweet, that it will not suffer the hounds to catch the sent of the beasts: And verily, there geeth a tale, that *Pluto* ravished *Proserpina* as she was gathering flowers there: in which regard the inhabitants honouring the place with great reverence and devotion, never put up or hunt the beasts that pasture about that mountaine.

24

*What is the reason, that when the moone is at the full, it is very hard for hounds to meet with wilde beasts by the trace or sent of the footing?*

**I**s it not for the same cause before alledged, for that about the full moone there is engendered store of dew: whereupon it is that the poet *Alexander* calleth dew the daughter of *Jupiter*, and the moone in these verses:

*Dame Dew is nowise, whom of god Jupiter  
And lady Moone, men call the daughter.*

For the dew is nothing else but a weake and feeble raine: and why? because the heat of the moone is but infirme: whereof it commeth to passe, that she draweth up vapours indeed from the earth, as doeth the sunne, but not able to fetch them up aloft, nor there to comprehend them, lette them fall againe.

25

*What is the cause that in a white or hoarie frost, wilde beasts are hardly traced?*

**W**hether is it for that they being loth for very colde to range farre from their dennes, leave not many marks of their footings upon the ground: which is thereason that at other times they make spare of that prey which is neere unto them, for feare of danger if they should be forced to range farre abroad in Winter, and because they would have ready at hand about them at such an hard season to feed upon.

Or else is it requisite that the place where men doe hunt, have not onely the tracks of the beast to be seene, but also of force to affect the sent of the hounds, and to set their nostrils a worke; but then doe they moove this sense of theirs, when as they are gently dissolved and dilated as it were by heat: whereas the aire if it be extreme colde, congealing as it were the smells, will not suffer them to spread and be diffused abroad, thereby to move the sense: and hereupon it is (as folke say) that perfumes, ointments, and wines be lesse fragrant and odoriferous in Winter, or in cold weather, than at other times, for the aire being it selfe bound and shut close, doth likewise stay within it all scents, and will not suffer them to passe forth.

26

*What is the cause that brute beasts, so often as they are sicke, or feele themselves amisse, seeke after divers medicinable meanes for remedie, and using the same, finde many times helpe? as for example: dogges when they be stomacke sicke, fall to eat a kinde of quitch grasse, because they would cast and vomit cholere; hogges search for crafsikes of the river, for by feeding upon them they cure their headach; the sortow likewise having eaten the flesh of a viper, eateth upon it the herbe origan; and the beare when she is full in the stomacke and doth loath all victuals, licketh up pissures with her tongue, which she no sooner hath swallowed downe, but she is wrightened, and yet none of all this were they taught, either by experience, or some casuall occasion?*

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15

It is then the fmel that mooveth them to seeke these remedies, and like as the hony combs by the odor stirre up the bee: and the flesh of dead carions the vultures, drawing and alluring them a farre of: so the crafishes invite unto them swine, origan the tortoise, and pimires the beare, by certaine fents and fluxions which are accomodate and familiar unto them, without any sense leading them thereto by discourse of reason, and teaching them what is good and profitable?

Or rather be they the temperatures of the bodies disposed unto sicknesse, that bring unto these creatures such appetites, engendring divers ceremonies, sweetnesses, or other strange & unusual qualities: as we see it ordinary in great bellied women, who during the time that they go with a childe fall to eat grit & earth with greedinesse: in so much as expert phisicians fore-know by the sundry appetites of their patients, whether they shall live or die, for so *Mnesibemus* the phisician doth report, that in the beginning of the *Pneumonie* or inflammation of the lungs, one patient of his, longing for to eat onions escaped that maladie; and another whose appetite stood to figgs, died for it, of the same disease: for that the appetites follow the temperatures, and the temperatures are proportionate to the diseases.

It standeth therefore to great reason that beasts likewise, such as are not surprisid with mortal maladies, nor sicke to death, have that disposition and temperature, whereby their appetites doe moove and provoke each one to that which is good and holsome, yea and expedient to the cure of their sicknesse.

<sup>27</sup>  
*What is the cause that must or new wine, continued sweet a long time, in case the vessel wherein it is kept be colde round about it?*

It is because the alteration of this sweet favour into the naturall taste of wine, is the very concoction of the wine; and colde hindereth the said concoction, which proceedeth from heat.

Or contrariwise, because the proper joice and naturall favour of the grape is sweet, for we say that then the grape beginneth to ripen, when it waxeth sweet. Now colde not suffring new wine to exhale, but keeping the kinde heat thereof within, preserveth the said sweetness still. And this is the very cause that those who make their vintage in a rainy constitution of the weather, doe finde that their new wine will not worke so well in the vault, because that such ebullition proceedeth of heat, and the colde doth reffraine and refresh the said heat.

<sup>28</sup>  
*What is the cause that of all savage beasts, the beare doth never lightly gnaw the net and toile with her teeth, whereas wolves and foxes use ordinarily to cate the same?*

It is for that her teeth grow farre within her mouth, in such sort that she cannot get within the cords of the nets, having besides so great and thicke lippes betwene, that they hinder her for catching hold with her said fangs.

Or rather because she having more force in her fore-feet, which she useth in stead of hands, therewith she doth teare and breake the cords; or else having use both of her pawes and also of her mouth: she imployeth those to the bursting of the nets, and with her teeth fighteth, and maketh her part good against the hunters. Besides the tumbling and rolling of her body that she doth practise, serveth her in as good stead as any thing else. And therefore seeing her selfe in danger to be taken within the toile many times, casteth her selfe round upon her head, and endeavoureth that way to escape, rather than either by pawes or fangs to burst the toile.

<sup>29</sup>  
*What is the reason that we wonder not to see any sources or springs of colder water, like as we doe of hot? notwithstanding it is evident that as heat is the cause of these, so is colde of the other.*

For we must not say as some holde opinion, that heat indeed is an habitude of it selfe, but colde nothing else but the privation of heat: for it were in truth more wonderfull how that which hath no subsistence, should be the cause of that which hath a being. But it seemeth that nature would have us to wonder heereof, onely for the rare sight heereof; and because it is not often seene, therefore we should enquire for some secret cause, and demand how that may be, which is but seldom observed.

But

*But seest thou this starry firmament,  
So high above and infinitely vast,  
In bosom moist of water element,  
The earth beneath how it enloseth fast,*

How many strange and wonderfull sights doth it represent unto us in the night season, and what beauty sheweth it unto us in the day time? and the common people wonder at the nature of these things \* \* As also at the rainebowes, and the divers tinctures formes and pictures of the clouds appeering by day: and how they be adorned with sundry shapies, breaking out of them in maner of bubbles.

<sup>30</sup>  
*What is the cause that when vines or other young plants, which be ranke of leaves, and otherwise fruitlesse, are laid to rest?*

It is because that goats in Greeke *mezei*, which are exceeding fat, be lesse apt to engender, and hardly for their farnesse can leape the females. For generative seed is the superfluous excrement of that nourishment which is conglutinate to the substantiall parts of the body. Now when as any living creature or plant is in very good plight and grown grosse, it is an evident signe, that the nouriture is imployed and spent altogether in the maintenance of it selfe, leaving no excrement at all, or the same very small, and not good for generation.

<sup>31</sup>  
*What is the reason, that if a vine be sprinkled and drenched with wine, especially that which came of the owne grape, it drieth and withereth away?*

It is there not the same reason heereof as of the baldnesse in great drinkers, when as the wine by means of heat, causeth the moisture to evaporate which should feed the haire of their head? Or is it not rather, because the very liquor of wine commeth in some sort of putrefaction, according to the verses of *Empedocles*:

<sup>30</sup>  
*When in wine wood the water putrefies,  
It turnes to wine, whiles under burke it lies.*

When as then a wine commeth to be wet with wine outwardly, it is as much as if fire were put into it, which doth corrupt the naturall temperature of that humour which should nourish it?

Or rather, pure wine, being of an alstringent nature, soketh and pierceeth to the very root, where shutting up and enclosing the pores, it empeacheth the entrance of that sap (by vertue whereof, the vine is wont to bud, burgeen, and flourish) that it can not runne to the stocke?

Or may it not be, it is cleane contrary to the nature of a vine, that the liquor which once went out of it, should returne againe into it? for a liquor or humour whiles it is within the plant in the nature of a sap, may well have power to feed the same; but that being departed once from 40 thence, it should joine thereto againe, or become a part thereof, I cannot see how it is possible.

\* \* \* \* \*  
<sup>32</sup>  
*Why doth the date tree onely of all others arise archwise, and bend upward, when a weight is laid thereupon?*

Whether may it not be that the fire and spiritual power which it hath and is predominant in it, being once provoked, and as it were angered, putteth forth it selfe so much the more, and mounteth upward?

<sup>50</sup> Or because the poise or weight aforesaid forcing the boughes suddenly, oppresseth and keepeth downe the airie substance which they have, and driveth all of it inward: but the same afterwards having resumed strength againe, maketh head afresh, and more eagerly withstandeth the weight?

Or lastly, the softer and more tender branches not able to susteine the violence at first, so soone as the burden resteth quiet, by little and little lift up themselves, and make a shew as if they rose up against it.

Q 999 3

What

\* I finde no more of these questions in the Greeke original, or the French translation, but in one Latine translation it followeth on in this wise,

33  
*What is the reason that pit-water is lesse nutritive than either that which ariseth out of springs, or fallett downe from heaven?*

**I**S it because it is more colde, and withall hath lesse aire in it?  
 Or, for that it containeth much salt therein, by reason of such store of earth mingled therewith: now it is well knownen, that salt above all other things causeth leanness.  
 Or because standing as it doeth still, and not exercised with running and stirring, it getteth a certaine malignant quality, which is hurtfull and offensive to all living creatures drinking thereof; for by occasion of that hurtfull qualitie, neither is it well concocted, nor yet can it feed or nourish any thing. And verily the same is the very cause that all dead waters of pooles and meares be unholmesome, for that they cannot digest and dispatch those harmefull qualities which they borrow of the evil propertie, either of aire or of earth.

34  
*Why is the west wind held commonly to be of all other the swiftest, according to this verse of Homer:  
 Let us likewise bestir our feet,  
 As fast as the sterne winds do fleet.*

**I**S it not thinke you, because this winde is wont to blow when the skie is very well clenfed, and the aire exceeding cleere and without all clouds; for the thickenesse and impuritie of the aire, doth not (I may say to you) a litle impeach and interrupt the course of the winds.  
 Or rather, because the sunne with his beames striking through a cold winde, is the cause that it passeth the faster away; for whatsoever is drawn in by the refrigerative force of the windes, the same if it be overcome by heat as his enemy, we must thinke is driven and set forward both farther, and also with greater celeritie.

35  
*What should be the cause that bees cannot abide smoke?*

**W**Hether is it because the pores and passages of their vitall spirits be exceeding streight, and if it chance that smoke be gotten into them and there kept in and intercepted, it is enough to stop the poore bees breath, yea and to strangle them quite?

Or is it not the acrimony and bitterness (thinke you) of the smoke in cause? for bees are delighted with sweet things, and in very truth they have no other nourishment; and therefore no marvell if they detest and abhorre smoke, as a thing for the bitterness most adverse and contrary unto them: and therefore hony masters when they make a smoke for to drive away bees, are wont to burne bitter herbes, as hemlock, centaury, &c.

36  
*What might be the reason that bees will sooner sting those who newly before have committed whoredome?*

**I**S it not because it is a creature that woonderfully delighteth in puritie, cleanness and elegance? and withall she hath a marvellous quick sense of smelling: because therefore such unclean dealings betweene man and woman in regard of fleshly and beastly lust, immoderately performed, are wont to leave behind in the parties much filthinesse and impurity; the bees both sooner finde them out, and also conceive the greater hatred against them: heereupon it is that in *Theophrastus* the shepherd after a merry and pleasant manner, sendeth *Venus* away into *Archis* to be well fitting with bees, for her adultery; as appeareth by these verses:

Now go thy waie to *Ida* mount,  
 go to *Anchises* now,  
 Where mightie oaks, where banks along  
 of square *Cypres* grow,  
 Where hives and hollow trunks of trees,  
 with hony sweet abound,  
 Where all the place with humming noise  
 of busie bees resound.

And

And *Pindarus*:

*Thou painfull bee, thou pretie creature,  
 Who hony-combs six-angled, as they be,  
 With feet dost frame, false Rhoeceus and impure,  
 With sting hast prickt for his leaud villaine.*

37  
*What is the cause that dogges follow after a stone that is throwen at them, and biteth it, letting the man alone who slung it?*

**I**S it because he can apprehend nothing by imagination, nor call a thing to minde: which are gifts and vertues proper to man alone? and therefore, seeing he can not discern nor conceive the partie indeed that offered him injurie, he supposeth that to be his enemy which seemeth in his eie to threaten him, and of it he goes about to be revenged?

Or thinking the stone while it runnes along the ground, to be some wilde beast, according to his nature he intendeth to catch it first: but afterwards, when he seeth himselfe deceived and put besides his reckoning, he setteth upon the man?

Or rather, doth he not hate the stone and man both alike; but pursueth that onely which is next unto him?

38  
*What is the reason that at a certaine time of the yeere, shee wolues doe all whelp within the compassse of twelve daies?*

**A** *Ntipater* in his booke containing the historie of living creatures, affirmeth, that shee wolves exclude fourth their yong ones about the time that malt-trees doe shed their blossomes; for upon the taste thereof their wombs open: but if there be none of such blowmes to be had, then their yong die within the bodie, and never come to light. He saith moreover, that those countries which bring not fourth oaks and malt, are never troubled nor spoiled with wolves. Some there be who attribute all this to a tale that goes of *Latona*; who being with childe, and finding no abiding place of rest and safetie by reason of *Juno*, for the space of twelve daies; during which time, she went to *Delos*, being transmuted by *Jupiter* into a wolfe, obtained at his hands, that all wolves for ever after might within that time be delivered of their yong.

39  
*How cometh it, that water seeming white aloft, sheweth to be blacke in the bottome?*

**I**S it, for that depth is the mother of darkenesse, as being that which doth dimme and marre the sunne beames before they can descend so low as it: as for the uppermost superficies of the water, because it is immediatly affected by the sunne, it must needs receive the white brightness of the light; the which *Empedocles* verily approveth in these verses:

*A river in the bottome seemes,  
 by shade of colour blacke;  
 The like is scene in caves and holes,  
 by depth, where light they lacke.*

Or many times the bottome of the sea and great rivers being full of mud, doth by the reflexion of the sunne beames represent the like colour that the said mud hath?

Or is not more probable, that the water toward the bottome is not pure and sincere, but corrupted with an earthly qualitie, as continually carying with it somewhat of that, by which it runneth and wherewith it is stirred; and the same feeling once to the bottome, causeth it to be more troubled and lesse transparent?



PLATO.





## PLATONIQUE QUESTIONS.

10

### The Summarie.



*In these gatherings, Plutarch expoundeth the sense of divers hard places, which are found in the disputations of Socrates, contained in the Dialogues of Plato his disciple, but especially in Timæus; which may serve to allure young students to the reading of that great philosopher, who under the burke of words, hath delivered grave and pleasant matters.*

10

## PLATONIQUE QUESTIONS.

I

*What is the reason, that God other-whiles commanded Socrates to do the part of a Midwife in helping others to be delivered of child-birth, but for bad himselfe in any wise to procreate children? according as it is written in a treatise entitled Theætetus. For we ought not to thinke that if he had bene disposed to cavill, jostle or to speake ironically in this place, he would have abused the name of God. Besides, in this selfe same treatise he attributes many other high and magnificall speeches unto Socrates, & namely this among many others: Certes (saith he) there be many men (right good for) who carry this minde to me-ward, that they are disposed plainly to carpe and bite me, in case at any time I seeme to give them of any foolish opinion that they have, neither thinke they thus I do it of good will and meaning well unto them; shewing themselves herein far stoures of this doctrine. That no God beareth evill will to men: no more verily do I this unto them upon any malice: but surely I can not otherwise chuse, neither doe I thinke it lawfull for me either to smooth her up and pardon a lie, or to dissemble and suppress a truth.*



*So it for that he tearmeth his owne nature, as being more judicious and inventive, by the name of God? like as Menander doth, saying:*

*This minde, is his owne intelligence,  
In truth is of divine essence.*

40

*And Heraclitus:*

*Mans nature we must needs confesse,  
Is heavenly and a god doubtlesse.*

*Or rather in very truth, there was some divine and celestiall cause, which suggested and inspired into Socrates this manner of philosophy; whereby lifting as hee did continually, and exami-*

*ning others, he cured them of all swelling pride, of vaine error, of presumptuous arrogance, likewise of being odious, first to themselves, and afterwards to those about them of their company: for it fortun'd about his time, that a number of these sophisters swarmed over all Greece, unto whom young gentlemen resorting & paying good summes of money for their salary, were filled with a great weening and opinion of themselves, with a vaine persuasion of their owne learning and zelous love to good letters, spending their time in idle disputations, and frivolous contentions, without doing any thing in the world, that was either good, honest, or profitable. Socrates therefore, who had a speciall gift by his manner of speech and discourse, as it were by some purgative medicine, to argue and convince, was of greater authority and credit when he*

he

*he confuted others, in that he never affirmed nor pronounced resolutely any thing of his owne; yea, and he pierced deeper into the soules and hearts of his hearers, by how much he seemed to seeke out the truth in common, and never to favorize and mainteine any opinion of his owne: for this begetting of a mans owne fanics, mightily impeacheth the facultie and power to judge another, for evermore the lover is blinded in the behalfe of that which he loveth: and verily there is nothing in the world that loveth so much the owne, as a man doth the opinions and reason whereof himselfe was the father; for surely that distribution and partition among children which is commonly said to be most and equall, is in this case of opinions and reasons most unjust; for in the former every one must take his owne, but in this hee ought to chuse the better, yea, though it were another mans: and therefore once againe, he that fathereth somewhat of his owne, becommeth the worse judge of other mens: And like as there was sometime a sophister or great learned man, who said: That the Elians would be the better umpires and judges of the sacred Olympick games, in case there were never any Elian came in place to performe his prizes, even so, he that would be a good president to sit and determine of divers sentences and opinions; no reason there is in the world that he should desire to have his owne sentence crowned, no nor to be one of the parties contending, and who in truth are to be judged by him. The Grecian captaines after they had defeated the Barbarians, being assembled in counsell to give their voices unto those whom they deemed worthy of reward and honour, for their prowesse; judged themselves all to have done the best service, and to be the most valorous warriors. And of philosophers I assure you there is not one but he would doe as much, unlesse it were Socrates and such as he, who confesse that they neither have, nor know ought of their owne: for these in truth be they who onely shew themselves to be uncorrupt, and competent judges of the truth, and such as cannot be challenged: for like as the aite within our eates if it be not firme and steady, nor cleere without any voice of the owne, but full of singing founds, and ringing noises, cannot exactly comprehend that which is said unto us; even so, that which isto judge of reasons in philosophie, if it meet with any thing that refoundeth and keepeth an hammering within, hardly will it be able to understand that which shall be delivered without forth: for the owne particular opinion which is domesticall and dwelleth at home, of what matter soever it be that is treated of, will alwaies be the philosopher that hitteth the marke, and toucheth the truth best; whereas all the rest shall be thought but to opine probably the truth. Moreover, if it be true that a man is not able perfectly to comprise or know any thing, by good right and reason then did God forbid him to call forth these false conceptions as it were of untrue and unconstant opinions, and forced him to reprove and detect those who ever had such: for no small profit, but right great commoditie comes by such a speech as is able to deliver men from the greatest evil that is, even the spirit of error, of illusion and vanitie in opinion:*

*So great a gift as God of speciall grace,  
Gave never to Alcibiades his race,*

*For the physicke of Socrates was not to heale the body, but to cleanse and purifie the soule, festering inwardly and corrupt. Contrariwise, if it be so that the truth may be knowne, and that there be but one truth, he who learned it of him that found it not out, hath no lesse than the inveter himselfe; yea, & better receiveth it he, who is not perswaded that he hath it: nay, he receiveth that which is simply best of all: much like as hee who having no naturall children of his owne body begotten, taketh the best that he can chuse, for to make his adopted child. But consider heere with me, whether other kinds of learning deserve nor haply to have much study imployed in them, as namely, Poetry, Mathematicks, the art of Eloquence, and the opinions of Sophisters and great clearks: Therefore God of that divine power whatsoever, forbid Socrates to engender them; but as touching that which Socrates esteemed to be the onely wisdom, to wit, the knowledge of God and spirituall things, which hee himselfe calleth the amorous science; there be no men that beget or invent it, but call the same onely to remembrance: whereupon Socrates himselfe never taught any thing, but proposing onely unto young men certaine beginning of difficulties and doubts, as it were the fore-throws of child-birth, stirred up, awakened, and drew forth their owne naturall wits, and inbred intelligences: and this was it that he called the midwives art, which brought nothing into them from without, as others would make them beleieve, who conferred with them, that they infused reason and understanding, but shewed onely and taught them, that they had already within themselves a minde and understanding*

understanding of their owne, and the same sufficient to nourish, though it were confuted and imperfect.

What is thereon that in some places be called the *soveraigne God, father and maker of all things?*

Was it for that he is in truth the father of gods, such as were ingendred, and also of men, as *Homer* calleth him, like as the maker of those creatures which have neither reason nor soule? for according as *Chrysippe* saith, we use not to call him the father of the secondine where in the infant is inwapped within the wombe, who conferred genetall seed, although the said secondine be made of the seed.

Or usest he not a metaphor, as his manner is, when figuratively he termeth him Father of the world, who is the efficient cause, according to his usuall manner of speaking; as namely, in the Dialogue entituled *Symposium*, where he maketh *Phaedrus* the father of amorous discourses, Dialogue entituled *Symposium*, where he maketh *Phaedrus* the father of amorous discourses, for that he it was, who propoed and set abroad the same: like as he named *Callipides* in a dialogue bearing his name, The father of philosophical discourses, for that there passed many beautifull speeches in philosophy, whereof he ministred the occasion and beginning?

Or rather was it not, because there is a difference betweene father and maker, as also betweene generation and creation? for whatsoever is ingendred, is made, but not *de converso*; whatsoever is made, is likewise ingendred: sensibly, who hath begotten, hath also made; for generation is the making of a living creature: but if we consider a workman, to wit, either a mason or carpenter, a weaver, a lute maker, or imager; certes, the worke is distinct and separate from the maker: whereas the moving principle, and the puffsance of him who begetteth, is infused into that which is begotten; it containeth his nature, being as it were a parcell distracted from the very substance of him who ingendred it. Forasmuch then, as the world doth not resemble a conjunction of many pieces, set, joined, fastened and glued together; but hath in it a great portion of the animal life, yea, and of divinity, which God hath infused and mingled in the matter, as derived both the father and maker of the world, being a living creature as it is. These points being very conformable and proportionate to the opinion of *Plato*, consider withall a little, if this also which I shall deliver, be not likewise accordant thereto; namely, that the world being composed of two parts, to wit, of body and of soule: the one, which is the body, God hath not ingendred; but having the matter thereof exhibited unto him, he hath formed, shaped and fitted it, binding and limning it according to the infinitie thereof, with termes, bounds and figures proportioning thereto: but the soule having a portion of understanding discourse of reason, order and harmony: is not onely the worke, but also a part of God, not by him, but even of him, and issuing from his owne proper substance. In his booke therefore of *Politiques* or *Common wealth*, he subdivideth the whole world, as it were a line into two segments or sections unequal, he subdivideth either section into other twaine, after the same proportion: for two generally kinds he maketh of all things; the one sensible and visible, the other intelligible: unto the intelligible kinde he attributeth in the first degree the primitive formes and *Idees*; in the second degree, all solide Mathematics: and as for the sensible kinde, he attributeth thereto in the first ranke, all solide bodies; and in the second place, the images and figures of them. Also to every one of these four members of his said division, he giveth his owne proper judge: to the first of *Ideas*, understanding; to the Mathematics, imagination; to the solide bodies, faith and beleefe; to the images and figures, conjecture. To what end then, and upon what intention hath he divided the whole world into two sections, and the same unequal? and of those two sections, whether is the greater, that of sensible objects, or that of intelligible? As for himselfe, he hath not shewed and declared it: but presently it will appeare, that the portion of sensible things is the greater: for the indivisible substance is of things intellectuall, being evermore of one sort, and resting upon the same subject in one state, and reduced to very short and narrow roomes, and the same pure and neat: whereas the other being spread and wandering upon bodies, is that section of sensible things. Moreover, the propertie of that which is incorporall, is to be definite and determinate. And a bodie as touching the matter thereof, is indefinite and undeterminate; becoming sensible, when by participation of the intelligible it is made finite and limitable. Over and besides, like as every sensible thing hath many images, many shadowes, and many figures, and generally, out of one onely pattern there may be drawn many copies and examples, imitated atwell

by art as by nature; so it can not chuse; but the things that here be sensible, should be more in number than they above, which are intelligible, according to the opinion of *Plato*, supposing this, that things sensible be as it were the images and examples of the original patterns, to wit, the intelligible *Idea*. Furthermore, the intelligence of these *Ideas* and formes by subtraction, deduction and division of bodies, is ranged answerable to the order of the Mathematicks, arising from Arithmetick which is the science of Numbers, into Geometry, to wit, the skill of measures; then afterwards to Astrologie, which is the knowledge of the stars, & in the highest place above all the rest, setteth *Harmonie*, which is the skill of sounds and accords: for the subject of Geometry is this, when as to quantity in general, there is adjoined magnitude in length & breadth: of Stereometrie, when to the magnitude of length and breadth, there is added depth or profunditie.

Likewise, the proper subject of Astrologie is this, when to the solid magnitude there cometh motion. The subject of harmony or musick, when to a bodie moving, there is adjoined sound or voice. If we subtract then and take away, from moving bodies, voice; from solide bodies, motion; from superficies, depth and profundity; and from quantities, magnitude; we shall come by this time to the intelligible *Idea* which have no difference among them, in regard of one and sole thing: for unitie maketh no number, unless it come once to touch binarie or two, which is infinite: but in this wise having produced a number, it proceedeth to points and pricks, from pricks to lines, and so forth from lines to superficies, from superficies to profundities; from thence to bodies, and so forward to the qualities of bodies subject to passions and alterations. Moreover, of intellectuall things, there is no other judge but the understanding or the mind; for cogitation or intelligence, is no other thing but the understanding, so long as it is applied unto Mathematics, wherein things intellectuall appeare as within mirrours; whereas, for the knowledge of bodies, by reason of their great number, nature hath given unto us five powers and faculties of severall and different senses for to judge withall: and yet sufficient they are not to discover all objects; for many there be of them so small, that they can not be perceived by the senses. And like as, although every one of us being composed of soule and bodie, yet that principall part, which is our spirit and understanding, is a very small thing, hidden and enclosed within a great masse of flesh; even so, very like it is, that there is the same proportion within the universall world, betweene things sensible and intellectuall: for the intellectuall are the beginning of corpall: now that which proceedeth from a beginning, is alwaies in number more, and in magnitude greater, than the said beginning.

But on the contrary, a man may reason thus and say: First and formost, that in comparing sensible and corpall things with intellectuall, we doe in some sort make mortall things equal with divine, for God is to be reckened among intellectuall. Now this is to be granted, that the content is alwaies lesse then the continent; but the nature of the universall world, within the intellectuall, comprehendeth the sensible. For God having set the soule in the midst, hath spread and stretched it through all within, and yet without forth hath covered all bodies with it. As for the soule it is invisible, yea and imperceptible to all the naturall senses, according as he hath writen in his booke of *lawes*: and therefore every one of us is corruptible; but the world shall never perishe: for that in each of us that which is mortall and subject to dissolution, containeth within it the power which is vitall; but in the world it is cleane contrary, for the principall puffsance and nature, which is ever after one sort immutable, and doth alwaies preserve the corporall part, which it containeth and embraceth within it selfe. Besides, in a bodily nature and corporall, a thing is called individual and importible for the smallnesse thereof, to wit, when it is so little that it cannot be divided, but in the spirituall and incorporall, it is so called for the simplicity, sincerity & purity thereof, as being exempt from all multiplicity & diversity: for otherwise folly it were to cast a guesse at spirituall things by corporall. Furthermore the very present time which we call Now, is said to be inpartible and indivisible: howbeit, instant to paffions, all it is every where, neither is their any part of this habitable world without it: but all paffions, all actions, all corruptions & generations throughout the world are comprised in this very present Now. Now the onely instrument to judge of things intellectuall is the understanding, like as the eye, of light; which for simplicity is uniforme, & every way like unto it selfe: but bodies having many diversities & differences, are comprehended by divers instruments, & judged some by this, and others by that. And yet some there be who unworthily disesteeme and contemne the intellectuall puffsance and spirituall which is in us: for in truth, being goodly and great, it surmounteth every sensible thing and reacheth up as farre as to the gods. But that which of all others is most, himselfe in his booke entituled *Symposium*, teaching how to use love and love matters,

matters, in withdrawing the soule from the affection of beauties corporall, and applying the same to those which are intellectuall, exhorteth us not to subject and intrall our selves into the lovely beauty of any body, nor of one study and science, but by erecting and lifting up our mindes aloft from such base objects, to turne unto that vast ocean indeed of pulcritude and beauty, which is vertue.

<sup>3</sup>  
*How commeth it to passe, that considering he affirmeth evermore the soule to be more ancient than the body, as the very cause of the generation of it, and the beginning likewise thereof, yet contrariwise he saith, that the soule was never without the bodie, nor the understanding without the soule, and that of necessity the soule must be within the bodie, and the understanding in the soule? for it seemeth that here in there is some contradiction; namely, that the body both is, and is not, in case it be true, that it is together with the soule, and yet nevertheless ingendred by the soule?*

**I**t is because that is true which we oftentimes doe say? namely, that the soule without understanding and the body without forme have alwaies bene together, & neither the one nor the other had ever commeniment of being nor beginning of generation; but when the soule came to have participation of understanding and of harmonic, and became to be wise by the meanes of conformance and accord, then caused she mutation in matter, and being more powerfull and strong in her owne motions, drew and turned into her the motions of the other? and even so the bodies of the world had the first generation from the soule, whereby it was shaped and made uniforme. For the soule of her selfe, brought not forth the nature of a body, nor created it of nothing, but of a body without all order and forme whatsoever, he made it orderly and very obseisant: as if one said that the force of a feed or kernell is alwaies with the bodie, but yet nevertheless the body of the fig tree or olive tree is engendred of the feed or kernell, he should not speake contrarieties: for the very body it selfe being mooved and altered by the feed, springeth and groweth to be such: seembly the matter void of forme and indeterminate, having once bene shapen by the soule, which was within, received such a forme and disposition.

<sup>4</sup>  
*What is the reason, that whereas there be bodies and figures some consisting of right lines and others of circular, he hath taken for the foundation and beginning of those which stand of right lines, the triangle isosceles, with two equal sides, and scalenum, with three sides all unequal. Of which, the triangle with two even legs composed: he cube or square bodie, which is the element and principle of the earth: and the triangle with three unequal legs made the pyramidall body, as also octaedron with eight faces, and coaedron with twenty faces whereof the first is the element and seed of fire, the second of aire, and the third of water: and yet he hath ever passed quite all bodies and figures circular: notwithstanding that he made mention of the sphericall figure or round body when he said, that every one of those figures above named is apt to divide a globe or sphericall body into equall parts?*

**I**t is as some doe imagine and suppose, because he attributed the *Dodecaedron*, that is to say, the body with twelve faces unto the globe or round sphere, in saying that God made use of this forme and figure, in the framing of the world? for in regard of the multitude of elements, and bluntnesse of angles, it is farthest off from direct and right lines, whereby it is flexible, and by stretching forth round in maner of a ball made of twelve pieces of leather, it approacheth nearest unto roundnesse, and in that regard is of greatest capacitie; for it contained twenty angles solid, and every one of them is comprized and environed within three flatte obtuse or blunt angles, considering that every of them is composed of one right and fift part: moreover compact it is and composed of twelve *pentagones*, that is to say, bodies with five angles, having their angles and sides equal; of which every one of thirty principall triangles, with three unequal legges: by reason whereof, it seemeth that he followed the degrees of the Zodiacke, and the daies of the yeere together, in that division of their parts so equal and just in number.

Or may not this be the reason, that by nature the right goeth before the round? or rather, to speake more truly, that a circular line seemeth to be some vicious passion or faulty qualitie of the right, for we use ordinarily to say, that the right line doth bow or bend; and a circle is drawn and

and described by the center, and the distance from it to the circumference, which is the verie place of the right line, by which it is measured out; for the circumference is on every side equally distant from the center. Moreover, the *Conus*, which is a round pyramys; and the *Cylindre*, which is as it were a round colonne or pillar of equal compasse, are both made of figures with direct lines, the one, to wit, the *Conus*, by a triangle, whereof one side remaineth firme, and the other with the base goeth round about it: the *Cylindre*, when the same befalleth to a parallell. Moreover, that which is lesse, commeth nearest unto the beginning, and resembleth it most: but the least and simplest of all lines is the right; for of the round line that part which is within, doth crooke and curve hollow, the other without doth bume and bunch. Over and besides, numbers are before figures, for unity is before a pricke; seeing that a pricke is in position and situation an unity, but an unity is triangular, for that every number triangular, eight times repeated or multiplied, by addition of an unity becometh quadrangular, and the same also befalleth to unity; and therefore a triangle is before a circle, which being so, the right line goeth before the circular. Moreover, an element is never divided into that which is composed of it: but contrariwise, every thing else is divided and resolved into the owne elements whereof it doth consist. If then the triangle is not resolved into any thing circular; but contrariwise, two diametres crossing one another, part a circle just into fower parts; then we must needs inferre the figure consisting of right lines, went before those which are circular: now that the right line goeth first, and the circular doth succeed and follow after, *Plato* himselfe hath shewed by demonstration, namely when hee saith, that the earth is composed of many cubes or square solid bodies, whereof every one is enclosed, and contained with right lined superficies, in such maner disposed, as yet the whole body and masse of the earth seemeth round like a globe, so that we need not to make any proper element thereof round; if it be so that bodies with right lines, conjoined and set in some fort one to another, bringeth forth this forme: Over and besides the direct line, be it little or be it great, keepeth alwaies the same rectitude: whereas contrariwise we see the circumferences of circles if they be small, are more coping, bending, and contracted in their outward curvature: contrariwise, if they be great, they are more extant, lax, and spread, inso much as they that stand by the outward circumference of circles, lying upon a flat superficies, touch the same underneath, partly by a pricke if they be small, and in part by a line if they be large; so as a man may very well conjecture, that many right lines joined one to another taile to taile by piece-meale, produce the circumference of a circle. But consider whether there be none of these our circular or sphericall figures, exquisitely and exactly perfect; but in regard of the extensions and circumflections of right lines, or by reason of the exile and finalnesse of the parts, there can be perceived no difference, and thereupon there sheweth a circular and round figure: And therefore it is, that there is not a bodie here, that by by nature doth moove circularly, but all according to the right line; so that the round and sphericall figure is not the element of a sensible body, but of the soule and understanding, unto which he attributeth likewise the circular motion as belonging unto them naturally.

<sup>5</sup>  
*In what sense and meaning delivered he this speech in his booke entituled *Phædrus*, that the nature of a wing, whereby that which is heavy and ponderous, is carried up aloft, of all other things that belong unto a body, hath a certaine communion and participation with God?*

**I**t is because he discoureteth there of love; and love is occupied about the beauty of the body, and this beauty for the resemblance that it hath to divinity, doth moove the minde, and excite the reminiscence thereof?

Or rather are we to take it simply without curious searching farther into any mystery thereof: namely, that the soule being within the body, hath many faculties & powers, whereof that which is the discourse of reason and understanding, doth participate with the deitie, which hee so not improperly and impertinently teareth a wing, because it lifteth up the soule from things base and mortall, unto the consideration of heavenly and celestiall matters.

<sup>6</sup>  
*How is it that *Plato* in some places saith, the Antiperistasis of motion, that is to say, the constant contrariety debarring a body to moove, in regard that there is no voidnesse or vacuity in nature, is the cause of those effects which wee see in physicians ventoses and cupping glasses of swallowing downe our viands, of throwing of mussy waights, of the course and contrivance of vases*

ters of the fall of lightnings, of the attraction that amber maketh of the drawing of the lode-stone, and of the accord and consonance of voices? For it seemeth against all reason to yeld one's cause, for so many effects so divers and so different in kinde. First, as touching the respiration in living creatures, by the antiperistasis of the aire, he hath elsewhere sufficiently declared, but of the other effects, which seeme as he saith to be miracles, and wonders in nature, and are nothing, for that they be nought else but bodies reciprocally and by alternative course, driving one another out of place round about, and mutually succeeding in their roomes, he hath left for to be discussed by us, how each of them particularly is done?

**F**irst and formost for ventoses and cupping glasse thus it is. The aire that is contained within the ventose, striking as it doth into the flesh, being inflamed with heat, and being now more fine and subtil than the holes of the brasse (box or glasse) whereof the ventose is made, getteth forth, not into a void place, for that is impossible, but into that other aire which is round about the said ventose without forth, and driveth the same from it; and that forceth other before it, and thus as it were from hand to hand, whiles the one giveth place, and the other driveth continually, and so entrench into the vacant place which the first left, it commeth at length to fall upon the flesh which the ventose sticketh fast unto, and by heating and inchafing, it expresth the humor that is within, into the ventose or cupping vessell.

The swallowing of our victuals is after the same manner, for the cavities as well of the mouth as of the stomacke, be alwaies full of aire: when as then the meat is driven within the passage or gullet of the throat, partly by the tongue and partly by the glandulous parts or kernelles called tonsells, and the muscles which now are stretched, the aire being pressed and strained by the said meat, followeth it hard as it giveth place, and sticking close, it is a meane to helpe for to drive it downward.

Sensibly the waighy things that be flung, as bigge stones and such like, cut the aire and divide it, by reason that they were sent out and levelled with a violent force; then the aire all about behind, according to the nature thereof, which is to follow where a place is left vacant and to fill it up, pursueth the masse or waight afore said that is lanced or discharged forcibly, and fetcheth forward the motion thereof.

The shooting and ejaculation of lightening is much what after the manner of these waights: thrown in manner afore said, for being enflamed and set on a light fire, it flatheth out of a cloud by the violence of a stroke, into the aire, which being once open and broken, giveth place unto it, and then closing up together above it, driveth it downe forcibly against the owne nature.

As for amber, we must not thinke that it draweth anything to it of that which is presented before it, no more than doth the lode stone; neither that any thing comming nere to the one or the other, leapeth thereupon. But first, as touching the said stone; it sendeth from it I wot not what strong and flatuous fluxions, by which the aire next adjoining giving backe, driveth that which is before it; and the same turning round and reentring againe into the void place, doth thrust from it and withall carry with it the yron to the stone. And for amber it hath likewise a certaine flagrant and flatulent spirit, which when the out-side thereof is rubbed, it putteth forth by reason that the pores thereof are by that meane opened. And verily that which issueth out of it, worketh in some measure the like effect that the Magnet or lode stone did: and drawn there are unto it such matters neere at hand as be most light and dry, by reason that the substance comming thereof is but slender and weak: neither is it selfe strong nor hath sufficient waight and force, for to chafe and drive before it a great deale of aire, by means whereof it might overcome greater things, as the lode stone doth. But how is it that this aire driveth and sendeth before it neither wood nor stone, but yron onely, and so bringeth it to the Magnet? This is a doubt and difficulty that much troubleth all those who suppose that this meeting and cleaving of two bodies together, is either by the attraction of the stone, or by the naturall motion of the yron. Yron is neither so hollow and spongeous as is wood, nor so fast and close, as is gold or stone, but it hath small holes, passages and rough aspects, which in regard of the inequality are well proportionate and fortible to the aire, in such wise, as it runneth not easily through, but hath certaine staies by the way to catch hold of, so as it may stand steady and take such sure footing, as to be able to force and drive before it the yron untill it have brought it to kisse the lode stone. And thus much for the causes and reasons that may be rendred of these effects.

As considering the running of water above ground, by what manner of compression and condensation round about, it should be performed it is not so easy either to be perceived or declared.

But

But thus much we are to learne, that for waters of lakes, which stirre not but continue alwaies in one place, it is because the aire, spread all about, and keeping them in on every side, moveth not nor leaveth unto them any vacant place. For even so the upper face of the water, as well in lakes as in the sea, riseth up into waves and billowes, according to the agitation of the aire; for the water still followeth the motion of the aire, and floweth or is troubled with it, by reason of the inequalities. For the stroke of the aire downward maketh the hollow dent of the wave: but as the same is driven upward it causeth the swelling and surging tumor of the wave untill such time as all the place above containing the water be settled and laied, for then the waves also doe cease, and the water likewise is still and quiet. But now for the course of waters which glide and run continually above the face of the ground: the cause thereof is because they alwaies follow hard after the aire that giveth way and yet are chafed by those behinde by compression and driving forward, and so by that meane maintaine a continuall streame that never resteth: which is the reason also that great rivers when they are full and doe overflow the banks, run with a more swift and violent streame: and contrariwise when there is but a little water in the chanell, they glide more slowly, because the aire before doth nothing so much give place, for that they are more feeble: neither is there so great an antiperistasis to urge and presse them forward; and even so the spring waters must of necessity boile and rise upward, for that the outward aire entering closely into the void hollow places within the ground sendeth up againe the water forth.

The paved floore of a darke close house, containing in it a great deale of still aire, without any winde from without entering into it, if a man doe cast water upon it, engendreth presently a winde and colde vapour; by reason that the aire is displaced and removed out of his seat, by the water which fell, and is thereby beaten, and receiveth the stroke and dint thereof. For this is the nature of them, to drive one another, and likewise to give place one to the other interchangeably, admitting in no wise any emprinse, wherein the one of them should be so settled, as that it did not reciprocally feele the change and alteration of the other.

To come now unto the above named symphonie and consonance, himselfe hath declared how it is that that founds and voices do accord: for the small and treble is quicke and swift; whereas the bigge and base is heave and flow. And thereupon it is, that small and shrill founds do move the sense of hearing before others: but if when these begin to fall and decay, the flow and base begin to succede and receive then the mixture and temperature of them both, by a kind of conformitie yeeldeth a delight and pleasure to the eare, which they call a symphonie or accord. And that hereof the aire is the instrument, it may evidently appeare by that which we have said already: for voice is a stroke or percussion by the aire of that which the eare doth heare; for as the aire is smitten by motion, so it striketh againe the auditive organ forcibly, if the motion be quicke; and gently, if the same be slow: and that which is stricken forcibly with a violence, commeth first into the sense of hearing, but afterwards, turning about and meeting with that which is more slow, it followeth and accompanieth the sense.

What is the meaning of Timæus, when he saith: That the soules are dispersed and sown (as it were) upon the ground, the moone and all other instruments of time whatsoeuer.

**I**t is because he was of opinion, that the earth did move like unto the sunne, moone and other five planets, which he calleth the instruments of time, because of their conversions; and he held besides, that we ought not to imagine the earth so framed, as if it were firme and immoveable, fast fixed and perpetually to the axletree or pole that passeth thorow the world; but that it turneth round in manner of a wheele: like as afterwards Aristarchus and Seleucus have shewed; the one supposing it onely, the other affirming so much flatly. To say nothing of that which Theophrastus wrote; namely, how Plato toward the latter end of his daies, repented that he had assigned unto the earth the center and middle of the world, a place twise unfit and unmeet for it?

Or rather, because this is directly repugnant unto many sentences which this philosopher undoubtedly held, we ought therefore to change the writing of this place of Timæus, by putting the dative case in stead of the genitive, to wit, *χρησιν* for *γενειν*. yea, and to understand by the instruments of time, not the planets or starres, but the bodies of living creatures; according as Aristotle hath defined the soule, to be a continuall act of a bodie, Naturall, Organicall, having life potentially: so that the sentence in the foresaid place should be read thus: The soules have bene disseminated and sown by time in organicall bodies, meet and agreeable for them. And yet

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even

even this also is contrary unto his own opinion : for that not in one onely place, but in many, he hath called the starres, instruments of time, considering that he affirmeth that the very sunne was made to distinguish and keepe the number of time with other planets. The best way is therefore to understand, That the earth is the instrument of time, not because it moveth as doe the starres; but for that so continuing as it doeth, alwaies firme and steady in it selfe, it giveth meanes unto the starres moving round about it, to rise and to fall; whereby are limited the day and the night, which are the first measures of time: and therefore himselfe hath called it the Guardian, yea, the A-tizan in deed and right truly of night and day: for the Gnomons in Sundials, not moving with the shadowes, but standing still and keeping their place, are the instruments and measures of time, representing the obstacle of the earth opposite unto the Sun moving round about it; like as *Empedocles* saith:

*The earth set just twixt Sun beames and our sight,  
Shuts up the day and bringeth in the night.*

And thus much for the enodation of this knot.

But haply this a man may doubt to be a strange and absurd speech, to say that the Sun, together with the Moone & the planets, were made for distinction of times; for otherwise by it selfe, great is the dignitie of the Sun; and *Plato* himselfe in his books of Common-wealth, calleth him the king and lord of all the sensible world, like as Good he pronounceth to be the sovereign of the intelligible world. And the Sun (saith he) is the very issue extract from that Good, giving unto things visible, together with their apparance, being also, & subsistence; like as Good, giving unto intelligible things this gift, both to have a being, and also to be known. Now, that God having such puissance and so great, should be the instrument of time, and an evident rule and measure of the difference that is of swiftnesse or of slownesse among the eight heavenly spheres, seemeth not very decent; no nor any consonant to reason. It remaineth therefore thus much to say, those who trouble themselves about these points, for very ignorance are deceived, supposing that time according to the definition of *Aristotle*, is the measure of motion, and the number in regard of prioritie and posteriority: or the quantity in motion after the opinion of *Speusippus*: or else the distance of motion, and no other thing, as the Stoicks describe it, defining forsooth one accident; but never comming neere unto the substance and power thereof, which as it should seeme, the poet *Pindarus* imagined and conceived not amiss when he said:

*In right of age, time hath thus odds,  
That is surpasseth all the gods.*

*Pythagoras* also, who being asked what time was? answered: The soule of the heaven: for time be it what it will be, is not some accident or passion of any motion, but it is the cause, the puissance and the principle of that proportion, and order that containeth and holdeth together all things, according to which, the nature of the world, and this whole universality, which also is animate, doth move, or rather the very same proportion it selfe and order which doth move, is the thing that we call time:

*For walke it doth with silent pace,  
In way whereas no noise is made:  
Conducting justly to their place,  
All mortall things that passe and fade.*

And verily according to the minde of auncient philosophers, the substance of the soule was defined to be a number moving it selfe; which is the reason why *Plato* said: That time and heaven were made together; but motion was before heaven, at what time as there was no heaven at all; for why, there was no order nor measure whatsoever, no nor any distinction, but an undeterminate motion, like as the matter was rude without forme & figure: but after that nature once had cast this matter into a colour, and had shaped it with forme and figure, and then determined motion with periodical revolutions, she made withall, both the world and time both at once; which two are the very images of God: to wit, the world of his substance, and time of his eternitie; for God in that he moveth, is time, and in that he hath being, is the world. This is the reason why he saith: That both of them comming together, shall likewise both be dissolved together, in case that ever there will be any dissolution of them. For that which had a beginning and generation, cannot be without time, no more than that which is intelligible without eternitie; in case the one is to continue for ever, and the other being once made, shall never perish and be dissolved. Time then being so necessarily linked and interlaced with the heaven, is not simply a motion, but as we have said already, a motion ordeined by order, which

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hath a just measure, set limits and bonds, yea and certaine revolutions; of all which, the sunne being superintendant, governour and directour, for to dispose, limit, and digest all; for to discover, set out and shew, the alterations and seasons the which bring forth all things, as *Heraclitus* saith: confessed it must be, that he is a workeman cooperant with that chiefe and soveraigne God, the prince of all, not in petie, base, and frivolous things, but in the greatest and most principall works that be.

8

*Plato* in his books of common-wealth, having excellently well compared the symphony of the three faculties & powers of the soule, to wit, the reasonable, the irascible & concupiscible, unto the muscical harmony of the notes, *Mese*, *Hypate*, and *Nete*, hath given occasion for a man to doubt, whether hee set the irascible or reasonable part, correspondent to the meane; seeing that he shewed not his meaning in this present place; for according to the situation of the parts of the body, wherein these faculties are seated, surely the courageous and irascible is placed in the middes, and answered to the region of *Mese* the meane: but the reasonable is ranged into the place of *Hypate*: for that which is aloft, first and principall our aunccestours used to call *Hypaton*: according to which sense *Xenocrates* calleth *Jupiter* or the aire (that I meane which converteth above where all things continue the same, and after one sort) *Hypatos*; like as that which is under the moone, *Neatos*. And before him *Homer* speaking of the soveraigne God and prince of princes, saith thus: *Zeus pater*, that is to say, our soveraigne and supreme of all rulers. And in truth, nature hath by very good right given unto the best part of the soule, the highest place in lodging the discourse of reason, as the governour of the rest within the head; but hath remooved farre from thence to the base and inferior members, the concupiscible: for the low situation is called *Neate*, according as appeareth by the denomination of the dead, who are termed *Nepheci* and *Erebi*; that is to say, inferior or infernall: and for this cause, some there be who say, that the winde which bloweth from beneath, and out of places unseene, that is to say, from the pole *Antarctick*, is called *Nepheci*, that is to say, the fourth. Since then it is so, that there is the same proportion of contrariety betwene concupiscible and reasonable parts of the soule, as there is betwene lowest and highest, last and first; it is not possible, that reason should be the highest and principall, and not withall, correspondent to *Hypate*, but to some other note in musick: for they who attribute unto her as unto the principall faculty and power *Mese*, that is to say, the meane, see not (ignorant as they be) how they take from her that which is more principall, to wit, *Hypate*, which cannot fit well either with ire or lust, for both these, the one and the other are made for to follow, and be commanded by reason, and not to command or goe before reason. Moreover, it should seeme by nature, that anger ought to have the meane and middle place, considering that naturally reason is to command; and anger both to command and be commanded, as being on the one side subject to the discourse of reason, and on the other side, commanding lust, yea, and punishing it, when the is disobedient to reason. And like as in grammar, those letters which wee call semivowels, be of a middle nature, betwene mute consonants and vowels: for that as they found more than the one, so they found lesse than the other: even so in the soule of man, wrath is not simply a meere passion, but hath many times an appearance of duty and honestly mixed with desire of revenge. And *Plato* himselfe comparing the substance of the soule unto a couple of horses drawing a chariot, and guided by a charioteer, who driveth them, and understandeth by the driver & guide, as every man well knowes the discourse of reason: now of the two steeds, that of lusts and pleasures is frampold, skittish, flinging, winfling, unruly altogether, and unbroken, stiffnecked, deafe, hardly caring either for whip or spur; where as the other of ire, is for the most part tractable, and obeisant to the bridle of reason, yea, and ready to joine with it in execution of good things. And like as in a chariot with two horses; the driver or charioteer is not in vertue and puissance the middle, but rather one of the horses, which is worse than the charioteer, and better than his fellows that draweth with him: even so likewise hath not been given the middle place unto that part which doth rule and governe in the soule, but unto that wherein there is lesse passion than in the first, and more reason than in the third: for this order and disposition observeth the proportion of the irascible to the reasonable part, as is of *Dia-tesaron* to *Hypate*; and to the concupiscible, as *Dapente* to *Nete*: also of the reasonable part to the concupiscible, as *Hypate* to *Nete*, which is *Dia-palon*: But if we draw reason and the discourse thereof to the meane, anger shall be farther off from lust and concupiscence, which

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some of the philosophers held to be one and the selfe same thing, for the great similitude and resemblance between them.

Or rather, it is but a ridiculous thing to attribute unto the places, first, middlest, and last, seeing (as we do) how in a harpe, lute, or stringed instrument, Hypate hath the first and highest place; but in flutes and pipes the lowest & the last; furthermore, the mean in what place soever of the harpe or lute you let it, you shall find it soundeth alwaies the same note still, to wit, smaller than Hypate, & bigger than Nete: for the very eie it selfe hath not the same situation in all creatures, but in any creature, and in what place soever it is set according to nature, alwaies it is ordained and made for to see. Like as therefore the pædagogus or governour of youth, who ordinarily commeth behinde, and goeth not before his children, is notwithstanding said to lead 10 and guide them: And the captaine of the Trojanes in *Homer*:

*Who with his foremost in the front,  
Sometimes appear' d in sight,  
And in the rearward others whiles,  
his men stri' d up to fight.*

As well in the one part as the other, was alwaies the chiefe, and had the principall power: even so we ought not to force the parts of the soule to any places or names, but to examine and search the power and proportion of them; for that the discourse of reason in situation should be set in the first and principall place of mans body, falleth out accidentally: but the first and principall power it hath, as being Mese or the mean, in regard of Hypate, the concupiscible 20 part; and Nete the irascible, by letting downe and setting up, by making consonance and accord, by taking from the one and the other that which is excessive; and againe, by not suffering them either to be let loose and slacke altogether, or to lie asleepe: for mediocrity and a competent temperature, is limited by a mean; or rather to speake more properly, a principall piece of worke this is, and a singular gift and puissance of reason, to make and imprint in passions, meanes and mediocrities, if we may so say, which are called holy and sacred, consisting in a temperature of two extremities with reason, yea and betweene them both by the meanes of reason: for the teeme of two flects hath not for the mean & in the middlest, that of two which is better: neither are we to imagine, that the government of them is one of the extremities; but rather we ought to thinke, that it is the middes and mediocritie betwixt the immoderate 30 celeritie or slownesse of the two flects; like as the power of reason which holdeth in the passions when they stirre without measure and reason, and by composing and framing them unto her in measurable proportion, setteth downe a mediocritie and mean betweene too much, and over little, betweene excess (I say) and defect.

<sup>9</sup>  
*What is the reason that Plato saith: Our speech is tempered and composed of nownes and of verbes? for he seemeth to make no account of all other parts of speech besides these two: and to thinke that Homer in a gallant youthfull humour to shew his fresh wit affected to thrust them all eight 40 into this one verse:*

*\* αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐλάλει, καὶ οὐκ ἔφη, ἀλλ' οὐδ' εἰρήνισεν.*

*For heere you have a Pronoun, a Participle, a Nowne, a Verbe, a Preposition, an Article, a Conjunction, and an Adverbe for the Participle, it, is put in stead of the Preposition in, that is to say, to: and ἐλάλει, that is to say, to thyself, is after the manner of ἀλάλει, that is to say, to Athens: But what shall we answer in the behalfe of Plato.*

\* The sense of this is altogether unperfect, depending of the precedent and subsequent verses, but serving the tune as it stands, it requieth not to be done in to English.

**I**Sit for that in olde time they called that *πρῶτον λεγόν*, that is to say, the first speech, which then was named *πρόπαις*, that is to say, a proposition, and now they teame *ἀρχή*, that is to say, dignitie: which when they utter first, they either lie or speake trueth. And this proposition is compounded of a Nowne and a verbe, whereof the one is called by the Logicians, *ῥήμας*, that is to say, 50 the case; the other, *κατηγορούμενον*, that is to say, the predicable or *prædicatum*. For when we heare one say, *Socrates teacheth*; and againe, *Socrates is turned*; we say the one is true, and the other is false: and we require no more words. For it is probable that men at the first had need of speech and voice articulate, when they were desirous to explaine and signifie one unto another the actions and the persons and the doers thereof: like as the passions and the persons who suffer the same. Forasmuch then, as by the Verbe we expresse sufficiently the actions and passions; and

and by the Nowne, the persons doing or suffering according as he himselfe saith; it seemeth that these be the two parts of speech that he meaneth: as for the rest, a man may well and truly say, that they signifie nothing, no more than doe the groanes, sighes and lamentations of plaiers in a tragœdie, yea, and many times iwis, a smile, a reticence or keeping silence, which otherwhiles may well expresse a speech, and make it more emphaticall; but surely, no necessarie and significative power have they to declare ought, like as the Verbe & the Nowne hath: onely they serve as accessory adjuncts, to vary, illustrate & beautifie the speech; like as they also diversifie the very letters, who put to their spirits and aspirations, their accents also to some, whereby they make them long & short, and reckon them for elements & letters indeed, whereas they be 10 passions, accidents, & diversifications of elements, rather than distinct elements by themselves; as it appeareth manifestly by this, that our ancients contented themselves sufficiently to speake and write with sixteene letters and no more. Moreover, consider and see whether we doe not take the words of *Plato* otherwise than he delivered them; when he saith that the speech is tempered of these two parts, and not by them. Take heed (I say) we commit not the same error as he doth, who should cavill and finde fault with one for saying, that such an ointment or salve was made of wax and *galbanum*, alledging against him for so saying, that he left out fire and the vessell, without which a man knoweth not how to temper the said simples or drogues: for even so, if we should reprove him because he omitted the naming of Conjunctions, Prepositions and other parts of speech, we were likewise to be blamed: for in trueth, a speech or sentence is 20 not compounded of these parts, but by them and not without them. For like as he, who should pronounce simply these Verbs, *To beat*, or *To be beaten*; or otherwise these bare Nownes, *Socrates* or *Pythagoras*; giveth some light (such as it is) of a thing to be conceived & understood: but he that should come out with these odde words, *For*, or *Of*, and say no more, a man can not imagine what he meaneth thereby, nor gather any conception either of action or of body; for if there be not some other words pronounced with them or about them, they resemble naked sounds and vaine noises without any significations at all: for that neither by themselves alone, nor one with another, it is possible that they should betoken any thing. Nay, admit that we should conjoin, mingle and interlace together Conjunctions, Articles and Prepositions all in one, minding to make one entire bodie of them all, we shall seeme rather to creake than speake: 30 but so soone as a Verbe is joined to a Nowne, that which resuleth thereupon is immediately a sentence and significant speech. And therefore not without good reason some doe thinke that these two (to speake properly) be the onely parts of speech. And peradventure *Homer* had some such meaning, and gave us so much to understand, by saying in so many places,

*ἔπος τ' ἔφατ', οὐδ' ἄν' ἐβόησεν.*

*He spake the word, and with the same,  
Immediately out came the name.*

For by this, that is to say, the word; his manner is to signifie a Verbe: as namely in this other verse,

*ἡ γυνὴ δὲ καλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ τοῖς θυμολογίοις ἔειπεν.*

*Now surely woman, much to blame thou art,  
This word to speake, it strikes so to my hart.*

40 As also elsewhere:

*καὶ πρὸς τὸν δ' ἔειπε, ὅπως δ' ἐν ἄσπετον δαίμων  
ἀνδρῶν, ἀσπρὸν τὸ φῶς ἐν ἀσπρῶν ἀσπρῶν ἀνδρῶν.*

*Alas good Father; guest and friend*

*Farewell: And if some word unkind*

*Has bene let fall, I wish it may*

*By winds and stormes be caught away.*

For surely it is neither Conjunction, Article, nor Preposition, that can be said either unkind or to touch the heart, but some Verbe signifying a shamefull deed, proceeding from an undue 50 cent and dishonest passion. And therefore you see how we are wont to praise poets and historiographers, or otherwise to blame and dispraise them, saying in this wise: Such a poet hath used Atticke Nownes and elegant Verbs: and contrariwise, Such an historiographer hath used triviall and base Nownes and Verbs. And no man will say that either *Euripides* or *Thucydides* wrote a stile consisting of Articles that were homely and base, or otherwise elegant and Atticke.

How then (may some one say) serve these parts to no purpose in our speech? Yes iwis say I, even as much as salt in our meats, or water for our bread and gruell. *Euenus* was wont to say that fire also was an excellent kinde of sauce: and even so be these parts of speech the seasoning of our

our language, like as fire and salt of our broths and viands, without the which we can not well do: and yet our speech doth not alwaies of necessity stand in need of them: for so me thinks I may very well affirme of the Romane language, that all the world I see in maner useth at this day: for the Romans take away all Prepositions, except a very few; and as for those that be called Articles, they admit not so much as one, but use their Nownes plaine, and as one would say, without skirts and borders. Whereat we may wonder the lesse, considering that *Homer*, who for trimme and beautifull verses surpasse all other poets, set to very few Nownes any Articles as eares unto cups and other vessels, for to take hold by, or as pennaches and crests upon morions: and therefore looke in what verses he useth so to doe, be sure they were of speciall marke, or els suppositions and suspected to be none of his making. As for example:

*ἀνὰ τὸ μέγιστον δόξα: ἐνὶ θυμῷ ὅτι οὐκ*  
*τὸ τελευτῶν ἐστιν.*

*This speech the courage most of all*  
*excited then anon,*

*Of Ajax, him I meane, who was*  
*the sonne of Telamon.*

Againc:

*πῶς οὐκ ἐπεὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀλλοιοῦ.*

*This did he that, by flying thus apace,*

*He might escape the whale that was in chace.*

And a few others besides these. But in the rest which are innumerable, although there be no Article, yet the phrase of speech is thereby nothing diminished or hurt either in beautie or perspicuitie. And thus we see, that neither living creature, if it be maimed or dismembred, nor instrument, nor armour, nor any thing in the world whatsoever, by the want and defect of any proper part belonging thereto, is the more beautifull or active thereby, neither more pleasant than it was therefore: whereas a speech or sentence, when all the Conjunctions be taken quite away, is many times more emphaticall, yea, and carrieth a power and efficacie more patheticall and apter to move and affect, as this:

*One found, unhurt, the catching fast,*  
*another wounded new,*  
*Alive she held, anot her dead,*  
*in fight by heeles she drew.*

Also this place of *Demosthenes* his oration against *Midias*: For many things may he doe who striketh, whereof some the party who suffereth, can not declare unto another, by iesture, his port, by regard, his eie, in his voice, when he wrongeth insolently in a bravery, when he offereth injurie as an enemy, when with the clutched fist, when upon the cheeke, when upon the eare: this mooveth, this is that remooveth, that transporteth men beside themselves, who are notwithstanding quainted with outrages, who have not bene used to beare such abuses. And againe another place afterwards. But it is not *Midias*. He from this day is a speaker, he maketh orations, he railleth, exclaimeth, he passeth somewhat by his voice: Is there any election? *Midias* the Anagyrhian is propounded, he is nominated. *Midias* interteineeth *Plutarch* in the name of the city, he knoweth all secrets; the city is not sufficient to hold him. This is the reason that they who write of rhetorical figures, so highly praise *Asyndeton*: whereas those who are so precise, so religious, and too observant of Grammar, that they dare not leave out one Conjunction otherwise than they were accustomed to doe: The said rhetoricians thinke blameworthy and to be reprooved, as making the stile dull, enervate, without affection, tedious and inkome, by reason that it runnes alwaies after one sort, without change and variety.

Now whereas logicians have more need than any other professours in learning of Conjunctions copulatives, for to knit and connex their propositions or disjunctives, to disioine and distinguish them; like as waine-men or carters have need of yokes or geeres; or as *Ulysses* had of osiers in *Cyclops* his cave to binde his sheepe together: This doth not argue, nor prove that the Conjunction is a substantiall member or part of speech; but a prety instrument and meanes to binde and conioine according as the very name of it doth import, and to keepe and hold together not all words or sentences indifferently, but such alone as are not simply spoken: unlesse men will say, that the coard or girt wherewith a packe or fardell is bound, is a part of the said packe, or the paste and glue a part of the booke; or donatives and largesses, a part of politike government; like as *Demades* was wont to say: That the dole of mony distributed

by the poll to the citizens in the theaters for to see the plaies, was the very glew of the popular State. And tell me what conjunction is that which will make of many propositions one, by couching and knitting them together, as the marble doth unite the iron that is cast and melted with it by the fire; and yet I trow no man will say; that the marble for all that is part of the iron, or so to be called. Howbeit, such things verily as enter into a composition, and which be liequied together with the drogues mingled therewith, are wont after a sort to doe and suffer reciprocally from the ingredients. But as for these conjunctions, there be who deny that they doe unite any one thing, saying: That this maner of speaking with conjunctions is no other but a certeine enumeration, as if a man should reckon in order all our magistrates, or count the daies of a moneth.

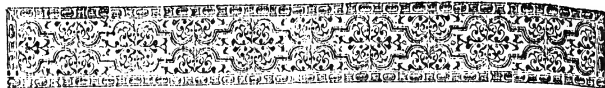
Moreover, of all other parts of speech, it is very evident, that the Pronoun is a kinde of Noun, not onely in this respect, that it is declined with cases, as the Noun is; but also for that some of them being pronounced and uttered of things and persons determinate, doe make a most proper demonstration of them accordant to their nature: neither can I see, how he who hath expressly named *Socrates*, hath declared his person more, than hee who said: This man here.

To come now unto that which they tearme a Participle, surely it is a very medly and mixture of a Noun and a Verbe, and not a part of speech subsisting alone of it selfe, no more than those Nounes or names which are common to Masculine and Feminine; and these Participles are ranged with them both; with Nounes in respect of their cases, and with Verbes in regard of tenses: and verily the logicians call such, tearmes reflected, as for example, *εὐνοῦν*, *ἀπὸ τοῦ εὖνους*, that is to say, wisely foreseeing; is a reflexion of a wife foreseer: and *σοφροῦν*, *ἀπὸ τοῦ σοφους*, that is to say, minding sobriety, is a reflexion of a sober minded person, that is to say, as if they had the nature and power of Nounes and appellations.

As touching Prepositions, a man may liken them very well to pennaches, crests, or such like ornaments above morions or head attires, or else to bales, predistals, and footsteps under statues and pillars: foras much as they are not so much parts of speech, as busie and conversant about them: but see I pray you whether they may not be compared to truncheons, pieces, and fragments of words, like as those who when they write a running hand in haste, doe not alwaies make out the letters full, but use pricks, minims and dashes. For these two Verbes *εἰσελθῆναι*, and *ἐκτελθῆναι*, be both of them manifest clippings of the full and compleat words *εἰσὶν εἰσελθῶν*, and *ἐκτελθῶν*, whereof the one signifieth to enter in, the other to goe forth. Likewise *σπερμῶν*, is a plaine abbreviation of *σπερματι γινώσκω*, that is to say, to be borne, or have being before. Also *ῥῥῖον*, of *ῥῥῖον ῥῥῖον*, that is to say, to sit downe, or cause one to sit downe. Semblable *ἀποβαλεῖν*, and *παραρριπτεῖν* men are disposed to say for *ἀποβαλεῖν*, and *παραρριπτεῖν*, that is to say to sling stones, and to digge through walles, when they are disposed to make haste to speake short. And therefore a man may well say, that every one of these, excepting Noun and Verbe, doe some good in our speech, and helpe well in a sentence, but for all that, they cannot be called either elements of speech: for

there is none but the Noun and the Verbe, as it hath bene said before, that maketh this composition, containing verity and falsity, which some tearme proposition, others axiome, and *Plato* nameth speech or oration.





# A COMMENTARIE OF THE CREATION OF THE SOULE, WHICH PLATO DE- SCRIBETH IN HIS BOOKE TIMAEUS.

## The Summarie.



Among those discourses which may exercise the wittes, and busie the braines of most curious spirits, those of Plato may be ranged, which in diuers places of his dialogues, but especially in his *Timaeus* he hath deliuered, and namely, where he treateth of nature metaphysically, intermingling with a certaine deepe and profound manner of doctrine (as a man may perceiue by his writings) his resolutions as I may say irrefragable, proceeding all from the ignorance of the sacred story and the true sense of Moyses. As for example, that which he saith as touching the soule of the world: an absurd and fantastical opinion, if it be handled and expounded aright. Our author being minded in this treatise to dispute philosophically upon the creation of the said soule, runneth thorow numbers, tones, tunes and harmonies, as well terrestrial as celestially, for to declare the meaning of Plato: but with such breuities in many places, that a man had need to reade with both his eyes, and so haue his minde wholly intentiue and amused upon his words, for the understanding of him. Meane while, this would be considered, seeing that in such matters we haue (God be thanked) sufficient to resolve us in the word of God, and in the good books of the doctors of the church, all this present discourse should be read, as coming out of the hands of a man walking in darkenesse, and so speake in one word, of one blinde himselfe and following a blinde guide: to the end that in stead of highly admiring these subtilties of Plato, as some in these daies doe, whose heads are not staied and well settled, we might know that the higher that man in his wisdome mounteth with his pen, farre from Gods schoole, the lesse he is to be receiued and accepted of.

# A COMMENTARIE OF THE creation of the soule, which Plato describeth in his booke *Timaeus*.

## The father to his two sonnes AUTOBULUS and PLUTARCH, Greeting.



Oras much as ye are of this minde, that whatsoever I haue heere and there said and written in diuers places by way of exposition touching that which I supposed in mine opinion Plato held, thought and understood concerning the soule, ought to be reduced & brought together into one, and that I should doe well to declare the same at large in a speciall treatise apart by it selfe, because it is not a matter which otherwise is easie to be handled and managed; as also for that seeming as it doth, somewhat contrary to most of the Platonicke philosophers themselves: in which regard it had need to be well mollified. I will therefore in the first place set downe the very

text of Plato in his owne proper termes, word for word, as I finde them written in his booke entitled *Timaeus*.

Of

Of that indiuisible substance which alwaies continueth about the same things; as also of that which is diuisible by many bodies, he composed a third kinde of substance in the mids of them both, holding partly of the nature of *The same*, and in part of *The other*: and thus he ordeined and set in the mids betweene the indiuisible substance conuersant about the same things, and the other which is diuisible by bodies. Then taking these three natures or substances, he mixed them altogether into one forme or *idea*, and fitted perforce the nature of *The other*, which was untoward to be mixed, to that nature of *The same*. Having thus mingled them with *Substance*, and of three made one, he diuided this whole againe into such portions, as were fit and conuenient: each one of them being mingled with *The same*, with *The other*, and with *Substance*. And to this diuision of his he began in this maner, &c.

To begin withall if I should discourse unto you at this present what a number of disputations and contentious debates, these wordes haue ministred unto those who tooke upon them to expound the same, it were for my selfe a peece of worke endlesse, and for you who haue read the most part of them together with me, a labour needlesse. But seeing that of the most principall and excellent professors, *Xenocrates* hath drawn some unto his opinion, in defining the substance of the soule to be a number moouing it selfe: and others haue ranged them selves to *Crantor* of Soli, who affirmed the soule to be tempered of the nature intellectuall & of the other which is opinatiue about objects sensible; I suppose that these two sentences being well dispached and opened will make the way and give you an easie entrance to the understanding and finding of that which we seeke for and is in question. And verily there need not many words for the exposition of them both. For \* the one sort of them thinke that Plato meant nothing else but the generation of number, by the said mixture of indiuisible with diuisible: for that unity is indiuisible, and plurality diuisible: of which twaine is engendred and produced number, whiles unity doth determine plurality, and limit out an end to that which is infinit, to wit, the binary or two indeterminate: which is the reason that *Zaratas* the master of *Pythagoras* called two the mother, and one the father of numbers: as also for that the better numbers be those which resembled unity: and yet for all that this number is not the soule, because that both the motor and the moovable is wanting: but when *The same* and *The other* were mingled together, of which the one is the beginning of motion and mutation, the other of rest and station, then cometh the soule to haue a being, which is as well the principall, to staie and to be staied, as it is to mooue and to be mooued.

But *Crantor* and his followers supposing that the proper and principall operation of the soule was to judge things intelligible and sensible, together with the similitudes and dissimilitudes which they haue, as well them selves, as one in respect of another, affirme, that the soule is composed of All, to the end that the may judge of all. The which All afore said standeth upon fouer principall kindes: the first is a nature intelligible, which is alwaies one and euermore after the same sort: the second a nature passible and mutable concerning bodies: the third the nature of the same: and the fourth the nature of the other: for the two first participate in some sort both of the same and also of the other. But all these doe jointly and equally holde, that the soule was never after a certaine time, nor ever engendred, but hath many powers and faculties, into which Plato resolving for speculative disputation sake, the substance of her, supposeth in word onely, that she was engendred mixed and tempered, saying moreover that he thought as much of the world: for full well he knew, that eternal it was and ingenerable, but seeing it was not easie to comprehend how, and in what order it was found, composed, governed and administered, for those who at the first presupposed not the creation and generation neither of it selfe, or of such things as concurred thereto, he therefore tooke the course to speake in such sort.

This much you see in sum what they both doe say: which when *Eudorus* well considered, he thought there was good probability both in the one and the other of their opinions, but for mine owne part, perswaded verily I am, that neither of them twaine hath touched the point, or come neere unto the minde and meaning of Plato.

If we will use the rule of probability & verifimitude indeed, not fully building our owne proper opinions, but be willing for to say something agreeable & accordant thereto; for that mixture of the substance intelligible and sensible which they speake of, giueth not us to understand thereby, that it is the generation of the soule, more than of any other thing whatsoever that a man may name. For the very world and every part thereof is compounded of a substance intelligible or spirituall, and of a substance sensible or corporall: whereof the one hath furnished the thing that is made and engendred with forme and shape, the other with subject matter. And as much

much of the matter as is forme by participation or resemblance of the intelligible, becometh incontinently palpable and visible : but the soule is not perceptible by any sense. Neither was it ever found that *Plato* called the soule number, but alwaies a motion mooving of it selfe, yea the very fountain & beginning of motion. True it is, I confesse that embellished he hath adorned the substance thereof with number, proportion, accord & harmony, which he hath bestowed therein as in a subject capable & susceptible of the most beautifull forme that can be imprinted therein, by those qualities before said. And I suppose it is not all one to say that the soule is composed by number, and that the substance thereof is number : for certaine it is that it hath the subsistence and composition by harmony, but harmonie it is none, according as himselfe hath shewed in his treatise of the soule. Moreover altogether ignorant they are, what *Plato* meant, by the same and the other : for they say, that the same conferreth to the generation of the soule, the power or faculty of station and rest : the other, of motion : whereas *Plato* himselfe in his booke entitled, *The Sophist*, putteth downe, that which is, the same, the other, motion and station, as five distinct things differing the one from the other, severing them a part, as having nothing to doe in common one with another ; which they all with one accord, yea and many more even of those who lived and conversed with *Plato*, fearing and being mightily troubled with, doe devise and imagin all that they can, bestir themselves wresting forcibly, heaving and shoving and turning every waie, as in case of some abominable thing and not to be named, supposing that they ought either altogether, for his honour and credit to denie, or at least wife to cover and conceale that which he had delivered, as touching the generation or creation of the world, and of the soule thereof, as if the same had not bene from all eternity, nor had time out of minde their essence : whereof we have particularly spoken a part else where ; and for this present suffice it shall to say by the way, that the arguing and contestation, which *Plato* confesseth himselfe to have used with more vehemencie than his age would well beare, against Atheists : the same I say they confound and shuffle up, or to speake more truly abolish altogether. For if it be so, that the world be eternall and was never created, the reason of *Plato* falleth to the ground, namely that the soule being more ancient than the bodie, and the cause and principall author of all motion and mutation, the chiefe governour also and head Architect, as he himselfe hath said, is placed and bestowed therein. But what, and whereof the soule is, and how it is said and to be understood, that it is more ancient than the body and before it in time, the progresse of our discourse hereafter shall declare : for this point being either unknown or not well understood, brings great difficulty as I thinke in the well conceiving, and hinderance in believing the opinion of the truth.

In the first place therefore I will shew what mine owne conceit is, proving and fortifying my sentence, and withall, mollifying the same (because at the first sight it seemeth a strange paradox) with as probable reasons as I can devise : which done, both this interpretation and proofe also of mine, I will lay unto the words of the text out of *Plato*, and reconcile the one unto the other. For thus (in mine opinion) stands the case.

This world (quoth *Heraclitus*) there was never any god or man that made : as if in so saying he feared, that if we disavow God for creatour, we must of necessity confesse that man was the architect and maker thereof. But much better it were therefore, that we subscribe unto *Plato*, and both say and sing aloud, that the world was created by God : for as the one is the goodliest piece of worke that ever was made, so the other the most excellent workman and greatest cause that is. Now the substance and matter whereof it was created, was never made or engendered, but was for ever, time out of minde and from all eternitie, subject unto the workman for to dispose and order it, yea and to make as like as possible was to himselfe. For of nothing and that which had no being, there could not possibly be made ought : but of that which was not well made nor as it ought to bee, there may be made somewhat that is good ; to wit, an house, a garment, or an image and statue. But before the creation of the world, there was nothing but a chaos, that is to say, all things in confusion and disorder : and yet was not the same without a bodie, without motion, or without soule : howbeit, that bodie which it had, was without forme and consistence ; and that mooving that it had, was altogether rash, without reason and understanding : which was no other but a disorder of the soule not guided by reason. For God created not that bodie which was incorporall, nor a soule which was inanimate ; like as we say that the musician maketh not a voice, nor the dancer motion ; but the one maketh the voice sweet, accordant and harmonious ; and the other, the motion to keepe measure, time, and compass with a good grace. And even so, God created not that palpable soliditie of a bodie, nor that

moving

moving and imaginative puissance of the soule ; but finding these two principles, the one dark and obscure, the other turbulent, foolish and senselesse : both imperfect, disordered and indeterminate, he so digested and disposed them, that he composed of them the most goodly, beautiful and absolute living creature that is. The substance then of the bodie, which is a certaine nature that he calleth susceptible of all things, the very feat, the nourfe also of all things engendered, is no other thing than this. But as touching the substance of the soule, he treateth it in his booke entitled *Philebus*, Infinite, that is to say, the privation of all number and proportion, having in it neither end, limit, nor measure, neither excess nor defect, neither similitude nor dissimilitude. And that which he delivereth in *Timæus*, namely, that it is mingled with the indivisible nature, & is become divisible in bodies, we must not understand this to be either multitude in unities, or length and breadth in points or prickes, which things agree unto bodies, and belong rather to bodies than to soules : but that mooving principle, disordinate, indefinite, and mooving of it selfe, which he calleth in many places Necessitie, the same in his books of lawes he treateth directly, a disorderly soule, wicked and evil doing. This is the soule simply, and of it selfe it is so called ; which afterwards was made to participate understanding, and discourse of reason, yea, & wise proportion, to the end that it might become the soule of the world. Semblably, this material principle, capable of all, had in it a certaine magnitude, distance, and place : beauty, forme, proportionate figure, and measure it had none ; but all these it gat afterwards, to the end that being thus digested and brought into decent order, it might afford the bodies and organs of the earth, the sea, the heavens, the flares, the plants and living creatures, of all sorts. But as for them who attribute & give that which he calleth in *Timæus*, necessity ; and in his treatise *Philebus*, infinity and immensity of excess & defect of too much and too little ; unto matter, and not unto the soule : how are they able to maintain that it is the cause of evil, considering that he supposeth alwaies that the said matter is without forme or figure whatsoever, destitute of all qualities and faculties proper unto it, comparing it unto those oiles, which having no smell of their owne, perfumers use in the composition of their odors and precious ointments : for impossible it is that *Plato* should suppose the thing which of it selfe is idle, without active qualitie, without mooving and inclination to any thing, to be the cause and beginning of evil, or name it an infinity, wicked & evil doing ; nor likewise a necessity, which in many things repugneth against God, as being rebellious, and refusing to obey him : for as touching that necessity, which overthroweth heaven, as he saith in his Politiques, and turneth it cleane contrary ; that inbred concupiscence and confusion of the first and auncient nature, wherein there was no order at all, before it was ranged to that beautifull disposition of the world as now it is ; how came it among things, if the subject, which is matter, was without all qualities, and void of that efficacy which is in causes ? and considering that the Creatour himselfe being of his owne nature all good, desired as much as might be, to make all things like unto himselfe : for a third, besides these two principles, there is none. And if we will bring evil into the world, without a precedent cause & principle to beget it, we shall run and fall into the difficult perplexities of the Stoicks ; for of those two principles which are, it cannot be that either the good, or that which is altogether without forme and quality whatsoever, should give being or beginning to that which is naught. Neither hath *Plato* done as some that came after him, who for want of seeing and understanding a third principle and cause, betwene God and matter, have runne on end, and tumbled into the most absurd and falsest reasons that is, devising forsooth I wot not how, that the nature of evil should come without forth casually and by accident, or rather of the owne accord : forasmuch as they will not graunt unto *Epicurus* that the least atome that is, should turne never so little or decline a side, saying, that he bringeth in a rash and inconsiderate motion, without any cause precedent ; whereas they themselves the meane while affirme that sin, vice, wickednesse and ten thousand other deformities and imperfections of the body, come by consequence without any cause efficient in the principles. But *Plato* saith not so, for he hiding matter from all different quality, and removing farre from God all cause of evil, thus hath hee written as touching the world in his Politiques : The world (quoth he) received all good things from the first author who created it ; but what evil thing soever there is, what wickednesse, what injustice in heaven, the same it selfe hath from the exterior habitude, which was before, and the same it doth transmit, & give to the creatures beneath. And a little after he proceedeth thus : In tract of time (quoth he) as oblivion tooke holde and set sure footing, the passion and imperfection of the old dis-

Stiff

order

order came in place and got the upper hand more and more; and great danger there is, least growing to dissolution, it be plunged againe into the vast gulfe, and bottomlesse pit of confused dissimilitude.

But dissimilitude there can be none in matter, by reason that it is without qualitie, and void of all difference: whereof *Euendem* among others being ignorant, mocked *Plato* for not putting that to be the cause, source, and first originall of evil things, which in many places he calleth mother and nurse: for *Plato* indeed tearmeth matter, mother and nurse: but he saith likewise: That the cause of evil is the motive puissance reliant in the said matter, which is in bodies become divisible, to wit, a reasonlesse and disorderly motion; howbeit, for all that, not without soule, which plainly and expressly in his books of lawes, he tearmeth a soule, contrary and repugnant to that which is the cause of all good; for that the soule may well be the cause and principle of motion; but understanding is the cause of order and harmony in motion: for God made not the matter idle, but hath kept it from being any more disquieted & troubled with a foolish and rash cause: neither hath he given unto nature the beginnings and principles of mutations and passions, but being as it was enwrapped and enfolded with all sorts of passions and inordinate mutations, hee cleared it of all enormities, disorders, and errors whatsoever, using as proper instruments to bring about all this, numbers, measures, and proportions; the effect whereof, is not to give unto things, by mooving and mutation the passions and differences of the other and of diversitie, but rather to make them infallible, firme, and stable, yea and like unto those things which are alwaies of one sort, and evermore resemble themselves.

This is in my judgement the minde and sentence of *Plato*, whereof my principall prooffe and argument is this: that by this interpretation is salved that contrariety which men say, and seemeth indeed to be in his writings: for a man would not attribute unto a drunken sopbister, much lesse than unto *Plato*, so great unconfidence and repugnance of words, as to ascribe one and the same nature to be created, and uncreated; and namely in his booke entituled *Phaedrus*, that the soule is eternall, and uncreated: but in *Timaeus*, that it was created and engendred. Now as touching those words of his in the treatise *Phaedrus*, they are well neere in every mans mouth verie ripe; whereby he prooveth that the soule can not perish, because it was never engendred: and semblably he prooveth, that generation it had none, because it mooveth it selfe. Again, in the booke entituled *Timaeus*, God (quoth he) hath not made the soule to be younger than the body, according as now in this place we purpose to say, that it commeth after it, for never would he have permitted that the elder being coupled and linked with the younger should be commanded by it. But we standing much (I wot not how) upon inconsiderate rashnesse and vanity, use to speake in some sort accordingly: for certaine it is, that God hath with the bodie joined the soule, as precedent both in creation and also in power and vertue, like as the dame or mistress with her subject, for to rule and command. Again, when he had said that the soule being turned upon her selfe, began to live a wife and eternall life, The body of the heaven (quoth he) was made visible, but the soule invisible, participating the discourse of reason and of harmony, engendred by the best of things intellectuall and eternall, being likewise it selfe the best of things engendred and temporall. Where it is to be noted that in this place expressly calling God the best of all eternall things, and the soule the best of things created and temporall, by this most evident antithesis and contrariety, he taketh from the soule that eternitie which is without beginning and procreation.

And what other solution or reconciliation is there, of these contradictions, but that which himself giveth to those who are willing to receive it; for he pronounceth that soule to be ingenerable and not procreated, which mooved all things rashly and disorderly before the constitution of the world: but contrariwise he calleth that, procreated and engendred, which God framed and composed of the first, and of a permanent, eternall, and perfect good substance, namely by creating it wife and well ordered, and by putting and conferring even from himselfe unto sense, understandings; and order unto motion: which when he had thus made, he ordained and appointed it to be the governor and regent of the whole world. And even after the same manner he pronounceth; that the body of the world is in one sort eternall, to wit, not created, nor engendred; and after a nother sort both created and engendred. For when he saith that whatsoever is visible, was never at rest, but mooved rashly and without all order: and that God tooke the same, disposed and ranged it in good order: as also when he saith that the fower generall elements, fire, water, earth, and aire, before the whole world was of them framed and ordered decently

cently made a woonderfull trouble & trembling as it were in the matter, and were mightily shaken by it, such was their deformity and inequality. It appeareth plainly that he maketh these bodies in some sort to have a being and subsistence before the creation of the world. Contrariwise when he saith that the body is younger than the soule, and that the world was made and created in as much as the same is visible and palpable, as having a body, and that all things appear so as they are, when they were once made and created, manifest it is, and every man may see, that he attributeth a kinde of nativity to the nature of the body; and yet for all that saith he off, from being contradictory and repugnant to himselfe so notoriously, and that in the most maine points. For it is not the same body nor of the same sort, which he saith was created by God, and to have bene before it was; for that were directly the case of some mount-banke or juggling enchanter; but himselfe sheweth unto us, what we are to understand by this, generation or creation: For before time (quoth he) all that is in the world, was without order, measure and proportion: but after that the universall world began to be fashioned, and brought into some decent forme, whereas he found the fire first, the water, the earth and the aire pell-mell in the same places, and yet having some shew and token what they were, but confusedly huddled every where, (as a man may well thinke that every thing must needs be so, where God is absent) in this case as they were then, God I say finding them, first brought the same into frame and fashion, by the meanes of formes and numbers. Furthermore, having said before that it was the worke not of one only proportion, but of twaine, to joine and frame together the fabrick of the world, a solid masse as it was and carying a depth and thickeesse with it: and declared moreover, that God after he had bestowed water and aire, betweene fire and earth, conjoined withall and framed the heaven, together with them. Of these things (quoth he) such as they were, and fower in number, the body of the world was in engendred; agreeable in proportion and entertaining amity by that meanes: Inasmuch as being once thus united and compact, there is nothing that can make disunion or dissolution, but he alone who first limited and brought all together; teaching us hereby most plainly that God was the father and author, not of the body simply, nor of the frame, fabrick and matter onely of the world, but also of that proportion, measure, beauty and similitude which is in the body thereof: semblably thus much we are to thinke of the soule, as if one were not created by God, nor the soule of the world, but a certaine power of motion, so fantastickally, turbulent, subject unto opinion, stirring and moving of it selfe, and alwaies, but without any order, measure, or reason whatsoever. The other, when God had adorned it with numbers & proportions convenient, he ordained to be the regent & governesse of the world created like as it selfe was also created. Now that this is the true sentence & meaning of *Plato*, and not by a fantastickall manner of speculation and inquisition, as touching the creation or generation, as well of the world as of the soule: this besides many others, may be an argument, that of the soule, he saith it was created and not created; of the world alwaies, that it was engendred and created, but never eternall and not created. To proove this, we need not for to cite testimonies out of the booke *Timaeus*, considering that the said booke throughout, from the one end to the other, treateth of nothing else, but of the generation or creation of the world. And of other books, in his Atlantick *Timaeus* making his praies, nameth him who beforetime was by his worke, and now by his word, God. And in his Politique, his Parmenidian guest saith, that the world being framed and made by God, became partaker of many good things: and in case there be any evil thing in it, the same is a remnant mingled within the first habitude and estate where-in it was at first, before the constitution thereof, all irregular and disorderly. And in his bookes of Common-wealth, speaking of that number, which some call the Mariage, *Socrates* began to discourse and say thus: The God (quoth he) who is created and engendred, hath his period and conversation, which the perfect number doth comprise. In which place, what can he call the God created and engendred, but the world. \* \* \* \*

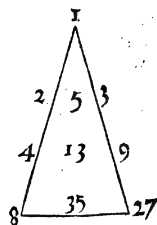
So \* \* \* \*

The first copulation is of one and two, the second of three and foure, the third of five and six; of which there is not one that maketh a quadrate number either by it selfe or by others: the fourth is of seven and eight, which being joined to the first, make in all the square quadrate number six and thirte.

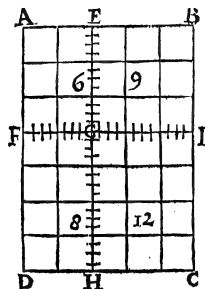
Stiff 2

But





But of those numbers which *Plato* hath set downe the quaternarie, hath a more perfect and absolute generation; namely, when even numbers are multiplied by even intervals, and uneven numbers likewise by odde intervals: for first it containeth unitie as the very common stocke of all numbers as well even as odde and of those under it; two and three be the first flat and plaine numbers, and after them foure and nine are the first squares, then follow eight and seven and twentie, the first cubique numbers, putting the unitie out of this account. By which it appeareth that his will was not, that these numbers should be all set one above another directly in a right line; but apart, one after another alternatively, the even of the one side and the odde of the other, according to the description above made. Thus shall the files or conjugations also be of like with like, and make the notable numbers, as well by composition or addition as by multiplication of one with another: by composition, thus, Two and three make five; foure & nine make thirteene; eight and seven and twentie arise to five and thirtie. For of these numbers the Pythagoreans call five, *pentade*, as much to say, as a found, supposing that of the spaces and intervals of Tone, the fifth, was the first that spake or founded: thirteene they tearmed *trigade*, that is to say, the Remanent or Defect, like as *Plato* did; despairing to divide a Tone in two equal portions: and five and thirtie they tearmed Harmonie, for that it is composed of the first numbers cubique, proceeding from even and od of the foure numbers, to wit, six, eight, nine and twelve, containing an Arithmetical and Harmonical proportion. But this will appeare more evidently by this figure here described and represented to the eyes. Suppose then there be a figure set downe in forme of a tile, called *Parallelogrammen*, with right angles, A. B. C. D.



whereof the one side (to wit, the lesse) A. B. is of five; the other, and namely, the longer, A. D. is of seven parts: let the lesse side be divided into unequal sections, to wit, into three and three, unto E. and the greater into other two unequal sections, three and four to F. Then draw lines from the sections, crossing directly one another, by E. G. H. and F. G. I. So A. E. G. F. shall be six, A. B. I. G. nine, G. H. D. F. eight, and G. I. C. H. twelve. This tile-forme figure called *Parallelogrammen*, being more long than broad, composed of five and thirtie parts, containeth in it all the proportions of the first accords and consonances of Musicke in the numbers of the spaces into which it is divided. For six and eight have the proportion Epitritos, to wit, the whole and one third part; wherein consisteth the symphonie Diatessaron, that is to say, a fourth. Six and nine cary the proportion Hemiolion, to wit, the whole and halfe; and therein consisteth

consisteth Diapente, that is to say, a fifth. Betweene six and twelve there is the double proportion, & therein consisteth Diapason, that is to say, an eighth. There is also the proportion of Tone sesquialtera, in nine and eight, which is the reason that the number five and thirtie containing the proportions of tones, the consonances also and accords, they call Harmonie, which being multiplied by six, ariseth to two hundred and tenne, the very iust number of daies wherein seven moneth children have their perfection in the wombe, and are ready to be borne. *Item*, goe to worke another way, and begin by multiplication in this wise: Twice three make six, and foure times nine come to six and thirtie, and seven and twentie multiplied by eight, ariseth to two hundred and sixteene. Now the perfect number is six, for that it standeth of equal parts, and in regard of the copulation of even and odde it is called the Mariage. Again, that which is more, it consisteth of the beginning and foundation of number, to wit, unitie or One, of the first even number which is two, and of the first and odde number that is three. Moreover, six and thirtie is the first number both foure-square and also triangular. Foure-square, if it arise from the basis, six, and triangular, from eight: for it ariseth by multiplication of two quadrate numbers, to wit, of foure, multiplying nine; and by addition of three cubes, one, eight, and seven and twentie, which being put together, make up sixe and thirtie, the number before described. Furthermore, it may be drawn out in forme of a tile, more one way than another from the two sides, and ariseth by multiplying twelve by three, or nine by foure. Now if a man take the numbers of the sides in those figures before described, to wit, six of the foure-square, and eight of the triangle; nine of one of Parallelograms, and twelve of the other; he shall finde that they will make the proportions of all the symphonies or accords in Musicke. For twelve compared with nine, will be Diatessaron or the fourth, which is the proportion that Nete hath to Mese; but compared with eight, it is Diapente or a fifth, the proportion of Mese to the Meane to Hypate; with twelve, it will be Diapason or a just eighth, which is the proportion between Nete and Hypate. As for the number of two hundred and sixteene, it is a cubique, arising from six, as the basis, and is equal to the owne compasse or circuit. These numbers propoed, having such vertues and properties, yet the last seven and twentie hath this peculiar qualitie by it selfe, that it is equal unto all the other before it, being put together; namely, one, two, three, foure, eight, and nine. Moreover, it containeth the iust number of the daies of the moones revolution, 30 The Pythagoreans also doe place the Tone of distances & intervals of sounds in this very number, which is the reason that they call it *trigade*; as one would say, the default, for that it wanteth one of being the halfe of twenty seven. Moreover, that these numbers containe the proportions of all the consonances & accords in musike, it is easie to be understood; for there is the proportion double of two to one, & therein consisteth Diapason; the Hemiolion or one and halfe of three & two, wherein is Diapente; likewise Epitritos, of foure to three, and therein consisteth Diatessaron: also the triple of nine and three, wherein you shall finde Diapason and Diapente, to wit, a fifth above a duple. *Item*, the quadruple of eight and two wherein is Disdiapason. There is besides, the sesquialtera, of eight to nine, wherein is Tonation. If then a man count the unitie which is common unto the numbers as well even as odde unto foure, the whole yeeldeth ten: and the even numbers betweene it and ten, with the unitie being put together make sixteene, a number triangular, arising from the basis five: as for the odde numbers, to wit, one, three, nine, and twenty seven, arise to forty, if they be summed together, and this number of forty is composed of thirteene and twenty seven, by which the mathematicians doe precisely measure the intervals of musike and melody in song, calling the one Diess, and the other Tonos: and the said number of forty ariseth by way of multiplication, by the vertue of quaternary; for if you multiply foure times every one of the foure; first, whereas by themselves to wit, one, two, three, foure, there will arise foure, eight, twelve, and sixteene, which being all summed together, make forty; which number containeth besides, all the proportions of consonances and accords: for compare sixteene with twelve, you shall have the proportion Epitritos, that is to say, one and the third part, with eight duple, with foure quadruple: also twelve compared to eight, hath the proportion Hemiolion, that is to say, one and a halfe, to foure triple, which comprehend the proportions iust of Diatessaron, Diapente, Diapason, and Disdiapason: Over and besides, the foresaid number of forty, is equal to the first two quadrats, and the two first cubique numbers taken together, for the two first squares or quadrats be one and foure, the cubicks eight and twenty seven, which if they be put together, amount to forty: So that the quaternary of *Plato* is in the disposition thereof more ample, of greater variety and perfection than that quaternary of *Pythagoras*.

But forasmuch as the numbers proposed, afford not places for the medieties which are inferred; necessary it was to extend the numbers to larger tearmes and bondes, reteining still the same proportions: in regard whereof, we must say somewhat what they be, and treat first of these medieties. The former then, is that which both surmounting, & being also surmounted in equall number, is called in these daies Arithmetical: the other which surmounteth, and is surmounted by the same part of their extremities, is named *Hypenantia*, that is to say, subcontrary; as for example: The two limits or extremities and the mids of the arithmetical, be six, nine and twelve: for nine which is in the middes, surmounteth fixe just as much in number as it is surmounted of twelve, that is to say, by three: but of the subcontrary, these be the extremities and the mids, six, eight, and twelve, for eight which is the mids, surmounteth fix by two, and is surmounted of twelve by foure, which foure is the third part of twelve, like as two is the third part of sixe. Thus it falleth out in the medietie Arithmetical, the middes surmounteth the one of these extremities, and is surmounted of the other, equally by the same part of the owne, but in the subcontrary by the same part, not of the owne, but of the extremities out gone of the one, and outgoing the other: and hereupon it is called subcontrary, and the same they likewise call harmonically, because it affordeth to the extremities the first resonances, to wit, betwene the greatest and the least Diapason, that is to say, an eight betwene the greatest and the mids, Diapente, that is to say, a five; & betwene the mids and the least, Diatesseron, that is to say, a fourth: for the greatest tearme or extremity being set upon the note or string Nete, and the least upon Hypate, the middes will be found just upon Mese, that is to say, the meane, which maketh in regard of the greatest Diapente, and of the least Diatesseron: so that by this reason, eight shall be upon the meane, twelve upon Nete, and six upon Hypate: but how to knowe easily and readily these medieties aforesaid, *Endorus* hath shewed the maner plainly and simply: And first and formost in the Arithmetical, consider thus much: for if you take the two extremities, and put them together, and then the moitie of the entire sum, the same will fall out to be the medietie Arithmetical: or take the moitie of each one of the extremities, & addethem one to the other, that which ariseth thereof shall be medietie arithmetical, in duplex & triples alike: but in the subcontrary, or harmonically, if the two extremities be one to the other in proportion duple, take the halfe of the greater, and the third part of the lesse, and the number arising of those two shall be the medietie Harmonical: but in case the two extremities be in proportion triple, then contrariwise a man ought to take the moitie of the lesse, and the third part of the greater, for then the summe will be the medietie that he looketh for: as for example, let the lesse extremity be in triple proportion fix, and the greater eightene, if you take the halfe of fix which is three, and the third part of eightene which is six, you shall come to nine, for the medietie which doth surmount, and is surmounted by the same part of the two extremities, that is to say, the one halfe. Thus you see how the medieties are taken: now the same must be interjected and placed betwene, for to fill and make up the places or intervals double and triple; but of the number proposed, some have no place of the middle, others, not sufficient; and therefore the maner is to augment and set them out, in reteining alwaies still the same proportions, and so by that meanes make places and receptacles sufficient for to receive the said medieties or mediocrities: First therefore, for the lesse end or extremity, in stead of one they put six, because of all numbers it is the first that hath a halfe and a third part, and multiply all the numbers under by six, as it is written underneath, for to receive both the medieties in duple intervals:

12.	2.	1.	3.	18.
24.	4.		9.	54.
48.	8.		27.	162.

And for that *Plato* hath said, the intervals being made sesquialterall, sesquitercia, and sesquioctaves, out of these links in the precedent distances, he filled all the epitrites, with the intervall of sesquioctave, leaving one part of each, and this distance of this part being left number to 50 number, having for the tearmes & extremities, two hundred fifty six, and two hundred forty three, &c. upon these words of the text, forced they were to reduce these numbers, and make them greater, for by order two ought to have sesquioctave proportion, seeing that six of it selfe could not have proportion sesquioctave, & if it were divided by cutting the units peece-meale, the intelligence and doctrine thereof would be very intricate and hard to be conceived, therefore he called this operation in some sort multiplication, like as in the harmonical mutation, where if you extend and augment the first number, necessarily the discription of all the other

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notes must be stretched out and enlarged likewise. And therefore *Endorus* following herein *Crantor*, taketh for the first number three hundred foure-score and foure, which ariseth by multiplying three-score and foure, by six: and these were induced to do by the number three-score and foure, having for the sesquioctave, eight, which is the proportion betwene three-score and foure and three-score and twelve. But it agreeth better with the text, and the wordes of *Plato*, to suppose a moitie. For the default which they call *λίσσας*, will have the sesquioctave proportion in the numbers which *Plato* hath set downe, two hundred six and fiftie, and two hundred three and fortie, having put for the first one hundred foure-score and twelve: and if the double of it be supposed for the first, the *λίσσας* shall be of the same proportion, but in number double, which five hundred and twelve hath to foure hundred eighty foure: for two hundred fiftie & six are in epitrite or sesquiterciall proportion to one hundred foure-score and twelve, and five hundred and twelve to foure hundred foure-score and foure. And verily, the reduction to this number was not without reason and proportion, but yielded a probable reason to *Crantor*: for the number of three-score and foure is a cube, proceeding from the first quadrate, and a quadrate likewise, arising from the first cube, and being multiplied by three, the first odde number: the first triangular number, the first perfect number and sesquialter, make one hundred foure-score and twelve, which number also (as we will shew) hath his sesquioctave. But first of all you shall understand better what is *λίσσας*, as also what is the meaning of *Plato*, if you call to minde a little, that which is usually taught and delivered in the Pythagoreans schooles: for Diastema, that is to say, intervals or space in matter of song, is whatsoever is betwene two sounds different in Tenour or Tenison. Of these intervals, one is called *Tonus*, to wit, that whereof the harmonic Diapente surmounteth Diatessaron. Of this entier Tone, as Musicians do holde, cut in twaine, by the moitie are made two intervals, and both of them, the one as well as the other, goe under the name *Hemitonionum*. But the Pythagoreans do not thinke that it can be equally divided: whereas therefore the two sections be unequal, they call the lesse *λίσσας*, that is to say, the default, because it is somewhat lesse than the one halfe. And therefore some masters of Musike there be, who make the accord Diatesseron, of two Tones and a Demi-tone or Hemitonion: others againe of two Tones and a *λίσσας*. So as it seemeth that the testimonie of hearing accordeth with the harmonical Musicians; and of demonstration with the Mathematicians: and their proofe of demonstration goeth in this maner. This is put downe by them for certene, and approved by their instruments, that Diapason hath a double proportion, Diapente a sesquialterall, Diatessaron a sesquiterciall, and a Tone a sesquioctave. And the truth hereof, a man may trie presently by an experiment, namely, by hanging two weights double, unto two strings that be equal, or by making two concavities in pipes, the one twice as long as the other, otherwise equal: for the shawme or hautboies, which is the longer, will sound more base and loud, as Hypate in regard of Nete: and of the two strings, that which was stretched by the heavier weight will sound higher & smaller as Nete in comparison of Hypate: and this is the very consonance Diapason. Semblably, three compared unto twaine, be it in length or in weight, will make Diapente; and foure to three, Diatessaron: for the one hath the proportion epitrite, and the other hemiolion. And if the unequalitie of the foresaid lengths or weights be in proportion hemioctave, that is to say, of seven to eight, it will make the intervall *Tonion*, not altogether an harmonical accord, howbeit (as one would say) somewhat musically and melodious; for that these sounds, if one strike, touch or sound one after another, make a pleasant noise and delectable to the eares; but if altogether, the noise will be troublesome and offensive: whereas contrariwise, in consonances and accords, howsoever one touch them, either together, or one after another, the eare receiveth the consent and accord with great delight. And yet this may moreover be shewed by reason, for the harmonic Diapason is composed of Diapente and of Diatessaron, like as in number the double is composed of Hemiolion and Epitritos; for twelve is in proportion of Epitritos to nine, and Hemiolion to eight, and double to six: so that the double proportion is compounded of the sesquialterall and the sesquiterciall, like as Diapason of Diapente and Diatessaron: but as there Diapente is greater than Diatessaron by a Tone, so here in numbers, Hemiolion is greater than Epitritos by a sesquioctave. This being thus proved by demonstration, let us see now, whether our sesquioctave may be divided into two equal sections; for if it can not, no more then, can the Tone: and for that eight and nine make the first proportion sesquioctave, and have no intervall betwene; both the one and the other being doubled, the number falling out betwene, maketh two intervals; so that it appeareth, that if the two intervals be equal, the sesquioctave may bee equally divided in twaine. Now the double

of

of nine is eightene, and of eight, sixteene, which admit betweene them, seventeene. So it fall-  
 eth out that one of the intervals is greater, and the other lesse; for the former is of eightene to  
 seventeene, and the other of seventeene to sixteene. Then the sesquioctave proportion is di-  
 vided into portions and sections unequal, and so consequently the tone also: and therefore this  
 division being made, none of the sections is properly a Demytone, but one of them by good  
 right hath beene termed by the mathematicians *σίζυγα*: and this is it that *Plato* said: God when  
 he filled the epitrites with sesquioctaves, left a portion of ech: whereof there is the same reason  
 and proportion, that two hundred fiftie six have unto two hundred forty three; for take a Dia-  
 tessaron in two numbers, which have betweene them a proportion Epitritos, as two hundred  
 fifty and six, to one hundred ninnie two; of which let, the lesse number, one hundred ninnie two  
 beset upon the base note of a tetracord, and the greater, to wit, two hundred fiftie and six upon  
 the highest note: It must be shewed, that if this be filled with two sesquioctaves, there remaineth  
 an intervall as great as is betweene two hundred fiftie six and two hundred forty three. For if  
 the base sound be stretched one tone; which is the proportion sesquioctave it maketh two  
 hundred and sixteene: and againe if it be stretched another tone, it becommeth two hundred  
 forty three, which surmounteth two hundred & sixteene, by twenty & seven, and two hundred  
 and sixteene surmounteth one hundred fourecore & twelve by foure and twenty, of which, the  
 seven and twenty is the sesquioctave of two hundred and sixteene, and foure and twenty, of one  
 hundred fourecore and twelve: and therefore of these three numbers, the greatest sesquioctave  
 is of the middle, and the middle of the least; and the distance or intervall, from the least to the  
 greatest, to wit, from one hundred fourecore and twelve unto two hundred fortie and three, two  
 tones filled with two sesquioctaves: which intervall being taken away, there remaineth the inter-  
 vall of the whole, which is betweene two hundred fortie and three, and two hundred fiftie and  
 sixe, and that is thirteene: and that is the reason why they called that number *αὐτάρκεια*, that is to  
 say, a default or residue.

For mine owne part, I thinke verily, that the sense of *Plato* is most cleerely expounded and  
 declared in these numbers. Others having put downe the ends and termes of Diatessaron, for the  
 treble two hundred eighty eight, and for the base, two hundred sixteene; goe through with  
 the rest proportionably, save onely that they take the two defaults or remnants, betweene the  
 two extremities: for the base being set up one tone or note, maketh two hundred fortie three: 30  
 and the treble being let downe another note, becommeth two hundred fiftie six: for these be  
 sesquioctaves, two hundred forty three, and two hundred sixteene; likewise two hundred  
 eighty eight, and two hundred fiftie six; so that either of the intervals is Toniazon: and there  
 remaineth that which is betweene two hundred forty three, and two hundred fiftie six, which is  
 not a Demytone, but lesse: for two hundred eighty eight, is more than two hundred fiftie six,  
 by thirty two; and two hundred forty three, more than two hundred sixteene, by twenty seven;  
 and two hundred fiftie sixe more than two hundred forty three, by 13: and both these are lesse  
 than the advantages or surplussages by halfe: and therefore Diatessaron is found to be of two  
 tones and a *σίζυγα*, and not of two and a halfe. And thus you see the demonstration of this:  
 and so it is no hard matter to understand by that which we have delivered: what is the reason  
 why *Plato* having said, that intervals sesquialterall, sesquitercian and sesquioctaves are made by  
 filling the sesquitercians with sesquioctaves; made no mention of the sesquialterons, but hath  
 left them behind, namely, for that the sesquialter is filled, when one putteth a sesquioctave to  
 a sesquialterall, or rather a sesquiterciance to a sesquioctave.

These things thus shewed in some sort by way of demonstration: now to fill the intervals,  
 and to intersect the Medieties if none before had shewed the meanes and maner how, I would  
 leave you to do it for your exercise: but the same having beene done already by many worthy  
 personages, and principally by *Cranor*, *Clearchus*, and *Theodorus*, all borne in the city *Soli*: It  
 will not be impertinent to deliver somewhat as touching the difference betweene them; for  
*Theodorus* maketh not two files of numbers as the other doe, but rangeth them all in the same  
 line directly one after another, to wit, the duple and the triple: and principally he groundeth  
 and fortifieth himselfe by this position (which they so call) of the substance drawn out in  
 length, making two branches as it were from one trunk, and not foure of twaine: then he saith,  
 that the interpositions of the Medieties ought so to take place; for otherwise there would be a  
 trouble and confusion: and anon passeth immediately from the first duple to the first triple,  
 when they should be that which ought to fulfill the one and the other. On the other side, there  
 maketh for *Cranor*, the position and situation of plaine numbers with plaine, squares with  
 squares

squares, and cubes with cubes, which are set one against another in opposite files, not accord-  
 ing to their range, but alternatively,

which is of one sort as Idea or forme: but that which is divided by bodies, is the subject and the  
 matter; and the mixture of them both in common, is that which is complete and perfect.

As touching then the substance indivisible, which is alwaies one and of the same sort; wee  
 are not thus to thinke, that it admitteth no division for the smallness thereof, like to those lit-  
 tle bodies called *Atomi*: but that of it which is simple, pure, and most subject to any passion  
 or alteration whatsoever, alwaies like it selfe, and after one maner, is said to be indivisible, and  
 to have no parts by which simplicity, when it cometh to touch in some sort, such things as be  
 compounded, divisible, and caried to and fro, it causeth that diversitie to cease, restraineth that  
 multitude, and by meanes of similitude, reduceth them to one and the same habitude. And if  
 a man be disposed to call that which is divisible by bodies, matter, as subject unto it, and partici-  
 pating the nature thereof, using a certaine homonymy or equivocation, it mattereth not  
 much, neither skilleth it as touching the thing in question: but those who would have the  
 corporall matter to be mixed with the indivisible substance, be in a great error: first, because  
*Plato* hath not now used any names thereof, for that he hath evermore used to call it a recepta-  
 cle to receive all, and a nurse, not divisible by bodies, but rather a body divided into individu-  
 all particulars. Again, what difference would there be, betweene the generation of the world,  
 and of the soule, if the constitution of the one and the other, did consist of matter and things  
 intelligible?

Certes, *Plato* himselfe as one who would in no wise admit the soule to be engendered of the  
 body, saith: That God put all that which was corporall within her; and then, that without forth  
 the same was enclosed round about with it. In sum, when he had framed and finished the soule  
 according to proportion, he inferreth and annexeth afterwards a treatise of matter, which be-  
 fore when he handled the creation of the soule, he never required nor called for, because crea-  
 ted it was without the helpe of matter.

The like to this may be said by way of confutation against *Posidonius* and his sectaries; for  
 very farre they went not from matter; but imagining that the substance of termes and extre-  
 mities, was that which he called divisible by bodies, and joining with the intelligible, they af-  
 firmed and pronounced, that the soule is the Idea of that which is distant every way, and in all  
 the dimensions, according to the number which containeth harmony, which is very errone-  
 ous: For the Mathematicks (quoth he) are situate betweene the first intelligible and sensible  
 things: but the soule having of intelligible things an eternall essence, and of sensible objects, a  
 passible nature: therefore meet it is that it should have a middle substance between both. But he  
 was not ware, that God after he had made and finished the soule, used the bounds & termes of  
 the body, for to give a forme to the matter, determining the substance thereof dispersed, and  
 not linked or contained within any limits, by environing it with superficies, composed of tri-  
 angles, all joined together. And yet more absurd than that it is, to make the soule an Idea, for  
 that the soule is alwaies in motion; but the Idea is immovable, neither can the Idea be mixed  
 with that which is sensible, but the soule is alwaies linked fast with the body: besides, God  
 did imitate Idea as one who followed his patterne; but he wrought the soule as his piece of  
 worke: And that *Plato* held the soule not to be a number, but rather a thing ordained by num-  
 ber, we have already shewed and declared before.

But against both these opinions and their patrons, this may be opposed in common: That  
 neither in numbers nor in termes and limits of bodies, is there any apparence or shew of that  
 puissance, whereby the soule judgeth of that which is sensible; for the intelligence and facultie  
 that it hath, was drawn from the participation and societie of the intelligible principle: But  
 opinions, beliefs, assents, imaginations, alto to be passive and sensitive of qualities inherent in  
 bodies, there is no man will thinke that they can proceed from unities, prickes, lines, or super-  
 ficies: and yet not onely the soules of mortall men have the power to judge of all the exterior  
 qualities perceptible by the senses; but also the very soule of the world, as *Plato* saith, when  
 it returneth circularly into her selfe, and toucheth any thing that hath a substance dissippable  
 and apt to be dispersed; as also when it meeteth with ought that is indivisible, by moving  
 her selfe totally, the telleth in what respect any thing is the same, and in what regard divers and  
 different; whereto principally ech thing is meet, either to doe or to suffer, where, when, and  
 how it is affected, as well in such as are engendered, as in those that are alwaies the same. Moreover,  
 making

making a certaine description with all of the ten predicaments, hee declareth the same more cleerely afterwards: True reason (quoth he) when it meeteth with that which is sensible, and if there with the circle of the other goeth directly to report the same, throughout the whole soule thereof, then there be engendered opinions and believes that be firme and true: but when it is conversant about that which is intelligible and discoursing by reason, and the circle likewise of the same, turning roundly with facility, doth shew the same, then of necessity there is bred perfect and accomplishe science; and in whatsoever these two things be infused, if a man call it otherwise than soule, he saith any thing rather than the truth: whence cometh it then that the soule had this motion opinative, which comprehendeth that which is sensible, divers and different from the other intellectuall that endeth in science? Hard it were to set this downe, unless a man firmly presuppose that in this place, and at this present, he composeth not the soule simply, but the soule of the world, with the parts above mentioned, of a better substance, which is indivisible; and of a woofe that he calleth divisible by bodies; which is nothing else, but an imaginative & opinionative motion, affected & accordant to that which is sensible, not engendered, but as the other of an eternall substance: for nature having the intellectuall vertue, had also the facultie opinionative: but the intellectuall power is unmoveable, impassible, founded & set upon that substance, which abideth alwaies in one sort: whereas the other is divisible and wandering, in as much as it toucheth a matter that is alwaies floting, carried to and fro and dissippable. For the matter sensible had before time no order at all, but was without all forme, bound or limitation whatsoever, and the faculty therein had neither expresse opinions articulate and distinct, nor her motions all certaine and composed in order: but for the most part resembling turbulent and vaine dreames, troubling that which was corporall, unless haply they fell upon any thing that was better. For betwene two it was, having a nature conformable, and accordant to the one and the other: chalinging matter by that which is sensitive, and by the judicciall part those things which are intelligible. And this declareth he himselfe in these proper termes: By my reckoning (quoth he) let this be the summe of the whole account that these three things had their being three waies before the heaven was, to wit, essence, space, and generation. As for space or place, he calleth matter by that name, as it were the seat, and otherwhiles a receptacle: the essence, that which is intelligible; and the generation of the world as yet not made, can be no other thing but a substance subject to motions and alterations, situate betwene that which imprinteth a forme and which is imprinted, dispensing and distributing the images from thence hither: which is the reason it was called divisible, for that of necessity both the sensitive must be divided and goe with the sensible, and also the imaginative with the imaginable. For the sensitive motion being proper unto the soule mooveth toward the sensible without: but the intelligence & understanding was of it selfe, stable, firme and immovable: howbeit being infused once into the soule and become master and lord thereof, it rolleth and turneth upon it selfe, and accomplisheth a round & circular motion, about that which is alwaies permanent, and touching that principally which is, and hath being. And therefore hard was the mixtion and affociation which mingled the divisible with the indivisible, that which is every way moovable, with that which never mooveth, and forcing in one word *the other* to meet and joine with *the same*. So *the other* was not motion, no more than *the same* was station; but the beginning both of Diversity and also of Identity or The samenesse: for the one and the other descend from divers principles, to wit, *the same* from unity, and *the other*, from binary, and were at the first mingled confusedly here in the soule; as tied by numbers, proportions and medieties harmonically: and *the other* being imprinted into *the same*, maketh difference: but *the same* infused into *the other*, causeth order; as it appeareth manifestly in the first powers of the soule, to wit, the faculties of moving and of judging. As for motion, it sheweth incontinently about the heaven, diversity in identity by the revolution of the planets, and identity in diversity by the seiled order & situation of the fixed starrs: for in these, *the same* beareth sway and is more predominant; but contrariwise, *the other*, in those that be neerer to the earth. But judgement hath two principles, to wit, understanding, from *the same*, for judging of things universall; and sense, from *the other*, to judge of particulars. Now reason is mingled of them both, being intelligence in things generall and intelligible; but opinion onely in matters sensible, using for instruments, both the fancies and imaginations betwene, and also the memories; whereof the former make *the other* in *the same*; but the latter, *the same* in *the other*. For intelligence is the motion of the intelligent about that which is stable and permanent; but opinion is the mansion of the sensitive about that which moveth. As for imagination or fancies, being a connexion of opinion to the sense, *the same*,

*same* placeth it in memorie; and contrariwise, *the other* stirreth it in the difference and distinction of that which is past, and that which is present, touching both identity and diversitie together.

Now the better to understand the proportion therewith he made the soule, we must take a patterne and example, from the constitution of the bodie of the world: for whereas the two extremes, to wit, pure fire and earth, were by nature hard to be tempered one with another; or, to say more truly, impossible to be mixed and incorporate together: he placed in the middle betwene, aire before fire, and water before earth: and so contempered first these two mean elements, and afterwards by their helpe, the other extremes also, which he fitted and framed together, both with the said meanes, and also with themselves one with another. And heere againe, *the same* and *the other*, being contrary puissances and extremities, fighting one against the other as meere enemies, he brought together, not immediately by themselves, but by putting betwene other substances, to wit, the indivisible, before *the same*, and the divisible before *the other*, according as in some sort the one had affinity and congruency with the other: afterwards when these were mixed together, he contempered likewise the extremes, and so warped and wove, as one would say, the whole forme of the soule, making as farre as it was possible, of things unlike, sensible, and of many one. But some there bee who give out, that it was not well said of *Plato*: That the nature of *the other*, was hard to be mixed and tempered; considering (say they) that it is not altogether insusceptible of mutation, but a friend to it, and rather the nature of *the same*, being firme and hard to be turned and remooved, admitteth not easily any mixture, but stieeth and rejecteth it, to the end that it may remaine simple, pure, and without alteration: but they who reprove this, are ignorant that *the same*, is the Idea of such things as be alwaies of one sort; and *the other*, the Idea of those that change. Alas that the effect of this, is evermore to divide, separate, and alter that which it toucheth; and in a word, to make many of one: but the effect of that is, to conjoine and unite by similitude, many things thereby into one forme and puissance. Thus you see what be the powers and faculties of the soule of this universality, which entering into the fraile, mortall, and passible instruments of bodies, however they be in themselves incorruptible, impatible and the same; yet in them now appeareth more the forme of an indeterminate duality: but that forme of the simple unitie, sheweth it selfe more obscurely, as deeply setled within: howbeit for all that, hardly shall one see and perceive in a man, either passion altogether void of reason, or motion without understanding, wherein there is no lust, no ambition, no joy or griefe: and therefore some philosphers there be, who would have the perturbations of the mind to be reasons; as if forsooth, all disire, sorrow, and anger, were judgements. Others also doe hold, that all vertues be passions: for in valour (say they) there is foure, intemperance, pleasure, injustice, lucre. Howbeit, the soule being both contemplative, and also active at once, as it doth contemplate universal thing; so it practiseth particulars, seeming to conceive the one by intelligence, and to perceive the other by sense: common reason meeting alwaies *the same*, in *the other*, and likewise, *the other*, in *the same*, endeavoureth verily to sever by divers bonds and partitions, one from many; and the indivisible from the divisible, but it can not bring it so about, as to be purely in the one or the other, for that the principles be so enterlaced one within another, and hudled pell-mell together.

In which regard, God hath appointed a certaine receptacle for *the same*, and *the other*, of a divisible, and indivisible substance, to the end, that in diversity there should be order; for this was as much as to be engendered. Seeing that without this, *the same* should have had no diversitie, and consequently no motion nor generation; neither should *the other* have had order, and so by consequence also, neither consistence nor generation: for if it should happen to *the same*, to be divers from *the other*, and againe, to *the other*, to be all one with *the same*; such a communion and participation, would bring forth of it selfe nothing generative, but require some third matter to receive them, and to be digested and disposed by them. And this is that which God ordained and composed first, in defining and limiting the infinity of nature, mooving about bodies, by the firme steadinesse of things intellectuall. And like as there is one kinde of brutish voice, not articulate nor distinct, and therefore not significant; whereas speech consisteth in voice, that giveth to understand what is in the minde: and as harmony doeth consist of many sounds and intervals; the found being simple and the same, but the intervall a difference and diversitie of sounds, which when they be mixed and tempered together, make song and melody: Even so the passible part of the soule, was infinit, unstable, and disordinate; but afterwards became determinate, when teames and limits were set to it, and a certaine forme expell'd to

that diuifible and variable diuersity of motion. Thus having conceived and comprised *the same*, and *the other*, by the similitudes and dissimilitudes of numbers, making accord of difference: thereof the life of the universall world became wife and prudent, the harmony consonant, and reason drawing with her necessitie, tempered with grace and perswasion, which the common fort call fallall destiny; *Empedocles* named concord and discord together, *Heracitus* the opposite tension and harmony of the world, as of a bow or harpe, wherein both ends bend one against an other: *Parmenides*, light and darknesse: *Anaxagoras*, understanding and infinitie: *Zoroastes*, God, and the devill; rearing the one *Oromasdes*, and the other *Arimanius*: But *Euripides* did not well to use the disjunctive for the copulative, in this verse,

Jupiter, natures necessity,  
Or humane minde, whether he be?

For in truth, that puissance which pierceth and reacheth through all things, is both necessitie, and also a minde. And this is it which the Egyptians would covertly give us to understand, under the vail of their mytticall fables, that when *Horus* was condemned and dismembered, his spirit and bloud was given and awarded to his father, but his flesh and grease to his mother: But of the soule there is nothing that remaineth pure and sincere, nothing unmixed and apart from others; for as *Heracitus* was wont to say: Hidden harmony, is better than the apparant: for that therein, God who tempered it, hath bestowed secretly and concealed, differences and diversities: and yet there appeareth in the unreasonable part, turbulent perturbations, in the reasonable settled order: in sense's necessitie and constraint; in the understanding full power and entier libertie: but the terminant and defining power, loveth the universall and indivisible, by reason of their conjunctions and consanguinity. Contrariwise, the dividing puissance, inclineth and cleaveth to particulars by the diuifible. The totall universalitie joeth in a settled order, by the meanes of the same, and againe, so farre forth as need is, in a mutation by the meanes of the other: but the difference of inclinations to honesty or dishonesty, to pleasure, or displeasure; the ravishments and transportations of the spirit in amorous persons, the combats in them, of honour against voluptuous wantonnesse; doe evidently shew, and nothing so much, the commixion of the nature divine and impassible with the mortall and passible part in bodily things; of which himselfe calleth the one the concupiscence of pleasure ingenerate and inbred in us, the other an opinion induced from without, desirous of the soveraigne good: for the soule of it selfe produceth and yeeldeth passibility; but the participation of understanding cometh to it without forth, infused by the best principle and cause, which is God: so the very nature of heaven is not exempt from this double societie and communion; but that a man may see how otherwhiles it doth incline and bend another way, by the revolution of the the same which is more predominant, and so doth governe the world: and a portion of time will come, like as it hath bene often heretofore, when as the wisdom thereof shall be dyled and dazeled, yea and laid asleepe, being filled with the oblivion of that which is meet and decent for it: and that which from the beginnings is familiar and conformable to the body, shall draw, weigh downe, and turne backe the way and course of the whole universality on the right hand: but breake and undoe the forme thereof quite it shall not be able, but reduce it againe to the better, and have a regard unto the first pattern of God, who helpeth the endeavours thereof, and is ready to reforme and direct the same.

Thus it is shewed unto us in many places, that the soule is not altogether the worke of God; but having a portion of evill inbred in her, she hath bene brought into order and good dispose by him who hath limited infinity by unity; to the end that it should become a substance bounded within the owne tearmes: and hath set by the meanes of the same and the other, order, change, difference, and similitude: and hath contracted and wrought a societie, alliance and amity of all things one with another, as farre as possible it was, by the meanes of numbers and proportions. Of which point, albeit you have heard much speech, and read many books and writings; yet I shall not doe amisse, but greatly to the purpose, if briefly I discourse thereof. First setting downe the words of *Plato*. God (quoth he) deducted first from the universall world, one part; and then double so much: afterwards a third portion, to wit, the one, and halfe of the second, and the triple of the first: Soone after a fourth, to wit, the double of the second: & anon a fift, namely the triple of the third: After that a sixt, to wit, the octuple of the first, and a seventh, which was the first eleven twenty fold. This done he filled the double and triple intervals; cutting from them also certaine parcels from thence, which he interjected betwene these: in such sort as in every intervall there were two medieties: the one surmounting, and surmounted by the same

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portion of the extremities: the other, surmounting by equal number, one of the extremities and surmounted of another by the like. But seeing the intervals carry the proportions sesquialterally, sesquitercian and sesquioctave: of these ligaments in the first precedent distances, he filled up all the sesquiterces with the intervall of the sesquioctave, leaving of each of them one part: And this distance of the part or number being left of number to number, it had for the tearmes and bonds thereof in proportion to that which is betwene, two hundred fiftie six, and two hundred forty three. Here first and formost a question is mooved as touching the quantity of these numbers: and secondly, concerning the order: and thirdly, of their power. For the quantity and sum: what they be which he taketh in the duple intervals? For the order, to wit, whether they ought to be set and disposed all in one range, as *Theodorus* did? or rather as *Cranter* in the figure of the letter *lamda*. A, setting upon the point or top thereof unity or the first, & then in one file apart, the duples, and the triples in another, for the use and power, namely what they conferre to the constitution and composition of the soule. As concerning the first, we will reject those who say, that it sufficeth in these proportions to consider of what nature be the intervals, and of what the medieties which fill them up, in what numbers soever a man may suppose that they have places capable betwene of the proportions aforesaid: for that the doctrine goeth after the same maner. And albeit that which they say, were true, yet the prooffe and demonstration thereof is but slender without examples, and hindreth another speculation, wherein there is contained a pleasant kinde of learning and philosophy. If then, beginning at unity, we put apart by them selves the numbers duple and the triple as he himselfe teacheth us, there will be of the one side two, foure, and eight, on the other, three, nine, and twenty seven; which are in all seven, taking the unity as common, and proceeding forward in multiplication unto foure. For it is not in this place onely, but also in many others, where the consent and agreement is very evident, that is betwene the quaternary and the septenary. And as for that quaternary of the Pythagoreans so much voiced and so highly by them celebrated, it is of thirty six, which hath this admirable matter in it above all others, that it is compounded of the foure first even numbers, & of the foure first odd numbers: and it ariseth by the fourth couple or conjugation of number, ranged in order one after the other.

For the first is of one and two: the second of one and three which be odd. For setting one in the first place, as indifferent and common to both; then taketh he eight, and twenty seven, shewing and as it were pointing with the finger, what place he giveth to the one and the other kinde.

But to treat hereof after a more exact and exquisite maner, appertaineth unto others: But that which remaineth is proper to the subject matter in hand. For it was not upon any ostentation of skill and sufficiency in the Mathematicall arts that *Plato* hath inserted within a treatise of naturall philosophy, this Arithmetical and harmonical medieties, but as a discourse verie meet and fit to serve for the composition and constitution of the soule; howsoever there be some who seeke for these proportions in the swiftnesse more or lesse of the wandring spheres; others rather in their distances; some in the magnitudes of the starres; and others againe, after a more curious maner, in the Diameters of the Epicycles, as if that creatour had in regard thereof, and for this cause applied and fitted the soule distributed into seven parts, unto the celestiall bodies. Many there be moreover who bring hither and accomodate to this matter the Pythagoreans inventions, tripling the distances of bodies from the middle: which they doe after this maner, setting upon fire unity; and upon the earth opposit unto ours, three; upon the earth nine; upon the Moone twenty seven; upon *Mercurie* foure score and one; upon *Venus* two hundred forty three; and upon the Sun himselfe 729. for that it is both quadrat and cube: which is the reason that they call the sun also one while quadrat and another while cube: and after the same sort they reduce the other starres by way of triplation. But these philosophers doe miscount greatly, and stray farre from reason and proportion indeed, if so be that Geometrical demonstrations do avale ought: yet in comparison of them, well fare they who goe to worke another way; and albeit they prove not their positions exactly, yet (I say) they come neerer to the marke, who give out, that the Diameter of the sunne, compared to the Diameter of the earth, is in the same proportion that twelve is to one: that the Diameter or Dimetient line of the earth is triple to that of the moone: and the least fixed starre that is to be seene, hath no lesse a Diameter, than the third part of the Diameter of the earth: also that the totall globe of the earth, compared with the sphere of the moone, carrieth the proportion of twentie

Tete

seven



seven to one: The Diameters of *Venus* and the earth, are in double proportion, but their globes or spheres beare octuple proportion, to wit, eight for one. Semblably, the intervall of the celestoy, and the shadow which causeth the eclipse, is triple to the Diameter of the moone. Also the latitude of the moones declination from the Zodiacke on either side, is one twelfth part: likewise that the habitudes and aspects of her to the sunne, in distances triquetter, or quadrangular, take the formes and figurations either of the halfe moone, at the first quarter, or else when she swelleth and beareth out on both sides: but after she hath passed fixe signes of the Zodiacke, she maketh a full compasse, and resembleth a certeine harmonically symphonie of Diapason in Hexatonos. And forasmuch as the sunne about the solstices or tropicks, as well of summer as winter mooveth least, & most slowly; but contrariwise, about the two equinoxes to in Spring and Autumne, most swiftly, and exceeding much: the proportion of that which he taketh from the day, and putteth to the night, or contrariwise, is after this manner in the first thirty daies; for in that space after the solstice in winter, hee addeth to the day the first part of that exuperance, whereby the longest night surmounteth the shortest day: and in another thirtie daies following after that, a third part, and so forward in the rest of the daies one halfe, until you come to the equinox, in sextuple and triple intervals, to make even the inequality of the times. But the Chaldeans say, that Spring in regard of Autumne carrieth proportion Diatessaron, in respect of winter Diapente, and in comparison of summer Diapason: But if *Euipides* hath well limited the foure quarters of the yeere when he said:

*For summer hot, foure moneths or deined be,*

*For winter colde likewise are other foure:*

*Shorter is rich Autumne by one moitie,*

*And pleasant Spring while it remains in floure,*

then the seasons doe change after the proportion Diapason. Some attribute to the earth, the place of the musically note Proslambanomenos: unto the moone Hypate: unto *Mercurie* and *Lucifer* Diatonos and Lichanos: the sunne they set upon Mese (they say) containing Diapason in the middes, distant from the earth one fifth or Diapente, and from the sphere of the fixed starres a fourth, or Diatesseron. But neither the pretty conceited imagination of these toucheth the truth any way, nor the reckoning and account of those other, commeth precisely to the point. Well, those who affirm that these devices agree not to the mirde of *Plato*, are yet of opinion, that those other agree very well to the propositions described in the Tablature of musicians, which consisteth of five tetrachords, to wit, the first Hypaton, as one would say, of base notes; the second, Mese, that is to say, of meanes; the third, Synemmenon that is to say, of conjuncts; the fourth, Diezeugmenon, that is to say, of disjuncts; & the fifth, Hyperbolon, to wit, of the high and excellent notes: semblably, say they: The planets be set in five distances, whereof the one is from the moone unto the sunne, and those which have the same revolution with him, as *Mercurie* and *Venus*; a second, from these three unto the fire planet *Mars*; the third, from thence to *Jupiter*; the fourth, from him to *Saturne*; and the fifth reacheth unto the starry skie: so that the sounds and notes which determine the five tetrachords, answer to the proportion of the planets or wandering starres. Moreover, we know very well, that the ancient musicians, did set downe no more notes but two Hypates, three Netes, one Mese, and one Parame: so as their musically notes were equal in number to the planets: but our moderne masters of musick, have added that which is called Proslambanomenos, namely, lower by one note than Hypate, and inclining to the base: and so the whole composition they made Diapason; not keeping and observing the order of the consonances according to nature, for Diapente is before Diatesseron, by adding one note or tone to Hypate toward the base; whereas it is certeine that *Plato* tooke one note to it toward the treble; for hee saith in his books of Common-wealth: That every one of the eight spheres hath a sirene sitting upon it, causing the same to turne about, and that each one of them hath a severall and proper voice of their owne: but of altogether there is tempered a certeine harmonie: these sirenes being disposed to solace themselves, sing for their pleasure divine and heavenly tunes, dauncing with a sacred daunce, under the melodious consent of eight strings: as also there were eight principall tearmes at first of proportions double and triple; counting for one of these tearmes or limits untie to either part: but the more auncient fort have given unto us nine muses, to wit, eight as *Plato* himselfe saith, about the celestiall bodies, and the ninth about the terrestriall, called forth from the rest to dulce and set them in repose, in stead of error, trouble, and inequality. Consider now I pray you, whether the soule being become most just and most wise, doth

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not manage the heaven and celestiall things by the accords and motions therein? And thus ended she is by proportions harmonically; the images whereof are imprinted upon the bodies and visible parts of the world which are scene: but the first and principall power is visibly interred in the soule which sheweth herselfe accordant & obeisant to the better & more divine part, all the rest consenting likewise thereto. For the soveraigne creatour, finding a disorder and confusion in the motions of this disordinate and foolish soule, being evermore at discord with herselfe, divided and separated some; reconciled and reunited others; using thereto numbers and proportions; by meanes whereof, the most deafe bodies, as blocks and stones, wood, barks of trees, and the very rennets and mawes of beasts, their guts, their galls and sinewes, being framed, tempered, and mixed together in proportion, exhibite into us the figures of statues wonderfull to see to, and drogues and medicines most effectually, yea and sounds of musically instruments right admirable. And therefore *Zeno* the Citiean, called fourth yong men to see and beholde minstrels playing upon flutes and hautboies: That they might heare (quoth he) and learne, what sweet sounds and melodious noises, hornes, pieces of wood, canes and reeds do yeeld, yea and whatsoever matters els musically instruments be made of, when they meet with proportions and accords. As for that which the Pythagoreans were wont to say and affirme, namely, that all things resembled number, it would aske a long discourse for to declare it. But that all the gods who were before at discord and debate, by reason of their dissimilitude, and whatsoever els jarred, grew to accord and consonance one with another, whereof the cause was the temperature, moderation and order of number and harmonie, the very Poets were not ignorant of, who use to call such things as be friendly, amiable and pleasing, *ἀσπαστα*: but adversaries and enemies they terme *ἀσπαστα*, as if discord and enmitie were nothing els but disproportion: and verily that Poet whoever he was, that made a funerrall dittie for *Pindarus*, when he said thus of him,

*ἀσπαστα ὡς εἰς αἰῶνα δαίη δὴ καὶ πόσις ἀσπαστα.*

*To strangers kinde he was and affable,*

*To citizens friendly and pliable.*

shewed very well, that he held it for a singular vertue to be sociable, and to know how to fort and agree with others: like as the same *Pindarus* himselfe,

*When God did call, he gave attendance,*

*And never brags of all his valiance,*

meaning and signifying *Cadmus*. The olde Theologians and Divines, who of all Philosophers are most ancient, have put into the hands of the images of the gods, musically instruments, minding nothing lesse thereby, than to make this god or that a minstrell, either to play on lute or to found the flute, but because they thought there was no greater piece of worke than accord and harmonically symphonie could beseme the gods. Like as therefore, hee that would seeke for sesquitercian, sesquialterall or double proportions of Musick, in the necke or bridge, in the belly or backe of a lute, or in the pegs and pinnes thereof, were a ridiculous fooles (for howsoever these parts ought to have a symmetricke and proportion one to another in regard of length and thickeesse; yet the harmonie whereof we speake, is to be considered in the sounds onely.) Even so, probable it is, and standeth with great reason, that the bodies of the starres, the distances and intervals of spheres, the celeritie also of their courses and revolutions, should be proportionate one unto the other, yea and unto the whole world, as instruments of musick well set and tuned, albeit the just quantitie of the measure be unknowne unto. But this we are to thinke, that the principall effect and efficacie of these numbers and proportions, which that great and soveraigne Creatour used, is the consonance, accord, and agreement of the soule in it selfe; with which she being endowed, she hath replenished both the heaven it selfe, when she was seiled thereupon, with an infinite number of good things; and also disposed and ordered all things upon the earth, by seasons, by changes and mutations, tempered and measured most excellently well and with surpassing wisdom, as well for the production and generation of all things, as for the preservation and safety of them, when they were created and made.

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## AN EPITOME OR BREVIARIE of a Treatise as touching the creation of the Soule, according to Plato in *Timæus*.

**T**His Treatise, entituled, *Of the creation of the soule*, as it is described in the booke of of *Plato* named *Timæus*, declareth all that *Plato*, and the *Platoniques* have written of that argument; and inferreth certeine proportions and similitudes Geometricall, which he supposeth pertinent to the speculation and intelligence of the nature of the soule: as also certeine Musickal and Arithmetickal Theoremes. His meaning and saying is, that the first matter was brought into forme and shape by the soule. Hee attributeth to the universall world a soule; and likewise to every living creature a soule of the owne by it selfe, which ruleth and governeth it. He bringeth in the said soule in some sort not engendered, and yet after a sort subject to generation. But hee affirmeth that eternall matter to have bene formed by God; that evil and vice is an impe springing from the said matter, To the end (quoth he) that it might never come into mans thought, That God was the authour or cause of evil.

All the rest of this Breviarie, is word for word in the Treatise it selfe, therefore may be well spared in this place, and not rehearsed a second time.



## OF FATALL NECESSITY.

This little Treatise is so pitiously torne, maimed, and dismembred thorowout, that a man may sooner divine and guesse thereat (as I have done) than translate it. I beseech the readers therefore, to holde me excused, in case I neither please my selfe, nor content them, in that which I have written.



**E**ndeavour I will, and addresse my selfe to write unto you (most deere and loving friend *Pisio*, as plainly and compendiously as possible I can) mine opinion as touching *Fatall destinie*, for to satisfie your request: albeit you know full well how wary and precise I am in my writing. First and formost therefore, thus much you must understand, That this terme of *Fatall destinie* is spoken and understood two manner of waies: the one, as it is an action, and the other, as it is a substance. In the first place, *Plato* hath figuratively drawen it forth, & under a type described it as an action, both in his dialogue entituled *Phædrus*, in these words: It is an *Adrastian law* or inevitable ordinance, which alwaies followeth and accompanieth God. And also in his treatise called *Timæus*, after this manner: The lawes which God hath pronounced and published to the immortall soules, in the procreation of the universall world. Likewise, in his booke of *Commonwealth*, he saith, That *Fatall necessitie* is the reason and speech of *Lachesis* the daughter of *Necessitie*. By which places he giveth us to understand, not tragically, but after a theologicall manner, what his minde and opinion is. Now if a man (taking the said places already cited & quoted) would expound the same more familiarly in other words, he may declare the former description

in *Phædrus* after this sort, namely, that *Fatall destinie* is a divine reason or sentence intrinsically inflexible and inevitable, proceeding from a cause that cannot be diverted nor impeached. And according to that which he delivereth in *Timæus*, it is a law consequently ensuing upon the nature and creation of the world, by the rule whereof all things passe and are dispenced, that be done. For this is it that *Lachesis* worketh & effecteth, who is in truth the daughter of *Necessitie*, as we have both already said, & also shall better understand by that which we are to deliver hereafter in this and other treatises at our leisure. Thus you see what *Destinie* is, as it goeth for an action; but being taken for a substance, it seemeth to be the universall soule of the whole world, and admirerth a tripartite division. The first *Destinie* is that which erreth not; the second seemeth to erre; and the third is under heaven & conversant about the earth: of which three, the highest is called *Clotho*; that next under it is named *Atropos*; and the lowest, *Lachesis*; and she receiveth the influences of her two celestiall sisters, transmitting and fastening the same upon terrestriall things, which are under her government. Thus have we shewed summarily, what is to be thought & said as touching *Destinie*, being taken as a substance; namely, What it is; what parts it hath; after what sort it is; how it is ordeined; and in what manner it standeth, both in respect of it selfe, and also in regard of us: but as concerning the particularities of all these points, there is another fable in the *Politiques* of *Plato*, which covertly in some sort giveth us intelligence thereof; and the same have we assaied to expaine & unfold unto you, as well as possibly we can. But to returne unto our *Destinie* as it is an action, let us discourse thereof, forasmuch as many questions, naturall, morall and rationall depend thereupon. Now for that we have in some sort sufficiently defined already, what it is, we are to consider consequently in order, the qualitie and manner thereof; howsoever there be many that thinke it very strange and absurd to learch thereinto. I say therefore, that *Destinie* is not infinite, but finite and determinate, however it comprehend as it were within a circle the infinitie of all things that are, and have bene time out of minde, yea and shall be worlds without end: for, neither law, nor reason, nor any divine thing whatsoever, can be infinite. And this shall you the better learne and understand, if you consider the totall revolution and the universall time, when as the eight sphæres, as *Timæus* saith, having performed their swift courses, shall returne to the same head and point againe, being measured by the circle of *The same*, which goeth alwaies after one manner: for in this definite and determinate reason, all things aswell in heaven as in earth, which doe consist by the necessitie of that above, be reduced to the same situation, and brought againe to their first head and beginning. The onely habitude therefore of heaven, which standeth ordeined in all points, aswell in regard of it selfe, as of the earth, and all terrestriall matters, after certeine long revolutions, shall one day returne, yea and that which consequently followeth after, and those which are linked in a continuity together, bring ech one by consequence that which it hath by necessity. For to make this matter more plaine, let us suppose that all those things which are in and about us, be wrought and brought to passe by the course of the heavens and celestiall influences, all being the very efficient cause both of that which I write now, and also of that which you are doing at this present, yea and in that sort as you do the same: so that hereafter, when the same cause shall turne about and come againe, we shall do the very same that now we do, yea and after the same manner; yea we shall become againe the very same men. And even so it shall be with all other men: and looke whatsoever shall follow in a course or traine, shall likewise happen by a consequent and dependant cause: and in one word, whatsoever shall befall in any of the universall revolutions; shall become the same againe. Thus apparent it is, as hath already bene said, That *Destinie* being in some sort infinite, is neverthelesse determinate and not infinite; as also, that according as we have shewed before, it is evident that it is in manner of a circle: for like as the motion of a circle in a circle, and the time that measureth it is also a circle; even so the reason of those things which are done and happen in a circle, by good right may be esteemed and said to be a circle.

This therefore, if nought els there were, sheweth unto us, in a manner sufficiently, what is *destinie* in generality, but not in particular, nor in ech severall respect: What then is it? It is the general, in the same kinde of reason, so as a man may compare it with civill law: For first and formost, it commaundeth the most part of things, if not all, at leastwise by way of supposition, and then it compriseth as much as is possible all matters appertaining to a city or publike state, generally: and that we may better understand both the one and the other, let us exemplifie and consider the same in specialty: The civill or politike law speaketh and ordeineth generally of a valiant man, as also of a run-away coward, and so consequently of others: howbeit, this is not

to make a law of this or that particular person; but to provide ingenerall principally, and then of particulars by consequence, as comprised under the said generall; for we may very well say, that to remunerate and recompense this or that man for his valour is lawfull; as also to punish a particular person for his cowardise, and forsaking his colours; for that the law potentially and in effect, hath comprized as much, although not in expresse words: like as the law (if I may so say) of Physicians, and of masters of bodily exercises, comprehendeth speciall and particular points within the generall: and even so doth the law of nature, which first and principally doth determine generall matters; and then particulars secondarily & by consequence. Semblably, may particular and individuall things in some sort be said to be defined, for that they be so by consequence with the generals. But haply some one of those who search and enquire more curiously and exactly into these matters will hold the contrary, and say; that of particular & individuall things, proceed the composition of the generals, and that the generall is ordeined and gathered for the particular. Now that for which another thing is, goeth alwaies before that which is for it; but this is not the proper place to speake of these quiddities; for wee are to referre them to some other: howbeit, that destiny doth not comprehend all things purely and exprefly, but onely such as be universall and generall, is resolved upon for this present, and leaveth for that which we have to say hereafter, yea, and agreeth also to that which hath bene delivered somewhat before; for that which is finite and determinate, properly agreeable to divine providence, is more seene in universall and generall things, than in particular; of this nature is the law of God, and such is likewise the civill law, whereas infinity consisteth in particulars.

After this we are to declare, what meaneth this tearme, By supposition: for surely destiny is to be thought such a thing. We have then called, By supposition, that which is not let downe of it selfe, nor by it selfe, but supposed and joined after another; and this signifieth a suite and consequence: This is the law or ordinance of *Adrastia*, that is to say, a decree inevitable; unto which, if any soule can associate it selfe, the same shall be able to see by consequence, all that will ensue, even unto another generall revolution, and be exempt from all evils; which if it may be able alwaies to doe, it shall neither suiteine any damage nor doe harme. Thus you see what it is that we call, By supposition & in generall. Now that Fatall destiny is of this kind evidently appeereth, as well by the substance as the name thereof; for it is called in Greek *ἀναγκη*, as if one would say *anankē*, that is as much as dependant and linked, and a law it is and ordinance, for that things therein be ordeined and disposed consequently, and in manner of those which are done civilly.

Heereunto is to be annexed a treatise of relation, that is to say, what reference and respect hath Fatall destiny unto divine providence, as also unto fortune: likewise, what is that which is in us; what is contingent; and such like things. Moreover, we are to decide, wherein and how it is false; wherein also, and how it is true; that all things happen and come to passe by Fatall destiny: for if it import and imply thus much, That all things are comprised and contained in Fatall destiny, we must grant this proposition to be true: and say one put thereto all things done among men, upon the earth, and in the very heaven, and place them within Fatall destiny, let us grant as much for the present. But if we understand that this word Fatall (as it rather seemeth) doth import not all things, but that onely which followeth and is dependant, then wee may not grant and say, that all things be comprehended in Fatall destiny; considering all that which the law doeth comprehend, and whereof it speaketh, is not lawfull, nor according to law: for why? it compriseth treason; it treateth of cowardise; of running away from ones colours and place in battell; of adultery and many things fensibable: of which we cannot say, any one is lawfull: forasmuch as, even to performe valorous service in the wars, to kill tyrants, or to exploit any vertuous deed, I would not tearme lawfull, because properly that is lawfull, which is commanded by the law; and if the law did command those things, how can they avoid to be rebellious and transgressors of the law, who have not done valiant exploits in armes, have not killed tyrants, nor performed any other notable acts of vertue? and in case they be offenders of the law, why are they not punished accordingly? But if to punish such, be neither just nor reasonable, then confesse we must, that these matters be not legall, nor according to law; for legall and according to law is that, which is namely prescribed, set downe, and exprefly commanded by the law, in any action whatsoever. Semblably, those things onely be Fatall and according to destiny, which are done by a divine disposition proceeding, so that Fatall destiny may well comprise all things: howbeit many of those which be comprised therein, and in manner all that went before,

before, to speake properly, cannot be pronounced Fatall, nor according to Fatall destiny, which being so, we ought to declare now in order consequently, how that which is in our owne power, to wit, free will, how fortune, possible, contingent, and other such like things, which be ranged and placed among the premises, may subsist safely with fatall destiny; and how fatall destiny may stand with them: for fatall destiny comprehendeth all, as it seemeth: and yet these things happen not by any necessity, but every of them according to there owne nature. The nature of possible is to have a presubstistence as the gender, and to goe before the contingent, and the contingent as the subject matter ought to be presupposed before the things which are in our power: for that which is in us, as a lord and master useth the contingent. And fortune is of this nature, to intercurrere betweene our free will and what is in us, by the property of contingencie enclining to the one side and to the other, which you may more easily apprehend and understand, if you consider, how every thing that is produced forth, yea and the production it selfe and generation, is not without a certaine puissance: and no puissance or power there is without a subsistence: as for example the generation of man, and that which is produced and engendered, is not without a power, and the same is about the man, but man himselfe is the substance. Of the puissance or power being betweene, cometh the substance which is the puissant: but the production and that which is produced, be both things possible. There being therefore these three, puissance, puissant, and possible: before puissance can be, of necessity there must be presupposed a puissant, as the subject thereof: and even so it must needs be that puissance also subsist before that which is possible. By this deduction then, in some sort is declared, what is that which we call possible; so as we may after a grosse manner define it to be, that which puissance is able to produce: and to speake more properly of the same, by adjoining thereto thus much, provided alwaies that nothing without forth doe impeach or hinder it. But among possible things, some there be that never can be hindred, as namely in heaven, the rising and setting of the stars, and such like: others may be impeached, as the most part of humane affaires, yea and many meteors in the aire. As for the former, as things hapning by necessity, they be called necessarie; the other for that they fall out sometime contrariwise, we tearme contingent; and in this sort may they be described. Necessary is that possible thing, which is opposit to impossible: contingent is that possible, whereof possible also is the contrary. For that the sun should go downe, is a thing both necessary & possible, as being contrary unto this impossibility, namely, that the sun should not set at all: but that when the sun is set, there should come raine or not raine, are both of them possible and contingent. Again of things contingent, some there be which happen oftentimes and for the most part; others rare and seldom; some fall out indifferently, as well one waie as another, even as it hapneth. And plaine it is, that these be opposit and repugnant to themselves: as for those which happen usually and very often, contrary they be to such things as chance but seldom: and these indeed for the most part are subject to nature: but that which chanceth equally, one way as well as another, lieth in us and our will: for examples sake, that under the Dog starre it should be hot and colde; the one commonly and for the most part, the other very seldom, are things both, submitted to nature: but to walke or not to walke and such things whereof the one and the other be subject to the free will of man, are said to be in us and touching this tearme, To be in us, it is to be understood two manner of waies, and thereof are two kinds, the one proceedeth from passion as namely from anger or concupience; the other from discourse of reason or judgement and understanding, which a man may properly say, to be in our election. And some reason there is that this possible contingent which is named to be in us, and to proceed from our appetite and will, should be called so, not in the same regard, but for divers: for in respect of future time it is called possible and contingent; but in regard of present it is named, In us and in our free will: so as a man may thus define and distinguish of these things: Contingent is that which both it selfe and the contrary whereof is possible: that which in us, is the one part of contingent, to wit, that which presently is in doing according to our appetite. Thus have we in manner declared, that by nature possible goeth before contingent, and contingent subsisteth before that which in us; also, what each of them is, and whereupon they are so called, yea and what be the qualities adjoining thereto: it remaineth now, that we should treat of Fortune and casual adventure, and of whatsoever besides, that requireth discourse and consideration. First, this is certaine, that Fortune is a kinde of cause: but among causes, some are of themselves, others by accident: as for example, of an house or ship, the proper causes and of themselves, be the Mason, Carpenter or Shipwright; but by accident, the

Musician

Musician and Geometrician, yea, and whatsoever incident to the mason, carpenter, or shipwright, either in regard of body or minde, or outward things: whereby it appeareth, that the essentiall cause which is by it selfe, must needs be determinate, certaine in one; whereas the accidentall causes are not alwaies one and the same, but infinit, and indeterminate; for many accidents in number infinit, and in nature different one from another, may be together in one and the same subject. This cause then by accident, when it is found not onely in such things which are done for some end, but also in those wherein our election and will taketh place, is called fortune: as namely, to find treasure when a man diggeth a hole or grave to plant a tree in, or to do and suffer any extraordinary thing, in flying, pursuing, or otherwise going and marching, or onely in retiring: provided alwaies, that he doeth it not to that end which ensueth thereupon, but upon some other intention. And hereupon it is, that some of the ancient philosophers have defined fortune, to be a cause unknown, and not foreseene by mans reason: But according to the Platoniques, who come neerer unto it in reason, it is defined thus: Fortune is an accidentall cause in those things that are done for some end, and which are in our election; and afterwards they adjoine morcover, not foreseene nor known by the discourse of humane reason; although that which is rare and strange, by the same meanes, appeareth also in this kinde of cause by accident. But what this is, if it appeere not manifestly by the oppositions and contradictory disputations, yet at leastwise it will be declared most evidently, by that which is writtē in a treatise of *Plato*, entituled *Phædon*, where these words are found. VVhat Have you not heard how & in what maner the judgement passed? Yes iwis: For one there was, who 20 came and told us of it: whereat we marvelled very much, that seeing the sentence of judgement was pronounced long before, he died a good while after. And what might be the cause thereof, *ô Phædon*? Surely, there hapned unto him, *ô Echeerates*, a certaine fortune: For it chanced that the day before the judgement, the prow of the galley which the Athenians sent to ille *Delos* was crowned: In which words it is to be noted, that by this tearme; There hapned, you must not understand, There was; but rather, it so befell, upon a concourse and meeting of many causes together, one after another. For the priest adorned the ship with coronets for another end and intention, and not for the love of *Socrates*; yea, and the judges had condemned him also for some other cause: but the event it selfe was so strange & admirable, as if it had hapned by some providence, or by an humane creature, or rather indeed by some superior nature. And 30 thus much may suffice as touching fortune, and the definition thereof: as also, that necessarily it ought to be sublied together with some one contingent thing of those which are meant to some end; whereupon it tooke the \* name: yea, and there must be some subject before of such things which are in us and in our election.

But casual adventure reacheth and extendeth farther than fortune: for it compriseth both it, and also many other things which may chance aswell one way as another: and according as the very etymologic and derivation of the word *adventurus*, sheweth it is that which hapneth for and in stead of another, namely, when that which was ordinary fell not out, but another thing in lieu thereof: as namely, when it chanceth to be colde weather in the Dog daies; for sometimes it falleth out to be then colde: and not without cause. In summe, like as that which is in us and 40 arbitrary, is part of contingent; even so is fortune a part of casual or accidental adventure: and both these events are conjunct and dependant one of another; to wit, casual adventure liangeth upon contingent, and fortune upon that which is in us and arbitrarie; and yet not simply and in generally, but of that onely which is in our election, according as hath beene before said. And hereupon it is, that this casual adventure is common aswell to things which have no life, as to those which are animate; whereas fortune is proper to man onely, who is able to performe voluntarie actions. An argument whereof is this, that to be fortunate, happie and blessed, are thought to be all one; for blessed happinesse is a kinde of well doing; and to doe well, properly belongeth to a man and him that is perfect. Thus you see what things are comprised within fatall destiny, namely, contingent, possible, election, that which is within us, fortune, casual accident or chance & adventure, together with their circumstant adjuncts, signified by these words, haply, peradventure or perchance: howbeit, we are not to inferre, that because they be contained within destiny, therefore they be fatall.

It remaineth now to discourse of divine providence, considering that it selfe comprehendeth fatall destiny. This supream and first providence therefore, is the intelligence and will of the soveraigne god, doing good unto all that is in the world; whereby all divine things universally and thorowout, have bene most excellently and wisely ordeined and disposed. The second pro-

vidence

vidence, is the intelligence and will of the second gods who have their course thorow the heaven; by which, temporall and mortall things are engendred regularly and in order; as also whatsoever pertaineth to the preservation and continuance of every kinde of thing. The third, by all probability and likelihood may well be called the providence and prospicience of the Demons or angels, as many as be placed and ordeined about the earth as superintendents, for to observe, make and governe mens actions. Now albeit there be seene this threefold providence, yet properly and principally that first and supream is named Providence: so as we may be bolde, and never doubt to say, howsoever herein we seeme to contradiēt some Philosophers, That all things are done by fatall destiny, and by providence, but not likewise by nature: howbeit, some by providence; and that after divers sorts, these by one, and those by another: yea and some also by fatall destiny. As for fatall destiny, it is altogether by providence; but providence in no wise by fatall destiny: where, by the way, this is to be noted, that in this present place I understand the principall and soveraigne providence. Now whatsoever is done by another (be it what it will) is evermore after that which causeth or maketh it; even as that which is erected by law is after the law; like as what is done by nature, must needs succeed and come after nature. Semblably, what is done by fatall destiny, is after fatall destiny, & of necessity must be more new & moderne: and therefore the supreme providence is the ancientest of all, excepting him alone, whose intelligence it is or wil, or both twaine together, to wit, the soveraigne author, creator, maker and father of all things.

20 And for what cause it is, I saith *Timæus*, that he hath made & framed this fabricke of the world: as for that he is all good, and in him being all good, there can not be imprinted or engendred any envie: but seeing he is altogether void and free from it, his will was, that as much as possibly might be, all things should resemble himselfe. He then who shall receive and admit this for the most principall and proper originall of the generation and creation of the world, such as 30 women have delivered unto us by writing, is in the right way, and doeth very well. For God willing that all things should be good, and nothing at all (to his power) evill, tooke all that was visible, restless as it was, and moving still rashly, confusedly, irregularly and without order, which he brought out of confusion, and ranged into order, judging this to be every way farre better than the other: for neither it was, nor is convenient and meet, for him who is himselfe 40 right good, to make any thing that should not be most excellent and beautifull. Thus therefore we are to esteeme that providence (I meane that which is principall and soveraigne) hath constituted and ordeined these things first, and then in order such as ensue and depend thereof, even as farre as to the soules of men. Afterwards having thus created the universall world, hee 50 ordeined eight spheres, answering in number to so many principall starres; and distributed to every one of them a severall soule; all which he set, each one (as it were) within a chariot over the nature of the whole, shewing unto them the lawes and ordinances of Fatall destiny \* \* \* What is he then who will not beleeeve, that by these words he plainly sheweth and declareth Fatall destiny, and the same to be (as one would say) a tribunall, yea, & a politicke constitution of civill lawes, meet and agreeable to the soules of men? whereof afterwards he rendreth a reason. 40 And as touching the second providence, he doeth after a fort expressly signifie the same in these words, saying: Having therefore prescribed all these lawes unto them, to the end that if afterwards there should be any default, he might be exempted from all cause of evill: he spread and sowed some upon the earth, others about the moone, and some againe upon other organs and instruments of time: after which distribution, he gave commandement and charge to the young gods for to frame and create mortall bodies, as also to make up and finish that which remained and was wanting in mans soule; and when they had made perfect all that was adherent and consequent thereto, then to rule and governe after the best and wisest maner possible, this mortall creature, to the end that it selfe should not be the cause of the owne evils and miseries: for in these words where it is said: That he might be exempt, and not the cause of any evill ensuing afterwards, he sheweth cleerly and evidently to every one the cause of Fatall destiny. The order also and office of these petie-gods declareth unto us the second providence, yea, and it seemeth that in some sort it toucheth by the way, the third providence, in case it be so, that for this purpose these lawes and ordinances were established, because he might not be blamed or accused as the author of any evill in any one afterwards: for God himselfe being cleere & exempt from all evill, neither hath need of lawes, nor requirerh any Fatall destiny: but each one of these petie-gods, led and haled by the providence of him who hath engendred them, doth their owne devoir and office, belonging unto them. That this is true, and the very minde and opinion

opinion of *Plato*, appeareth manifestly in my conceit, by the testimonie of those words which are reported by the law-giver in his books of lawes in this maner: If there were any man (quoth he) so by nature sufficient, or by divine fortune so happily borne, that he could be able to comprehend this, he should require no lawes to command him: for no law there is, nor ordinance of more worth and puissance, than is knowledge and science: neither can he possibly be a servile slave or subject to any, who is truly and indeed free by nature, but he ought to command all. For mine owne part thus I understand and interpret the sentence of *Plato*: For whereas there is a triple providence: the first, as that which hath engendred *Fatall destiny*, in some sort comprehendeth it: the second being engendred with it, is likewise wholly comprised in it: the third engendred after *Fatall destiny*, is comprised under it, in that maner, as, That which is in us, and fortune, as we have already said: for those whom the assistance of the power of our *Dæmon* doth aid (according as *Socrates* saith) expounding unto *Theages* what is the inevitable ordinance of *Adrastia*, these (I say) are those whom you understand well enough; for they grow and come forward quickly with speed, so as, where it is said, that a *Dæmon* or angell doth favour any, it must be referred to the third providence; but that suddenly they grow and come to proofe, it is by the power of *Fatall destiny*: And to be short, it is very plaine and evident, that even this also is a kinde of destiny. And peradventure it may seeme much more probable, that even the second providence is comprehended under destiny; yea, and in summe, all things whatsoever be made or done, considering that destiny according to the substance thereof, hath bene rightly divided by us into three parts. And verily that speech as touching the chaine and concatenation, comprehendeth the revolutions of the heavens, in the number and ranage of those things which happen by supposition: but verily of these points I will not debate much, to wit, whether we are to call them, Hapning by supposition, or rather conjunct unto destiny; considering that the precedent cause and commander of destiny it selfe, is also fatall. And thus to speake summarily, and by way of abridgement, is our opinion: but the contrary sentence unto this, orderineth all things to be not onely under destiny, but also according to destiny, and by it. Now all things accord unto *the other*, and that which accordeth to another, the same must be granted to be *the other*: according then to this opinion, contingent is said to be the first; that which is in us the second; fortune the third; accident or casual chance and adventure the fourth, together with all that dependeth thereupon, to wit, praise, blame, and those of the same kinde; the fifth and last of all, may be said to be the prayers unto the gods, together with their services and ceremonies. Moreover, as touching those which are called idle, and harvest arguments, as also that which is named beside or against destiny, they are no better than cavils and sophistries according to this opinion; but according to the contrary sentence, the first and principall conclusion is, that nothing is done without cause, but all thing depend upon precedent causes: the second, that the world is governed by nature, which conspireth and is compatible with it selfe; the third may seeme rather to be testimonies unto these; whereof the first is divination, approved by all nations, as being really and truly in God; the second the æquanimity and patience of wise men, taking and bearing well all accidents and occurrences whatsoever, as comming by divine ordinance; the third, which is so common a speech, and divulged in every mans mouth, namely, that every proposition is either true or false. Thus have we drawn this discourse into a small number of short articles, to the end that we might remember and comprise in few words, the whole matter and argument of *Destinie*. All which points, both of the one and the other opinion, are to be discussed and examined with more diligent inquisition, whereof particularly we will treat afterwards.

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## A COMPENDIOUS REVIEW AND DISCOURSE, THAT THE STOICKS DELIVER MORE STRANGE OPINIONS, THAN DO THE POETS.

The Summarie.

**A** Petie declaration this is against the sect of the Stoicks, which briefly and in a word is maker odious; growing out in plaine rearmes, that such persons be the loudest liars in the world; and that their opinion as touching the change and alteration of that party who rangeth himselfe unto them, is so monstrous and ridiculous, that the discovery only thereof is a sufficient refutation.

## A COMPENDIOUS REVIEW and discourse, That the Stoicks deliver more strange opinions, than do the Poets.

**P**indarus was reprovved, for that after a strange maner, and without all sense and probabilitie hee fained *Cænem* one of the *Lapithe*, to have had a bodie so hard, as it could not be pierced by any weapon of iron and Steele, but that he remained unhurt, and so afterwards  
*Went under earth with his iron wound,  
 When with stiffe foot he leste the ground.*  
 But this *Lapith* of the Stoicks, to wit, their imagined wise man, being forged by them of impassibilitie, as of a metall harder than the diamond, is not such an one as is not otherwhiles wounded, diseased and assailed with paine: howbeit, as they say, he abideth still fearelesse and without sorrow and heavinesse; he continueth invincible, he susteineth no force nor violence, howsoever he be wounded, what paine soever he suffereth, he be put to all tortures, or see his native countrey sacked and destroyed before his face, or what calamities els beside be presented to his eies. And verily, that *Cænem* whom *Pindarus* describeth, notwithstanding hee were smitten, and bare many stroakes, yet was unwounded for all that: but the wise man whom the Stoicks imagine, although he be kept enclosed in prison, yet is not restrained of libertie; say he be pitched downe from the top of a rocke, yet susteineth no violence; is he put to the strapado, to the racke or wheele, yet for all that is he not tormented; and albeit he fire in the fire, yet he hath no harm; nay, if in wrestling he be foiled and take a fall, yet he persisteth unconquered; when he is environed within a wall, yet is he not besieged; and being sold in port sale by the enemies, yet is he no captive, but remaineth impregnable; resembling most properly for all the world, those ships which have these goodly inscriptions in their pousps, *Happy voyage, Luckie navigation, Saving providence, and Remedy against all dangers*: and yet the same nevertheless be tossed in the seas, split upon the rocks, cast away and drowned. *Iolus*, as the Poet *Euripides* hath fained, by a certeine praiser that he made unto the gods, of a feeble and decrepit olde man, became all of a sudden a yong and lustie gallant, ready for to fight a battell: but the Stoicks wise man, who longer agoe than yesterday, was most hateful, wretched and wicked, all at once to day



is changed into a good and vertuous person; he is of a rivelled, pale, leane and poore fillie aged man, and as the Poet *Aeschylus* saith,

*Who suffereth pangs in flanke, in reines and backe,  
With painfull cramps, stretcht as upon a racke.*

become, a lovely, faire, beautifull, and personable youth, pleasant both to God and man. *Menerua* in *Homer* tid *Ulysses* from his wrinkles, his baldnesse, and ill favoured deformity, that he might appeare full of favour and amiable: but this wise man of there making, albeit withered olde age leave not his body, but contrariwise increase still and grow more and more with all the discommodities that follow it, continuing still for example facke bunch backt, if he were to be fore, one eied, and toothlesse, yet forsooth is not for all this, foule, deformed and ill favoured, 10 For like as by report the bettills fly from good and sweet odors, seeking after stinking fents, even so the Stoicks love (converting with the most foule ill favoured and deformed, after that by their sapience and widome they be turned into all beauty and favor) departeth and goeth from them. With these Stoicks he who in the morning haply was most wicked, will proove in the evening a right honest man: & who went to bed foolishly, ignorant, injurious, outrageous, intemperate, yea a very slave, a poore & needy begger, will rise the morrow morning, a king, rich, happie, chaste, just, firme and constant, nothing at all subject to variety of opinions: not for that he hath all on a suddaine put forth a beard, or become under grown, as in a yoong and tender body: but rather engendered in a weake, soft, effeminate and inconstant foule, a perfect minde, perfect understanding, soveraine prudence, a divine disposition, comparable to the gods, a settled and assured science, not wandering in opinions and an immutable and stedfast habitude: neither went that leawd wickednesse of his away by little & little, but all at once (I may well neere say) he was transmuted from a most vile beast into a deny god, a demon, or a very god indeed. For so soone once as a man hath learned vertue in the Stoicks schoole, he may say thus unto himselfe:

*Wish what thou wilt, and what thou list to crave,  
All shall be done, & doe thou but aske and have.*

This vertue brings riches, this carth with it royalty, this giveth good fortune, this makes men happie, standing in need of nothing, contented in themselves, although they have not in all the world so much as a single drachme of silver, or one grey goate. Yet are the fables of Poets devised with more probability and likelihood of reason: for never doe they leave *Hercules* altogether destitute of necessaries: but it seemeth that he hath with him alwaies one living source or other, out of which there runneth evermore foison and plenty for himselfe and the company about him. But he who hath once gotten the goat *Amalthea* by the head, and that plentifull horne of abundance which the Stoicks talke of, he is rich incontinently, and yet beggeth his bread and victuals of others; he is a king, although for a peece of mony he teacheth how to resolve syllogismes: he onely possesseth all things, albeit he pay rent for his house, buyeth his meale and meat with the silver that many times he taketh up of the usurer, or else craveth at their hands who have just nothing of their owne to give. True it is indeed, that *Ulysses* the king of *Ithaca* begged almes, but it was because he would not be knownen; counterfaising all that he could 40

*To make himselfe a begger poore,  
Like one that went from doore to doore.*

whereas he that is come out of the Stoicks schoole, crying aloud with open mouth, I onely am a king, I am rich and none but I, is scene oftentimes at other mens doores standing, with this note,

*Give Hipponax a cloke, his naked corps to folde,  
For that I quake and shiver much for colde.*



## THE CONTRADICTIONS OF STOICK PHILOSOPHERS.

### The Summarie.

**L**utarch being of the *Academique* sect, directly contrary to the Stoicks, examined in this treatise the opinions of those his adversaries, and sheweth by proper testimonies out of their owne writings, and namely of *Chrysippus* their principall doctor, that there is nothing firme and certaine in all their doctrine: perusing and sifting to this end the chiefe points of all the parts of philosophie, not binding himselfe precisely to any speciall order, but proposing matters according as they come into his remembrance, or were presented to his eies. Moreover, in the recitall of then repugnancies and contradictions, he intermingleth certaine expositions, to aggravate the absurdity of this sect of his adversaries, and to withdraw the reader from them: which is a very proper and singular manner of declaiming and disputing against moderate errors and such as have a great name in the world: for in shewing that these who are reputed most able and sufficient to teach and maintaine them, know not what they say, and do confound themselves, as much as to reproch every man who doth adhere unto them, with this imputation, that he is deprived of common sense, in receiving that for a certaine verity, wherein their very masters are not well resolved, or admitting that which they praise, otherwise than they say. 30

## THE CONTRADICTIONS of Stoicke philosophers.

**I**f above all things, I would have to be scene a conformitie and accord betwene the opinions of men and their lives: for it is not so necessary, that the oratour, according as *Lysias* saith, and the law, should sound the same note, as requisite that the life of a philosopher should be conformable and consonant to his words and doctrine: for the speech of a philosopher is a voluntary and particular law which hee imposeth upon himselfe, if it be so as men esteeme, that philosophie is (as no doubt it is) the profession of that which is serious, grave, and of weighty importance, and not a gamesome sport, or vaine and toyish prating, devised onely for to gaine glory. Now we see, that *Zeno* himselfe hath written much by way of disputation and discourse; *Cleanthes* likewise, and *Chrysippus* most of all, concerning the politike government of common-wealth, touching rule and obedience, of judgement also and pleading at the barre: and yet looke into all their lives throughout, you shall not finde that every any of them were captains and commanders, neither law-givers, nor senators, & counsellors of State, ne yet orators or advocates pleading judicially in court before the judges; nay, they were not so much as employed in any warre, bearing armes, and performing martiall service for the defence of their countries: you shall not finde (I say) that any of them was ever sent in embassage, or bestowed any publicke largesse or donative to the people; but remained all the time of their life (and that was not thort, but very long) in a strange and foren country, feeding upon rest and repose, as if they had tasted of the herbe *Lotus* in *Homer*, and forgotten their native soile, where they spent their time in writing books, in holding discourses, and in walking up and downe. Heereby it manifestly

manifestly appeareth, that they lived rather according to the sayings and writings of other, than answerable to that which themselves judge and confesse to be their duty, having passed the whole course of their life in that quiet repose, which *Epicurus* and *Hieronymus* so highly praise and commend. And verily to prove this to be a trueth, *Chrysippus* himselfe in his fourth booke entituled, Of Lives, is of opinion, and so hath put downe in writing, that a scholasticall life, to wit, that of idle students, differeth not from the life of voluptuous persons. And to this purpose I thinke it not amisse to alledge the mans speech word for word: They (quoth he) who thinke that this scholasticall and idle life of students even from the first beginning, is most of all befitting and agreeable to philosophers, in my conceit, seeme much deceived weening as they do, that they are to philosophize for their pastime or recreation, and so to draw out in length the whole course of their life at their booke in their studies, which is as much to say in plaine termes, as to live at ease and in pleasure. Neither is this opinion of theirs to be hidden and dissembled; for many of them give out as much openly, howsoever others, and those not a few deliver the same more obscurely; and yet where is he who grew old and aged more in this idle scholasticall life, than *Chrysippus*, *Cleanthes*, *Diogenes*, *Zeno* and *Antipater*? who forsooke and abandoned even their native countries, having no cause or occasion in the world to complaine of or to be discontent; only to this end, that they might lead their lives more sweetly at their pleasure, studying and disputing with ease, and letting out their girdle slacke as they list themselves. To approve this that I say, *Aristocreon* the disciple of *Chrysippus*, and one of his familiar friends, having caused a statue of brasse to be erected for him, set over it these elegant 20 verses in manner of an epigram:

*This image, Aristocreon  
erected fiesh and new  
For Chrylip, Academicke knots  
who like an ax did hew*

Lo, what manner of person was *Chrysippus*, an aged man, a philosopher, one who praised the life of kings, and of those who are conversant in weale publike, and he who thought there was no difference between the idle scholasticall life, and the voluptuous. And yet others among them as many I meane as deal in state affaires, are found to be more repugnant and contradictory to the resolutions of their owne sect: for they beare rule as chiefe magistrates, they are judges, they be Senators and set in counsell, they ordaine and publish lawes, they punish malefactors, they honour and reward those that doe well; as if they were cities indeed wherein they governe and manage the state; as if those were senators, counsellors and judges, who yeerely alwaies are by lot created or otherwise to such places; captaines and commanders who are elected by the suffrages and voices of citizens; and as if those were to be held good lawes which *Clisthenes*, *Lycurgus* & *Solon* made: and yet the same men they avow and maintaine to have bene witlesse fooles, and leawd persons. Thus you see how albeit they administer the common weale, yet they be repugnant to their owne doctrine.

In like maner *Antipater*, in his booke of the dissention, betweene *Cleanthes*, and *Chrysippus* reporteth, that *Zeno* and *Cleanthes* would never be made citizens of *Athens*, for teare forsooth lest they might be thought to offer injurie to their owne country. Now if they herein did well, let *Chrysippus* goe, and say wee nothing of him that he did amisse, in causing himselfe to be enrolled and immatriculated in the number of Athenian citizens; for I will not stand much upon this point: onely this I holde, that there is a strange and wonderfull repugnance in their deeds and actions, who reserve still the bare names of their native countries, and yet bereave the same of their very persons and their lives, converting so farre off in forraigne lands: much like as if a man who hath cast off and put a way his lawfull wedded wife, should dwell, live and lie ordinarily with another as his concubine, yea and beget children of her body, and yet will in no wise espouse her and contract marriage with her, lest forsooth he might seeme to doe wrong and injurie to the former. Furthermore *Chrysippus* in his treatise that he made of Rhetoricke writing thus, that 50 a wife man will in such sort plead, make orations to the people, and deal in state matters, as if riches reputation and health were simply good things, testifieth hereby and confesseth that his precepts and resolutions induce men not to goe forth of doores nor to intermeddle in politicke and civill affaires, and so by consequence that their doctrines and precepts cannot sort well with practise, nor be agreeable unto the actions of this life.

Moreover, this is one of *Zenos* quodlibets or positions: that we ought not to build temples to the honour of the gods; for that a temple is no such holy thing, nor so highly to be esteemed

med considering it is the workmanship of malons, carpenters and other artificers: neither can any worke of such artisans be prised at any worth. And yet even they who avow and approve this as a wife speech of his, are themselves professed in the religious mysteries of those churches; they mount up to the castle and frequent there the sacred temple of *Minerva*; they adore the shrines and images of the gods; they adorne the temples with chaplets and garlands, notwithstanding they be the workes of malons, carpenters and such like mechanical persons. And will these men seeme indeed to reprove the Epicureans as contrary to themselves, who denying that the gods be occupied or imployed in the government of the world, yet offer sacrifice unto them, when as they checke and refute themselves much more in sacrificing unto the gods 10 within their temples and upon their altars, which they maintaine that they ought not to stand at all, nor once to have bene built?

*Zeno* putteth downe & admitteth many vertues according to their severall differences, like as *Plato* doth, to wit, prudence, fortitude, temperance & justice; saying that they be all in very deed and in nature inseparable nor distinct a funder: howbeit in reason divers and different one from another. And againe when he would seeme to define them severally one after another, he saith That fortitude is prudence in the execution of matters: justice is prudence in the distribution of things, &c. as if there were no more but one sole vertue, which according to divers relations, unto affaires and actions, seemeth to differ and admit distinction. So you see, that not *Zeno* alone seemeth to be repugnant unto himselfe in these matters, but *Chrysippus* also, who 20 reproveth *Ariston* for saying, that all vertues are nothing else but the divers habitudes and relations of one and the same, and yet defendeth *Zeno* when he defineth each vertue in this wise by it selfe.

As for *Clearches* in his commentaries of nature, having set this downe, that the vigour and similitude of things, is the illusion and smiting of fire, which if it be in the soule so sufficient, that it is able to performe the duties presented unto it, is called strength and power, he annexeth afterward these words: And this very power and strength (quoth he) when as it is employed in such objects wherein a man is to persist, and which he ought to containe, is called Continency; if in things to be endured and supported, then it is named Fortitude; if in estimation of worthinesse and desert, beareth the denomination of justice; if in choises or refusals, it carrieth 30 the name of Temperance. Against him who was the authour of this sentence,

*Forbeare thy sentence for to passe,  
and judgement see thou stay,  
Until such time as thou hast heard  
what parties both can say.*

*Zeno* alledged such a reason as this on the contrary side. Whether the plaintife who spake in the first place hath plainly proved his cause or no, there is no need at all to heare the second, for the matter is at an end already, and the question determined: or whether he hath not proved it, all is one; for it is even the same case, whether he that is cited be so stubburne as not to appeare for to be heard, or if he appeare, doe nothing els but cavill and wrangle: so that proove he or 40 proove he not his cause, needlesse it is to heare the second plead. And yet even he who made this Dilemma, and wrote against the books of Politie and common weale that *Plato* composed, taught his scholars how to affoile and avoid such Sophisticall arguments, yea and exhorted them to learne Logicke with all diligence, as being the art which iteweth them how to performe the same. Howbeit a man might come upon him by way of objection in this maner: Certes, *Plato* hath either proved or els not proved those points which he handled in his Politicks: but whether he did or no, there was no necessitie at all to write against him as you did; for it was altogether vaine, needlesse and superfluous. And even the same may be said of Sophisticall arguments and cavillations.

*Chrysippus* is of opinion, that yong scholars and students should first learne those arts which 50 concerne speech, as Grammar, Logicke and Rhetoricke; in the second place, morall sciences; in the third, naturall philosophie; and after all these, in the last place, to heare the doctrine as touching religion and the gods: which Being delivered by him in many passages of his writings, it shall be sufficient to alledge that onely which he hath written thus word for word in the third booke of his Lives. First and formost (quoth he) it seemeth unto mee, according to the doctrine of our ancients, that of Philosophicall speculations there be three kinds; Logically, as touching speech; Ethicall, concerning maners; and Physicall, belonging to the nature of things: of which, that which is respective unto speech ought to precede and be ranged first; secondly,

condly, that which treateth of maners; thirdly, that which handleth naturall causes. Now of these Physicks and naturall arguments, the last is that which treateth of God: and this is the reason that the precepts and traditions of divine matters and of religion, they called *THESES*, as one would say, the very last and coming in the end. Howbeit, this treatise of the gods, which by his saying ought to be set last, himselfe in the very same booke, rangeth above maners, and setteth before all other morall questions. For neither seemeth he to speake of the ends, nor of justice, nor of good and evill things, nor of marriage, nor of the nouriture and education of children, ne yet of law nor of the government of the Common-wealth in any sort; but as they who propose and publish decrees unto cities and States, make some preamble before of good lucke or happie fortune; so he useth the preface of *Jupiter*, of Fatall destinie, of Divine providence: also, that there being but one world, the same doth consist and is maintained by one mightie power. Which points, no man doth firmly beleeve nor can be resolutely perswaded in, unless he wade deeply into the profoundest secrets and discourses of naturall Philosophie. But hearken I beseech you, a little, to that which he saith of these matters, in his third booke of the gods: It is not possible (quoth he) to finde out any other fountaine and original beginning of justice, than from *Jupiter* and common nature: for from hence it must needs be, that every such thing is derived, if that we meane to discourse of good things and evill. Again, in his Treatise of naturall positions, there is no other way, or at leastwise not a better, of proceeding to the discourse of good things and bad, nor of of vertues, nor of of foveraigne felicity, than from common nature, and the administration of the world. Moreover, as he goeth forward in another place, We are to annex and adjoine hereunto (quoth he) a treatise of good and evill things, considering there is not a better beginning thereof, nor yet a reference and relation more proper: neither is the speculation and science of nature in any other respect requisite or necessarie to be learned, but only for to know the difference of good and evill. And therefore according to *Chrysippus*, this naturall science both goeth before and also followeth after morall things; or to say a trueth at once in more expresse termes, it were a strange and difficult inversion of order, to holde, that it is to be placed after them, considering that without it it were impossible to comprehend any of the other: and a very manifest repugnance it were to affirme, that science naturall is the beginning of morall, which treateth of good and evill, and yet ordeine nevertheless, that it should be taught not before, but after it. Now if any man say unto me, that *Chrysippus* in his booke entituled, *The use of speech*, hath written, that he who first learneth Logicks, I meane the knowledge and philosophie concerning words, ought not altogether for to forbear the learning of other parts, but that he ought to take a taste of them, according as he hath meanes thereto, well may he speake a trueth, but withall, confirme he shall my accusation full of his fault: for he fighteth with himselfe, in ordering one while that a man should learne in the last place and after all, the science that treateth of God, as if that were the reason why it was called *THESES*, which is as much as *THE LAST*, that is to say, Finall; and another while teaching cleane contrarie, that the same is to be learned even with the very first, and at the beginning: for then farewell all order for ever, and welcome confusion, if we must learne all things huddled together at all times. But yet this is not the worst, for having set this downe for a resolution: That the doctrine as touching good things and evill, ought to begin and proceed from the knowledge of God; yet, he will not have them who settle themselves and enter into the studie of morall philosophie, to take their beginning there: but that in learning this, to catch somewhat of that by the way, even as much as they have easie meanes to come by; and afterwards to repasse from morall philosophy unto Theologie, without which (he saith) there can bee neither entrance nor progresse in the knowledge of maners.

Moreover (he saith) that, To dispute of one and the same question, *pro & contra*, to and fro, he disalloweth not simply and in generality: but his advise is, to use the same so warily and with such discretion, as otherwhiles orators doe in pleading, when they alledge the reasons of their adversaries, not to uphold and maintaine the same, but onely for to refute and disprove that so likelihood and probabilitie which they pretend: For otherwise (quoth he) thus to doe, is the manner of those Skepticks, who be alwaies doubtfull, and withhold their consent in every thing: a meere shift that serveth their turne, for whatsoever they hold: but as for those who would worke and establish in mens hearts, a certaine science, according to which they might undoubtedly guide and conduct themselves, they ought to sound and search the contrary, and from point to point by stepmeale, to direct their novices newly entred, even from the beginning to the very end: wherein there falleth out otherwhiles fit opportunity to make mention of

of contrary sentences and opinions, for to refute and resolve that which might seeme to have apparence of trueth; as the manner is in pleading before judges: for these be the very words and proper termes that he useth. Now what an absurd and impertinent a thing it is, that philosophers should thinke they were to put downe the contrary opinions of other philosophers, and not withall, their reasons and arguments, but onely as advocates pleading at the barre to disable and weaken their proofes, and so to weary their adversaries; as if disputation were onely to win the honour of victory, and not to finde out a trueth: we have elsewhere discoursed against him sufficiently. But that himselfe not heere and there in his disputations, but oftentimes and in many places hath confirmed with might and maine, yea, and with too great asseveration and contention, contrary resolutions, unto his owne opinions, that it were a right hard matter for any man to discern, which of them he approoveth most, they themselves in some sort doe say, who admire the subtilty of the man, and the vivacity of his spirit, who also both thinke and sticke not to affirme, that *Carmenes* spake nothing of his owne invention, but by the helpe and meanes of which arguments *Chrysippus* used to proove his owne assertions, hee returned the same contrariwise upon himselfe to confute his precepts, inasmuch as estoones in disputation he would, alluding to a verse in *Homer*, cry our aloud in this manner:

*Unhappy man, thus for to doe,*

*Thine owne pure strength will worke thy woe.*

as if he lay open and ministred great advantages and meanes against himselfe, to those who went about for to infringe and calumniate his opinions. But as touching those treatises and discourses which he hath put forth and set out against ordinary custome, his followers do so gloriously boast and joy, that they give out, if all the books of the Academies that ever lived, were laid together, they deserved not to be compared with that which *Chrysippus* wrote in calumniation of the senses: an evident signe either of their ignorance who say so, or els of their owne blinde selfe-love. Howbeit, certene it is, that afterwards being desirous to defend custome and the senses, he was found much inferior to himselfe, and the latter treatise came farre short of the former, and was nothing at all so pithy; in such sort as he is contradictorie and repugnant to himselfe: whiles he alwaies prescribeth and willet to conferre and oppose contrary sentences, not as one patronizing any, but making an ostentation that they be false: and afterwards sheweth himselfe to be a more vehement accuser, than a defender of his owne proper sentences; and counselling others to take heed of repugnant and contrary disputations, as those which distract and impeach their perception, himselfe is more studious and diligent to addresse such proofes as overthrow perception, than those which are to establish and confirme the same: and yet that he feared no lesse, hee declareth plainly in the fourth booke of his lives, where he writeth thus: We are not rashly nor without good respect and adviement to admit and allow repugnant disputations and contrary opinions to be proposed, nor to answer those probable arguments which are brought against true sentences: but heerein we must warily goe to worke, and cary our selves so, as fearing alwaies lest the hearers being thereby distracted and diverted, let goe this apprehension and conception, and be not of sufficient capacity to comprehend their solutions, but after such a feeble sort, as that their comprehensions be ready to falter and shake, considering that even they who customably comprehend sensible objects and other things which depend of senses, quickly forgo the same, being distracted as well by Megarian interrogatories, as by others more forcible, and in greater number. Now would I gladly demand of these Stoicks whether they thinke these Megarian interrogatories more pugnant than those which *Chrysippus* hath written in fixe bookes; or rather *Chrysippus* himselfe would be asked the question. For marke I pray you, what he hath written of the Megarian disputation in his booke entituled; *The use of speech*, after this manner: Such a thing as befell in the disputation betweene *Stilpo* and *Menedemus*, both renowned personages for their learning and wisdom; and yet the whole manner of their arguing is now turned to their reproch and plain mockery, as if their arguments were either very grosse, or else too captious & lophistical: and yet good fir these arguments which it pleaseth you to scorne and reame the reproach of those who make such interrogatories, as containing in them notorious leawdnesse, you feare lest they should divert any from perception: And even your owne selfe writting so many bookes as you doe against custome whereunto you have adjoined whatsoever you could devise and invent, labouring to surmount and surpass *Arcesilaeus*; did you never expect and looke to scare and terrifie any of the readers that should light upon them? For *Chrysippus* verily useth not onely slender and naked arguments in disputing against custome, but as if he were an advocate

pleading at the barre, mooveth affections being passionate and affectionate himselfe, breaking out into teares into these tearmes of giving the foole, and imputing vanity and sottishnesse; and to the end that he might leave no place for contradiction at all, but that he delivereth repugnances and speaketh contraries, thus hath he written in his Positions naturall. A man may very well, when he hath once perfectly comprised a thing, argue a little on the contrary side, and apply that defence which the matter it selfe doth afford: yea and otherwhiles, when he doth comprehend neither the one nor the other, discourse of either of them *pro & contra*, as much as the cause will yeeld. Also in that treatise of his concerning the use of speech, after he had said, we ought not to use the power and faculty of disputation, no more than armes or weapons, in things that tend to no purpose, and when the case requireth it not, he addeth soon after these words: For we ought to imploy the gift of reason and speech to the finding out of truth, and such things as resemble it: and not contrariwise; howsoever many there be that are wont so to doe. And peradventer by these Many, he meaneth those Academicks, who ever doubt and give no assent to any thing: and they verily, for that they comprehend neither the one nor the other, doe argue on both parts to and fro, that it is perceptible: as if by this onely or especiall meanes the truth yeelded a certaine comprehension of it selfe, if there were nothing in the world comprehensible. But you who accuse and blame them, writing the contrary to that which you conceive as touching custome, and exhorting others to doe the same, and that with an affectionate defence, doe plainly confesse, that you use the force of speech and eloquence, in things not onely unprofitable, but also hurtfull, upon a vaine ambitious humor of shewing your ready wit, like to some young scholar.

These Stoicks affirme, that a good deed, is the commandment of the law, and sin the prohibition of the law: and therefore it is that the law forbiddeth fooles and leawd folke to do many things, but prescribeth them nothing; for that indeed they are not able to doe ought well. And who seeth not that impossible it is for him who can doe no vertuous act, to keepe himselfe from sin and transgression? Therefore they make the law repugnant to it selfe, if it command that which to performe is impossible, and forbid that which men are not able to avoid. For he that is not able to live honestly, cannot chuse but beare himselfe dishonestly; and whosoever he be, that cannot be wife, must of necessity become a foole: and even them selves doe holde that those lawes which are prohibitive, say the same thing, when they forbid one, and command like to wife another. For that which faith thou shalt not steale, faith verily the same, to wit, Steale not, but it forbiddeth withall to steale; and therefore the law forbiddeth fooles and leawd persons nothing, for otherwise it should command them somewhat. And thus they say that the Physician biddeth his apprentise or Chyrurgian to cut or to cauterize, without adding thereto these words, handsomly, moderately, and in good time. The Musician likewise commandeth his scholar to sing or play upon the harpe a lesson, without putting thereto, in tune, accord and good measure. Howbeit they punish and chastice those that doe amisse and contrary to the rules of art, for that they were willed and enjoined to doe the thing well, but they did it ill. And even so a wife man commanding his servant to say or doe a thing, if he punish him for doing it unworwardly, out of season, and not as he ought, certene it is that he commanded him to performe a good duty, and not a meane and indifferent action. Now if wife men command fooles and lewd persons to doe things indifferent, what should hinder them but that the commandments of the lawes may be fsemblable?

Moreover, that instinct or naturall motion which is called *appetitus*, according to him, is nothing els but the reason of man, inciting him to do a thing, as himself hath written in his treatise of the law, *ergo*, that diversion, contrariwise called *aversus*, can be nothing els but reason withdrawing a man from the doing of a thing: and therefore that inclination is a reasonable inclination: and this wary caution, is as much as the reason of a wife man, forbidding him to doe a thing: for to beware, and to take heed, is the part and property of wife men and not of fooles. If then the reason of a wife man be one thing, and the law another, wife men have this wary caution repugnant unto the law: but in case law, and the reason of a wife man be both one, it will be found that the law forbiddeth wife men to doe those things, which they doubt and be afraid of. To foolish and wicked persons (quoth *Chrysippus*) there is nothing profitable, neither hath such an one, use or need of ought. Having delivered this sentence in his first booke of perfect duties or offices, he commeth afterwards and faith, that utility or commodiousnesse and grace pertaine and reach unto meane and indifferent things, whereof according to the Stoicks doctrine there is not one profitable: and more than that, he faith there is nothing proper, nothing meet and convenient for

for a foolish leawd man: and so by consequence it followeth upon these words; there is nothing stranger, nothing unfitness for a wife and honest man, like as nothing fit and familiar for a leawd foole: for as goodnesse is proper to the one, so is leawdnesse to the other. How cometh it then to passe that he maketh our heads to ake againe, with telling us so often in all his bookes as well of naturall philosophy as morall, that presently from our nativity and birth, we be affectionate to our selves, to our proper members, and to the issue descending from us? And in the first booke of Justice he faith, that even wilde beasts are propense and affected unto their young according as their need and necessity requires, all save fishes: for their young fry are nourished by themselves. But there is no sense; where is no sensible object, nor appropriation, where nothing is proper and familiar: for surely this appropriation seemeth to be the sense and perception of that which is familiar. And this opinion is conformable to their principles.

Moreover, *Chrysippus*, albeit in divers places he write many things contrarily, yet he accordeth to this sentence manifestly, that there is no one vice greater, nor sinne more grievous than another; as also reciprocally, there is not one vertue more excellent, nor one vertuous deed (which they call perfect ductie) better than another, considering that he hath this in the first booke of Nature: that like as it becometh *Jupiter* well, to magnifie and glorifie himselfe and his life, as also if we may so say, to beare his head aloft, highly to esteeme his owne greatnesse, and to speake big, considering he leadeth a life woorthy of grandeloquence and haucie speech: even so it becometh and becometh all honest men to do the like, considering that in no respect they be inferior to *Jupiter*. And yet himselfe againe in the third booke of Justice faith, that those who affirme Pleasure to be the end and soveraigne good of man, overthrow Justice; but whosoever say it is simply good, do not destroy Justice. And the very words which he useth, be these: Peradventure (quoth he) it may be, that if we leave unto Pleasure this attribute, To be simply and onely good, although it be not the end of all good things, and that honesty and vertue is of the kinde of those things which be eligible for themselves: haply, by this meanes we may save Justice, in esteeming Honesty and Justice to be a more perfect and absolute good thing than is Pleasure: but in case it be so, that the thing onely which is honesty is good, he erreth much who affirmeth that pleasure is good; howbeit, lesse than he who should say that it is the end of all goodthings; for that as the one doth abolish and destroy utterly all Justice, the other doth so preserve and mainteine it: for according to the latter of the twaine, all humane societie perisheth, whereas the former reserveth yet some place for bountie and civill humanitie. I let passe to relate what he faith in the booke entituled, Of *Jupiter*, namely, that vertues grow, that they also passe; because I would not be thought to lie at vantage, and to catch at words; howsoever *Chrysippus* himselfe in this kind of reprehension dealeth bitterly with *Plato* and other Philosophers, for taking holde of words: but whereas he forbiddeth to praise all that is done vertuously, he giveth us to understand, that there is some difference in duties and offices. Now this is the verie text in his treatise of *Jupiter*. For albeit vertuous acts be commendable, yet we are not to infer thereupon and say, that we ought to commend all that seemeth to proceed from vertue, as namely, to praise for a valiant act, the stifte stretching out of the finger; or for temperance and continencie, the abstinence from an old trot, who hath one foot already in her grave; or for prudence, to understand aright and without error, that three will not make foure: for he that went in hand to praise and commend a man for such things as these, should shew himselfe to be very bold and absurd even in the highest degree. And as much as this in a manner writeth he in the third booke of the gods: For I thinke verily (quoth he) that the praises of such matters be impertinent and absurd, although they seeme to depend of vertue, as namely, to forbear an old trot now at the pits brincke, or to abide a flie-biting. What other accuser should hee look for then of his opinions, but himselfe: for if it be so, that hee is absurd who commendeth these things, then must he be thought much more absurd, who supposeth each one of these vertuous deeds to be not onely great, but also most magnificent. For if it be a valiant act to endure the biting of a flie; and likewise the part of a chaste and continent person, to abstaine from carnall dealing with an olde woman ready to drop into her grave; then it makes no matter, but it is all one, to praise an honest man at well for one thing as another. Moreover, in his second booke of Friendship, whenas he giveth a precept, that we ought not to dissolve amities for every fault or defect, he useth these very tearmes: For there be faults (quoth he) which we must overpasse quite, and make no stay at them; others there be againe, whereat we should a little stand, and take offence; and others besides, which require more chastisement; but some there are, which we must thinke sufficient to breake friendship for ever. And more than all this, in the same booke

booke he saith, that we ought to conuerse and be acquainted with some more, and with others lesse, according as they be our friends more or lesse: which difference and diuersitie extendeth very far, inasmuch as some are worthy of such an amitie, others of a greater; some deserve thus much trust and confidence, others more than it: and so it is in other matters semblable. And what other is his drift in all these places, but to put a great difference betweene those things, for which friendships are engendered? And yet in his booke of Honestie, to shew that there is nothing good but that which is honest, he delivereth these words: A good thing is eligible and to be desired: that which is eligible and desirable, is also acceptable: that which is acceptable, is likewise commendable: and that which is commendable, is honest withall. Again, a good thing is ioyous and acceptable: ioyous is venerable, and venerable is honest. But these speeches are repugnant to himselfe: for be it, that all that is good were laudable (and then chastly to forbear for to touch an olde riveled woman, were a commendable thing) or say that every good thing were neither venerable nor ioyous and acceptable; yet his reason falleth to the ground: for how can it be that others should be thought frivolous and absurd in praising any for such things, and himselfe not worthy to be mocked and laughed at, for taking joy and pleasing himselfe in such ridiculous toies as these?

Thus you see how he sheweth himselfe in most part of his writings; and yet in his disputations which he holdeth against others, he is much more carelesse to be contrary and repugnant to himselfe: for in his treatise which he made as touching exhortation, reproving *Plato* for saying, that it was not expedient for him to live at all, who is not taught, nor knoweth not how to live, he writeth in these very termes: This speech of his (quoth he) is both contradictory & repugnant to it selfe, and besides, hath no force nor efficacy at all to exhort: for first and foremost in shewing us that it were expedient for us, not to live at all, and giving us at it were counsell to die, he exhorteth us to any thing rather than to the practise or studie of philosophie, because it is not possible for a man to philosophize, unless he live: nether can he become wise, survive he never so long, if he lead an evil and ignorant life. And a little after hee saith farther: That it is as meet and convenient also even for leaue and wicked persons to remaine alive. But I care not much to set downe his very words: First of all, like as vertue barely in it selfe considered, hath nothing in it, for which we should desire to live: even so vice hath as little, for which we ought to leave this life. What need we now turne over other books of *Chrysippus*: and drip lease by lease, to proove how contrary and repugnant he is to himselfe: fore in these which now we cite and alledge, he commeth out otherwhiles with this saying of *Antisthenes*, for which he commendeth him, namely, that a man is to be provided either of wit to understand, or else of a with to under-hang himselfe: as also this other verse of *Tyrtam*:

*The bounds of vertue first come nie,  
Or else make choise before to die.*

And what other meaning is there of these words but this, that it is more expedient for foolish and lewd persons to be out of the world, than to live: and in one passage, seeming to correct *Theognis*: He should not (quoth he) have said *καὶ μὴ τιμῆς ἐλπίσιν* &c.

*A man from poverty to flee,  
(O Cynus) ought himselfe so fast  
Headlong from rocks most steepe and hie,  
Or into sea as deepe and vast.*

But rather thus, *καὶ ἀπὸ πτωχείας ἐλπίσιν* &c.

*A man from sinne and vice to flee &c.*

What other things else seemeth he to doe, than to condemne and scrape out of other mens writings, the same things, propositions and sentences, which himselfe hath inserted in his own books? For he reprooveth *Plato* when he prooveth and sheweth, that it is better not to live at all, than to lead a life in wickednesse or ignorance: and in one breath hee giveth counsell to *Theognis* to set downe in his poeie; That a man ought to fling himselfe downe headlong into the deepe sea, or to brake his necke from some high rocke for to avoid sinne and wickednesse. And praising as hee did *Antisthenes* for sending fooles and witlesse folke, to an halter wherewith to hang themselves; he blamed him nevertheless who said, that vice was not a sufficient cause, wherefore we should shorten our lives. Moreover, in those books against *Plato* himselfe, concerning justice, he leapech directly at the very first into a discourse as touching the gods, and saith: That *Cephalus* did not divert men well from evill dooing, by the feare of the gods: affirming moreover, that the discourse which he made as touching divine vengeance, might

might easily be infringed and refuted, for that of it selfe it ministrerh many arguments and probable reasons on the contrary side; as if the same rembeled for all the world the fabulous tales of *Aescor* and *Alphio*, wherewith women are wont to scare their little children, and to keepe them from doing shrewd turnes. Thus deriding, traducing, and backbiting *Plato*, hee praileth elsewhere, and in many places else alledgeth these verses out of *Enripides*:

*Well, well, though some this doctrine doe deride,  
Be sure, in heaven with other gods beside,  
Sits Jupiter, the deeds of men who see,  
And will in time revenged surely bee.*

10 Semblably, in the first booke of Justice, when he had alledged these verses heere out of *Hesiodus*,

*Then Saturnes sonne, god Jupiter,  
great plagues from heaven did send,  
Even dearth and death, both which, of all  
the people made an end.*

he saith, that the gods proceed in this wise, to the end that when the wicked be thus punished, others also advertised and taught by their example, might beware how they commit the like, or at leastwise sinne lesse.

What should I say moreover, how in this treatise of Justice, having affirmed, that those who hold pleasure to be good, but not the soveraigne end of good, may in some sort withall preserve & maintaine justice, for, so much he hath put downe in these very termes: For haply, admitting pleasure to be good although not the supreme good or the end: and honestly to be of the kind of those things, which are eligible and to be desired for their owne sake, wee may by that meanes save justice, while we permit and allow that which is honest and just to be a greater good than pleasure. Having (I say) delivered the same also in his books of pleasure: yet in his treatise against *Plato*, reprooving him for raunging health in the number of good things, he affirmeth, that not onely justice, but also magnanimity, temperance, and all other vertues are abolished and perish, in case we hold that either pleasure, or health, or any other thing whatsoever, can be numbered and reputed among good things, unless the same be honest. Now as touching the

30 apologic or answer that may be made in defence of *Plato*, I have elsewhere written against *Chrysippus*: but even in this very place there is manifestly to be seene a repugnancy and contradiction against himselfe: considering that one while hee saith, that justice may stand well enough, if a man suppose pleasure joined with honesty to be good; and another while contrariwise, he findeth fault with all those, who repute any thing else to be good, but onely that which is honest; as if thereby they abolished and overthrow all vertues. And because he would leave no meanes at all to save and save his contradictions, writing of justice against *Aristotle*, he challengeth him for untrueth, in that hee affirmeth, that if pleasure were granted to be the soveraigne good, both Justice were overthrowen, and therewith also every vertue besides: For this is certaine (quoth he) that those who are of this opinion, doe indeede abolish Justice;

40 howbeit I see no let why other vertues may not stand, if not those which be of them selves expetible, yet such at leastwise as be good and vertuous really. And thereupon he proceedeth presently to name them every one severally. But it were not a misse to recite his ownel words as he delivered them: For suppose (quoth he) that by this discourse and reason, Pleasure seeme the very end of all good things, yet we are not to inferre hereupon, that all is comprised under it: and therefore we must say, that neither any vertue is to be desired, nor vice to be elchued for it selfe, but all these things are to be referred unto a scope and make proposed: and yet in the meane time what should hinder, but that fortitude, prudence, continence, patience, and other such vertues, may be good and expetible, like as their contraries bad and to be avoided. What

man therefore was there ever in his speeches and disputations more rash and audacious than he? 50 considering that he charged the two princes of Philosophers with imputations: the one for abolishing all vertue, in that he confessed not that onely to be good which is honest: and the other, in that if pleasure were supposed and set downe to be the end of good things, he thought not that all vertues except onely justice might subsist and be maintained: what a woondertull liberty, and monstrous licentiousnesse rather is this, in discoursing of one and the same subject matter, to tax and reprove that in *Aristotle*, which he setteth downe himselfe: and afterwards in accusing *Plato*, to subvert and undo the very same? And yet in his demonstrations, as touching Justice, he affirmeth expressly that every perfect duty, is a lawfull deed and a just action,

Now,



Now, whatsoever is performed by continence, by patience, by prudence, or by fortitude is a perfect duty, *ergo*, it followeth, that it is likewise a lawfull action. How chanceth it then that he leaveth not justice for them, in whom he admitteth prudence, continence, and valour, considering that all the acts which they perform according to these virtues, be perfect duties, and by consequence just and lawfull operations?

Whereas *Plato*, in a certaine place hath written, that injustice being a certaine intestine sedition and corruption of the soule, never casteth off and loseth her power even in those who have it within them: for the cause a wicked man to fight with himselfe, she troubleth, vexeth, and tormenteth him. *Chrysippus* reproving this assertion of his, saith, that it was falsely and absurdly spoken, that any one could doe wrong or injurie to himselfe: For (quoth he) all injurie and outrage must needs be to another: but afterwards forgetting himselfe and what he had said, in that treatise of his intituled, The demonstrations of justice, he affirmeth, that whosoever doth injustice, wrongeth himselfe, and in offering injurie to another, doth himselfe wrong, in that he is the very cause why himselfe transgresseth the lawes: wherein unworthily he hurteth and woundeth his owne person. Lo what he said against *Plato*, discouraging that injustice could not be against a mans selfe, but against another: For to be particularly and privately unjust, there must be taken as if it were amongst many that are in such fort injuriously affected one to another: whereas no such matter can properly and fully agree to one alone, but in as much as he is disposed and affected to another. But contrary to all this, in his demonstrations he argueth and reasoneth thus, to prove that the unjust man doth wrong and injurie to himselfe: The law (quoth he) followeth expressly, to be the author or cause of transgression; but to commit injustice is a transgression: he therefore who causeth himselfe to doe injurie, transgresseth the law of himselfe. Now he that trespasseth against any one, doth him wrong and injurie: he therefore who wrongeth any other whomsoever, doth injurie to himselfe. Again, sinne is of the kinde of hums and damages that are done; but every man that sinneth, offendeth and sinneth against himselfe: and therefore, whosoever sinneth, hurteth also and endamageth himselfe unworthily; and if he doe so, then by consequence he must needs wrong himselfe. Furthermore, thus also hee reasoneth: Hee that suffereth hurt and damage by another, woundeth and offendeth himselfe withall unworthily: and what is that else but to doe wrong and injurie? he therefore that receiveth injurie of any other whatsoever, wrongeth his owne selfe. That the doctrine of good things and evill (which himselfe bringeth in and approoveth) he saith, is most accordant unto mans life, yea and connexed as much as any thing else with those prenotions and anticipations which by nature are inbred and ingenerate in us: for, so much hath he delivered in his third booke of Exhortations: but in the first booke he affirmeth quite contrary, that this doctrine doth divert and withdraw a man from all things else, as if they were of no moment nor helpfull and effectfull any jot to the attaining of happinesse & soveraign felicity. See how he accordeth herein with himselfe, when he affirmeth that doctrine of his which plucketh us away from life, from health, from indolence and integrity of senses; and teacheth besides that, whatsoever we crave in our praies at gods hands, concerne us not at all nor appertaine unto us, to be most accordant unto humane life, and the common prenotions & inbred anticipations of knowledge above said. But to the end that no man might denie that he is repugnant and contrary to himselfe, loe what he saith in his third booke of justice. This is it (quoth he) that by reason of the surpassing grandure & beawty of our sentences, those matters which we deliver, seeme feined tales and devised fables exceeding mans power and farre beyond humane nature. How can it be that any man should more plainly confesse, that he is at war with himselfe, than he doth who saith that his propositions and opinions, are so extravagant and transcendent, that they resemble counterfeited tales, and for their excellency surmount the condition and nature of man: and yet forsooth for all this, that they accord and agree passing well with humane life, yea and come neereft unto the said inbred prenotions and anticipations that are in us.

Hee affirmeth that the very essence and substance of infelicitie, is vice; writing and firmly maintaining in all his books of morall and naturall philosophy, that to live in vice, is as much as to live in misery and wretchednesse: but in the third booke of Nature, having said before that it were better and more expedient to live a senselesse foole, yea though there were no hope that ever he should become wise, than not to live at all, he addeth afterwards thus much: For there be such good things in men, that in some sort the very evill things goe before, and are better than the indifferent in the middes betweene. As for this, how he hath written elsewhere, that there is nothing

nothing expedient and profitable in fooles, and yet in this place setteth downe in plaine termes, that it is expedient to live foolish and senselesse, I am content to overpasse; but seeing hee saith now that evill things goe before, and one better than the indifferent or meane (which with them of his sect are neither good nor ill) surely it is as much as if hee affirmed that evill things are better than things not evill: and all are, as to say that to be wretched is more expedient than not to be wretched: and so by that meanes, he is of opinion, that not to be miserable is more unprofitable than to be miserable; and if it be more unprofitable, than also it must be more hurtfull and dammageable. But being desirous in some sort to mollifie this absurditie, and to save this fore, he subnexeth as touching evill things, these words: My meaning is not (quoth he) that they should go before and be preferred, but reason is the thing wherewith it is better to live, although a man should ever be a foole, than not to live at all. First and formost then, hee calleth vice an evill thing, as also whatsoever doth participate of vice and nothing els: now is vice reasonable, or rather to speake more properly, reason delinquent: so that to live with reason, if we be fooles and void of wisdom, what is it els, but to live with vice? now to live as fooles, is all one as to live wretched. Wherein is it then, and how commeth it about, that this should go before meane and indifferent things? for it was not admitted that happie life should go before miserie: neither was it ever any part (say they) of *Chrysippus* his meaning to range and count among good things, To remaine alive; no more than among bad, To depart this life: but he thought that these things were of themselves indifferent and of a middle nature; in which regard otherwhiles it is meet for happy men to leave this life, and for wretches to continue alive. And what greater contrariety can there be, as touching things eligible or refusable, than to say that for them who are happy in the highest degree, it is fit and becoming to forgoe and forsake the good things that be present, for want of some one thing that is indifferent? And yet *Chrysippus* is of this minde, that no indifferent thing is of the owne nature to be desired or rejected; but that we ought to chuse that onely which is good, and to shun that alone which is bad: so as according to their opinion, it comes to passe, that they never divert their designments or actions to the pursuit after things desirable, nor the avoidance of things refusable; but another marke it is that they shoot & aime at, namely, at those things which they neither eschue nor chuse, & according thereto, they live & die. *Chrysippus* avoweth & confesseth that there is as great a difference betweene good things & bad, as possibly may be; as needs there must, in case it be true, that as the one sort of them cause those in whom they are, to be exceeding happy, so the other, extreme wretched & miserable. Now in the first booke of the end of good things, he saith that all well good things as bad, be sensible; for these be his very words: That good and evill things be perceptible by sense, we must of necessity acknowledge upon these arguments: for not onely the very passions indeed of the minde, together with their parts and severall kinds, to wit, sadness, feare and such like, be sensible; but also a man may have a sense of theft, adultery, and semblable finnes; yea and of follie, of cowardice, and in one word, of all other vices, which are in number not a few: and not onely joy, beneficence, and other dependances of virtuous offices, but also prudence, valour and the rest of the virtues, are object to the sense. But to let passe all other absurdities contained in these words, who will not confesse, but that there is a meere contradiction in that which they delivered, as touching one that becomes a wife man, and knowes not thereof? for, considering that the present good is sensible, and much different from that which is evill, that one possibly should of a wicked person prove to be virtuous, and not know thereof, & not have sense of vertue being present, but to thinke that vice is still within him; how can this otherwise be, but most absurd? for either no man can be ignorant and out of doubt, whether he hath all vertues together; or els he must confesse, that there is small difference and the same hard to be discerned, betweene vice and vertue, felicity and infelicity, a right honest life and a most dishonest, in case a man should passe from the one to the other, and possesse one for the other, without ever knowing it.

One worke he wrote, intituled, *Of lives*, and the same divided into foure books: in the fourth whereof, he saith, That a wise man medleth not with great affaires, but is occupied in his owne businesse onely, without being curious to looke into other mens occasions: his very words to this purpose, be these: For mine owne part, of this opinion I am, that a prudent man gladly avoideth a stirring life, intermedleth little, and in his owne matters onely: for to deale simply in a mans owne affaires, and to enter into little businesse in the world, be both alike commendable parts, and the properties of civil and laudable persons. And in maner the same speeches or ver-

ry like thereto, he hath delivered in the third booke of such things as be expetible and to be chosen for themselves, in these termes: For in truth (quoth he) it seemeth, that the quiet life should be without danger, and in perfect security, which few or none of the vulgar sort are able to comprehend and understand. Wherein first and formost, it is evident, that he commeth very neere to the error of *Epicurus*, who in the government of the world disavoweth divine providence: for that he would have God to rest in repose, idle, and not employed in any thing. And yet *Chrysippus* himselfe, in his first booke of *Lives* saith: That a wise man willingly will take a kingdom upon him, yea, and thinke to make his gaine and profit thereby: and if he be not able to reigne himselfe, yet he will at leastwise converse and live with a king, yea, goe forth with him to warre, like as *Hydantyrus* the Scythian did, and *Leucan* of *Pontus*. But I will set downe his own words, that we may see whether, like as of the treble and base strings, there ariseth a consonance of an eight; so there be an accord in the life of a man, who hath chosen to live quietly without doing ought, or at leastwise to intermeddle in few affaires, yea, and yet afterwards accompanieth the Scythians riding on horsebacke, and manageth the affaires of the kings of *Bosphorus* upon any occasion of need that may be presented? For as touching this point (quoth he) that a wise man will go into warlike expeditions with princes, live, and converse with them, we will consider againe thereof hereafter; being as it is, a thing that as some upon the like arguments imagine not, so we for the semblable reasons admit and allow. And a little after: Not onely with those who have proceeded well in the knowledge of vertue, and beene sufficiently instructed and trained up in good maners, as were *Hydantyrus* and *Leucan* above said. Some there be who blame *Calisthenes* for that he passed over the seas to king *Alexander* into his campe, in hope to reedifie the city *Olynthus*, as *Aristotle* caused the city *Stagyræ* to be repaired, who highly commend *Ephorus*, *Xenocrates* and *Menedemus*, who rejected *Alexander*: But *Chrysippus* driveth his wife man by the head forward, for his gaine and profit, as farre as to the city *Panticapæum*, and the deserts of *Scythia*. And that this is (I say) for his gaine & profit he shewed before, by setting downe three principall meanes, becoming a wise man for to practise and seeke his gaine by: the first by a kingdom, and the beneficence of kings; the second by his friends; and the third besides these, by teaching literature: and yet in many places he wearieth us with citing this verse of *Euripides*:

For what need mortall men take paine?  
Onely for things in number twaine.

But in his bookes of Nature he saith: That a wise man if he have lost the greatest riches that may be, esteemeth the losse no more than if it were but a single denier of silver, or one grey goat. Howbeit, him whom he hath there so highly extolled and puffed up with glory, heere lieeth downe and abaseth as much, even to make him a meere mercenary pedante, and one that is faine to teach a schoole: for he would have him to demand and exact his salary sometime before hand of his scholar, when he enters into his schooles; and otherwhile after a certaine prefixed tyme of his schooling is come and gone: And this (quoth hee) is the honestest and more civill way of the twaine; but the other is the surer, namely, to make him pay his money aforehand; for that delay and giving attendance is subject to receive wrong and suiteine losse: and thus much he uttereth in these very termes: Those teachers that be of the wiser sort, call for their schoollage and intervals of their scholars, not all after one maner, but diversly: a number of them, according as the present occasion requireth, who promise not to make them wife men, and that within a yeere; but undertake to doe what lies in them, within a set time agreed upon betweene them. And soone after, speaking of his wife man: He will (quoth he) know the best time, when to demand his pension, to wit, whether incontinently upon the entrance of his scholar, as the most part do; or to give day, and set downe a certaine time; which maner of dealing is more subject to receive injury, howsoever it may seeme more honest and civill. And how can a wife man, tell me now, be a despiser of money, in case hee make a contract and bargain at a price to receive money, for delivering vertue; or if he doe not deliver it, yet require his salary nevertheless, as if he had performed his part fully? Either how can he be greater than to suiteine a losse and damage, if it be so that he stand so strictly upon this point, and be so warie, that he receive no wrong by the payment of his wages? For surely no man is said to bee injured, who is not hurt nor endamaged: and therefore how ever otherwise he hath flatly denied, that a wife man could receive warning; yet in this booke he saith, that this maner of dealing, is expolled to losse and damage.

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In his booke of Common-wealth, he affirmeth, that his citizens will never doe any thing for pleasure, nor nor adresse and prepare themselves therefore, praising highly *Euripides* for these verses:

What need men, but for two things, onely swinke?  
Bread for to eat, and water shere to drinke.

And soone after, he proceedeth forward, and praiseth *Diogenes*, for abusing himselfe, by forcing his nature to passe from him in the open street, and saying withall to those that stood by: Oh, that I could chafe hunger as well from my belly. What reason then is there, in the selfsame bookes to commend him for rejecting pleasure, and withall for desisting his owne body as hee did, so beauly in the sight of the whole world, and that for a little filthy pleasure? In his bookes of Nature, having written that nature had produced and brought forth many living creatures for beauty onely, as delighting and taking pleasure in such lovely varietie, and therewith having adjoined moreover a most strange and absurd speech, namely, that the peacocke was made for his tailes sake, and in regard of the beauty thereof: cleane contrary to himselfe, in his bookes of Common-wealth, he reprooveth very sharply those who keepe peacocks and nightingals, as if he would make lawes quite contrary to that soveraigne law-giver of the world, deriding nature for taking delight, and employing as it were her study in bringing forth such creatures; unto which a wife man wil give no place in his city and common-wealth. For how can it otherwise be but monstrous and absurd for to finde fault with those who nourish such creatures, as if it were wantonneesse for to doe, in case he praise the divine providence for creating them? In his first booke of Nature, after he had shewed that wallice or punaifes serve in good stead to awaken us out of sleepe, as also that mice advertise us to beware and take heed where we lay up and bestow every thing; and that it is probable that nature taketh pleasure in producing faire creatures, and joeth in diversitie, he commeth out with this sentence word for word: This appeereth most evidently in the peacocks taile: for heere he signifieth that this bird was made for the tailes sake, and not contrariwise; and so when the cocke was once created, the hen followed after.

In his booke of common-wealth when he had said, that we are come almost to the painting of dung-hills, a little after: There be some (quoth he) who adorne & embelish their corn-fields, with vines climbing and growing upon trees, ranged directly in order, as also with myrtle rowes; who nourish also peacocks and doves, yea and partridges, for to heare them call and record unto them, as also nightingales for their pleasant song. But I would gladly know of him, what hee thinketh, and what his conceit is of bees and of hony; for it would by good consequence follow, that he who had said, that punaifes and wallice were profitably created; should also inferre that bees were made for no profit. Now if he allowed these a place in his Common-wealth, how is it that he forbiddeth his citizens to enterteine those things which delight the eare. To be briefe, like as he were very absurd who should find fault with those guests at a feast, who fell to eat comfits, and sweet banquetting conceits, to drinke wine also, and to feed of delicate viands; and in the meane while commend the man who invited them to such dainties, and provided the same for them: even so, he who praising the divine providence for creating delicate fishes, deinty birds, sweet hony, and pleasant wine, should reproove those who reject not these gifts, nor be content to eat bare bread, and drinke sheere water, things that be ever at hand, and which are sufficient for our food, were as farre out of reason, and makes no reckoning at all how he doth contradict himselfe, and what contrary opinions he holdeth.

Moreover, having in his treatise of Exhortations said, that it was no reason, that folke should be defamed or blamed, for having to doe carnally with their owne mothers, daughters, or sisters; for eating any kinde of meats whatsoever, for going directly out of the bed from a woman, or from a dead body and mortuarie, unto a temple or sacrifice: And heerein (quoth he) we ought to have a regard and eie unto brute beasts, and taking example by them, to collect and conclude, that in all this, there is no absurdity at all, nor any thing against nature; for fifty and to the purpose very well a man may alledge this, and compare the usage of other creatures, to shew that they neither being coupled together nor engendering, nor nor dying in temples, do pollute and defile the divinitie. Contrary to all this, in the first booke of nature he saith: That the poet *Hesiodus* did very well to admonish and forbid us, not to pisse into fountaines, nor running rivers; yea, and much rather to forbear to make water against an altar, or any image and statue of the gods: neither mattereth, or skilleth it all, if dogs, asses, and yong children, doe so, seeing they have no discretion nor consideration in such things: and therefore it is

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very absurd to say in one place: That it is meet to consider the savage example of wilde beasts, and in another, as absurd to alledge the same.

Some philosophers there be, who imagine a certaine accessary motion from without in the principall part of our soule; for that a man seemeth to give the head and liberty unto divers inclinations, when he is forced to a thing by outward causes: which motion appeareth principally in doubtfull and variable things; for when of two objects equall in power, and every way feimble, we are of necessity to chuse one, and there is no cause at all to incline us more to the one than to the other, this foresaid accessary and adventitious puissance, comming in otherwise, and seazing upon the inclination of the soule, decideth all the doubt. Against these philosophers, *Chrysippus* disputing, as if they did violence to nature by the contrary, and by devising an effect without a cause; among sundry other examples, alledgeth the cockall bone, the balance, and many such like things which cannot fall, incline and bend now on one side, and then on another, without some cause & difference which is entirely in them, or else commeth from without forth: for this is generally held; that whatsoever is without cause can have no subsistence, no more than meere hazard and chance: but in these adventitions and accessary motions which they suppose, there be certaine hidden irreptitious causes, which secretly move and induce our appetite and inclination, even without our knowledge to one part or other: and this is that which he often repeateth in the most notable works that he hath put forth; but that which himselfe afterward delivereth cleane contrary, because it is not expoled to openly to the view of the whole world, I will alledge *verbatim* as he hath delivered it: For in his treatise concerning the office of a Judge, supposing for example sake, that two carriers who ranne a course, were come both together unto the goale, he demandeth what the Judge should doe in this case; namely, whether it were lawfull for him, to give unto whether of them he pleased, the victorious branch of the date tree? this being supposed withall, that they were both lo inward & familiar with him, that he should rather gratifie them both, even out of his owne in some sort, than seeme to defraud either of them of the victorious garland, which seemeth to be common to them both: Whether (I say) it be lawfull for him to encline unto one or to the other, and so award the victory as if they had drawn lots therefore. To encline (I say) casually & without any reason; like as when two groates are presented unto us, every way feimble one to the other, we incline rather to that which we take. And in the first booke of Duties, having said, 30 that there be certaine things that require no great ado, nor intensive consideration, he is of opinion, that in such cases we are to yeeld the choise into the casuall propension of the minde, even as to the adventitious hazard of a lot: as for example; if the question be to make triall of the said two groates, one faith, this is the better, and another that: but for that we are to take one of the twaine, without more ado and farther triall of their bettredness, we take that which comes first; and in another place he saith: in putting this to the adventure of a lot, it falleth out otherwhiles, that wee hit upon the worke: in these places the casuall inclination of the minde, to the first object, and the putting of the matter to the hazard of a lot, is nothing else but to bring in a choise of things indifferent without any cause.

In the third booke of Logique, having premised thus much, that *Plato*, *Aristotle* and their 40 successours and disciples even as farre as to *Solemon* and *Syraton*, had bestowed great study and travelled much therein: but above all others, *Solemon*, with this addition, that a man would with with so many and such noble personages to erre for company: he commeth in afterwards with these words: If they had (quoth he) treated and discoursed hereof curiously or by the way, a man haply might laugh at this place well enough: but since that they have so seriously and exactly disputed of Logique, as if it were one of the greatest faculties and most necessary sciences, it is not like that they were so grossly deceived, being men throughout all the parts of philosophy, so singular as we repute them to be. How is it then, may a man reply and say, that you never rest baying and barking at these lo worthy and excellent personages, and convincing them as you suppose to have erred? For there is no likelihood that they writing so diligently and exactly as 50 they have done of Logique, should of the principles and elements, of the end of good things, of justice and the gods, write carelessly and after a loose maner, howsoever you are disposed to earne their treatises and discourses, blinde, repugnant to themselves, and stuffed with an infinit sort of faults and errors. In one place he denieth that the vice *comparative*, that is to say a joy to see evil happen unto another, hath any being or reall subsistence: For that (quoth he) no good man was ever known to reioice at the harme of another: but in his second booke as touching Good, having declared what Envie is, namely a griefe for another mans well fare: because

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men are desirous to detract and debase their neighbours, to the end they might be superiours themselves: he addeth afterwards, the joy for another mans harme, and that in these words: Annexed therunto (quoth he) is the joy for another mans harme, because men are desirous that their neighbours about them, should be brought low for the like causes: but when they decline and turne to other naturall affections, there is engendred Pity and Mercie: In which words it appeareth that he ordaineth *comparative* to be a thing really subsistent as well as envie and pittie, which notwithstanding elsewhere he said had no being at all in the world no more than the hatred of wickednesse or the desire of filthy lucre.

Having in many places affirmed, that men are never a whit more happie, for long continuance of felicity, but that they be still as happy who enjoy felicity but one minute of an hour: in 10 as many other places againe he avoucheth the contrary, saying that a man should not so much as put forth his finger for a transitory and momentary prudence, which endureth but a while, & passeth away like unto the flash and leame of a lightning. But it shal suffice to relate the very words, which he hath written in his sixth booke of morall questions as touching this matter: for when he had premised thus much, that every good thing doth not cause equall joy, nor all virtuous duties like vanity, he commeth after with these words: For if a man is to have prudence one moment of time, or the last daie. onely of his life, he should not so much as hold up or stretch out his finger for a prudence that lasteth so small a while: although no man is said to be the more blessed for long continuance of happinesse, neither is eternall beatitude more 20 expetible or desirable, than that which passeth away within a minute of an hour. Now if he had thought that prudence were a good thing bringing forth blessednesse, as *Epicurus* did, a man could have found fault with nothing else but the absurdity onely of so strange an opinion and paradox. But seeing that prudence is no other thing than beatitude, of it selfe, and even very felicity; how can it be avoided that herein there should not be a contradiction and repugnancy of speech, namely, to say that transitory happinesse is as eligible and as much to be desired, as that which is perpetuall: and to hold, that the felicity of one moment is worth naught.

He affirmeth that vertues doe follow and accompany one another not onely in this respect, that he who hath one, hath likewise all the rest, but also in this that he who worketh by one, worketh with all according to the other: neither (saith he) is any man perfect, unlesse he be possessed of all vertues. Howbeit in the first booke of morall questions, *Chrysippus* saith that neither a 30 good and honest man doth alwaies beare himselfe valiantly, nor a naughty man behave himselfe cowardly, for that as certaine objects be presented into mens fantasies, it behooveth one man to persevere and persist in his judgements, and another to forsake and relinquish the same: for probable he saith it is that even the wicked man is not alwaies lascivious. Now in case it be so, that to be a valiant man, is as much as to shew valour, and to be a coward, the same that to use cowardise, they speake contraries who affirme, that a naughty person practising one vice, worketh by all together: and that a valiant man useth not alwaies valour, nor a dastard cowardise.

He denieth Rhetorique to be an art, as touching the ornament, dispose and order of an oration pronounced: and besides in the first booke he hath thus written: And in mine opinion re- 40 quirit it is to have not onely a regard of an honest, decent & simple adorning of words, but also a care of proper gestures, actions, pauses and staies of the voice, as also a meet conformation of the countenance and the hands. Being as you fee thus exquisite and curious in this passage: yet in the same booke cleare contrary, having spoken of the collision of vowels, and hitting one of them upon another: We are not only (quoth he) to neglect this, and to thinke of that which is of greater moment and importance but also to let passe certaine obscurities and defects, sometimes also and incongruities, of which many others would be ashamed. Now one while to permit and allow such exquisite curiosity in the orderly dispose of a mans tongue, even as far as to the decent setting of the countenance and gesture of the hands: and another while not to 50 bath at the committing of grosse incongruities, defects and obscurities, is the property of a man who cares not what he saith, but speaks whatsoever comes in his head.

Over and besides in his naturall positions, treating of those things which require the view of the eie and experience, after he had given warning that we should go warily to worke, and not rashly yeeld our assent thereto, he saith, Let us not therefore be of *Platoes* opinion, to thinke that our liquid food, so wit, our drinke, passeth directly to the lungs, and our dry nourishment, that is, our meat, into the stomacke; neither let us fall into such like errors as these. For mine owne part, thus I thinke, That for a man to reprehend others, and afterwards to incur the same faults and errors which he reproved, is the greatest repugnancy and contrariety that may

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be, and the foulest and most shamefull fault of all others. And verily himselfe saith, that the connexions which are made by the ten principall Axiomes, that is to say, Propositions, exceed in number ten hundred thousand; when as neither he had by himselfe diligently enough enquired and searched into the thing, nor by other men well exercised in that art of Arithmetick, attained to the truth. And yet *Plato* had to testifie on his side, the most renowned Physicians that were, namely, *Hippocrates*, *Philiston* and *Dioxippus* the disciple of *Hippocrates*: also of Poets, *Euripides*, *Alcam*, *Empolis* and *Eratostratus*, who all with one voice affirme, that the drinke passeth by the lungs. And as for all the Arithmeticians well practised in the knowledge of numbers, they reprove *Chrysippus*: and *Hipparchus* among the rest, proving and shewing that in the foresaid speech of his, he erred most grossly in his computation, if it be true that the affirmative maketh of the said ten Axiomes to the number of 103049 connexions; and the negative 952, over and above three hundred and ten thousands. Some of the ancients said of *Zeno* that it befel unto him as unto one who had sower wine of his owne, which he could not sell and make away either for vineger or wine: for, that precedent of his which they call *αὐτοκόλον*, he could not put off neither for a thing that is good, nor so much as indifferent. But *Chrysippus* hath made the matter farre more intricate and different: for in some passages of his, he saith, that they are itarke mad, who make no account of riches, health, voidnesse of paine and integrity of the body, nor care how to attaine thereto; and having alledged this verse out of *Hesiodus*,

*O Perles, borne of noble race,  
Thy businesse pte, and worke ap:ee.*

he addeth thereto and saith, it were meere madnesse to advise the contrarie, and say,  
*O Perles, borne of noble race;  
Pte not thy worke in any cse.*

And in his treatise of Lives he writeth, that a wise man will court it with kings and princes, if he may raise his commoditie and gaine thereby; yea, he will keepe a schoole and teach for money, taking of some scholars his minivels aforehand, and bargaining with others for a certaine time. Also in the seventh booke of his offices, he saith, that he will not stick to tumble downe upon his head, and that three times, so he may be sure to have a talent for his labour. In his first booke of Good things, he permiteth and granteth unto whosoever will, to call those *αὐτοκόλον* or precedents foresaid, Good, and the contrary thereto, Bad, in these very tearmes: If a man list (quoth he) according to such premutations as these, he may call one thing good unto himselfe, and another thing ill; so as he have an eie and regard unto the things, and wander not inconsiderately, nor faile in the understanding of things signified, but otherwise accommodate himselfe to the use and custome of the denomination. Having thus in this place set his Precedent to neere and linked it with Good; in other passages he saith cleane contrary, that none of all this concerneth us at all, but reason doth divert and plucke us quite away from all such things: for, so much hath he set downe in his first booke of Exhortations. But in the third booke of Nature, he saith, that some kings and rich persons are reputed blessed and happie; which is as much as if they were to be accounted happy, who made water in golden chamber pots, or swept the floure with the golden traines of their costly robes. But a good man, if he lose his whole patrimonie and all his estate, weigheth it no more than the losse of a grore or single denier, and maketh no greater matter of sicknesse, than of stumbling or tripping alittle with his foot. And therefore, filled he hath with such contrarieties, not vertue onely, but also providence. For vertue will appeare exceeding bale, mechanically and foolishly, if it be employed in things so vile and contemptible, commanding a man to faile for them as farre as to *Bastarus*, yea and to throw himselfe upon his head. And *Jupiter* is very ridiculous, delighting to be called either *Ctesius*, that is to say, The enricher and donor of possessions, or *Epicarpus*, that is to say, The giver of hurts; or *Chiridotes*, that is to say, The grafter and author of favours: for that unto leawd and wicked persons he affoordeth golden chamber pots, and robes garded and bordered round about the skirts with golde; but vouchsafeth unto good men, trash hardly worth a grore, when so they are become rich through the providence of *Jupiter*. And yet *Apollo* is much more ridiculous, if it be so, that he fits giving answers and oracles as touching golden chamber pots, gards and fringes of gold, yea and the tripping and stumbling of the foot. This repugnance and contrariety they make more evident and apparent still by their demonstration: For that (quoth they) which may be well or ill used, is neither good nor bad. Now, certaine it is, that all evil and foolish persons use riches, health and strength of the body, amisse; and therefore none of these may be called Good. If then, God give not vertue unto men, but Honesty commeth of it selfe,

selfe, and yet bestoweth riches and health without vertue, surely it is upon them who will not use the same well but ill, that is to say, unprofitably, shamefully and mischievously. And verily if the gods can give vertue, they are not good if they do not: and againe, if they can not make good men, neither are they able to helpe them any way, considering, that without it, there is nothing good nor profitable. For, to say that the gods judge those to be good by vertue and by strength, who are otherwise good than by them, is to no purpose, but a vaine conceit: for even so good men do judge the evil by vertue and by strength: so that by this reckoning, they profit men no more, than they be profited by men. And verily *Chrysippus* judgeth neither himselfe to be a good man, nor any either of his scholars or teachers. What is their opinion then, think you, of others, if it be not that which themselves say, namely, that they are mad and senselesse fooles, that they be miscreants and infidels, lawlesse, and in one word, come to the very height and pitch of all infelicities and miserie? And yet forthwith they hold, that men so wretched and unhappie as they be, are notwithstanding governed and ruled by divine providence. Now, if the gods, changing their minde, should determine to hurt, afflict, plague, destroy and crush us quite, they could not bring us to a woofe state and condition, than wherein we are already; according as *Chrysippus* saith, That mans life can not be brought to a lower ebbe, nor be in woofe plight and case than now it is, inasmuch as if it had a tongue and voice to speake, it would pronounce these words of *Hercules*:

*Of miseries (to say I dare be bold)  
So full I am, that more I can not hold.*

And what assertions or sentences may a man possibly finde more contrary and repugnant one against another, than those of *Chrysippus*, as touching both gods and men, when he saith, That the gods are most provident over men, and carefull for their best; and men notwithstanding are in as woofull state as they may be?

Certeine Pythagoreans there are, who blame him much, for that in his booke of Justice he hath written of dunghill cocks, that they were made and created profitable for mans use: For (quoth he) they awaken us out of our sleepe, and raise us to our worke; they hunt, kill and devour scorpions; with their fighting they animate us to battell, imprinting in our hearts an ardent desire to shew valour: and yet eat them we must, for feare that there grow upon us more pollaine, than we know what otherwise to do withall. And so farre forth mocketh he and scorneth those who finde fault with him for delivering such sentences, that he writeth thus in his third booke of the Gods, as touching *Jupiter* the Saviour, Creatour and Father of justice, law, equity and peace: And like as cities (quoth he) and great townes, when they be over full of people, deduct and send from thence certaine colonies, and begin to make warre upon some other nations; even so God sendeth the causes that breed plague and mortallitie: to which purpose he citeth the testimony of *Enripides* and other authors, who write that the Trojan warre was raised by the gods, for to discharge and disburden the world of so great a multitude of men wherewith it was replenished. As for all other evident absurdities delivered in these speeches, I let passe, for my purpose is not to search into all that which they have said or written amisse, but onely into their contradictions and contrarieties to themselves. But consider, I pray you, how *Chrysippus* hath alwaies attributed unto the gods the goodliest names and most plausible termes that can be devised; but contrariwise, most savage, cruell, inhumane, barbarous and Galatian deeds. For such generall mortalities and carnages of men, as the Trojan warre first brought, and afterwards the Median and Peloponnesiacke warres, are nothing like unto colonies that cities send forth to people and inhabit other places; unlesse haply one would say, That such multitudes of men that die by warre and pestilence, know of some cities founded for them in hell and under the ground to be inhabited. But *Chrysippus* maketh God like unto *Deiatus* the king of *Galatia*, who having many sonnes, and minding to leave his realme and roiall estate unto one of them and no more, made away & killed all the rest besides him, to the end that he being left alone, might be great and mightie: like as if one should prune and cut away all the branches of a vine, that the maine stocke might thrive and prosper the better: and yet the cutter of the vine disbrancheth it when the shooes be yoong, small and tender: and we also take away from a bitch many of her whelps when they be so yoong as that they can not yet see, for to spare the damme: whereas *Jupiter* who hath not onely suffered and permitted men to grow unto their perfect age, but also given them himselfe their nativitie and growth, punisheth them and plagueth them afterwards, devising sundry meanes, and preparing many occasions of their death and destruction, when as indeed he should rather have not given unto them the causes and prin-

ciples of their generation and birth. Howbeit, this is but a small matter in comparison; and more grievous is that which I will now say: for there are no warres bred among men, but by occasion of some notable vice; seeing the cause of one is fleshly pleasure; of another, avarice; and of a third, ambition and desire of rule. And therefore, if God be the author of warres, he is by consequence, the cause of wickednesse, and doth provoke, excite and pervert men: and yet him- selfe in his treatise of judgement, yea and his second booke of the Gods, writeth that it stands to no sense and reason that God should be the cause of any wicked and dishonest things. For like as the lawes are never the cause of breaking and violating the lawes, no more are gods of impetie: so that there is no likelihood at all that they should move and cause men to commit any foule and dishonest fact. Now what can there be more dishonest, than to procure and raise 10 some to worke the thine and perdition of others, and yet *Chrysippus* saith, that God ministreth the occasions and beginnings thereof. Yea, but he contrariwise (will one say) commendeth *Euripides*, for saying thus:

*If Gods do ought th: lewd and filly is,  
They are no more accounted Gods, in us.*

And againe,  
*Soone said that is: Mens faults i' excuse,  
Nothing more ready than Gods i' accuse.*

as if forsooth we did any thing els now, but compare his words and sentences together that be opposit and mere contrary one unto another. And yet this sentence which now is heere com- 20 mended, to wit,

*Soone said that is, &c.*

we may alledge against *Chrysippus*, not once, nor twice nor thrice, but ten thousand times. For first, in his treatise of Nature, having likened the eternity of motion to a drench or potion made confusedly of many herbs and spices, troubling and turning all things that be engendered, some after one sort and some after another, thus he saith, Seeing it is so, that the government and ad- ministrat[i]on of the universall world proceedeth in this sort, necessary it is that according to it we be disposed in that maner as we are; whether it be that we are diseased against our owne na- ture, maimed or disinfembred, Grammatians or Musicians. And againe, soone after, accord- ing to this reason, we may say the like of our vertue or vice, and generally of the knowledge or 30 ignorance of arts, as I have already said. Also within a litle after, cutting off all doubt and am- biguity: There is no particular thing, not the very least that is, which can otherwise happen than according to common nature, and the reason thereof: now that common nature, and the rea- son of it is fatall destinae, divine providence and *Jupiter*, there is not one, search even as far as to the Antipodes, but he knoweth: for this sentence is very ripe in their mouthes: And as for this verse of *Homer*,

*And as each thing thus came to passe,  
The will of Jove fulfilled was.*

he saith that well and rightly he referred all to destiny, and the universall nature of the world, whereby all things are governed. How is it possible then, that these two positions should sub- 40 sist together, namely, that God is in no wise the cause of any dishonest thing: and, that there is nothing in the world be it never so little that is done, but by common nature, and according to the reason thereof? For surely, among all those things that are done, necessarily there must be things dishonest: and yet *Epicurus* turneth and windeth himselfe on every side, imagining and devising all the subtilt[ies] that he can to unloose, set free, and deliver our voluntary free will from this motion eternall, because he would not leave vice excusable & without just repre- hension; whereas in the meane while he openeth a wide window unto it, and giveth it libertie to plead: That committed it is not only by the necessity of destiny, but also by the reason of God, and according to the best nature that is. And thus much also moreover is to be scene written word for word: For considering that common nature reacheth unto all causes; it cannot 50 otherwise be, but all that is done, howsoever, and in what part soever of the world, must be ac- cording to this common nature, and the reason thereof, by a certaine kind of consequence without impeachment; for that there is nothing without, that can impeach the administrati- on thereof, neither mooveth any part, or is disposed in habitude otherwise, than according to that common nature. But what habitudes and motions of the parts are these? Certaine it is that the habitudes be the vices and maladies of the minds, as covetousnesse, lecherie, ambition, cowardise, and injustice: as for the motions, they be the acts proceeding from thence, as adul- teries,

teries, thefts, treasons, manlaughters, murders, and parricides, *Chrysippus* now is of opinion, That none of all these, be they little or great, is done without the reason of *Jupiter*, or against law, justice, and providence: in so much as to breake law, is not against law; to wrong another, is not against justice; nor to commit sinne against providence. And yet he affirmeth, that God punisheth vice, and doth many things for the punishment of the wicked. As for example, in the second booke of the gods: Otherwhiles they happen (quoth he) unto good men grievous calamities, not by way of punishment, as to the wicked, but by another kinde of oeconomy and disposition, like as it falleth out usually unto cities. Againe, in these words: First, we are to understand, evill things and calamities as we have said heerebefore; then to thinke, that distri- 10 buted they are according to the reason and dispose of *Jupiter*, either by way of punishment, or else by some other oeconomy of the whole world. Now surely, this is a doctrine hard to bee digested, namely, that vice being wrought by the disposition and reason of God, is also punished thereby: howbeit, this contradiction he doeth still aggravate and extend in the second booke of Nature, writing thus: But vice in regard of grievous accidents, hath a certaine peculiar reason by it selfe: for after a sort it is committed by the common reason of nature, and as I may so say, not unprofitably in respect of the universall world: for otherwise than so, there were no good things at all: and then proceeding to reprove those who dispute *pro & contra*, and dis- 20 course indifferently on both parts, he (I meane) who upon an ardent desire to brooke alwaies and in every matter some novelties & exquisite singularities above all other, saith, It is not un- profitable, to cut purses, to play the scyphants, or commit loose, dissolute, and mad parts: no more than it is inconvenient, that there should be unprofitable members, hurtfull and wret- ched persons: which if it be so, what maner of god is *Jupiter*, I meane him, of whom *Chrysip- pus* speaketh, in case (I say) he punish a thing, which neither commeth of it selfe, nor unprofit- 30 ably: for vice according to the reason of *Chrysippus* were altogether irreprehensible, and *Jup- iter* to be blamed, if either he caused vice, as a thing unprofitable, or punished it when he had made it not unprofitable. Moreover, in the first booke of justice, speaking of the gods, that they oppose themselves against the iniquities of some: But wholly (quoth he) to cut off all vice, is neither possible nor expedient, is it if it were possible, to take away all injustice, all trans- gression of lawes, and all folly. But how true this is, it pertaineth not to this present treatise for 40 to enquire and discourse. But himselfe taking away and rooting up all vice as much as lay in him, by the meanes of philosophy, which to extirpe, was neither good nor expedient, doeth herein that which is repugnant both to reason and also to God. Furthermore, in saying that there be certaine finnes and iniquities, against which the gods doe oppose themselves, he gi- veth covertly to understand, that there is some oddes and inequality in finnes. Over and besides, having written in many places, that there is nothing in the world to be blamed, nor that can be complained of, for that all things are made and finished by a most singular and excellent na- ture: there be contrariwise, sundry places, wherein hee leaveth and alloweth unto us certaine negligences reproveable, and those not in small and trifling matters. That this is true, it may appeere in his third booke of Substance; where having made mention, that such like negligences 50 might befall unto good & honest men: Commeth this to passe (quoth he) because there be some things whereof there is no reckoning made, like as in great houses, there must needs be scat- tered and lost by the way some bran, yea and some few graines of wheat, although in generality the whole besides, is well enough ruled and governed? or is it because there be some evill and malignant spirits, as superintendents over such things, wherein certainly such negligences are committed, & the same reprehensible? and he saith moreover, that there is much necessity in- termingled among. But I meane not hereupon to stand, nor to discourse at large, but to let passe what vanity there was in him, to compare the accidents which befell to some good and vertu- ous persons, as for example, the condemnation of *Socrates*, the burning of *Pythagoras* quick- ly by the Cylonians, the dolorous torments that *Zeno* endured under the tyrant *Demylus*, or 50 those which *Antiphon* suffered at the hands of *Dionysius*, when they were by them put to death, unto the brans that be spilt and lost in great mens houses. But that there should be such wicked spirits deputed by the divine providence, to have the charge of such things, must needs redound to the great reproach of God, as if he were some unwise king who committed the go- vernment of his provinces unto evill captaines and rash headed lieutenants, suffering them to abuse and wrong his best affected subjects, and winking at their reckless negligence, having no care or regard at all of them. Againe, if it be so, that there is much necessity and continuant mingled among the affaires of this world, then is not God the soveraigne lord and omnipotent 60 master



master of all, neither be all things absolutely governed and ruled by his reason and counsell.

Moreover he mightily opposeth himselfe against *Epicurus* and those who take from the administration of the world divine providence, confuting them, principally by the common notions and conceptions inbred in us as touching the gods, by which perswaded we are that they be gracious benefactors unto men. And for that this is so vulgar and common a thing with them, needlesse it is to cite any expresse places to proove the same : And yet by his leave, all nations doe not believe that the gods be bountifull and good unto us. For doe but consider what opinion the Jewes and Syrians have of the gods : looke into the writings of Poets, with how many superstitions they be stuffed. There is no man in maner to speake of who imagineth or conceiveth in his minde, that god is either mortall and corruptible, or hath bene begotten : And *Antipater of Tarsis* (to passe others over in silence) in his booke of Gods, hath written thus much word for word. But to the end (quoth he) that this discourse may be more perspicuous and cleare, we will reduce into few words the opinion which we have of God. We understand therefore by God a living nature or substance happie, incorruptible, and a benefactor unto men : and afterwards in expounding each of these tearmes and attributes, thus he saith : And verily all men doe acknowledge the gods to be immortall. It must needs be then, that by *Antipaters* saying, *Chrysippus* of all those, is none. For he doth not thinke any of all the gods to be incorruptible save *Jupiter* onely : but supposeth that they were all engendered a like, and that one day they shall all likewise perish. This generally throughout all his bookes doth he deliver : howbeit one expresse passage will I alledge out of his third booke of the gods. After a divers sort (quoth he) for some of them are engendered and mortall : others not engendered at all. But the prooffe and demonstration hereof, if it should be fetched from the head indeed, apperteineth more properly unto the science of Naturall Philosophy. For the Sunne and Moone and other gods of like nature, were begotten : but *Jupiter* is sempiternall. And againe somewhat after : The like shall be said of *Jupiter* and other gods, as touching their corruption and generation : for some of them do perish : but as for his parts they be incorruptible. With this I would have you to compare, a little of that which *Antipater* hath written : Those (quoth he) who deprive the gods of beneficence and well doing, touch but in some part the prenotation and anticipation in the knowledge of them : and by the same reason they also who thinke they participate of generation and corruption. If then he be as much deceived and as absurd, who thinke that the gods be mortall and corruptible, as he who is of opinion that they beare no bountifull and loving affection toward men, *Chrysippus* is as farre from the truth as *Epicurus*, for that as the one bereaveth God of immortality and incorruption, so the other taketh from him bounty and liberality.

Moreover *Chrysippus* in his third booke of the gods speaking of this point, and namely how other gods are nourished, saith thus : Other gods (quoth he) use a certaine nourishment, whereby they are maintained equally : but *Jupiter* and the world after a nother sort, than those who are engendered, and be consumed by the fire. In which place, he holdeth, that all other gods be nourished, except *Jupiter* and the world. And in the first booke of Providence, he saith that *Jupiter* groweth continually untill such a time, as all things be consumed in him. For death being the separation of the body and soule, seeing that the soule of the world never departeth at all but augmenteth continually, untill it have consumed all the matter within it, we cannot say that the world dieth. Who could speake more contrary to himselfe, than he who saith that one and the same god is nourished and not nourished ? And this we need not to inferre and conclude by necessary consequence, considering that himselfe in the same place hath written it plainly. The world onely (quoth he) is said to be of it selfe sufficient : because it alone hath all in it selfe whereof it standeth in no need, of it selfe it is nourished and augmented, whereas other parts are transfused and converted one into another. Not onely then is he contradictorie and repugnant to himselfe in that he saith, other gods be nourished, all except the world and *Jupiter* : but also here in much more, when he saith that the world groweth by nourishing it selfe : whereas so contrariwise there had bene more reason to say, the world onely is not augmented, having for foode the destruction thereof : but on the contrary side, other gods doe grow and increase, in as much as they have their nourishment from without : and rather should the world be consumed into them, if it be true that the world taketh alwaies from it selfe, and other gods from it. The second point contained in that common notion and opinion imprinted in us as touching the gods, is that they be blessed, happie and perfect. And therefore men highly praise *Euripides* for saying thus.

if

If God be God indeed and really,  
He needs none of this poets verily;  
His praise in hymnes and verses for to write :  
Such ditties wretched are which they endite.

Howbeit our *Chrysippus* here, in those places by me alledged faith, that the world alone is of it selfe sufficient, as comprehending within it all that it hath need of. What then ariseth upon this proposition, that the world is sole sufficient in it selfe, but this, that neither the Sun nor the Moone, nor any other of the gods whatsoever is sufficient of it selfe, and being thus insufficient, they cannot be blessed and happie.

*Chrysippus* is of opinion, that the infant in the mothers wombe, is nourished naturally, no otherwise than a plant within the earth; but when it is borne, and by the aire cooled and hardened (as it were) like Steele, it moveth the spirit, and becometh an animall or living creature; and therefore it is not without good reason, that the soule was called ψυχη, in regard of ψυχος, that is to say, refrigeration. But not forgetting to be contrary unto himselfe, he supposeth that the soule is the more subtile, rare, and fine spirit of nature: For how is it possible that a subtile thing should be made of that which is grosse, and that a spirit should be rarefied by refrigeration and astringition or condensation? Nay, that which more is, how cometh it about, that affirming as he doth the soule of an infant to be engendered by the means of refrigeration, he should thinke the sun to become animar, being as it is of a fire nature, & engendered of an exhalation transfused into fire? For thus he saith in his third booke of Nature: The mutation (quoth he) of fire is in this maner; by the aire it is turned into water, and out of water having earth under it, there exaleth aire, which aire coming to be subtilized, the fire is produced and environeth it round about; & as for the stars, they are set on fire out of these, together with the sunne; what is more contrary, than to be set on fire and to be cooled? what more opposite to subtilization and rarefaction, than inspissation and condensation? the one maketh water and earth, of fire and aire; the other turneth that which is moist and terrestriall, into fire and aire. And yet in one place he maketh kindling of fire, and in another refrigeration, to be the cause of quickning and giving soule unto a thing: for when the said firing and inflammation comes generally throughout, then it liveth and is become an animall creature; but after it cometh to be quenched and thickned, it turneth into water and earth, and so into a corporall substance. In the first booke of Providence, he writeth thus: For the world being throughout on fire, presently it is with all, the soule and governour of it selfe; but when it is turned into moisture and the soule left within it, and is after a sort converted into a soule and body, so as it seemeth compounded of them both, then the case is altered: In which text he affirmeth plainly, that the very inanimat parts of the world by exustion and inflammation, turne and change into the soule thereof; and contrariwise by extinction, the soule is relaxed and moistened againe, and so returneth into a corporall nature. Heereupon I inferre that he is very absurd, one while to make of senselesse things, animar and living, by way of refrigeration; and another while to transmute the most part of the soule of the world into insensible and inanimat things.

But over and above all this, the discourse which he maketh as touching the generation of the soule, containeth a prooffe & demonstration contrary to his owne opinion; for he saith: That the soule is engendered after that the infant is gone out of the mothers wombe; for that the spirit then is transformed by refrigeration; even as the temper is gotten off Steele. Now to prove that the soule is engendered, and that after the birth of the infant, hee bringeth this for a principall argument; Because children become like unto their parents in behaviour and naturall inclination; wherein the contrariety that he delivereth is so evident, as that a man may see it by the very cie; for it is not possible that the soule which is engendered after birth, should be framed to the manners and disposition of the parents before nativity; or else we must say (and fall out it will) that the soule before it was in esse, was already like unto a soule; which is all one, as that it was by similitude and resemblance, and yet was not, because as yet it had not a reall substance: Now if any one doe say, that it ariseth from the temperature and complexion of the bodies, that this similitude is imprinted in them, howbeit when the soules are once engendered, they become changed, he shall overthrow the argument and prooffe, whereby it is shewed that the soule was engendered; for heereupon it would follow, that the soule although it were ingenerable, when it entruth from without into the body, is changed by the temperature of the like.

*Chrysippus* sometime saith, that the aire is light, that it mounteth upward on high; and otherwhiles

whiles for it againe: that it is neither heavy nor light. To prove this, see what he saith in his second booke of Motion, namely, that fire having in it no ponderosity at all, ascendeth aloft: sensibly the aire; and as the water is more conformable to the earth, so the aire doth rather resemble the fire. But in his booke entituled Naturall arts, he bendeth to the contrary opinion, to wit, that the aire hath neither ponderosity nor lightnesse of it selfe. He affirmeth that the aire by nature is darke, and for that cause by consequence it is also the primitive cold; and that tenebrosity or darknesse is directly opposite unto light and cleerenesse, and the coldnesse therefore of the heat of fire. Mooving this discourse in the first booke of his Naturall questions, contrary to all this in his treatise of Habitues, he saith: That these habitues be nothing else but aires: For that bodies (quoth he) be contained by them, and the cause why every body contained by any habitude is such as it is, is the continent aire; which in iron is called hardnesse, in stone, spissitude or thicknesse; in silver whitenesse; in which words there is great contrariety, and as much false absurditie: for if this aire remaine the same still as it is in the owne nature, how cometh blacke in that which is not white, to be called whitenesse; sofinesse in that which is not hard, to be named hardnesse; or rare in that which is not solide and massive, to be called soliditie? But in case it be said, that by mixture therein it is altered, and so cometh sensibly, how then can it be an habitude, a faculty, power, or cause of these effects, whereby it selfe is brought under and subdued? for that were to suffer rather than to doe; and this alteration is not of a nature containing, but of a languishing impotencie, whereby it loseth all the properties and qualities of the owne; and yet in every place they hold, that matter of it selfe idle and without motion, is subject and exposed to the receipt of qualities, which qualities are spirits, and those powers of the aire, which into what parts soever of the matter they get and insinuate themselves, doe give a forme and imprint a figure into them. But how can they mainteine this, supposing as they do, the aire to be such as they say it is; for if it be an habitude and power, it will conforme and shape unto it selfe, every body, so as it will make the same both blacke and soft: but if by being mixed and contempered with them, it take formes contrary unto those which it hath by nature, it followeth then, that it is the matter of matter, and neither the habitude, cause, nor power thereof.

*Chrysippus* hath written often times, that without the world there is an infinit voidnesse; and that this infinitie hath neither beginning, middle, nor end. And this is the principall reason whereby they refuse that motion downward of the *Atom* by themselves, which *Epicurus* hath brought in: for in that which is infinit, there are no locall differences, whereby a man may understand or specife either high or low. But in the fourth booke of Things possible, he supposeth a certaine middle space and meane place betweene: wherein he saith the world is founded. The very text where he affirmeth this, runneth in these words. And therefore we must say of the world that it is corruptible: and although it be very hard to prove it, yet me thinks rather it should be so, than otherwise. Nevertheless, this maketh much to the inducing of us to believe that it hath a certaine incorruptibility, if I may so say, namely the occupation or taking up of the middle place, wherein it standeth, because it is in the mids: for if it were thought otherwise to be founded, it were altogether necessarie that some corruption should take holde of it. And againe, a little after: for even so in some sort hath that essence bene ordeined from all eternitie, to occupie the middle region, being presently at the very first such as if not by another manner, yet by attaining this place, it is eternall and subject to no corruption. These words containe one manifest repugnance and visible contrariety, considering that in them he admitteth and alloweth in that which is infinit a middle place. But there is a second also, which as it is more darke and obscure, so it implieth also a more monstrous absurditie than the other: for supposing that the world can not continue incorruptible, if it were feared and founded in any other place of the infinitie, than in the mids; it appeareth manifestly that he feared, if the parts of the substance did not moove and tend toward the mids, there would ensue a dissolution & corruption of the world. But this would he never have feared, if he had not thought that bodies naturally so from all sides tend to the middes not of the substance but of the place that containeth the substance; whereof he had spoken in many places, that it was a thing impossible and against nature, for that within voidnesse there is no difference, by which bodies can be said to move more one way than another: and that the construction of the world is cause of the motion to the center, as also that all things from every side do bend to the mids. But to see this more plainly, it may suffice to alledge the very text in his second booke of Motion: for when he had delivered thus much, That the world is a perfect body, and the parts of the world not perfect, because they are respective

relative to the whole, and not of themselves. Having also discoursed as touching the motion thereof: for that it was apt and fitted by nature to moove it selfe in all parts, for to containe and preserve, and not to breake, dissolve and burne it selfe, he saith afterwards, But the universall world tending and mooving to the same point, and the parts thereof having the same motion from the nature of the body; like it is, that this first motion is naturally proper to all bodies, namely, to incline toward the mids of the world, considering that the world mooveth so in regard of it selfe; and the parts likewise, in that they be the parts of the whole. How now my good friend, may some one say, what accident is befallen unto you, that you should forget to pronounce these words withall, That the world, in case it had not fortune for to settle in the mids, must needs have bene subject to corruption and dissolution? For if it be proper and natural to the world to tend alwaies to the same middle, as also to adresse the parts thereof from all sides thereto, into what place soever of the voidnesse it be carried and transported, certes thus containing and embracing (as it were) it selfe, as it doth, it must needs continue incorruptible, immortal, and past all danger of fracture or dissolution: for to such things as be broken, bruised, dissipated and dissolved, this is incident, by the division and dissolution of their parts, when each one runneth and retireth into their proper and natural place, out of that which is against their owne nature. But you sir, supposing that if the world were seated in any other place of voidnesse but in the mids, there would follow a total ruine and corruption thereof; giving out also as much, and therefore imagining a middle in that where naturally there can be none, to wit, in that which is infinit, have verily quit cleane and fled from these tensions, coherences and inclinations, as having in them no assured meanes for to mainteine and holde the world together, and attributed all the cause of the eternall maintenance and preservation thereof, unto the occupation of a place. And yet, as if you tooke pleasure to argue and convince your selfe, you adjoine to the premisses, thus much: In what sort every severall part moveth, as it is coherent to the rest of the body, it stands with good reason, that after the same manner it should moove by it selfe alone; yea, if for disputation sake we imagine and suppose it to be in some void part of this world: and like as being kept in and enclosed on every side, it would move toward the mids, so it would continue in this same motion, although by way of disputation we should admit, that all on a sudden there should appeare some vacuity and void place round about it. And is it so indeed, that every part what ever it be, compassed about with voidnesse, forgoeth not her natural inclination to move & tend to the mids; and should the world it selfe, unless some fortune & blind chance had not prepared for it a place in the mids, have lost that vigor & power which containeth and holdeth all together, & so some parts of the substance of it moove one way, and some another? Now surely heerein there be many other maine contrarieties repugnant even to natural reason; but this particularly among the rest, encountreth the doctrine of God & divine providence, to wit, that in attributing unto them the least and smallest causes that be, he taketh from them the most principall and greatest of all other. For what greater power can there be, than the maintenance and preservation of this universall world, or to caule the substance united together in all parts to cohere unto it selfe? But this according to the opinion of *Chrysippus*, hapneth by meer hazzard and chance: for if the occupation of a place, is the cause of worlds incorruption and eternitie, and the same chanced by fortune, we must inferre thereupon, that the safety of all things dependeth upon hazzard and adventure, and not upon fatall destiny and divine providence. As for his doctrine & disputation *de finibus*, that is to say of things possible, which *Chrysippus* hath delivered directly against that of fatall destiny, how can it chuse but be repugnant to it selfe: for if that be not possible, according to the opinion of *Diodorus*, which either is or shall be true, but whatsoever is susceptible naturally of a power to be, although the same never come into act or esse, is to be counted possible; there will be a number of things possible which never shall have being, by destiny invincible, inexpugnable, & unmovable things. And therefore either this doctrine overthroweth all the force and puissance of destiny: or if it be admitted as *Chrysippus* would have it, that which potentially may be, will fall out oftentimes to be impossible; & whatsoever is true, shall be also necessary, as being comprised & contained by the greatest and most puissant cause withstanding and impeaching it ever for being true. For looke whose destiny it is to die in the sea, how can it possible be, that he should be susceptible of death upon the land? And how is it possible, that he who is at *Megara* should come to *Athens*, being hindered and prohibited by fatall destiny?

Moreover his resolutions as touching fantasies and imaginations repugne mainly against fatall

fatall destiny: For intending to proove that fantasie is not an entire and absolute cause of assent he saith, that Sages and wise men will prejudice and hurt us much, by imprinting in our mindes false imaginations, if it be so that such fantasies doe absolutely cause assent. For many times wise men use that which is false, unto leawd and wicked persons, representing unto them a fantasie that is but onely probable, and yet the same is not the cause of assent: for so also should it be the cause of false opinion and of deception. If then a man would transerre this reason and argument from the said wise men unto fatall destiny, saying that destiny is not the cause of assents (for so he should confesse that by destiny were occasioned false assents, opinions and deceptions, yea and men should be endamaged by destiny) certes the same doctrine and reason which exempteth a wise man from doing hurt at any time, sheweth withall that destiny is not the cause of all things. For if they neither opine nor receive detriment by destiny: certainly they doe no good, they are not wise, they be not firme and constant in opinion, neither receive they any good and profit by destiny: so that this conclusion which they hold for most assured, falleth to the ground and commeth to nothing, namely, that fatall destiny is the cause of all things. Now by paraventure one say unto me, that *Chrysippus* doth not make destiny the entire and absolute cause of all things, but only a procatartickall and antecedent occasion, here againe will he discover how he is contradictorie to himselfe, whereas he praiseth *Homer* exceedingly for saying thus of *Jupiter*:

*Take well in worth therefore what he  
to each of you shall send;  
And whether good or bad it be,  
doe not with him contend.*

As also where he highly extollet *Enripides* for these verses:

*O Jupiter what cause have I to say,  
That mortall wretches we should prudent be?  
Depend we doe of thee, and nothing may  
Bring to effect, but that which pleaseth thee.*

Himselfe also writeth many sentences accordant hereunto, and finally concludeth, that nothing doth rest and stay, nothing stirre and moove, be it never so little, otherwise than by the counsell and minde of *Jupiter*, whome he saith to be all one with fatall destiny. Moreover the antecedent cause is more feeble and weake than that which is perfit and absolute, neither attaineth it to any effect, as being subdued & kept down, by others mightier than it selfe, rising up & making head against it. And as for fatall destiny *Chrysippus* himselfe pronouncing it to be a cause invincible, inflexible, and that which cannot be impeached, calleth it *Atropos* & *Adrastra*, as one would say, a cause that cannot be averted, avoided or undone. Likewise necessity and Peppromence, which is as much to say as setting downe *meas*, that is to say, an end and limit unto all things. How then whether doe we not say, that neither assents, vertues, vices, nor well or ill doing, lie in our free will and power: if we affirme fatall destiny is to be maimed or imperfect and *meoprosion*, that is to say, a fatality determining all things, to be *ampermentis*, that is to say, without power to finish and effect ought: and so the motions and habitudes of *Jupiter*'s will to remaine imperfect and unaccomplished? for of these conclusions the one will follow, if we say that destiny is an absolute and perfect cause: and the other, in case we hold that it is onely a procatartickall or antecedent occasion. For being an absolute and all sufficient cause, it overthroweth that which is in us, to wit, our free will: and againe, if we admit it to be only antecedent it is marred for being effectuall and without the danger of impeachment. For not in one or two places onely but every where in maner throughout all his commentaries of naturall philosophy he hath written, that in particular natures and motions there be many obstacles and impediments, but in the motion of the universall world there is none at all. And how is it possible that the motion of the universall world should not be hindered and disturbed, reaching as it doth unto particulars, in case be so, that they likewise be stopped and impeached. For surely the nature in generall of the whole man is not at liberty and without impediment, if neither that of the foot nor of the hand, be void of obstacles: no more can the motion or course of a ship be void of let and hinderance, if there be some stay about the sailes, & oares, or their works. Over & besides all this, if the fantasies and imaginations, are not imprinted in us by fatall destiny, how be they the cause of assents? Or if because it imprinteth fantasies that lead unto assent, thereupon all assents are said to be by fatall destiny, how is it possible that destiny should not be repugnant to it selfe? considering that in matters of greatest importance, it ministreth many times different fantasies; and those which

distract the minde into contrary opinions? whereas they affirme that those who settle unto one of the said fantasies, and hold not of their assent and approbation doe erre and sinne: For if they yeeld (say they) unto uncertaine fantasies they stumble and fall: if unto false, they are deceived: if to such as commonly are not conceived and understood, they opine. For of necessity it must be one of these three: either that every fantasie is not the worke nor effect of destiny; or that every receipt & assension of fantasie is not void of error; or else that destiny it selfe is not irreprehensible. Neither can I see how it should be blamelesse, objecting such fantasies & imaginations as it doth: which to withstand and resist, were not blameable, but rather to give place and follow them: and verily in the disputations of the Stoicks against the Academicks, the maine point about which both *Chrysippus* himselfe, and *Antipater* also contended and stood upon, was this: That we doe nothing at all, nor be enclined to any action, without a precedent consent: but that these be but vaine fictions and devised fables, and suppositions, that when any proper fantasie is presented, incontinently we are disposed, yea, and incited thereto, without yeelding or giving consent. Again, *Chrysippus* saith: That both God and the wise man doe imprint false imaginations, not because they would have us to yeeld or give our consent unto them, but that we should doe the thing onely, and incite our selves to that which appeereth: As for us, if wee be evill by reason of our infirmity, we condescend to such fantasies and imaginations. Now the repugnance and contrarietie in these words is easily seene; for hee who would not have us to consent unto the fantasies which he presenteth unto us, but onely to worke and doe them, be he God or wise man, knoweth well enough that such fantasies are sufficient to cause us to fall to operation, and that those assents are altogether superfluous: and so if he knowing that the fantasie imprinteth no instinct into operation without consent, ministreth unto us false or probable fantasies: willfull and voluntary is the cause that we stumble, erre, and offend, in giving our assent to such things as are not perfectly understood and comprehended.



## OF COMMON CONCEPTIONS AGAINST THE STOICKS.

### The Summarie.

Having shewed in my former discoufse, that the Stoicks are contradictory to themselves in all the principall articles of their doctrine, and so consequently that he needed no more but their owne words to condemne them: In this dialogue he joyneth more closely to them, disputing against their rules and precepts, which he examineth and refuteth; whereas before he was content to oppugne them by their owne selves. For to make an entrance into this dialogue, he bringeth in *Lamprias*, requesting *Diadumenus* to rid him of those scruples that certaine Stoicks had put into his head: Whereunto the other accordeth, and so they enter into the matter. The summe of whose whole discoufse throughout is this: That the Stoicks would by their principles abolish mans senses, and the common conceptions proceeding from thence, thereby more easily to establish their owne paradoxes: whom he refuteth, dividing his dialogue into three principall parts: in the first whereof is considered, the morall; in the second, the naturall; in the third, the metaphysicall or supernaturall philosophy of the Stoicks: Howbeit, he observeth no exact order nor method, in the disposition of his matters, but enmethow of one discoufse into another, according as things were presented unto him, and came first into his minde, yet in such sort, as there is sufficient to content the reader, who is desirous to know what was the sect and doctrine of the Stoicks, in the manner of the ancient Academicks in their disputations: which being referred to the true

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marke and scope indeed of all that which we may learne in the world, teacheth every man to humble himselfe before the maiestie of him who is onely wise, and out of whose sacred word we ought to fetch the resolution of the questions debated here in this dialogue, but of those above these, which treat of manners, religion, and divinity.

## OF COMMON CONCEPTIONS against the Stoicks.

LAMPRIAS.



**L**I should seeme verily that you *Diadumenus* passe not much what any man either thinks or saies of you & other Academicks, such as your selfe, in that you do philosophize cleane contrary to the common notions and conceptions, confessing as you doe, that you make no great account of the five naturall senses, from whence proceed the most part of the said common conceptions, having for their foundation and seat, the beleife and assurance of the imaginations which appeere unto us. But I pray you for to assay and goe in hand to cure me, either by some words, or charmes and enchantments, or by what other meanes and kinds of physicke that you know, comming as I doe unto you, full in mine owne conceit of great trouble and strong perturbation, so exceedingly troubled I have beene, and held in perplexed suspense, I may tell you, by certeine Stoicks; men otherwise the best in the world, and I may say to you, my inward and familiar friends: howbeit, over bitterly bent, and in hostile maner set against the Academic, who for very small matters uttered by me, modestly and in good sort, withall respect and reverence, have (I will not lie unto you) reprooved, checked, and taken me up very unkindly, with some hard words, and breaking forth in heat of choler, called our auncient Philosophers, Sophisters, corrupters, and perverters of good sentences in Philosophy, yea, and seducers of those who otherwise walked in the true path and traine of doctrine surely established; with many other more strange termes, both speaking and thinking of them very basely; untill in the end as if they had beene driven with a tempest, they fell upon the Common conceptions, reproaching those of the Academic, as if they brought in some great confusion and perturbation in the said notions: and one among them there was, who stucke not to say; That it was not by fortune, but by some divine providence that *Chrysippus* was borne and came into the world, after *Arceflus*, and before *Carnedes*: of which twaine, the one was the great author and promoter of the injury and outrage done unto custome; and the other flourished in name and renowne above all other Academicks. Now *Chrysippus* comming as he did betwene them, by his writings contrary to the doctrine of *Arceflus*, stopped up the way also against the powerful eloquence of *Carnedes*, and as he left unto the senses many aides and succours, as it were to hold out a long siege; so he removed out of the way, and fully cleared all the trouble and confusion about anticipations and common conceptions, correcting ech one, and reducing them into their proper place; in so much, as whosoever afterwards would seeme to make new troubles, and violently disquiet matters by him settled, should not prevails nor gaine ought, but incur the obloquie of the world, and be convinced for malicious persons, and deceitfull sophisters. Having thus (I say) by these words beene chafed and set on fire this morning among them, I had need of some meanes to quench the heat as it were of an inflammation, and to rid me of these doubts, which are risen in my minde.

DIADUMENUS.

It fareth haply with you, as with many of the vulgar sort; but if you beleeve the poets who give out, that the ancient citie *Sipylus* in *Magestia*, was in old time destroyed and overthrowen by the providence of the gods, when they chastised and punished *Tamalus*; you may as well be perswaded by our old friends the Stoicks to beleeve, that nature hath brought forth into the world, not by chance and fortune, but by some speciall divine providence, *Chrysippus*, when the was minded to pervert and overturne the life of man and course of the world, turning all things up side downe, and contrariwise downe side up: for never was there man better made

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and framed for such a matter than he, And as *Cato* said of that *Julius Caesar* Dictator, that before him there was never knownen any to come fober and confederate to manage affaires of state with a purpose to worke the ruin of the common weale; even so this man in mine opinion, with most diligence, greatest eloquence, & highest conceit of spirit seemeth as much as lieth in him to destroy and abolish custome. And there witness against him no lesse even they who magnifie the man otherwise: namely, when they dispute against him as touching that sophisme or syllogisme which is called *Pseudomenos*, for to say my good friend, that the augmentation composed of contrary positions is not notoriously false, and againe to affirme, that syllogismes having their premisses true, yea and true inductions, may yet have the contrary to their conclusions true, what conception of demonstrations, or what anticipation of beleefe is there, which it is not able to overthrow?

It is reported of the Pourcuttle or Pollyp fish, that in winter time he gnaweth his owne cleies and pendant hairy feet, but the Logicke of *Chrysippus*, which taken away and cutteth off the principal parts of it, what other conception leaveth it behinde but that which well may be suspected? For how can that be imagined steady and sure which is built upon foundations that abide not firme, but wherein there be so many doubts and troubles? But like as they who have either dust or durt upon their bodies, if they touch another therewith or rub against him, doe not so much trouble and molest him, as they doe begripe and beray themselves so much the more and seeme to exasperate that ordure which pricketh and is offensive unto them; even so, some there be who blame and accuse the Academicks, thinking to charge upon them those imputations, wherewith themselves are found to be more burdened. For who be they that pervert the common conceptions of the senses more, than do the Stoicks? But if you thinke to good, leaving off to accuse them, let us answer to those calumniamations and slanders which they would seeme to fasten upon us.

LAMPRIAS.

Me thinks *Diadumenus* that I am this day much changed, and become full of variety: me thinks I am a man greatly altered from that I was ere while: for even now I came hither much dismayed and abashed, as being depressed, beaten downe and amazed; as one having need of some advocate or other to speake for me and in my behalfe: whereas now I am cleane turned to an humor of accusation, and disposed to enjoy the pleasure of revenge, to see all the packe of them detected and convinced, in that they argue and dispute themselves against common conceptions and anticipations, in defence whereof they seeme principally to magnifie their owne sect, \* \* saying that it alone doth agree and accord with nature.

DIADUMENUS.

Begin we then first, with their most renowned propositions, which they themselves call paradoxes, that is to say, strange and admirable opinions: avowing as it were by that name & gently admitting such exorbitant absurdities; as for example that such Sages as themselves are onely kings, onely rich and faire, onely citizens, and onely Judges: or please it you that we send all this stiffe to the market of olde and stale marchandise, and goe in hand with the examination of 40 these matters which consist most in action and practise, whereof also they dispute most seriously?

LAMPRIAS.

For mine owne part I take this to be the better. For as touching the reputation of those paradoxes, who is not full thereof, and hath not heard it a thousand times?

DIADUMENUS.

Consider then in the first place this, whether according to common notions, they can possibly accord with nature, who thinke naturall things to be indifferent: and that neither health, nor good plight and habitude of body nor beauty, nor cleane strength be either expetible, profitable, expedient, or serving in any stead to the accomplishment of that perfection which is according to nature: nor that the contraries hereunto are to be avoided, as hurtfull, to wit, maimes and mutilations of members, deformities of body, paines, shamefull disgraces and diseases. Of which things rehearsed, they themselves acknowledge that nature estrangeth us from some, and acquainteth us with other. The which verily is quite contrary to common intelligence, that nature should acquaint us with those things which be neither expedient nor good, & alienate us from such as be not hurtfull nor ill: and that which more is, that she should either traine us to them or withdraw us from them so farre forth, as if men misse in obtaining the

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be ignorant againe of vertue, when it is present, considering withall, that they hold it to be principally and in highest degree accordant to nature; for how can it otherwise be, but against common sense, to conceive well enough the difference between health and sickness, and to be ignorant of that distinction which is between wisdom and folly; but to thinke the one to be present when it is gone, and when a man hath the other, not to know so much, that he hath it? Now forasmuch as after that one advanced and proceeded forward as farre as may be, he is changed into felicity and vertue, one of these two must of necessity follow; that either this estate of progresse and profit, is neither vice nor infelicity; or else that there is no great difference and distance between vice and vertue; but that the diversitie of good things and evil is very small and unperceptible by the sense, for otherwise men could not be ignorant when they 10 had the one or the other, or thinke they had the one for the other: so long then as they depart not from any contrariety of sentences, but will allow, affirme, and put downe all things whatsoever, to wit, That they who profit and proceed are still fooles and wicked; that they who are become wise and good, know not so much themselves, but are ignorant thereof; that there is a great difference between wisdom and folly: Thinke you, that they shew a woonderfull constance and uniformity in the maintenance of their sentences and doctrines?

Well, if in their doctrine they goe against common sense, and are repugnant to themselves; certes, in their life, in their negotiations and affaires, they doe much more: for pronouncing flatly, that those who be not wise, are all indifferently and alike, wicked, unjust, disloyall, faithlesse, and foolish; and yet forsooth, some of them they abhorre and will not abide, but be ready to spit at them; others, they will not vouchsafe so much as to salute if they meet with them upon the way; and some againe they will credit with their monies, nominate and elect by their voices to be magistrates, yea and bestow their daughters upon them in marriage. Now in case they hold such strange and extravagant positions in sport and game, let them plucke downe their browes, and not make so many furrowes as they doe in their foreheades: but if in earnest, and as grave Philosophers, surely, I must needs tell them, that it is against common notions, to reprove, blame, and raile upon all men alike in words, and yet to use some of them in deeds as honest persons, & others hardly to intreat as most wicked; and for example, to admire *Chrysippus* in the highest degree, & make a god of him; but to mocke and scorne *Aleximus*, although they thinke the men to be fooles alike, and not one more or lesse foolish than the other. True 30 it is say they; and needs it must be so. But like as he who is but a cubit under the top of the water, is no lesse strangled and drowned than he who lies five hundred fathom deepe in the bottom of the sea: even so they that be come within a litle of vertue, are no lesse in vice still than those who are a great way off: and as blinde folke be blinde still, although haply they shall recover their eye-sight shortly after; even so they that have wel proceeded and gone forward, continue fooles still and sinfull, untill such time as they have fully attained to vertue; but contrary to all this, that they who profit in the schoole of vertue, resemble not those who are starke blinde, but such rather as see not clerely; nor are like unto those who be drowned, but unto them that swimme, yea and approach neere unto the haven; they themselves do beare witness by their deeds, and in the whole practise of their life; for otherwise they would not have used them for their counsellors, 40 captaines, and lawgivers, as blinde men do guides for to lead them by the hands, neither would they have praised and imitated their deeds, acts, sayings and lives of some as they did, if they had seene them all drowned alike and suffocated with folly and wickednesse.

But letting that goe by, consider these Stoicks, that you may wonder the more at them in this behalfe, that by their owne examples they are not taught to quit and abandon these wise men who are ignorant of themselves, and who neither know nor perceive, that they cease to be strifed and strangled any longer, and begin to see the light, and being risen aloft, and gotten above vice and sinne, take their winde and breath againe. Also it is against common sense, that for a man furnished with all good things, and who wanteth nothing of perfect blisse and happiness, it should be meet and befitting, to make himselfe away and depart voluntarily out of this 50 life; yea, and more than so; that he who neither presently hath, nor ever shall have any good thing; but contrariwise, is continually haunted and persecuted with all horrible calamities, miseries, and mishaps that can be, should not thinke it fit and convenient for himselfe to leave and forsake this life, unlesse some of those things which they hold be indifferent, be presented, and doe befall unto him. Well these be the goodly rules and trim lawes in the Stoicks schoole; and verily many of their wise men they cause indeed to go out of this life, bearing them in hand, that they

they shall be more blessed and happie; although by their saying a wife man is rich, fortunate, blessed, happy every way, sure, and secured from all danger: contrariwise, a foole and leawd man is able to say of himselfe,

*Of wicked parts (so say I dare be hold)*

*So full I am, that unmet I can hold.*

And yet forsooth, they thinke it meet and seemely for such as these to remaine alive, but for those to forgo this life. And good cause why, quoth *Chrysippus*, for we are not to measure our life by good things or evil, but by such as are according to nature. See how these Philosophers mainteine ordinary custome, and teach according to common notions. Say you so (good sir) 10 ought not he who maketh profession of looking into the estate of life and death, to search also and consider

*What rule at home in house, what worke there is;*

*How things do stand; what goes well, what amiss.*

Should not he (I say) ponder and examine as it were by the ballance, what things incline and bend more to felicity and what to infelicity, and thereby to chuse that which is profitable? but to lay his ground and make his reckoning to live happily or no by things indifferent, which neither do good nor hurt? According to such presuppositions and principles as these, were it not convenient for him who wanteth nothing of all that is to be avoided, to chuse for to live: & contrariwise, for him to leave this life, who enjoiceth all that is to be wished for and desired? And al- 20 beit (my good friend *Lamprias*) it be a senselesse absurdity, to say that those who taste of no evil, should forsake this life: yet is it more absurd and beside all reason, that for the not having of some indifferent thing, a man should cast away and abandon that which is simply good; like as these men doe, leaving felicity and vertue, which they presently enjoy, for default of riches and health, which they have not. And to this purpose we may well and fitly alledge these verses out of *Homer*:

*And then from Glaucus, Jupiter*

*all wis and sense did take,*

*When he with Diomedes would*

*a foolish bargain make;*

*For brasse armour to exchange*

*his owne of golde most fine,*

*An hundred\* oxen richly worth,*

*for that which went for nine.*

And yet those armies made of brasse, were of no lesse use in battell, than the other of golde: whereas the decent feature of the bodie and health, according to the Stoicks, yeeld no profit at all, nor make one jot for felicity. Howbeit, these men for all that, are content to exchange wisdom for health, inasmuch as they holde that it would have become *Heracitus* well enough and *Pherecydes*, to have cast off their wisdom and vertue, had it bene in their power so to do, in case thereby they might have bene rid of their maladies, the one of the lowlie disease, and the other 40 of the drop sicke. And if *Ciree* had filled two caps with severall medicines and potions, the one making fooles of wise men, and the other, wise men of fooles, *Ulysses* ought to have drunke that of folly, rather than to change his humane shape into the forme of a beast, having in it wisdom withall, and by consequence felicity also. And they say, that even wisdom and prudence it selfe teacheth as much and commandeth in this wise: Let me alone, and suffer me to perish, in case I must be caried to and fro in the forme and shape of an asse. But this wisdom and prudence will some man say, which prescribeth such things, is the wisdom of an asse; if to be wise and happy is of it selfe good, and to beare the face of an asse indifferent. There is (they say) a nation of the Aethiopians where a dogge is their king; he is saluted by the stile and name of a king, and hath all honours done unto him, and temples dedicated, as are done unto kings. But men they 50 be that beare rule and performe those functions and offices which appertaine unto governours of cities and magistrates. Is not this the very case of the Stoicks? for vertue with them hath the name, and carrieth the shew and apparence of good, it alone they say, is expetible, profitable, and expedient; but they frame all their actions, they philosophize, they live and die, according to the will, precript, & commandement as it were of things indifferent. And yet there is not an Aethiopian so hardy as to kill that dog their king; but he sitteth upon a throne under a cloth of estate, and is adored of them in all reverence: but these Stoicks destroy this vertue of theirs, and

\* Or pieces of  
come having  
the forme of  
an ox flamb-  
ped upon  
them.

and cause it to perish whiles they are wholly possessed of health and riches. But the corollarie which *Chrysippus* himselfe, hath for a finall set unto these their doctrines, easeth me of farther paines, that I need not to stand more upon this point: For whereas (quoth he) there be in natures things good, things bad, and things meane or indifferent; there is no man but hee would chuse rather to have that which is good, than the indifferent, or that which is bad: and to proove the trueth hereof, let us take witness of the very gods, when as we doe crave of them in our praers and orisons, principally the possession and fruition of good things; if not, yet at least the power and grace to avoid evils; but that which is neither good nor evill, we never desire for to have in stead of good; many we can be content and with to enjoy it, in lieu of evill. But this *Chrysippus* heere inverting and perverting cleane the order of nature, transposeth and transferreth out of the middle place betwene, the meane and indifferent into the last, and reducing the last bringeth it backe into the mids; giving as tyrants doe to wicked persons, the pre-eminence of superior place, with authority and credit unto evill things; enjoining us by order of law, first to seeke for that which is good; secondly, for that which is evill; & last of all to repue that woorth, which is neither good nor evill: as if a man should next unto heaven fet hell, and reject the earth and all the elements about it into the pit of *Tartarus* beneath:

*Right farre remote, where under ground  
The guise that lies no man can found.*

Having then said in his third booke of Nature: That it is better for a man to live in the state of a foole, yea though he never should become wise, than not to live at all; he addeth thus much, 20 moreover word for word: For such are the good things of men, that even the evill things after a sort are preferred before those which are meane and in the mids betwene; not that these go before, but reason, with which jointly to live, availeth more although we should continue fooles all the daies of our life: yea and to be plaine, albeit we should be wicked, unjust, breakers of the lawes, enemies to the gods, and in one word, wretched and unhappie; for all these concur in those that live fooles. Is it better then to be unhappie, than not unhappie; to suffer harme, rather than not to suffer harme; to commit injustice, than not to commit injustice; to transgresse the lawes, than not to transgresse the lawes: which is as much to say, as is it fit and expedient to do those things which are not fit and expedient; and beschemeth it to live otherwise than it becometh? Yea forsooth: For worse it is to bee without reason and senselesse, than to be foolish, 30 What aile they then, and what takes them in the head, that they will not avow and confesse that to be evill, which is worse than evill? And why do they affirme that we are to avoid folly alone, if it be meet to steere lesse, nay rather much more, that disposition which is not capable nor susceptible of folly? But wherefore should any man be offended and scandalized hereat, if hee call to mind that which this philosopher wrote in his second booke of Nature, where he avoucheth: That vice was not made without some good use and profit, for the whole world? But it will be better to recite this doctrine, even in his owne words, to the end that you may know in what place they range vice, and what speech they make thereof, who accuse *Xenocrates* and *Spensippus*, for that they reputed not health to be an indifferent thing, nor riches unprofitable. As for vice (quoth he) it is limited in regard of other accidents beside: for it is also in some sort according to nature; and if I may so say, it is not altogether unprofitable in respect of the whole, for otherwise there would not be any good; and therefore it may be inferred, that there is no good among the gods, in as much as they can have none evil: neither when at any time *Jupiter* having resolved the whole matter into himselfe, shall become one, & shall take away all other differences, will there be any more good, considering there will be no evil to be found. But true it is, that in a daunce or quier, there will be an accord & measure, although there be none in it that singeth out of tune & maketh a discord: as also health in mans body, albeit no part thereof were pained or diseased: but vertue without vice can have no generation. And like as in some medicinale 40 confessions there is required the poyson of a viper or such like serpent, and the gall of the beast *Hyana*; even so there is another kind of necessarie convenience betwene the wickednesse of *Melitus*, and the justice of *Socrates*; betwene the dissolute demeanor of *Cleom*, and the honest carriage of *Pericles*. And what meanes could *Jupiter* have made, to bring forth *Hercules* and *Lycurgus* into the world, if he had not withall made *Sardanapalus* and *Phalaris* for us? And it is a great marvell if they say not also, that the Phthisicke or ulcer of the lungs, was sent among men for their good plight of bodie, and the gout for swift footmanship: and *Achilles* had not 50 worne long haire, unless *Therjies* had bene bald. For what difference is there betwene those that

that alledge these doting fooleries or rave so absurdly; and such as say that loosenesse of life and whoredome were not unprofitable for continence; and injustice for justice? So that we had need to pray unto the gods that there might be alwaies sinne and wickednes,

*False leasing smooth and glosing tongue,  
Deceitfull rimes and fraud among.*

in case when these be gone, vertue depart and perish withal. But will you see now and behold the most elegant devise and pleasantest invention of his? For like as Comedies (quoth he) carrie otherwhiles ridiculous Epigrams or inscriptions, which considered by themselves, are nothing woorth, howbeit they give a certaine grace to the whole Poeme: even so, a man may well blame 10 and detest vice in it selfe, but in regard of others it is not unprofitable. And first to say that vice was made by the divine providence, even as a lewd Epigram composed by the expresse will of the Poet, surpasseth all imagination of absurditie: for if this were true, how can the gods be the givers of good things, rather than of evill? or how can wickednes any more be enemy to the gods, or hated by them? or what shall we have to say and answer to such blasphemous sentences of the Poets, founding fo ill in religious eares, as these:

*God once dispos'd some house to overthrow,  
Twixt men some cause and seeds of strife doth sow.*

Again:

*Which of the gods twixt them did kindle fire,  
Thus to contest in termes of wrath and ire.*

Moreover, a foolish and lewd epigram doth embellish and adorne the Comedie, serving to that end for which it was composed by the Poet, namely, to please the spectators, and to make them laugh. But *Jupiter* whom we surname, Paternall, Fatherly, Supream, Sovereigne, Just, Righteous, and according to *Pindarus*, *ἀνερτύχης*, that is to say, the best and most perfect artisan, making this world as he hath done, not like unto some great Comedie or Entlude, full of variety, skill, and wittie devices, but in maner of a city common to gods and men, for to inhabit together with justice and vertue in one accord and happily, what need had he, to this most holy and venerable end, of thieves, robbers, murderers, homicides, parricides and tyrans? for surely vice and wickednesse was not the entry of some morisque-dance or ridiculous care-sport, carrying a delectable grace with it and pleasing to God; neither was it set unto the affaires of men for recreation and pastime, to make them sport, or to move laughter, being a thing that carrieth not so much as a shadow, nor representeth the dreame, of that concord and convenience with nature, which is so highly celebrated and commended. Furthermore, the said lewd epigram, is but a small part of the Poeme, and occupieth a very little roome in a Comedie: neither do such ridiculous compositions abound overmuch in a play, nor corrupt and marre the pleasant grace of such matters as seeme to have bene well and prettily devised: whereas all humane affaires are full thoroughout of vice: and mans life even from the very first beginning and entrie as it were of the prologue unto the finall conclusion of all and epilogue, yea and to the very plaudite, being 40 disordinate, degenerate, full of perturbation and confusion; and having no one part thereof pure and unblamable, as these men say, is the most filthy unpleasant and odious entlude of all others, that can be exhibited. And therefore gladly would I demaund and learne of them, in what respect was vice made profitable to this universall world: for I suppose he will not say it was for divine and celestiall things: because it were a mere reciculous mockery to affirme that unless there were bred and remained among men vice, malice, avarice, and lesing, or unless we robbed, pilled and spoiled, unless we slandered and murdered one another; the fust would not run his ordinary course, nor the heaven keepe the set seasons and usuall revolutions of time, ne yet the earth seated in the midst and center of the world, yeeld the causes of winde and raine. It remaineth then, that vice & sin was profitably engendred for us and for our affaires: and happily this is it which they themselves would seeme to say. And are we indeed the better in health for 50 being sinfull? or have we thereby more plenty and abundance of things necessary? availeth our wickednesse ought to make us more beautifull and better favoured, or serveth it us in any stead to make us more strong and able of body? They answer No. But is this a silent name onely, and a certaine blinde opinion and weening of these night-walking Sophisters, and not like indeed unto vice which is conspicuous enough & exposed to the view of the whole world, in such sort as it is not possible that it should bring any detriment or ought that is unprofitable, and least of all, o good god, of vertue, for which we were borne. And what absurdity were it to say

say, that the commodious instruments of the husband man, the mariner or the carter, should serve their turnes for to attaine unto their purpose and intended end : but that which hath bene created by God for vertue, should corrupt, mar, and destroy vertue: But peradventure it is more than time now, to passe unto some other point, and to let this goe.

LAMPRIAS

Nay I beseech you good sir of all loves and for my sake doe not so: For I desire to know and understand how these men bring in evill things before the good, and vice before vertue.

DIADEMUS.

You say well, and certes my friend this is a point worth the knowledge: much vaine jangling and prittle prattle verily doe these men make, but in the end they come to this conclusion, that 10 prudence is the science of good things & evil together: for that otherwise it could not stand but must needs altogether fall to the ground: For like as if we admit that there be truth, it cannot otherwise be but that falsity and untruth should be likewise hard by: so it is meet and stands to good reason, that if there be good things, the evil also must have their being.

LAMPRIAS

To grant the one of these not to be amisse said, yet me thinks I see of my selfe, that the other is cleane contrary. For I discern very well the difference: because that which is not truth, must immediately be false: but that which is not evil, is not by and by good: For betwene true and false there is no meane: but betwixt good and evil there is: to wit, indifferent. Neither followeth it necessarily, that both good and evil things should have their substance together, and that 20 if the one be, the other likewise should ensue. For it may be that nature had good, and required not the evil, so that it might have that which was neither good nor evil. But as touching the former reason, if your Academicks say ought of it. I would gladly heare from your mouth.

DIADEMUS.

Yes mary (quoth he) much there is alledged by them, but for this present relate I will, that which is most necessarie. First and formost, a mere folly it is to thinke that good things and evil have their subsistence for prudence sake. For contrariwise, when good and evil was before, then prudence followed after: like as physicke ensued upon things hollome and breeding diseases, which are supposed to have bene before. For surely the good and the evil came not up nor were brought forth, to the end that there should be prudence: but that faculty or power whereby 30 we judge and discern betwene evil and good is called prudence: like as the sight is a sense which serveth to distinguish blacke from white, which colours had not their being first, to the end that we should have our seeing, but contrariwise need we had of our seeing for to discern the said colours. Secondly when the world in that generall conflagration, which they hold and talke of, shall be all on a light fire and burnt, there will remaine behind nothing that evil is, but all shall then be wise and prudent: And therefore confesse they must, will they nill they, that there is prudence although there be no evil, neither is it necessary, that if wisdom be, evil also should have a being. But say it were absolutely so, that prudence were the science of evil and good, what harme or absurdity would follow, if upon the abolishing & annulling of evil things there were no prudence any more, but some other vertue in lieu thereof, which were not the 40 science of evil and good together, but onely of good? Like as among colours, if the blacke were quite perished and gone for ever, who will force us to confesse that the sense of seeing is likewise lost? And who would impeach or debarre us for saying that sight is not the sense of discerning blacke and white? Surely if any man would force upon us the contrary, what inconvenience and absurdity were there to answer him thus, Sir if we have not that sense that you speake of, yet we have another sense and naturall power instead of it, whereby we apprehend colours that be white and not white. And verily for mine owne part I doe not thinke that if there were no bitter things in the world, our taste should be therefore utterly lost, or the sense of feeling in case all dolour and paine were gone: no more am I perswaded that prudence should be abolished, if all evil were rid out of the way. But like as those senses would remaine to apprehend 50 sweet favours and pleasant objects of feeling, so this prudence also would continue to be the sciences of things good and not good. As for those who are of another opinion, let them take the name to themselves, so they leave us the thing indeed. But over and besides all this, what should hinder us to say, that the evil is in cogitation and intelligence; but good in reality and essence? like as, I suppose the gods enjoy the reall presence of health, where as they have the intelligence of the fever and pleurisie: considering that we also, albeit we were pestered with

all the evils in the world, and had no affluence at all of good things as these men say, yet we want not the understanding what is prudence, what is good and what is felicity.

And this is a wonderfull thing, if there being no vertue present, yet some there are who teach what vertue is, and enforme us in the comprehension thereof; whereas if there were no such thing, it is impossible to have the intelligence of it; for doe but consider what they would persuade us to, who reason philosophically against common conceptions, namely, That by foolishnesse and ignorance, wee comprehend wisdom and prudence; but prudence without follie and ignorance, cannot conceive so much, as ignorance it selfe. And if nature had necessarily need of the generation of evil, certes, one example or two at the most of evil were sufficient; or if you will have it so, requir it was that there should be brought forth ten wicked 10 persons, or a thousand, or ten thousand, and not such an infinit multitude of vices, as the fands of the sea, the dust, or the feathers of divers plumed birds, could not afford so great a number: but of vertue not so much as a bare dreame or vaine vision. They that were the wardens and masters at *Lacedemon*, of those publike halles or dining places called *Phiditra*, were wont to bring forth and shew openly unto their youth, two or three of their slaves called *Helot*, full of wine, and starke drunke, that they might know thereby, what a shamefull and foule thing it was to be drunken, and so take heed of that vice, and learne to be sober. But in this life there be many such examples of vice in our actions; for there is not so much as one sober unto vertue, but we all trip and stumble, nay we wander as if our braines turned round about, living shamefully in 20 misery; and so farre forth are we intoxicate with our owne reason and selfe conceit, filled with so great perturbation and folly, that wee may be well and fitly likened to those dogs which as *Aesop* tells the tale, seeing certaine skinneres floating above the water, gaped so greedily for to have them, that they would needs drinke up all the sea before them, for to be sure of the said skinneres; but ere they could come by them, they drunke so much as they burst againe: and even we hoping by reason to acquire glory and reputation, and thereby to attaine unto vertue, are spoiled, marred, and destroyed therewith, before we can reach thereunto, being before-hand laden with a mighty deale of meere, heady, and bitter vice, if it be so, as these men give it out, that even they who have made good progresse and proceeded to the end, feeble for all that no ease, no alteration, no remission or breathing time at all from folly and infelicity. But marke I 30 pray againe, how he who saith, that vice was not produced and brought forth into the world unprofitably, depainteth it unto you what maner of thing hee describeth it to be, and what an heritage it is for him who hath it? For in his treatise of Duties or Offices he saith: That the vicious and sinful person, hath no want nor need of anything; that nothing is profitable, nothing meet and convenient for him. How then is vice commodious, wherewith neither health it selfe is expedient, nor store of money, ne yet advancement and promotion? And hath a man no need of those things, whereof some are precedent, preminent, and to be preferred, yea, and beleeve me, very profitable and commodious; others according to nature, as they themselves terme them? And of all these doeth no man finde need, unlesse he become wise? And so by this reckoning, hath the leawd and foolish man no need to become wise; neither be men thirsty 40 or hungry, before they are made wise? So that if they be dry, have they no need of water, nor if hungry, bread?

*Resembling right those gentle quest,  
who nought else did require,  
But under rouse to shrowd their heads,  
and warme themselves at fire.*

And so belike he had no need of covert nor of mantell, who said:

*Give Hippanax a cloke his corps to fold,  
For why, I shake and shiver hard for cold?*

But will you pronounce a paradox indeed, such an one as is extravagant and singular by it selfe? 50 Say hardly then; That a wise man wanteth nought, and hath need of nothing; he is rich, he is full and fortunate, he is of himselfe sufficient, blessed, happy, & every way absolute. But what a dizziness & giddiness of the braine is this to say; That he who is indigent of nothing, yet hath need of the good things which he hath; and that the lewd and vicious person is indigent of many things, and yet needeth nothing? for this is the very assertion which *Chrysippus* holdeth: That wicked persons have no need, and yet are indigent, turling, shifting, and transposing the common notions, like unto cockall bones or chesse-men upon the board. For all men deeme thus, that to have need, goeth before indigence, supposing him that standeth in need of things which

which are not ready at hand, nor easie to be gotten, is indigent. To make this more plaine, no man is said to be indigent of hornes or of wings, for that he hath no need of them; but we say truly and properly, that some have need of armour, of monie, and of apparell, when in the penury and want of these things, they neither have them nor can come by them, to supply their necessity. But these Stoicks are so desirous to be thought alwaies for to brooch somewhat against common sense and conception, that many times they forget themselves and slip out of their owne proper opinions, so much affected they are and given to new conceits; like as in this place, if you please to call your eie unto *Chrysippus*, and looke somewhat behinde, calling to minde what hath heretofore bene delivered.

This is one of his positions, affirmed even against common sense, and vulgar opinion, that no evil and foolish man can finde good and profit by any thing; and yet many of them by institution and teaching, proceed forward and profit; many who were slaves, become enfranchized; besieged, are delivered; drunken, are guided and lead by the hand; sicke and diseased, are cured of their maladies: but for all this forsooth, they are never the better whatsoever is done unto them; no benefits they receive, no benefactors they have, no nor neglect those who deserve well of them: and so vicious persons are not unthankfull, no more than are good and wise men. And thus ingratitude is not arar, nor hath any being; for that the good never intervert, nor misrecognize the favour and benefit which they have received; and the wicked are capable of none at all. But see (I pray you) what shift they make to save & answer all this: They say (forsooth) that grace, favour, or benefit is ranged in the number of meane things: and that to helpe or be helped, appertaineth onely to the wise. True it is they say, that wicked receive also a grace or benefit. What is that? Those who have part in a benefit, have not they also a part of use and commodity? and whereto a grace or benefit reacheth, doth nothing that is commodious and convenient, extend thither? And is there ought else that maketh a demerit or pleasure done to be a grace, than that the party who doth the pleasure should in some respect be commodious unto the needy receiver?

LAMPRIAS.

But let these matters passe, and tell us what is that *ἀρετή*, that is to say, utility, which they prize so highly, and whereof they make so great account?

DIADUMENUS.

This is a thing (I may tell you) which they revere and keepe as a great matter and a singularity for their Sages onely, and yet leave them not so much as the name of it. If one wise man, say they, do but put forth his finger prudently, wheresoever it be, all the wise men that are in the whole continent and habitable world find this *ἀρετή* and utility by it. This is the onely gift and worke of the amity that is among them, and in this doe determine and end the vertues of wise men, namely, the entercourse of common profit and utility, passing to and fro betweene them. As for *Aristotle*, he doted, *Xenocrates* also doted, who taught and affirmed that men had helpe from the gods, helpe from their parents, and helpe by their teachers and scholemasters: but never understood they this wonderfull helpe and commoditie, which these wise men receive one from another, when they be moved to vertue, although they be not together, no nor so much as know one another. And verily all men do thinke, that to gather, to lay up, to keepe, to dispense and bestow, is conducrable and profitable, when there is received profit and commodity by such things. And a good substantiall householder buyes himselfe locks and keyes, he kepeth his cellars, his closets and coffers,

*Taking great joy his chamber doore  
with hand for to unlocke,  
Where lies of golde and silver both,  
his treasure and his Locke.*

But to gather and lay up, to keepe with great care, diligence and paine, those things which are for nothing profitable, is neither honourable, nor yet seemly and honest. If then *Ulysses*, being taught by *Circé* to make that fast knot, had with it tied sure and sealed up as it were, not the gifts and presents which *Alcinous* gave him, to wit, treasurs, pots, plate clothes, apparell and gold; but some trash, as sticks, stones and other pelfe raked together, thinking it a great felicity for him to possesse and keepe charily such ruffe-raffe and trumperie: who would have praised and commended him for it, or imitated this foolish foresaith, wildeffe, providence, and vaine diligence? And yet this is the goodly and beautifull honesty of the Stoicks profession in generall, this is their honourable gravity, this is their beatiude; and nothing els is it, but an heaping up, a keeping and

and preserving of things unprofitable and indifferent. For such be those which they say are according to nature; and much more those outward matters: forasmuch as sometime they compare the greatest riches with fringes and chamber-pots of golde, yea and (I assure you) otherwhiles as it falleth out, with oile cruets. And afterwards, like as those who thinke they have most insolently and proudly abused with blasphemous words and polluted the temples, the sacred ceremonies and religious services of some gods or divine powers, presently change their note, and become penitent persons, and falling downe prostrate, or sitting humbly below upon the ground, blefse and magnifie the heavenly power of the Godhead; even so they, as incurring the vengeance and plague of God for their presumptuous follies, arrogant and vaine speeches, are found puddering and raking againe in these indifferent things, nothing indeed pertinent unto them; setting out a throat and crying as loud as they can, what a gay matter, what a goodly and honourable thing it is, to gather and lay up such commodities, and especially the communion and fellowship of enjoying and using them: also that whosoever want the same, and can not come by them, have no reason to live any longer; but either to lay violent hands on themselves, or by long fasting and abstinence from all viands, to shorten their lives, bidding vertue farewell for ever. And these men verily, howsoever they repute *Theognis* to be a man altogether of a base and abject minde, for saying thus in verse,

*A man from povertie to flee,  
O Cyrmis, ought himselfe to cast  
Headlong from rocks most sleepe and bie,  
Or into seas deepe and wast.*

themselves meane while in prose give these exhortations, and say, that to avoid a grievous malady, and escape exceeding paine, a man ought (if he had not a sword or dagger neere at hand, nor a poisoned cup of hemlocke) to cast himselfe into the sea, or els fall headlong and break like his necke from some sleepe rocke: yet affirme they, that neither the one nor the other is hurtfull, evil or unprofitable; nor maketh those miserable, who fall into such accidents. Whence then shall I begin (quoth he) what ground-worke and foundation of duty shall I lay, or what shall I make the subject and matter of vertue, leaving nature, and abandoning that which is according to nature? And whereto (I pray you, good sir) begin *Aristotle* and *Theophrastus*? what principles take *Xenocrates* and *Polemon*? And even *Zeno* himselfe, hath he not followed them, in supposing Nature and that which is according to Nature, for to be the elements of felicity? But these great clerks verily, tested here in these things, as eligible, expetible, good and profitable; adjoining moreover unto them, vertue, which employeth the same, and worketh by ech of them according to their proper use; thinking in so doing, to accomplish a perfect and entire life, and to consummate that concord and agreement which is in truth forthable and consonant unto Nature. For they made no confused mish-mash, nor were contrary to themselves, as those who leape and mount on high from the ground, and immediately fall downe upon it againe, and in naming the same things, meet to be cholen, and yet not expetible; proper and convenient, and withall not good; unprofitable, and yet fit for good uses; nothing at all pertinent unto us, and yet forsooth, the very principles of duties and offices. But looke what was the speech of these noble and famous personages, the same also was their life; their deeds (I say) were answerable and conformable to their words. Contrariwise, the sect of these Stoicks, doth according to that craftie woman whom *Archilochus* describeth, to cary water in the one hand, and fire in the other: for in some of their doctrines and assertions they receive and admit nature, in another they reject her; or to speake more plainly; in their acts and deeds they adhere and cleave unto those things which are according to nature, as being eligible and simply good; but in their disputations and discourses they refuse and condemne the same as things indifferent and nothing available to vertue for the acquiring of felicity: nay, that which worke is, they give her hard and reprochfull teames. And forasmuch as all men generally are perswaded in their minds, that the soveraigne good is a thing ioyous, exoptable, happie, most honourable, and of greatest dignitie, sufficient of it selfe, and wanting nothing. See now this soveraigne good of theirs, and examine it according to this common opinion: To put forth ones finger like a fage and wife Philosopher, doth this make that ioyous good? or what exoptable thing I pray you, is a prudent torture? who casteth himselfe downe headlong from an high rocke, so he do it with a colour of reason and honesty, is he happy and fortunate? is that most honourable and of greatest price and dignity, which reason many times chuseth to reject, for another thing that of it selfe is not good? is that all-sufficient in it selfe, accomplished and perfect, which whosoever do

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presently

presently enjoy, if haply they can not obtaine withall, some one of these indifferent things, they will not deigne to live any longer? was there ever known any discourse or disputation wherein use and ordinary custome suffered more outrage and abuse, which stealing and plucking from it the true and naturall conceptions, as legitimate children of her owne, putteth in the place, bastards, changelings, of a monstrous and savage kinde, and constraineth it to love, cherish and keepe them in lieu of the other? And thus have they done in treating of good things and evil, expetible and to be avoided, proper and strange; which ought to have beene more cleerely and plainly distinguished, than hot from colde, or white colours from blacke. For the apprehensions and conceits of these qualities, are from without forth brought in by the senses naturall; but the other are within vs, taking their originall from those good things that we have within us. Now these men entering into the question and common place of soveraigne felicity, with their Logicke subtilties, as if they were to handle the lying sophisme called *Pseudomenos*; or that masterfull manner of reasoning named *Kyritton*, have not solved one of the doubts and questions which there were, but mooved and raised an infinite number of others that were not there before.

Moreover, there is no man who knoweth not that there being two sorts of good things; the one which is the very utmost end, and the other, the means to attaine thereto: the one is more excellent and perfect of the twaine. And *Chrysippus* himselfe knoweth well enough this difference, as it may appeare by that which he hath written in his third booke of Good things: for he disagreeeth with those who are of opinion, that the end or soveraigne good, is science; and putteth this downe in his treatise of Justice: If there be any who suppose that pleasure is the end of good things, hee thinketh not that Justice can be false; if not the finall end, but simply good and no more, he is of another minde. I do not thinke that you would heare me at this present to rehearse his owne words, for his third booke as touching Justice, is extant and to be had every where. When as they say therefore (my friend) elsewhere, that no good thing is greater or lesse than another, but that the finall end is equall with that which is not the end, and no better than it, it is evident that they be contrary and repugnant not onely to the common notions, but also to their owne very words. And againe, if of two evils, the one maketh us woofe than we were when it came unto us; and the other hurrieth us indeed, but maketh vs not woofe: that evill in mine opinion is the greater which maketh us worse: neither doth that more hurt, which causeth us not to be the woofe. And *Chrysippus* verily confesseth, that there be certeine feares, sorrowes and deceitfull illusions, which well may hurt and offend us, but not make us woofe. But reade over and peruse the first of those books which are written against *Plato*, as concerning Justice: for in respect of other causes, it were very well done and worth your labour, to note the frivolous babling in that place of this man, where he makes no spare to deliver all matters and doctrines whatsoever indifferently, even those aswell of his owne sect as of other strangers, flat opposit to common sense: as for example, That it is lawfull to propose two ends and two scopes of our life, and not to referre all that ever we do unto one end. And yet more than that, is this also a common notion, That the end verily is one, but every thing that is done, ought to have a relation to another; and yet of necessity, they must abide the one or the other. For if the first things according to nature be not expetible for themselves and the last end; but rather the reasonable election and choise of them; and if every man doth what lies in him, to have and obtaine those things which are first according to nature, and all actions and operations have their reference thither, namely, to acquire and enjoy the principall things according to nature: if (I say) they thinke so, it must needs be that without aspiring and aiming for to get and attaine those things, they have another end to which they must referre the election and choise of the said things, and not the things themselves: for thus will be the end, even to know how to chuse them well and to take them wisely; but the things themselves and the enjoying of them, will be of small moment, being as a matter and subject which hath the dignity and estimation: for thus I suppose they use and put downe in writing this very word to shew the difference.

LAMPRIAS.

Certes you have passing well and woorthily reported unto us, both what they say, and how they deliver it.

DIADUMENUS.

But marke I beseech you, how they fare like unto those who will needs streine themselves to leape over and beyond their owne shadow; for they leave not behinde, but carie evermore with them some absurdity in their speech, and the same farre remote alwaies from common sense

sense: for as if one should say, That an archer doeth all that lieth in him, not to hit the marke, but to doe all that ever he can; he might be justly taken for a man, who spake enigmatickally & by dark riddles, and uttered strange and prodigious words: even so doe these old doting fooles, who with all their power endeavour to maintaine, that to obtaine the things according to nature, is not the end of aiming and aspiring to things according to nature; but forsooth to take and chuse them; and that the desire of health and seeking after it in any man, endeth not in health of each one, but contrariwise, that health is referred to the appetite and seeking after it: saying moreover, that to walke, to read, or speake aloud, to endure sections or incisions, yea and to take purging medicines, so all be done by reason, are the ends of health, and not it, the end of those means. Certes, these men doe rave, & speake idly, as well as they who should say, let me goe to supper, that we may sacrifice, bath, or sweat in the stouph. Nay (that which more is) that which these men say, perverteth order and custome, and containeth a confusion, shuffling & turning upside downe of al our affaires whatsoever. We study not say they, to walke in due time, for to concoct & digest our meats well; but we concoct and digest our meat, because we might walke in due season. Why? Hath nature given us health for Ellebore, or rather brought forth Ellebore for health sake? For what could be uttered more strange and absurd, than such propositions as these? and what difference is there betwene him who saith, that health was made for medicinable drogues, and not drogues medicinable for health? and another who holdeth, that the gathering, the choise, the composition and use of such medicines, is to be preferred before health it selfe? or rather he thinks that health is not in any respect expetible: but hee setteth downe the very end in the penning and handling of those medicines, affirming forsooth that appetite is the end of fruition, and not fruition of appetite: And why not (quoth he) all while there be added thereto these termes; considerately and with reason. True will we say againe, if a man have regard unto the obtaining and enjoying of the thing which he pursueth; for otherwise that considerate reason is to no purpose, in case all be done for to obtaine that, the fruition whereof is neither honorable nor happy.

LAMPRIAS.

And since we are fallen upon this discourse, a man may say, that any thing else whatsoever, is according to common sense rather, than to hold, that without having notice or conception of good, a man may desire and pursue after it; for you live how *Chrysippus* himselfe divideth *Zetison* into these streights, as to imagine and dreame of a certeine indifferencie in things tending to that which is neither good nor ill, before that the said good and ill is sufficiently known and understood; for so it might seeme that this indifferencie must needs subsist before if it be so, that a man cannot conceive the intelligence of it, unlesse the good were first understood, which is nothing else but the onely and soveraigne good indeed.

DIADUMENUS.

But consider I pray you, and make now this indifferencie \* taken out of the Stoicks schoole, and which they call *isopathias*, after what maner, and whereby it hath given us the meane to imagine and conceive in our minde that good? for if without the said good, it is not possible to conceive and imagine the indifferencie respective to that which is not good; much lesse the intelligence of good things yeldeth any cogitation unto them, who had not before some prenotion of the good. But like as there is no cogitation, of the art of things which be holmoe or breeding sicknesse in them who had not a precogitation before of those things: even so it is impossible for them to conceive the science of good and evill things, who had no fore-conceit what were good and what were evill? What then is good? nothing but prudence; and what is prudence, nothing but science: and so according to that old common proverbe \* *Δις Κλέοςτες*, \* A by-word that is to say, *Jupiters* Corinth; is oftentimes applied unto their maner of reasoning. For let which the pestill round about, because you may not be thought to scoff the paralogisme or fault in arguing, and laugh at them, although in truth their speech is much after that maner; for it seemeth that for the intelligence of good, one hath need to understand prudence: & againe, to seeke for prudence in the intelligence of good; being driven to pursue the one alwaies for the other, and so to faile both of the one and the other, which implieth a meere contrariety, in that we must alwaies understand the thing before, which cannot be understood apart. Besides, there is another way, whereby a man may perceive and see, not the perversion and distortion, but the very confusion and destruction of all their reasons.

They hold that the very substance of good, is the reasonable and considerate election of that which is according to nature; now this election is not considerate which is directed to some

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end,



end, as is before said: And what is this? Nothing else say they, but to discourse with reason in the elections of those things which be according to nature. First and formost then, the conception of the soveraigne good, is perished and cleane gone; for this considerate discoursing in elections, is an operation depending of the habitude of good discourse; and therefore being compelled to conceive this habitude from the end, and the end not without it, we come (short of the intelligence of the both. And againe, that which yet is more, by all the reason in the world, it must needs be that the said reasonable and considerate election, was the election of things good, profitable, and cooperant to the attaining of the end. For to chuse such things, which be neither expedient, nor honourable, nor yet any way eligible; how can it stand with reason: for suppose it were as they say; that the end were a reasonable election of things which have some dignity and worthinesse, making unto felicitie. See I beseech you how their discourse and disputation ariseth unto a trim point and goodly conclusion in the end: For the end (say they) is the good discourse, in making choise of those things which have dignity, making unto happinesse. Now when you heare these words, thinke you not my good friend, that this is a very strange and extravagant opinion?

LAMPRIAS.

Yes verily; but I would willingly know, how this hapneth?

DIADUMENUS.

Then must you lay your eare close, and harken with great attention, for it is not for every one to conceive this enigmatical riddle: But heare you sir, and make me answer: Is not the 20 end by their saying, the good discourse in elections according to nature?

DIADUMENUS.

That is their saying.

LAMPRIAS.

And these things which be according to nature, they chuse (doe they not) as good, or having some dignities and preferences inducing to the end, or to some other thing else.

DIADUMENUS.

I thinke not so: but surely, to the end.

LAMPRIAS.

Having discovered thus much already, see now to what point they are come, namely, that 30 their end is to discourse well of felicity.

DIADUMENUS.

They say directly, that they neither have nor conceive any other thing of felicity, but this precious rectitude of discourse touching the elections of things that are of worth. Howbeit some there be who say that all this refutation is directed against *Antipater* alone, and not the whole sect of the Stoicks, who perceiving himselfe to be urged & hardly pressed by *Carneades*, fell into these vanities and foolish shifts for his evasion.

Moreover, as touching that which is discoursed and taught in the Stoicks schoole, Of Love, ven against common notions, it concerneth all the Suppots in generall of that sect, who have every one of them their hand in the absurdity thereof: for they avouch that yong youths, are 40 foule and deformed, if they be vicious and foolish: but the wife onely are beawtiful: and yet of these that are thus faire and beawtiful, there was never any one yet either beloved, or lovely and amiable. And yet this is not so absurd: but they say moreover, that such as are in love with those who be foule, cease to love them when they are become faire. And who hath ever scene or known such a kinde of love which should kinde and shew it selfe presently upon the discovery of the bodies deformity and the foules vice: and incontinently, be quenched and vanish away after the knowledge of passing beawty, together with justice and temperance? And verily such I suppose doe properly resemble these gnats, which love to settle upon vineger, foule wine or the some thereof: but the good and pleasant potable wine they care not for, but flie from it. As for that emphaticall apparence of beawty (for that is the terme they give it) which they say is the 50 alluring & attractive bait of love: first and formost it carieth no probability with it nor likelihood of reason. For in those who are most foule and wicked in the highest degree there can be no such emphaticall apparence of that beawty: in case it be so as they say that the leawdnesse of maners sheweth in the face and infecteth the visage: for there be some of them who expound this strange position as strangely, saying that a foule person is worthy to be loved, because there is some hope and expectance that one day he will become faire: many when he hath gotten this beawty once, and is withall become good and honest, then he is beloved of no man. For love say

say they, is a certaine hunting as it were after a yong body, as yet rude and imperfect, howbeit framed by nature unto vertue.

LAMPRIAS.

And what other thing doe we now, my good friend, but refute the errors of their sect, who do thus force, pervert and destroy all our common conceptions with their actions which be senselesse, and their words and termes as unusuall and strange? For there was no person to hinder this love of wise men toward yong folke if affection were away: although all men and women to, both thinke and imagin love to be such a passion, as the woers of *Penelope* in *Homer* seeme to acknowledge,

*Whose heat of love was such that in their hart*

*They wish in bed to lie with her apart.*

Like as *Jupiter* also said to *Juno* in another place of the said poet:

*Come let us now to bed both goe, and there with sweet delight*

*Solace our selves: for never earst before remember I*

*That any love to women faire no nor to Gods esse bright*

*Thou tam'd my hart, or prickt me so, with them to company.*

DIADUMENUS.

Thus you see how they expell and drive morall philosophy into such matters as these,

*So increase and tortuous,*

*So winding quire throughout*

*That nothing sound is therein found,*

*But all turnes round about.*

And yet they deprave vilipend, disgrace and flout all others, as if they were the men alone who restored nature and custome into their integrity as it ought to be, instituted their speech accordingly: But nature of it selfe doth divert and induce, by appetitions, pursuits inclinations and impulsions, ech thing to that which is proper and fit for it. And as for the custome of Logicke being so wrangling and contentious as it is, it receiveth no good at all nor profit: like as the eare diseased by vaine sounds is filled with thickenesse and hardnesse of hearing. Of which if you thinke so good we will begin anew and discourse else were another time: but now for this 30 present let us take in hand to run over their naturall philosophy, which no lesse troubleth and confoundeth common anticipations and conceptions in the maine principles and most important points, than their morall doctrine as touching the ends of all things. First and formost this is apparently absurd and against all common sense, to say, that a thing is, & yet hath no being nor essence: and the things which are not, yet have a being: which though it be most absurd, they affirme even of the universall world: for putting downe this supposition that there is round about the said world a certaine infinit voidnesse, they affirme that the universall world is neither body nor bodilesse: whereupon ensueth that the world is, and yet hath no existence. For they call bodies onely, existent: for as much as it is the property of a thing existent, to doe 40 and suffer somewhat: And seeing this universall nature hath no existence; therefore it shall neither doe nor suffer ought: neither shall it be in any place, for that which occupieth place is a body, but that universall thing is not a body. Moreover that which occupieth one and the same place is said to remaine and rest: and therefore the said universall nature doth not remaine, for that it occupieth no place: and that which more is, it mooveth not at all, first because that which mooveth ought to be in a place and roome certaine. Again, because whatsoever mooveth, either mooveth it selfe, or else is mooved by another: now that which mooveth it selfe, hath certaine inclinations either of lightnesse or ponderosity: which ponderosity and lightnesse, be either certaine habitudes, or faculties & powers, or else differences of ech body: but that universality, is no body: whereupon it must of necessity follow that the same is neither light nor heavy, and so by good consequence hath in it no principle or beginning of motion; which shall it 50 be mooved of another, for without & beyond it there is nothing: so that they must be forced to say, as they doe indeed, that the said universall nature doth neither rest nor moove. In sum, for that according to their opinion, we must not say in any case that it is a body, and yet the heaven, the earth, the living creatures, plants, men and stones be bodies: that which is no body it selfe shall by these reckonings have parts thereof, which are bodies and that which is not ponderous, shall have parts weightie, and that which is not light, shall have parts light: which is as much against common sense and conceptions, as dreames are not more; considering that there is nothing so evident and agreeable to common sense than this distinction, If any thing be not aminate,

inmate, the same is inanimate : and againe, if a thing be not inanimate, the same is animate. And yet this manifest evidence they subvert and overthrow, affirming thus as they do, that this universall frame is neither animate nor inanimate. Over and besides, no man thinketh or imagineth that the same is imperfect, considering that there is no part thereof wanting; and yet they holde it to be imperfect : For (say they) that which is perfect, is finite and determinate; but the whole and universall world, for the infinitenesse thereof is indefinite. So by their saying, something there is, that is neither perfect nor imperfect. Moreover, neither is the said universall frame a part, because there is nothing greater than it; nor yet the whole; for that which is whole, must be affirmed likewise to be digested and in order; whereas being as it is, infinite, it is indeterminate and out of order. Furthermore, *The other*, is not the cause of the universall world, for that there is no other beside it; neither is it the cause of *The other*, nor of it selfe, for that it is not made to do any thing; and we take a cause to be that which worketh an effect. Now for ease we should demand of all the men in the world, what they imagine *Nothing* to be, and what conceit they have of it, would they not say (thinke you) that it is that which is neither a cause it selfe, nor hath any cause of it; which is neither a part, nor yet the whole; neither perfect nor imperfect; neither having a soule, nor yet without a soule; neither moving nor still & quiet, nor subsisting; and neither body nor without body? For what is all this, but *Nothing*? yet, what all others do affirme and verifie of *Nothing*, the same doe they alone of the universall world: so that it seemeth they make *All* and *Nothing*, both one. Thus they must be driven to say, that Time is nothing, neither Prædicable, nor Proposition, nor Connexion, nor Composition, 20 which be termes of Logicke, that they use, no Philosophers so much; and yet they say, that they have no existence nor being. But (that which more is) they holde that Truth, although it be, yet it hath no being nor subsistence, but is comprehended onely by intelligence, is perceptible and beleaved, although it have no iote of essence. How can this be saved and saved, but that it must surpass the most monstrous absurdity that is? But because it may not be thought that all this smelleth overmuch of the quirks and difficulties in Logicke, let us treat of those which are more proper unto Naturall philosophie. Forasmuch therefore, as

*Jupiter is the first, the mid, the last, even all in all,  
By him all things begin, proceed, and have their finall.*

they themselves give out, they of all men especially ought to have reformed, rectified redressed 30 and reduced to the best order, the common conceptions of men as touching the Gods, if haply there had crept into them any error and perplexed doubt; or if not so, yet at leastwise, to have let every man alone, and left them to the opinion which the lawes and customes of the countreys wherein they were borne, prescribed unto them as touching religion and divinitie.

*For neither now nor yesterday  
These deepe conceits of God began,  
Time out of mind, they have beene ay,  
But no man knowes, where, how, nor when.*

But these Stoicks having begunne even from the domestically goddesse *Vesta* (as the proverbe saith) to alter and change the opinion established and received in every countrey, touching religion and the belief of God, they have not left so much as one conceit or cogitation that way sound, sincere and incorrupted. For where is or ever was the man, besides themselves, who doth not conceive in his minde, that God is immortal and eternall? what is more generally acknowledged in our common conceptions as touching the Gods, or what is pronounced with more assent and accord than such sentences as these?

*And there the Gods do alwaies joy  
In heavenly blisse, without annoy.*

*Allo,  
In heaven the Gods immortal all ever be:  
On earth below, poore mortall men walke we.*

*Again,  
Exempt from all disesse and crasse age,  
The Gods do live in joy, and paine feele none:  
They feare no death nor dread the darke passage  
Over the Frith of roaring Acheron.*

There may peradventure be found some barbarous and savage nations, who thinke of no God at all; but never was there man having a conception and imagination of God, who esteemed him

him not withall to be immortal and everlasting. For even these vile wretches called *Acad.*, that is to say, Atheists, such as *Diagoras*, *Theodorus*, and *Hippoc.* godlesse though they were, could never finde in their hearts to say and pronounce, That God was corruptible. Onely, they could not beleve and be perswaded in their minde, that there was any thing in the world not subject to corruption. Thus howsoever they admitted not a subsistence of immortality & incorruptibility, yet retained they the common anticipation of the Gods: but *Chrysippus* & *Cleantes*, having made the heaven, the earth, the aire and sea to ring againe, as a man would say, with their words, and filled the whole world with their writings of the Gods, yet of so many Gods, they make not one immortal, but *Jupiter* onely; and in him they spend and consume all the rest: so 10 that this propertie in him, to resolve and kill others, is never a jote better, than to be resolved and destroyed himselfe. For as it is a kinde of infirmitie, by being changed into another for to die; so it is no lesse imbecillitie to be maintained and nourished by the resolution of others into it selfe. And this is not like to many other absurdities collected and gathered by consequence out of their fundamentall suppositions, or inferred upon other assertions of theirs; but even they themselves cry out with open mouth expressly in all their writings, of the gods, of providence, of destiny and nature, that all the gods had a beginning of their essence, and shall perish and have an end by fire, melted and resolved, as if they were made of waxe or time. So that to say that a man is immortal, and that God is mortall, is all one, and the one as absurd and against common sense as the other: nay rather I cannot see what difference 20 there will be between a man and God, in case God be defined, a reasonable animall, and corruptible: for if they oppose and come in with this their fine and subtle distinction, that man indeed is mortall, but God not mortall, yet subject to corruption; make what an inconvenience doth follow and depend thereupon: for of necessity they must say, either that God is immortal and corruptible withall; or else neither mortall nor immortal: then which a man can not (if he would of purpose study for it) devide a more strange and monstrous absurdity. I speake this by tongue; for that these men must be allowed to say any thing, neither have there escaped their tongues and pens, the most extravagant opinions in the world.

Moreover *Cleantes* minding still to fortifie and confirme that burning and conflagration of his, saith: That the sunne will make like unto himselfe, the moone with all other starres, and 30 turne them into him. But that which of all others is most monstrous, the moone and other starres, being forsooth gods, worke together with the sunne, unto their owne destruction, and confesse somewhat to their owne inflammation. Now surely this were a very mockerie, and ridiculous thing for us to powre out our praies and oracions unto them for our owne safety, and to repute them the favours of men, if it be kinde and naturall for them to make haste unto their owne corruption and dissolution. And yet these men cease not by all the meanes they can to insult over *Epicurus*, crying, Fie, fie for shame, & redoubling, Out upon him, for that by denying the divine providence, he troubled & confounded the general prenotion and conception in our minds of the gods; for that they are held and reputed by all men, not onely immortal and happy, but also humane and benigne, having a carefull eye, and due regard to the good and welfare 40 of men, as in trueth they have. Now if they who take away the providence of God, doe withall abolish the common prenotion of men as touching God; what doe they then, who avouch that the gods indeed have care of us; but yet are helpless to us in nothing, neither give they us any good things, but such onely as be indifferent; not enduing us with vertue, but bestowing upon us riches, health, procreation of children, and such like, of which there is not one profitable, expedient, eligible or available. Is it not certaine that these over throw the common conceptions that are of the gods? neither rest they heere, but fall to flouting, frumping, and scoffing, whiles they give out that there is one god, fumnamed *Εὐαγέριος*, that is to say, the superintendent over the fruits of the earth; another *Πατριάρχης*, that is to say, the patron of generation; another *Προστάτης*, that is to say, the protectour of plants; another *Παις*, and *Πατριάρχης*, that is to say, 50 the president of physicke and divination; meane while neither is health simply good, nor generation, ne yet fertilitye of the ground and abundance of fruits, but indifferent, yea and unprofitable to those who have them.

The third point of the comon conception of the gods is, that they differ in nothing so much from men, as in felicity and vertue: but according to *Chrysippus*, they are in this respect nothing superior to men: for he holdeth, that for vertue *Jupiter* is no better than *Dion*; also that *Jupiter* & *Dion* being both of them wife, doe equally and reciprocally helpe one another: for this is the good that the gods doe unto men, and men likewise unto the gods, namely, when they proove wife

wife and prudent, and not otherwise. So that if a man be no lesse vertuous, he is not lesse happy; inasmuch as he is equall unto *Jupiter* the saviour in felicitie, though otherwise infortunate, and who for grievous maladies and dolorous dismembering of his body, is forced to make himselfe away, and leave his life, provided alwaies that he be a wife man. Howbeit, such an one there neither is nor ever hath bene living upon the earth: whereas contrariwise infinit thousands and millions there are and have bene of miserable men and extreme infortunate under the rule and dominion of *Jupiter*, the government & administration wherof is most excellent. And what can there be more against common sense, than to say, that *Jupiter* governing and dispensing all things passing well, yet we should be exceeding miserable? If therefore (which unlawfull is once to speake) *Jupiter* would no longer be a saviour, nor a deliverer, nor a protectour, and furnished thereupon *Soter*, *Lyssus*, and *Alexisaeos*, but cleane contrary unto these goodly and beautifull denominations, there can not possibly be added any more goodnesse to things that be, either in number or magnitude as they say; whereas all men live in the extremitie of miserie and wickednesse, considering that neither vice can admit no augmentation, nor misery addition: and yet this is not the worst nor greatest absurdity: but mightily angry and offended they are with *Menander* for speaking as he did thus bravely in open theater:

*I hold, good things exceeding meane degree,  
The greatest cause of humane miserie.*

For this (say they) is against the common conception of men; meane while themselves make God, who is good and goodnesse it selfe, to be the author of evils: for matter could not verily produce any evill of it selfe, being as it is without all qualities; and all those differences and varieties which it hath, it received of that which moved and formed it, to wit, reason within, which giveth it a forme and shape, for that it is not made to moove and shape it selfe. And therefore it cannot otherwise be, but that evill if it come by nothing, should proceed and have being from that which is not; or if it come by some moving cause, the same must be God. For if they thinke that *Jupiter* hath no power of his owne parts, nor useth ech one according to his owne proper reason; they speake against common sense, and doe imagine a certaine animall, whereof many parts are not obseant to his will; but use their owne private actions and operations, whereunto the whole, never gave incitation, nor began in them any motion. For among those creatures which have life and soule, there is none so ill framed and composed, as that against the will thereof, either the feet should goe forward, or the tongue speake, or the horne push and strike, or the teeth bite; whereof God of necessity must endure & abide the most part, if against his will, evill men being parts of himselfe doe lie, doe circumvent and beguile others, commit burglary, breake open houses, to rob their neighbors, or kill one another. And if according as *Chrysippus* saith, it is not possible that the least part should behave it selfe otherwise than it pleaseth *Jupiter*, and that every living thing doeth rest, stay, and moove, according as he leadeth, manageth, turneth, staith and disposeth it:

*Now well I wot, this voice of his,  
Sounds worse and more mischievous is.*

For more tolerable it were by a great deale to say, that ten thousand parts, through the impotence and feebleness of *Jupiter*, committed many absurdities perforce even against his nature and will, than to avouch that there is no intemperance, no deceit and wickednesse, whereof *Jupiter* is not the cause.

Moreover seeing that the world by their saying is a city, and the Sarres citizens: if it be so, there must be also tribes and magistracies: yea and plaine it is, that the Sunne must be a Senator, yea & the evening starre, some provost, major or governor of the city. And I wot not well whether he who taketh in hand to confute such things, can broche and set abroad other greater absurdities in naturall matters than those doe, who deliver and pronounce these doctrines. Is not this a position against common sense to affirme, that the seed should be greater and more than that which is engendered of it? For we see verily that nature in all living creatures, and so plants even those that be of a wilde and savage kinde, taketh very small and slender matters, such as hardly can be seene, for the beginning & the generation of most great and huge bodies. For not onely of a graine or corne of wheat it produceth a stalk with an eare, and of a little grape stone it bringeth forth a vine tree, but also of a pepin, kernill, akorne or berry escaped and fallen by chance from a bird, as if of some sparkle it kindled and set on fire generation, it fendeth forth the stocke of some bush or thorne or else a tall and mighty body of an oak, a date or pine tree. And hereupon it is that generall seed is called *Σπερμα*, in Greeke, as one would say

against that is to say, the enfolding and wrapping together of a great masse into a small quantity: also nature taketh the name of *σπέρμα*, as it were *σπέρματος*, that is to say, the inflation and deflusion of proportions and numbers, which are opened & loosed under it. And againe, the fire which they say is the seed of the world, after that generall conflagration, shall change into the owne seed, the world, which from a smaller body and little masse is extended into a great inflation and deflusion, yea and moreover occupieth an infinite space of voidnesse which it filleth by his augmentation: but as it is engendered, that huge greatnesse retireth and sedeth anon, by reason that the matter is contracted and gathered into it selfe upon the generation. We may heare them dispute, and reade many of their books, and discourses, wherein they argue and crie out against the Academicks, for confounding all things with their *Απαλαξίες*, that is to say, indistinguishable identities striving and forcing to make in two natures, one endowed with the like quality. And yet what man living is their who conceiveth and knoweth not as much? or supposeth not the contrary, namely, that it were a marvellous strange thing & a very absurdity, if neither stocke-dove to stocke-dove, beeto bee, wheat-corne to wheat-corne, and as the common proverbe goeth, one figge unto another hath bene at all times alike and fensible.

But this in very deed and truth is cleane contrary to all common sense, that these men holde and affirme: how in one substance, there be properly and particularly two qualified, and how the same substance having particularly one qualified, when there cometh another to it, receiveth and keepeth them both, the one as well as the other. For if we admit two, I avouch it may as well have three, fower, five and as many as one will name, in one and the same substance, I say not in divers parts, but all equally and indifferently, though they were infinit, even in the whole. Now *Chrysippus* saith, that *Jupiter*, as also the world, resembleth a man, and providence the soule: when as then that conflagration of the world shall be, *Jupiter*, who onely of all the gods is immortal, shall retire unto providence, and both twaine shall remaine together in the substance of the skie. But leave we now the gods for this present, and pray we unto them that they would vouchsafe to give unto the Stoicks, a common sense and understanding according with other men, and let us see now what they say as touching the elements. This first and formost standeth not with the received conceit and opinion of the world, that a bodie should be the place of a body, and that one body should enter and pierce through another bodie, considering that neither the one nor the other containeth vacuity: but that which is full entereth into that which is full, and that which hath no distance receiveth into it selfe that which is mingled with it, but that which is full and solid, hath no void distance in it selfe by reason of continuity. And these men verily not thrusting one into one, nor two nor three, nor ten together, but cast all parts of the world cur pece-meale, into one, which they first meet with, even the least that is by sense perceptible: saying moreover that it will containe the greatest that shall come unto it. Thus in a braverie after their old manner in many other things, make of that which convinceth and refelleth them, one of their sentences and resolutions, as they who take for suppositions, those things which be repugnant to common sense. And thus upon this supposall, there must needs ensue many monstrous and prodigious positions when they once confusedly mingle whole bodies with whole: and among those absurd paradoxes this also may goe for one, That three be fower. For even that which others bring in & alledge for an example of that which cannot fall into mans imagination, they holde for an undoubted truth: saying, that when one cyath of wine is mingled with two of water, it wanteth not but is equall in the whole, and thus confounding them together, they bring it so about, that one is made twaine, by the equal mixture of one with two: for that one remaineth, and is spread as much as twaine, making that which is equall to a duple. Now if by the mixture with two, it taketh the measure of two in the deflusion, this must needs be the measure together, both of three and of fower: of three because one is mingled with twaine: and of fower, for that being mingled with twaine, it hath as much in quantity, as those wherewith it is mingled. This fine device hapneth unto them, because they put bodies within a body, and for that it cannot be imagined how they cause one to containe another. For, of necessity it must be that bodies making a penetration one within another by mixture, that the one should not containe and the other be contained, nor the one receive and the other be received within. For so this should not be a commixion but a contiguity and touching of superficies one close to another, whiles one entrench within forth, and the other encloseth without, when the other parts remaine pure and entire without mixture, and so shall be one of many divers and differing asunder. But it cannot otherwise be as they would have it, that when there is a mixture, the things mingled, should not be mixed one within another: and that one selfe

same thing being within should not withall be contained: and likewise in receiving, containe another: and possible it is not, that either the one or the other should be: but fall out it will, that the two which be mingled, should pierce one within the other; neither can so much as one part of the one or the other remaine by it selfe apart, but necessarily they be all full one of another. And heere ariseth that legge of *Arcefilam*, so much talked of in the schooles, which insulketh and daunceth upon their monstrous absurdities with much laughter; for if these mixtions be through the whole, what should hinder, but that if a legge bee cut off, putrified, cast into the sea, and in proceesse of time all diffused; not onely the fleet of *Antigonum* might faile in and thorow it, as said *Arcefilam*, but also the 1200. saile of *Xerxes*; yea and the three hundred galleies of the Greeks might give a navall battell within the said legge? for faile it never will to be extended and spread more and more, nor the lesse cease within the greater, ne yet will that mixture ever come to an end, no nor the extremitie of it touch where it will end, and so pierce not thorow the whole, but will give over to be mingled: or if it be not mixed thorowout the whole, surely the said legge will not afford roome so much as for the Greekes to give a navall battell in it, but even the same must needs putrifie and be changed. But if a cyath of wine, or no more but one drop, falling into the Aegean or Candiot-sea, passe directly into the Ocean, or maine Atlantique-sea, it shall not touch onely the superficiall part of the water lost, but spread throughout, in breadth, depth & length. And verily *Chrysippus* admitteth so much in the very beginning of his first booke as touching Naturall questions, saying that one drop of wine will not faile but be mingled throughout the whole sea. And that we should not marvel so much hereat, he saith moreover, that the said drop by the meanes of mixture, will extend throughout the whole world: which is so absurd and without all appearance of reason, as I cannot devise any thing more. And is not this also against common sense, that in the nature of bodies, there is no supracome, nor first or last, to conclude & determine the magnitude of the body? but that which is proposed as the subject, runneth on still infinitely without end, so as whatsoever is added, yet somewhat more seemeth may be put thereto? for we cannot conceive or comprehend one magnitude greater or lesse than another, if it be incident to both parts thus to proceede in infinitum, which is as much as to take away the whole nature of inequality. For of two magnitudes that be understood unequal, the one cometh first thort of the last parts, and the other goeth beyond and surpasseth; but if there be no inequality of length in them, it followeth that there will be no unevennesse in the upper superficies nor asperitie: for this unevennesse is nothing else, but the inequality of the superficies with it selfe; but asperitie is an inequality of the superficies with hardnesse. Of which qualities they allow none, who determine no bodie in an extreme or utmost part, but draw out all still by a multitude of parts infinitely: and yet who knoweth not evidently, that man is compounded of a greater number of parts, than is his finger, and the world more than a man? for all men know and thinke as much, unless they become Stoicks: but proove they once to be Stoicks, they both say and opine the contrarie; namely, that man is not composed of more parts than is his finger, nor the world of more than is man: for section reduceth bodies into infinitum; and in things infinite there is neither more nor lesse; neither is there any multitude that surpasseth; neither shall the parts of that which is left, cease to be alwaies subdivided still, yea and to furnish out a multitude of themselves. How then do they wind out of these difficulties and untie these knots? certes, with great slight, verisubtilly and valiantly: for *Chrysippus* saith, that when we be demanded, if we have any parts, and how many there be? also whether they be compounded of other, and of how many? we are to sie unto this distinction; supposing and setting downe, that the whole entire bodie, consisteth of head, breast and legges, as if this were all that was demanded and doubted of. But if they should proceed in their interrogatories to the extreme parts: then saith he, no such answer is to be made, but we are to say, neither that they consist of any certaine parts, nor likewise of how many? neither of infinite nor determinate. But I thinke it were better if I alledged his verie owne words, to the end you may see how he keepeth and observeth the common conceptions, so forbidding us as he doth, to thinke, imagine or say, of what parts, and how many each bodie is compounded, and that it consisteth neither of finite or infinite. For if there were a meane betwene finite and infinite, like as there is betwene good and bad, to wit, indifferent; he should pronounce what the same was, and so save the difficultie. But, if as that which is not equal, incontinently becommeth unequal; and that which is not corruptible, presently is incorruptible; so that which is not finite, is immediately infinit, I suppose, that to say, A bodie is composed of parts neither finite or infinite, is all one as to say, that an argument is composed neither

neither of true nor of false propositions, and a number neither of even nor odde. But after all this, vaunting himselfe youthfully, he leaveth not to say, that whereas a pyramis consisteth of triangles, the sides inclining to the commiffure or joint, are unequal, and yet exceed one another, in that they be bigger. Thus you see how trimly he kept and observed common conceptions; for if there be any thing greater, and yet surpasseth not, there must be also somewhat lesse, and yet the same faileth not, and so there shall be also something unequal, that neither exceedeth nor wanteth, which is as much to say, as it shall be equal and yet unequal, not greater but yet greater, not lesse and yet lesse. See moreover I pray you a little, how he answereth unto *Democritum* disputing and doubting physically and earnestly, if a cone or round pyramis be cut at the base thereof by the plumb or level, what we ought to conceive and judge as touching the superficies of the sections whether they be equal or unequal: for if they be unequal, they will make the said cone or pyramis uneven; and admitting many deepe rabbotted incisions, and rough asperities in manner of steps and grees: and if they be equal, then the sections also must be equal, and so it will be found that the round pyramis or cone shall have the same befall unto it that a cylinder hath, namely, to consist of circles equal and not unequal, which were very absurd. Herein, making *Democritum* to be an ignorant person and one who knew not what he said, he cometh in with this, and saith, that the superficies be neither equal nor unequal, but that the bodies be unequal, in that the superficies be neither equal nor unequal. Now to set downe by way of ordinance and to affirme, that allowing the superficies to be unequal, it may fall out, that bodies should not be unequal, were the part of a man who permitteth himselfe to have a wonderfull libertie to write and speake whatsoever comes into his head. For both reason and manifest evidence, giveth us to understand quite contrary, namely, that of unequal bodies the superficies also be unequal, and the bigger that a body is, the greater is the superficies, unless the exesse whereby it surpasseth the smaller, be altogether devoid of a superficies: for if the superficies of greater bodies exceed not those of the lesser, but rather faile before they come to an end, then we must of necessity say, that a part of that bodie which hath an end, is without end, and not determinate: for if hee alledge and say that hee is driven perforce thereunto, lest the inequality of superficies might seeme to make unequal incisions, there is no such cause why hee should feare: for those rabbotted incisions which hee suspecteth in a cone or round Pyramis, it is the inequality of the bodies, and not of the superficies that causeth them. So that it were a ridiculous follie, by taking away the superficies, for to be convinced to leave an inequality and unevennesse of the bodies. But to persist still in this matter, what can there be more contrary to common conception, than to saine and devise such stuffe? for if we admit that one superficies is neither equal nor unequal to another, wee may consequently affirme, that neither magnitude is equal or unequal, nor number either even or odde; considering that we can not set downe nor conceive in our minde, any meane betwene unequal and unequal, which is neuter. Moreover, if there were any superficies neither equal nor unequal, what should let but that we may imagine circles also neither equal nor unequal? for verily these superficies of the sections of cones or round Pyramids, be circles: and if we allow thus much in circles, then we may as well admit so much of the Diameters of circles, namely, that they be neither equal nor unequal. And if this goe for good, of angles likewise and triangles, of Parallelograms, and of superficies parallel or equally distant. For if longitudes be neither equal nor unequal one to another, then shall not weight, nor percussion, nor no bodies be equal or unequal. Furthermore, how dare they reprove those who bring in vacancies, and certaine indivisible bodies mainteining combat one against another, supposing that they neither sitre nor stand still; when as they themselves maintaine that such propositions as these be false? If any things be not equal one to the other, the same be unequal one to the other: and these things here be not equal one to the other; neither are they unequal one to the other. For so much as he saith, that there is something greater, which notwithstanding surpasseth not; it were good reason therefore to doubt and demand, whether the same be agreeable and fitting one to the other? and if they agree, how then can either of them be the bigger? Now if it be not sortable, how is it possible that the one should not exceed, and the other come short? for these things can not hang together, to say, that neither the one nor the other surpasseth: and it agreeth not with the greater: or it agreeth, and yet the one is greater than the other. For of necessity it must follow, that those who retaine not nor observe common conceptions, be troubled with such perplexities.

Over and besides, it is against all common sense, to say that no one thing toucheth another:

as also, that bodies touch one another, and yet do in no part touch. Now it must needs be, that they admit this, who allow not the least parts of a body, and so they suppose alwaies something before that which seemeth to touch, and never cease to passe on farther still: which is the thing that they principally object against those, who defend & maintain the indivisible parcels called Atoms; namely, that there is no total touching, but that it is a mixture, considering that such indivisible bodies have no parts. How is it then, that they themselves fall not into the like inconvenience, seeing they admit no part to be either first or last? for that they say, bodies doe touch one another mutually in the whole by a certaine terme or extremity, and not by a part, and the said terme or point is no body. Then a body shall touch a body, by a thing which is no body: and contrariwise, shall not touch, the incorporall being betweene. And if it touch, it shall do likewise and suffer somewhat, being it selfe a body, by that which is incorporall and no body. For the propertie of bodies, is to do and suffer somewhat mutually, yea, and to touch one another: and if the body have a touching in part by the means of that which is incorporall, it shall likewise have a generall and total connexion, even a mixtion and incorporation. Again, in these connexions and mixtures, necessarie it is that termes or extremities of bodies, either continue or not continue, but perish: but both the one and the other is against common sense. For even they themselves allow not corruptions and generations of things incorporall: and impossible it is, that there should be a mixtion or total touching of bodies retaining still their proper termes and extremities. For it is this terme or extremity that determineth and constituteth the nature of a body: and as for mixtions (if there were no approaching nor application of parts to parts) they confound all things wholly which are mixed. And as these men say, we must admit the corruption of extremities in mixtures; and likewise againe, their generations, in the distractions & separations of them. But no man there is able to comprehend this easily: for in regard that bodies touch one another, they also are pressed, thrust and crushed one by the other. And impossible it is, that a thing incorporall should suffer or do thus; neither can we imagine so much: yet would they constraine us to thinke no lesse. For if a sphere or boule touch a flat or plaine bodie onely by a point, certaine it is, that it may be trained and rolled along the said plaine or flat body, by a point. And if the foresaid boule be painted in the superficies thereof with vermillion, it shall imprint a red line onely upon the same plaine body; and being yellow, or of a fire colour, it shall likewise give the same tincture to the superficies of the flat bodie. Now that a thing incorporall should either give or take a colour, is against all common sense. And if we imagine a boule of earth, of Crytall or glasse, to fall from on high upon a smooth bodie of stone, it were against all reason to thinke that it would not breake the same into pieces, namely, when as it shall light upon that which is solide, hard, and able to make resistance: but more unreasonable it were to say, that it were broken by a terme or point that is incorporall: in such manner, as in every fort, their anticipations & common conceptions as touching things incorporall and bodies, must needs be troubled and confounded, or rather utterly abolished, in supposing thus many things impossible.

Against common sense it is to say, that there is a future time, and a time past, but none at all present; as also, that the time which was erewhile and not long since, hath a subsistence, whereas 40 that which now is hath no being at all. And yet this is an usuall and ordinary matter with these Stoicke philosophers, who admit not the least time that is betweene, and will not allow the present to be indivisible; but of all that which a man doeth thinke and imagine as present, they affirme the one part to be of that which is already past, and the other of the future; in somuch as there remaineth and is left in the mids no piece at all of the time present; in case of that which is said to be the very instant, part is attributed unto things past, and part to things to come; whereupon of necessitie one of these twaine must follow, that either in admitting the tense, It is, was; or It shall be; the tense It is, must wholly be abolished, or in admitting the present time, It is, one part thereof is past, and the other to come: as also to say, that of that which is, part is yet future, and part already past: likewise of that which now is present, one parcell is before, and ano- 50 ther behinde; in such sort as present, is that which yet is not present, and not present any more; for that is not present any longer, which is already past; nor present at all, which is yet to come: And thus in dividing the present, they must also needs say, that of the yeere and of the light, part was of the yeere past, and part of the yeere to come; likewise of that which is together and at once, there is some before, and some after: For no lesse troubled are they, in huddling and confounding after a strange manner these termes, Not yet, Already, No more, Now & not now, as if they were all one; whereas other men doe conceive and thinke, that these termes, Ere

while,

while, or not long since, & a while after or anon, are different parts from the present time, setting the one before, & the other after the said present. And among these, *Archidamus* who affirmeth that the present Now, is a certaine beginning, joint or commissure of that which is already past and neere at hand to come, seeth now how in so saying, he utterly abolisheth all time; for were it true that Now is no time, but onely a terme of extremity of time & that every part of time is as it were Now, it would seem then, that this present Now, hath no part at all, but is resolved wholly into ends & extremities, joints, commissures, & beginnings. As for *Chrysippus* willing to shew himselfe witty & artificial in his divisions, in that treatise which he composed as touching voidnesse, and in other places affirmeth, that the Past and the Future of time subsisteth not, but hath 10 subsisted; and that the present onely hath being: But in the third, fourth, & fift books of Parts, he avoucheth, that of the instant or present, part is Future, & part Past; in such sort as by this means he divideth the substance of time, into those parts of subsistent, which are not subsistent, or to speake more truly, he leaveth no part at all subsistent, if the instant & present hath no part at all, which is not either past or to come: and therefore the conceit that these men have of time, resembleth properly the holding of water in a mans hand, which runneth and sheddeth the more, by how much harder it is pressed together. Come now unto actions and motions, all light and evidence is by them darkned, troubled, and confounded; for necessarily it ensueth, that if the Instant or present is divided into that which is past, and to come, a part of that which now mooveth at this instant; should partly be moved already, and in part to remove afterwards, and 20 withall, that the beginning and end of motion should be abolished: also that of no worke there should be any thing first or last, all actions being distributed and dispersed together with time: for like as they say, that of the present, some is past, and some to come: even so of every action in doing, some part is already done, and other resteth to be done. When had then beginning, or when shall have end, To dine, to write, & to go, if every man who dineth, hath dined already, and shall dine; and who ever goeth, hath gone and shall go? and that which is (as they say) of all abundancies most monstrous, if it be granted, that he who now liveth, hath lived already, & shall live; life had neither beginning, nor ever shall have end: but every one of us as it should seeme by this reckoning, was borne without beginning of life, & shall die without giving over to live: for if there be no extreme part, but ever as one that now liveth shall have somewhat of the present remaining for the future, it will never be untruly said; *Socrates* shall live, so long as it shall be 30 truly said, *Socrates* liveth; so that as often as it is true, *Socrates* liveth, so often it is false, *Socrates* is dead. And therefore if it be truly said in infinite parts of time, *Socrates* shall live; in no part of time shall it ever be truly said, *Socrates* is dead. And verily what end shall there be of any worke? & where shall any action stay & cease, in case as often as it shall be truly said; a thing is now doing, so often likewise it shall be truly said, It shall be done: for lie he shall who saith, This is the end of *Plato* writing or disputing; for that one day *Plato* shall cease to write or dispute: if at no time it be a lieto say, of him that disputeth, He shall dispute; or of him who writeth, He shall write. Moreover, of that which is done, there is no part, which either is not finished already, or which 40 shall be finished, and either is past or to come. Besides, of that which is already done, or of that which shall be done, of that which is past or future, there is no sense. And so in one word, and to speake simply, there is no sense of any thing in the world; for we neither see nor heare that which is past or to come; ne yet have we any sense of things which have bene or which shall be; no nor although a thing should be present, is it perceptible & subject to sense, in case that which is present, be partly to come, and in part past already; if I say one part thereof hath bene, and another shall be: and yet they themselves cry out upon *Epicurus*, as if he committed some great indignitie, and did violence to common conceptions, in mooving as he doeth all bodies with equal celerity, and admitteth no one thing swifter than another: But farre more intolerable it is, and farther remot from common sense to hold, that no one thing can reach or overtake another: 50

*Ne nos although Adrastus horse*

*So swift, a Tortoise slow should course.*

according as we say in our common proverb: which must of necessity fall out, if things move according to Before and Behind; and in case the intervals which they passe through, be divisible into infinit parts, as these men would have them: for if the tortoise be but one furlong before the horse, they who divide the said interval or space betweene into infinit parts, and moove both the one and the other according to *Primum* and *Posteriorum*, shall never bring the swiftest close unto the slowest, for that the slower alwaies winneth some space or interval before that which is

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divisible, into other infinit intervals. And to say, that water which is powred forth out of a cup or boll, shall never be powred all cleane out; how can this chuse but be against common sense? & doeth not this consequently follow upon those things that these men avouch? for never shall a man comprehend or conceive that the motion of things infinitely divisible, according to be- fore, hath fully performed the whole interval; but leaving alwaies some space divisible, it will evermore make all the effusion, all the running forth or the shedding of the liquor, all the motion of a solid body; or the fall of a weighty poise, to be imperfect. I let passe many absurdities de- livered in their doctrine; and touch those onely, which are directly against common sense.

As for the question touching augmentation, it is very auncient: For according as *Chrysos- tomus* saith; it was by *Epicharmus* put forth. And for that the Academicks thought it to be not very easie and ready all of a sudden to be cleared; these men come with open mouth against them, accusing them for overthrowing all anticipations, whereas they themselves keepe not at all the common conceptions: and that which more is, pervert the very senses. For whereas the question is plaine and simple; these men grant and allow such suppositions as these, that al particular substances flow and runne, partly by yeelding and sending forth somewhat out of themselves, and in part by receiving other things from without; and that by reason of the num- ber and multitude of that which comes in, or goes out, things continue not one and the same, but become altered and divers by the foresaid additions and detraction, so as their substance receiveth a change. Also that contrary to al right and reason; custome hath so farre prevailed, that such mutations be called augmentations and diminutions: whereas rather they ought to be termed generations, and corruptions, for that they force an alteration of one present state and being, into another; but to grow and diminish are passions and accidents of a body, and sub- ject that is permanent. Which reasons and assertions being after a sort thus delivered in their schooles, what is it that these defenders of Peripatetic and Evidence, these canonical refor- mers (I say) of common notions would have? namely, that every one of us should be double like twinned, or of a two-fold nature: not as the poets feigned the Molionides, to be in some parts conjunct and united, and in other severed and disjointed, but two bodies, having the same colour, the same shape, the same weight and place: a thing that no man ever saw before: may these Philosophers onely have perceived this duplicity, this composition and ambiguities; whereby every one of us are two subjects, the one being substance, the other <sup>30</sup> the one of them runneth and floweth continually, and yet without augmentation and di- minution, or remaining in the same state such as it is; the other continueth still, and yet grow- eth and decreaseth, and yet suffreth all things quite contrary to the other, wherewith it is con- corporate, united, and knit, leaving to the exterior sense no shew of distinct difference. And yet verily it is said of that *Lyceus*, how in old time hee had so quicke and piercing an eye- sight, that he was able to see through stocks and stones. And one there was by report, who sit- ting in *Italy*, could from a watch-tower sensibly discern the shippes sailing out of the haven of *Carthage*, which was distant a day & a nights sailing with a good forewind. And as for *Calli- crates* and *Myrmecides*, they have the name to have made chariots so smal, as that the wings of a fly might cover them: yea & in a millet graine or sesam seed to have engraven *Homers* verses. But <sup>40</sup> surely this perpetuall fluxion & diversity in us, there was never any yet that could divide & dis- tinguish: neither could we our selves ever find that we were double, & that partly we ranne out continually, and in part againe remained alwaies one and the same, even from our nativity to our end. But I am about to deale with them more simply and plainly; for whereas they devide in every one of us foure subjects, or to speake more directly, make ech of us to be foure, it shall suffice to take but two, for to shew their absurditie. When we doe heare *Pemheus* in a tragedy saying, that he seeth two Sunnes, and two cities of *Thebes*, we deme of him, that he seeth not two, but that his eyes doe dazell and looke amisse, having his discourse troubled, and under- standing cleane transported. And even these persons, who suppose and set downe, not one city alone, but all men, all beasts, all trees, plants, tooles, vessels, utensils, and garments, to be <sup>50</sup> double, and composed of two natures; reject wee not and bid farewell, as men who would force us not to understand any thing aright, but to take every thing wrong? Howbeit, hap- pily heerein they might be pardoned and winked at, for feining and devising other natures of sub- jects, because they have no meanes else, for all the paines they take, to mainteine and preserve their augmentations: But in the soule, what they should aile, what their meaning might be, and upon what grounds and suppositions, they devied to frame other different sorts and formes of bodies, and those in maner innumerable, who is able to say? or what may be the cause, unless <sup>they</sup>

they ment to displace, or rather to abolish and destroy altogether the common and familiar conceptions, inbred in us, for to bring in and set up new fangles, and other strange and forren novelties? For this is woonderfull extravagant and absurd, for to make bodies of vertues and vices, and besides of sciences, arts, memories, fancies, apprehensions, passions, inclinations and affents: and to affirme that these neither lie, nor have any place subsisting in any subject, but to leave them one little hole like a pricke within the heart, wherein they range and draw in, the principall part of the soule, and the discourse of reason, being choked up as it were with such a number of bodies, that even they are not able to count a great sort of them, who seeme to know best how to distinguish and discern one from another. But to make these not onely bodies, <sup>10</sup> but also living creatures, and those endued with reason, to make (I say) a swarme of them, & the same not gentle, mild, & tame, but a turbulent sort & rable by their malicious shrewdnesse, op- posit & repugnant to al evidence, & usual custome, what wasteth this of absurdity in the highest degree. And these men verily do hold that not onely vertues & vices be animal and living crea- tures, nor passions alone, as anger, wrath, envy, grieke, sorrow & malice, nor apprehensions onely, fantasies, imaginations, and ignorances, nor arts and mysteries, as the shoemakers & smiths- craft: but also over and besides al these things, they make the very operations and actions them- selves to be bodies, yea and living creatures: they would have walking to be an animal dancing likewise, shoing, saluting, and reprochfull railing: and so consequently they make laughing & weeping to be animal. And in granting these, they admit also, coughing, sneezing and groa- <sup>20</sup> ning, yea and withall, spitting, reaching, sniting and snuffing of the nose and such like actions, which are as evident as the rest. And let them not thinke much and take it grievously, if they be driven to this point by way of particular reasoning, calling to minde *Chrysippus*, who in his third booke of *Natural* questions saith thus: What say you of the night, is it not a body: eve- ning, morning, midnight, are they not bodies? Is not the day a body? The new moone is it not a bodie? the tenth, the fifteenth, the thirtieth day of the moone, the moneth it selfe, Summer, Autumne, and the whole yeere, be they not bodies? Certes all these things by me named they hold with tooth and naile, even against common prenotions: But as for these hereafter, they maintaine contrary to their owne proper conceptions, when as they would produce the hottest thing that is by refrigeration, and that which is most subtile by inspissation. For the soule is a <sup>30</sup> substance most hot and consisting of most subtile parts: which they would make by the refrig- eration and condensation of the body, which as it were by a certaine perfusion and tincture it hardeneth & altereth the spirit, from being vegetative to be animate. They say also that the Sun is become animate, by reason of the moisture turned into an intellectuall and spirituall fire. See how they imagin the Sun to be engendered and produced by refrigeration? *Xenophanes*, when one came upon a time and tolde him that he had seene Eeles to live in hot scalding water, Why doe we not see the them then (quoth he) in colde water? If therefore they will cause heat by re- frigeration, and lightnesse by attriction and condensation: it foloweth on the other side againe, by good consequence, that by keeping a certaine proportion and correspondence in absurdity, they make heat by colde, thickning by dissolving, and waighty things by rarefaction. As for <sup>40</sup> the very substance and generation of common conception and sense, doe they not determine it even against common sense it selfe? For conception is a certaine phantasie or apprehension: and this apprehension is an impression in the soule. The nature of the soule is an exhalation, which by reason of the rarity thereof can hardly receive an impression: and say that it did re- ceive any, yet impossible it were to keepe and retain it. For the nutriment and generation of it consisting of moist things, holdeth a continuall course of succcession and consumption. The commerce also and mixture of respiration with the aire, engendreth continually some new ex- halation turning and changing by the flux of aire coming in and going forth reciprocally. For a man may imagin rather that a river of running water keepeth the formes, figures & images <sup>50</sup> imprinted therein, than a spirit caried in vapours & humors, to be mingled with another spirit or breath from without continually, as if it were idle and strange unto it. But so much forget they or misunderstand themselves, that having defined comon conceptions to be certaine intel- ligences laid up apart: memories to be firme permanent, & habituall impressions having fixed sciences likewise, every way fast and sure, yet within a while after they set under al this a founda- tion and base, of a certaine slippery substance, easie to be dissipated, caried continually, and ever going and coming to and fro. Moreover this notion and conception of an element and Principle, all men have imprinted in their minde, that it is pure, simple, not mingled nor com- <sup>pofed</sup>

posed: for, that which is mixed, cannot be an element nor a principle, but rather that, whereof it is mixed and composed.

Howbeit these men devising God the principle of all things to be a spirituall bodie, and a minde or intelligence seated in matter, make him neither pure nor simple, nor uncompound, but affirme that he is composed of another and by another. As for matter, being of it selfe without reason and void of all quality, it carieth with it simplicity, and the very naturall propertie of a principle: and God, if it be true, that he is not without body and matter, doth participate of matter as of a principle. For if reason and matter, be all one and the same, they have not done well to define matter for to be reasonlesse: but if they be things different, then doth God consist of both twaine, and not of a simple essence, but compounded, as having taken to his intellectuall substance a bodily nature out of matter. Furthermore, considering they call these fower primitive bodies, to wit, earth, water, aire and fire, the first elements, I can not see how they should make some of them simple, and others mixed or compound: for they hold, that the earth and water cannot containe either themselves or any other, and that it is the participation of spirit and fellowship of fire, whereupon dependeth the preservation of their unity: as for the aire and fire by their owne power they fortifie themselves, which being medled with the other two, give them their force vigor and firmitude of substance. How is it then, that either earth is an element or the water, seeing neither of them both is simple, first, or sufficient to keepe and preserve it selfe, but having need of another without to containe them alwaies in their being and to save them? for they have not left so much as any thought that they be a substance. But surely this reason of theirs as touching the earth, that it consisteth of it selfe, containeth much confusion and great uncertainty, for if the earth be of it selfe, how cometh it to passe that it hath need of the aire, to binde and containe it? for so it is no more earth of it selfe, nor water; but the aire hath by thickning & hardning matter, made thereof the earth: and contrariwise, by dissolving and mollifying it, hath created the water: and therefore we may inferre thus much, that neither of these is an element, seeing that some other thing hath given them their essence and generation. Over and besides, they affirme, that substance and matter are subject to qualities, and so in manner doe yeeld their limit and definition: and then on the other side, they make the said qualities to be bodies; wherein there is a great confusion: for if qualities have a certaine proper substance, whereby they are termed and be really bodies indeed, they require no other substance, for that they have one of their owne: but if they have this onely under them which is common, and which they call essence or matter, certaine it is, that they doe but participate of the bodie; for bodies they are not. For that which is in the nature of the subject and doeth receive, must of necessity differ from those things which it receiveth, and whereof it is the subject. But these men see by the halfe; for they terme the matter *ἀνύποτος*, that is to say, without qualities: but they will not name the qualities *ἀνύποτος*, that is to say, void of matter. And yet how is it possible to make a body without quality, but wee must imagine a quality without a bodie? for that reason, which completh a body with all manner of qualities, permitteth not the thought to comprehend any body without some qualitie. Either therefore he that fighteth against a bodiless qualitie, seemeth to resist likewise a matter void of qualitie; or if he separate the one from the other, hee parteth and divideth them both asunder. And as for that reason which some of them seeme to pretend, as touching a substance which they name *ἀνύποτος*, not because it is void of all qualitie, but because it is capable forsooth of every qualitie; it is contrary to common notion, and nothing so much. For no man taketh or imagineth that to be *ἀνύποτος*, that is to say, unqualified, which is participant of all qualities and incapable of none; nor impassible, that which is apt to receive and suffer every passion; nor immovable, which is moovable every way. And as for this doubt, it is not solved, that howsoever we alwaies understand matter with some quality, yet we conceive withall, that matter and qualitie be different one from the other.

AGAINST

## AGAINST COLOTES, THE EPICUREAN.

### The Summarie.

**W**E have in many places before, but principally in two severall Treatises of the former tome, perceived how Plutarch is quite contrary unto the Epicureans, and namely, in one of those Treatises he dealeth with a certaine booke (which he now expressly refuteth) where Colotes endeavoured to prove, that a man can not possibly live well, according to the opinions of other Philosophers, Plutarch sheweth on the contrary side, thus impossible it is to leade a joyfull life after the doctrine of Epicurus, and that it is accompanied with overweening, impudency and slanderous calumniation. And not contenting himselfe thus to have confuted them of purpose once or twice, he setteth upon them in this discourse, and particularly he copeth with Colotes, whose slowness, fithinesse and impietie he beere describeth. The summe of all which declamation is this, That these Epicureans are not any way worthy the name of Philosophers: who contrariwise tread and trample under foot all the parts of true Philosophie, discovering in their writings aswell as thoroughout all their lives, meer beastly brutallitie. But all that is delivered in this Treatise may be reduced well to two principall points: The one containeth a defence or excuse of the doctrine taught by Democritus, Empedocles, Parmenides, Socrates, and other ancient Philosophers, slandered by Colotes, who extolled farre above them, the traditions and precepts of his master. The other discovereth divers absurdities and strange opinions of the Epicureans, even by their owne testimonies: whom Plutarch refelleth soundly; handling in this disputation many articles of Philosophie, Naturall, Morall and Supernaturall: and particularly of the Senses, of Nature, of the Atomes, of the Unversall world, of the Knowledge of man, of the Opinion of the Academics, of the Apprehensions, faculties, passions and affections of the soule: of the certaintie of things, sensible of the falsitie and truth of imaginations, of the use of Lawes, of the profit of Philosophie, of the soveraigne good, of religion, and of other such matters, the principles whereof the Epicureans abolished, bringing in paradoxes wonderfull strange, for to shuffle things confusedly, and make all uncerteine. All which is marked particularly in the traine and course of the authors owne words, and therefore needlesse it is to specifye thereof any more, because I would avoid tautologies & unnecessary repetitions. True it is, that in certaine refutations Plutarch is not so firme as were to be desired: but that may be imputed to his ignorance of the true God. As for the rest, it may suffice & serve, to know the misery & wretchednes of the Epicureans: and that other Philosophers had many good parts, and delivered many beautifull speeches, whereof all vertuous persons may reape and gather great fruit in applying and referring the same to their right use. And for to close up all, he maketh a comparison betwene true Philosophers and the Epicureans, proving in very many places, that Colotes and his fellows like himselfe, are people not onely unsatisfiable, but also most pernicious, and so by consequence unworthy to live in the world.

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AGAINST

# AGAINST COLOTES THE Epicurean.



*Colotes*, whom *Epicurus* was wont (ô *Saturninus*) to call by way of flattering diminution, *Colataras* and *Colatarius*, composed and put forth a little booke, which he entituled, That there could be no life at all according to the opinions of other Philosophers: and dedicated the said booke unto king *Ptolemaus*. Now what came into my minde to speake against this *Colotes*, I suppose you would take pleasure to reade the same in writing; being as you are, a man who loveth elegance and all honest things, especially such as concerne the knowledge of antiquity; & besides, esteemeth it the most prince like exercise and roiall study, to beare in minde and have alwaies in

hand, as much as possibly may be the discourses of ancient Sages. Whereas therefore of late this booke was in reading, one of our familiar friends, one whom you know well enough, *Aristodemus* by name, an Aegian borne, a man exceeding passionate, and of all the Academicks a most frantick sectary of *Plato*, although hee carie not the *ferula* like unto the madde supposts of *Plato*, I wot not how contrary to his usuall manner, was very patient and silent all the while, giving care most civilly even to the very end. But so soone as the lecture was done: Goe to now my masters (quoth he) whom were we best to cause for to arise and fight with this fellow in the quarrell and defence of Philosophers? For I am not of *Alexander's* minde, neither doe I greatly praise him, for that when there was to be chosen the most valiant warrior of those nine hardy knights who were presented, to enter into combat with *Hector* hand to hand, committed the election unto fortune, and put all to the lot: But you see also (quoth I) that even he referred himselfe to be ordered by the lot, to the end that the choise might passe according to the dispose and ordinance of the wisest man:

*The lot out of the helmet then did fall,  
Of Ajax, whom themselves wist most of all.*

And yet if you command me to make election,

*How can I ever put out of mind,  
Divine Ulysses, a prince so kind?*

Consider therefore and be well advised how you may be able to refell this man. Then *Aristodemus*: But you know full well (quoth he) what *Plato* sometime did, who being offended with his boy that waited upon him, would not himselfe swindge him, but caused *Speusippus* to doe so much for him, saying withall, That he was in a fit of choler. And even so, I say as much to you, Take the man to you I pray, and entreat him at your pleasure; for my selfe am very angry with him. Now when all the rest of the company were instant with me, and praised me to take this charge in hand: Well I see (quoth I) that I must speake, seeing you will needs have it so: but I am affraid lest I may seeme my selfe to be more earnestly bent against this booke than it deserves, in the defence and maintenance of *Socrates*, against the incivility, rudenesse, scurrility, and insolence of this man, who presenteth (as one would say) unto him say, as if he were a bea, and demandeth how he may put meat into his mouth, and not into his care: whereas haply the best way were to laugh onely at him for such railing, especially considering the mildnesse and gentle grace of *Socrates* in such cases. Howbeit in regard of the whole host beside of other Greeke Philosophers, namely, *Democritus*, *Plato*, *Empedocles*, *Parmenides*, and *Alelissus*, who by him are foully reviled, it were not onely a shame to be tongue-tied and keepe silence, but also meere sacrilege and impiety, to remittany jot, or forbear to speake freely to the utmost in their behalfe, being such as have advanced philosophy to that honour and reputation which it hath. And verily our parents together with the gods have given us our life: but to live well, we suppose and that truly, that it cometh from the philosophers, by the meanes of the doctrine which we have received from them, as cooperative with law and justice, and the very bridle that doth chastise and restraime our lusts. Now to live well, is to live sociably, friendly, temperately, and justly: of which good qualities and conditions, they leave us not so much as one, who cry out with open mouth, that the soveraigne good of man lieth in his belly, and that all the virtues in the world if they were put together, they would prize no better worth than one crackt

crackt braten piece of coine, without pleasure, and in case all maner of delights were quite removed from them. Also the annex heere to their discourses, as touching the soule & the gods, wherein they hold that the soule perisheth, when it is once separate from the body: and that the gods meddle not with our affaires. Moreover the Epicureans reproch other Philosophers, for that they teach men to live loosely, basely, and beastly. And verily such matters as these be mingled in all the writings of *Epicurus*, and spread throughout his whole philosophy. But this *Colotes* heere having made an extract of certaine words or voices void of matter and substance, and drawn some pieces and broken fragments without reasons and arguments for to proove and confirm his doctrines, or to give light for their understanding and credit, hath made his booke in maner of a shop full of all sort of wares; or of a table or stall representing strange shewes and monstres: which you (I say) know best of all others, for that you have continually in your hands and doe reade the works of ancient writers. So he seemeth unto me that like to the Lydian, he openeth not one gate and no more upon him, but enwrappeth *Epicurus* in very many doubts & difficulties, and those of all other, the greatest: for he beginnes with *Democritus*, who no doubt received at his hands a goodly salary and reward for his apprentillage, being a thing certeinly known, that for a long time *Epicurus* called himselfe a Democritian, like as others also doe say, and namely *Leontem*, one of the scholars and disciples of *Epicurus*, in the highest forme: who in a letter which he wrote unto *Lycophron*, saith, that *Epicurus* honored *Democritus*, for that he attained before him to the true and found understanding of the truth: and that in general the whole treatise of naturall things, was called Democritian, because hee light first upon the principles, and met with the primitive fontaines and foundations of nature. And *Aetodorus* said directly and openly of Philosophy, That if *Democritus* had not led the way, *Epicurus* had never arrived to wisdom and learning. Now if it be true as this *Colotes* saith, That to live according to *Democritus* and other philosophers opinions, is no life ... all, *Epicurus* was a very foole for following *Democritus* as he did, leading him to that doctrine whereby a man could not live. And first he reproveth him, for that in saying that every thing is no more such than such, he made a confusion of mans life. But so farre off was *Democritus* from holding the said opinion, namely, that nothing is rather such than such: that he oppugned *Protagoras* the Sophister for saying so, against whom he wrote many elegant commentaries, full of good arguments concluding the contrary: which our *Colotes* never seeing, nor so much as dreaming of, was much deceived in the right understanding of the mans words, and namely in one place where he directly saith and determineth that *to be* is no more than *quod sit*: in which place he nameth a body *to be*, and voidnesse *quod sit*: meaning thereby and giving us to understand, that voidnesse had a proper nature and subsistence of the owne, as well as a body. But he who is of opinion, that nothing is more such than such, followeth one of the decrees & sentences of *Epicurus*, wherein he delivered, that all apprehensions and imaginations that come by sense, are true. For if when two men give out and say, the one, that the wine is hard: the other, that it is sweet and pleasant, neither of them is deceived in his sense but speaketh true, why should the wine be rather harsh than sweet. And yet it is seene oftentimes that one and the same bath, some find to be hot, & others cold: for that, as these command cold water, so those bid hot water to be powdered in. It is said that a certaine dame or good wife of *Lacedaemon* went upon a time to visit *Berronice* the wife of king *Diocletianus*, but when they approached nere together, they turned away immediately one from the other: the one, as if it should seeme abhorring the smell of ranke butter, and the other offended with the perfume of a sweet ointment or pomander. If then the sense of one be not more true than the sense of another, probable it is and very like that both water is not more cold than hot, and that the ointment and the butter no more senting pleasantly than stinking strongly. For if a man say, that it seemeth thus to one, and so to another, he affirmeth before he is aware, that they be both the one and the other. And as for these symmetries, proportions and accords of the pores or passages in the organs of the senses, whereof they talke so much: as also the divers mixtures of seeds, which they say being disseminate and dispersed throughout all flavors, odors and colours, do move the sense: doe they not directly drive them to this point, that things are no more one than another? For such as thinke that the sense is deceived, for that they see contrary events and passions doe proceed from the same objects, they pacifie againe and save this objection, by teaching that whereas all things be mingled and compounded together, yet nevertheless this is more sortable and fitting to one and that to another: whereby there is not the contraction and apprehension of one and the same quality, neither doth

doth the object move all indifferently at once and alike in all parts, but every one meeting with those qualities onely, whereunto they have all sense proportionate, they doe not well to stand so stiffly upon this, that a thing is coloured or not coloured, white or not white, thinking to fortifie and establish their owne senses by destroying those of others. Whereas it behoveth neither to oppugne the senses, for they all touch and reach one quality or other (each one drawing as out of a lively and large fountaine, from this confused mixture, that which is fit and suitable) nor accuse and blame the whole, in touching onely the parts; ne yet thinke that all ought to suffer the same thing, considering that one suffereth by one qualitie and power of it, and another by another. So that now we are to consider and search, what men they be, who bring in this opinion, as touching things that be not such rather than others, rather than these who hold, that whatsoever is sensible is a confused mixture of all qualities together, like unto a wind-instrument composed for all kinds of melodious musick? But they confesse that all their rules are lost, and their judgement quite gone, if they admit any object in some sort pure and sincere, and allow not each one thing to be many.

See moreover in this place, what discourse and disputation *Polyanus* held with *Epicurus* in his banquet as touching the heat of wine. For when he demanded in this manner, How now *Epicurus*, say you not that wine doth heat? one made answer, That he affirmed not universally, that wine did cause heat: and a little after; For it seemeth that wine is not universally a heater, but rather, that such a quantitie of wine may be said to enchaife and set such an one in heat. And then adjoining the cause, he alledgeth the concurrences, compressions and dispersions of the Atomes; the commixtions and conjunctions of others, when the wine cometh to be mingled with the body: and then he addeth this conclusion; And therefore generally we are not to say that wine doth heat; but so much wine may well heat such a nature, and so disposed: whereas another nature it cooleth in such and such a quantity. For in such a masse, there be those natures and complexions, of which, cold if need were, may be composed, and being joined with others as occasion serveth, may cause a vertue refrigerative. And hereupō it is, that some are deceived, saying that wine universally is hot, and others againe, affirming it to be universally colde. He then who saith that the multitude and most part of men do erre, in holding that to be simple hot, which doth heat, and that likewise to be cold, which doth coole, is deceived himselfe, if he thinketh not, that it followeth by good consequence upon that which hee hath said, that one thing is more such than such. And afterwards he inferreth this speech, that many times wine entering into the body, bringeth with it neither a calefactive nor a refrigerative vertue; but that when the masse of the body is moved and stirred, so as there is a transposition made of the parts, then the Atomes which are effective of heat, concur together one while into one place, and through their multitude, set the body into an heat and inflammation; but another while by dispersing and severing themselves asunder, inferre coldnesse.

Moreover he dissembleth not but that he is proceeded thus farre, as to say, that whereas we take things to be, and doe call them bitter, sweet, purgative, soporiferous, and lightome, none of them all have any entier quality or perfect property to produce such effects, nor to be active more than passive, all while they be in the body, but that they be susceptible of sundry temperatures and differences. For even *Epicurus* himselfe, in his second booke against *Theophrastus*, in saying that colours are not naturall unto bodies, but are engendered according to certaine situations and positions, respective to the eye-sight of man, saith by this reason, that a bodie is no more destitute of colour, than coloured. And a little before, word for word he writeth thus: But over and beside all this, I know not how a man may say, that these bodies which be in the darke, have any colour at all; and yet oftentimes when the aire a like darke is spread round about, some there be who can distinguish the diversity of colours, others perceive nothing at all, by reason of their feeble & dim-sight. Again when we goe into a darke house, we see not our first entrance, any colours, but after we have bene there a pretie while, we perceive them well enough: And therefore we are to say, that each body is not rather coloured than not coloured. If then colour be a relative, and hath being in regard of some other things, white also is a relative, and blew likewise: if these, then sweet and bitter seemably: so that a man may truly affirme of every quality, that it is not more such, than not such. For to those who are so disposed, a thing shall be such, and to them that are not so affected, not such. So that *Colotes* doeth all to dath and betray both himselfe and his master also, with the same mire and dirt, wherein he saith those doe sticke who hold that things are not more such than such. What then doth this egregious clerke herein onely shew himselfe, according to the old proverbe:

*Aleech professing others for to cure,  
Whiles he himselfe is full of sores impure?*

No verily; but much more yet in his second reprehension, he chafeth ere he is aware *Epicurus* together with *Democritus* out of this life: for he giveth out that *Democritus* said, The atomes are unto the senses by a certaine law and ordinance colour, by the said law sweet, and by the same law bitter: Also that he who useth this reason, and holdeth this opinion, knoweth not himselfe, if he be a man? nor whether he be dead or alive? To contradict these speeches I wot not well how: but thus much I say, that this is as much inseparable from the sentences and doctrine of *Epicurus*, as figure and weight by their saying from the Atomes: for what saith *Democritus*? That there be substances in number infinite, which are called Atomes, because they cannot be divided: howbeit different, without qualitie and impassible, which doe moove and are caried, dispersed to and fro in the infinit voidnesse, which when they approach one another, or concur and meet together, or else be enterlaced & enfolded one about another, then appeareth of these thus heaped and hudled together, one thing water, another fire, another a plant, and another a man: That all these be Atomes still, termed by him *Ideæ*, and nothing else. For there can be no generation of that which is not; no more than that which once was can become nothing, by reason that these Atomes are so firme and solid, that they can neither change nor alter, nor suffer. And therefore neither can there be colour made of those things which have no colour, nor nature or soule of such as be without quality and are impassible. Whereupon *Democritus* is to be blamed in that he confesseth not those things that be accident unto principles, but supposeth those to be principles, whereto these happen: For he should not have put downe principles immutable: or at leastwise, when he had supposed them to be such, not to see withall, that therewith the generation and breeding of all qualities perisheth. And to denie an absurdity when one seeth it, is impudence in the highest degree. As for *Epicurus*, he saith verily, that he supposeth the same principles that *Democritus* doth, but he saith not, that colour sweet, white, and other qualities are by law and ordinance. Now if he confesse not that he saith, which neverthelesse he said, it is no other but an old custome of his, & that which he is wont to doe. For much like it is to this, that he will seeme to take away divine providence, and yet hee saith, that he alloweth pious and religious devotion toward God: And albeit he giveth out that for pleasure, he maketh choise of amity and friendship, yet for his friends sake he willingly endureth most grievous paines: also for all he supposeth the universall world to be infinit, yet hee taketh not away, above and beneath. But this is not like unto the manner of drinking one unto another at a table, where a man may take the cup in hand and drinke what he will, and so give backe the rest. But in this disputation especially, it behooved to remember well the notable Apophthegme or saying of the wise man. Of what things the beginnings are not necessarie, the ends and consequences fall out to be necessary. Necessary it was not therefore to suppose, or (to speake more truly) to wring from *Democritus* thus much, That Atomes be the principles of the whole and universall world: or when he had supposed and set downe this doctrine, and withall made a glorious shew of the first probabilities and faire appearances thereof, he should likewise have swallowed that which was troublesome therein, or shewed how those bodies which have no quality, could give unto others all sorts of qualities, onely by meeting and joining together. As for example, to speake of that which is next to hand, in that we call fire, whence came it, and how groweth it to these indivisible bodies called *Atomi*? if they neither had heat when they came, nor became hot after they met together? For the former presupposeth that they had some quality, and the latter, that they were fit to receive the same, and to suffer. But neither of them twaine ye say, fireth well with the Atomes, in that they be incorruptible. How then? did not *Plato*, *Aristotle* and *Xenocrates* produce golde, of that which was not golde; and stone of that which is not stone; yea, and many other things out of the four simple bodies called elements? Yes I wis: but together with the said bodies there concur immediately at the first, the principles also, to the generation of every thing, bringing with them great contributions, to wit, the first qualities which be in them: afterwards, when there come to meet in one and joine together, dry with moist, cold with heat, solid and firme with that which is gentle and soft, that is to say, active bodies with such as be apt to suffer, and to receive all change and alteration, then ensueth generation, which is the passage from one temperature to another: whereas this Atome or indivisible bodie being of it selfe naked and alone, is destitute of all qualitie and generative facultie; but when it hapneth to run upon others, it can make a sound and noise onely, by reason of the hardnesse and solidity thereof, but no other accident els: for strike they doe, and

are stricken againe continually : and so farre be they off from composing and making by this meanes a living creature, a soule, or a nature, that they are not able so much as to raise a round masse or heape of themselves together : for that as they jurre and beat one upon another, so they rebound and flie backe againe asunder. But *Colotes* verily, as if hee dealt with someking that was ignorant and unlettered, falleth againe upon *Empedocles*, breathing out these verses :

*One thing will I say more to thee :  
there is no true nature  
Of mortall wights : of grisly death,  
no seed nor geniture.  
A mixture onely first there is  
of things, then after all,  
The same grow to disunion :  
and this men Nature call.*

For mine owne part, I doe not see how this is repugnant and contrary unto life, among them especially who are of opinion that there is no generation of that which is not at all, nor corruption of that which is and hath being : but the meeting and union of such things as be, is called Generation ; the dissolution likewise and disunion of the same, is termed Death and corruption. For, that he taketh Nature for Generation, and that he meaneth so, himselfe hath declared, when he set Nature opposite unto Death. And if those live not nor can live, who put generation in union, and death in disunion ; what thing els doe these Epicureans ? And yet *Empedocles*, so fostering as it were and conjoining the elements by heats, moistnesse and humidities, giveth them in some sort a mixture and composition unitive : but they who drive together the Atomes which they say to be immutable, sturdy and impassible, compose nothing that proceedeth from them, but rather make many and those continuall percussions of them. For their interlacing which impeacheth dissolution, doth stil augment their collision : in such sort, as this is no mixture nor conglutination, but a certaine troublesome striving and combat, which according to them is called Generation. And these Atomes or indivisible bodies which meet together but a moiment, if one while they recule and start backe for the resistance of the shooke which they have given, and another while returne againe and recharge after the blow past, they are more than twice so long apart one from another without touching or approaching, so as nothing can be made of them, not so much as the very body without a soule. But sense, soule, understanding and prudence, there is no man able to thinke and imagine, would he never so faine, how they can be formed of voidnesse and of these Atomes : which neither of themselves apart have any qualitie, nor yet passion or alteration whatsoever, when they are met together, considering that this meeting is no incorporation nor such a coition as might make a mutuall mixture and conglutination, but rather jurs and reciprocall concussions : in such manner, as according to the doctrine of these folke, supposing as they doe, such void, impassible, invisable, undivine and unhelpful principles, yea & such as will not receive any mixture or incorporation whatsoever. To live and to be a creature animall, falleth to the ground and comes to nothing. How cometh it then, that they admit or allow Nature, Soule and Living creature ? Forsooth, even as they do 40 an oth, a vow, praier, sacrifice and adoration of the gods, to wit, in word and mouth onely ; pronouncing and naming in semblance and outward appearance, that which by their principles and doctrines they quite abolish and annul. And even so, that which is borne, they terme Nature, and that which is engendred, Generation : like as they who ordinarily call the frame of wood and timber, Wood it selfe, and those voices or instruments that accord together, Symphonie. And what should he meane to object such speech against *Empedocles* ? Why trouble we and weary our selves (quoth he) in being so busie about our owne selves, in desiring certaine things as we doe, and avoiding others ? for neither are we our selves, neither live we by using others. But be of good cheere (may one haply say) my loving and sweet *Colotarian* : have no feare man : no man hindreth you, but that you may regard your selfe, teaching that the nature 50 of *Colotes*, is *Colotes* himselfe and nothing els : neither that you need or desire to use certaine things. As for these things among you, they be pleasures : shewing withall, that it is not the nature of tarts, cakes and marchpanes, nor of odors, nor of love sports that you desire, but tarts and marchpanes themselves, sweet perfumes and women they be that you would have. For the Grammarian who saith, the force and strength of *Hercules* is *Hercules*, denieth not thereby that *Hercules* is : nor those who say that symphonies, accords or opinations are bare prolations or pronunciations, affirme not therewithall, that there be no sounds, nor voices, nor opinions : forasmuch

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forasmuch as there be some, who abolishing the soule and prudence, seeme not to take away either to live or to be prudent. And when *Epicurus* saith, The nature of things that have being, are the bodies and the void place of them, doe we take his words, as if he meant that nature were somewhat els than the things that be : or that things being, do shew their nature and nothing els ? even as for examples sake, the nature of voidnesse, he is wont to call voidnesse it selfe : yea, and I assure you, the universall world it selfe, the nature of all. Now if a man should demand of him : How now *Epicurus*, say you indeed that this is voidnesse, & that is the nature of voidnesse ? Yes verily, will he answer againe, but this communication of names the one for another, is taken up and in use. And in truth, that the law and custome warranteth this maner of speech, I also avouch.

And what other thing I pray you hath *Empedocles* done than taught that nature is nought else but that which is bred and engendred, nor death any thing but that which dieth ? But like as Poets otherwhiles by a trope or figurative speech representing as it were the image of things say thus :

*Debate, tumult, uprore and stomacke fell,  
With deadly fute and malice there did dwell.*

Even so the common sort of men doe use the termes of generation and corruption in things that are contracted together and dissolved. And so farre was he from stirring or removing those things that be, or opposing himselfe against things of evident apperance, that he would 20 not so much as cast one word out of the accustomed use : but so far forth as any figurative frawd might hurt or endamage things, he rejected and tooke the same away, rendring againe the usuall and ordinary signification to words, as in these verses :

*And when the light is mixed thus  
with aire in heavenly sky,  
Some man is made or wilde beast : kinde,  
or birds aloft that flie :  
Or else the shrubs : and this rightly  
is clep'd their geniture,  
But death, when as dissolved is  
the foresaid fast joincture.*

And yet I say my selfe, that *Colotes* having alledged thus much, knew not that *Empedocles* did not abolish men, beasts shrubs or birds in as much as he saith that all these are composed and finilished of the elements mixed together : But teaching and shewing them how they were deceived, who finde fault with naming this composition a certaine nature or life : and the dissolution unhappy fortune and death to be avoided, he annulled not the ordinary and usuall use of words in that behalfe. For mine owne part I thinke verily that *Empedocles* doth not alter in these places the common maner of pronouncing and using the said words : but as before it was related, did really as of a different minde as touching the generation of things that had no being, which some call nature. Which he especially declareth in these verses.

*Fooles as they be of small conceit,  
for farre they cannot see,  
Who hope that things which never were,  
may once engendred be,  
Or sense that those which are shall die,  
and perish utterly.*

For the verses are thundred out and do sound aloud in their hearing who have any eares at all, that he doth not abolish generation absolutely, but that alone which is of nothing : nor yet corruption simply, but that which is a totall destruction, that is to say, a reduction to nothing. For unto a man who were not willing, after such a savage, rude and brutish maner but more gently 50 to cavil, the verses following after might give a colourable occasion to charge *Empedocles* with the contrary, when he saith thus :

*No man of sense and judgement sound,  
would once conceive in minde  
That whiles we living here on earth,  
both good and bad doe finde,  
So long onely we being have :  
(yet this men life doe call)*

And



*And birth before, or after death,  
we nothing are at all.*

Which words verily are not uttered by a man, who denieth them their being who are borne and live, but rather by him who thinketh that they who are not yet borne, as also those that be already dead have their being. And even so Colotes doth not altogether reprove him for this: but he faith that according to his opinion we shall never be sicke nor wounded. And how is it possible that he who faith that men before life and after life, are accompanied with good and bad indifferently, should not leave for them that be alive the power to suffer? What be those then, good Colotes, who are accompanied with this immunity, that they can neither be hurt nor diseased? Even your selfe and such as you are, who be altogether made of an Atome and voidnesse, for by your owne saying, neither the one nor the other hath any sense. But no force. For I here of us harme yet. Mary here is the griefe, that by this reason you have nothing in you to cause delight and pleasure, seeing that an Atome is not capab[e] of such things as moove pleasure: and voidnesse is unapt to be affected by them. But for as much as Colotes for his part would needs immediatly after Democritus seeme to interre and bury Parmenides for ever, and my selfe in putting off a little and passing over the defence of Parmenides, have betwene both taken in hand the maintenance of that which was delivered by Empedocles, because me thought they did more properly adhere and hang to those first imputations, let us now come againe to Parmenides. And whereas Colotes chargeth him with setting abroad certaine shamefull sophistries yet hath the man thereby made friendship nothing lesse honourable nor voluptuousnesse and sensuality more audacious and unbridled. He hath not bereft honesty of that attractive property to draw unto it selfe, nor of the gift of being venerable of it selfe: neither hath he troubled & confounded the opinions as touching the gods. And in saying that All is One, I see not how he hath hindered our life. For when Epicurus himselfe faith, that [All] is infinite, ingenerable and incorruptible, that it cannot be augmented nor diminished, he speaketh and disputeth of All, as of some one thing. And in the beginning of his treatise concerning this matter, having delivered that the nature of All things being, consisteth in small indivisible bodies which he termeth Atomes, and in voidnesse: hee made a division as it were of one thing into two parts: whereof the one in truth is not subsistent, but termed by you impalpable void and bodilesse: whereby it cometh to passe, that even with you, All cometh to be but One: unlessse you will use vaine words and void offense, speaking of voidnesse, and fighting in vaine, as with a shadow, against those ancient Philosophers.

But these Atomes you will say, are according to the opinion of Epicurus in number infinite, and every thing that appereth unto us, ariseth from them. Beholde now what principles you put downe for generation, to wit, infinity and voidnesse: whereof the one is without action, impassible and bodilesse: the other, namely, infinity, disorderly, void of reason, incomprehensible, dissolving and confounding it selfe, for that by reason of multitude it cannot be circumscribed nor contained within limits. But Parmenides hath not abolished either fire or water, or any rocke, no nor the cites (as Colotes faith) inhabited as well in Europe as in Asia, considering that he hath both \*instituted an orderly dispose & digestion: and also tempering the elements together, to wit, light and darke, of them and by them absolutely finisheth all things visible in the world, for written he hath at large of Earth, of Heaven, of Sunne, Moone and starres: as also, spoken much of mans generation: and being as he was a very ancient Philosopher, he hath left nothing in Physiologie unsaid, and whereof he hath not delivered both by word and writing his owne doctrine not borrowed else where, passing over the repugnance of other received principall opinions. Moreover he of all others first, and even before Socrates himselfe observed and understood, that in nature there is one part subject to opinion, and another subject to intelligence. And as for that which is opinable, inconstant it is and uncertaine, wandering also and carried away with sundry passions and mutations, apt to diminish and paire: to increase also and growe, yea and to be diversly affected, and not ever after one sort disposed to the same in sense alike. As for the intelligible part, it is of another kinde:

*For found it is, whole and not variable,  
Constant and sure, and ingenerable.*

as he himselfe faith, alwaies like to it selfe & perdurable in the owne nature & essence. But Colotes like a lycopilt, cavilling at him, & catching at his words, without regard of the matter, not arguing against his reasons indeed, but in words onely, affirmeth flatly, that Parmenides overthroweth all things in one word, by supposing that All is One. But he verily on the contrary side abo-

lisheth

lisheth neither the one nature nor the other, but rendreth to ech of them that which is meet, and apperteineth thereto. For the intelligible part he rangeth in the Idea of One, and of That which is, saying that it is and hath being, in regard of eternitie and incorruption: that it is one: because it alwaies resembleth it selfe, and receiveth no diversity. As for that part which is Sensible, he placeth it in the ranke of that which is uncerteine, disorderly and ever mooving. Of which two, we may see the distinct judgement in the soule, by these verses:

*The one reverts to truth which is sincere  
Persuasive, breeding science pure and cleere.*

For it concerneth that which is intelligible, and evermore alike and in the same sort.

*The other rests on mens opinions vaine,  
Which breed no true beleefe but uncertaine.*

For that it is conversant in such things as receive al manner of changes, passions, & mutabilities. And verily how possibly he should admit and leave unto us sense and opinion, and not withall allow that which is sensible and opinable, a man is not able to shew. But forasmuch as to that which is existent indeed, it appertaineth to remaine in being, and for that things sensible, one while are, and another while are not, but passe continually from one being to another, and alter their estate, inasmuch as they deserve rather some other name than this, of being: This speech as touching All, that it should be one, is not to take away the plurality of things sensible, but to shew the difference betwene them and those that be intelligible, which Plato in his treatise of Ideas minding to declare more plainly, gave Colotes some advantage for to take holde of him. And therefore me thinks it good reason to take before me all in one traine, that also which he hath spoken against him. But first let us consider the diligence, together with the deepe and profound knowledge of this Philosopher Plato, considering that Aristotle, Xenocrates, Theophrastus, and all the Peripateticks have followed his doctrine. For in what blinde corner of the world uninhabitable wrot he his booke? that you Colotes in heaping up together these criminations upon such personages, should never light upon their works, nor take in hand the books of Aristotle as touching the heaven and the soule: nor those compositions of Theophrastus against the Naturalists, nor that Zoroastres of Heraclitus, one booke of Hell and infernall spirits, another of Doubts and questions Naturall: that also of Diogenes concerning the soule. In all which books they are contradictory and repugnant, in the maine and principall points of Naturall philosophy unto Plato? And verily the prince of all other Peripateticks, Strato, accordeth not in many things with Aristotle, and mainetaineth opinions cleane contrary unto those of Plato, as touching Motion, Understanding, the Soule, and Generation. And in conclusion, he holdeth that the very world is not animal: and whatsoever is naturall is consequent unto that which is casuall, and according to fortune. As for the Idea for which Aristotle every where seemeth to censure Plato, and mooveth all manner of doubts concerning them in his Ethicks or morall discourses, in his Physicks, in his Exotericall dialogues, he is thought of some to dispute and discourse with a more contentions and opinative spirit than became a Philosopher, as if he propounded to himselfe for to convell and debase the Philosophy of Plato, so farre was hee from following him. What impudent and licentious rashnesse therefore is this, that one having never known nor seene what these learned clerks had written, and what their opinions were, should coine and devise out of his owne fingers ends, and fallily charge upon them, those things which never came into their heads, and in perswading himselfe that he reproveth and refuteth others, to bring in a prooffe and evidence written with his owne hand, for to argue and convince himselfe of ignorance, or rash and audacious impudence, saying, that those who contradict Plato, agree with him, and they that repugne against him doe follow him? But Plato (quoth he) hath written: That horses are in vaine counted by us horses, and men likewise. And in what odde corner of Platoes works hath Colotes found this hidden? As for us we reade in all his books, that horses be horses, and men be men, and that fire even by him is esteemed fire; for hee holdeth every one of these things to be sensible and opinable, and so he nameth them. But this our trian man Colotes, as though hee wanted never a jot of the highest pitch of sapience and knowledge, presumeth forsooth and taketh it to be all one and the same, to say, A man is not, and A man is that, which hath no being. But Plato thinketh that there is a wonderfull great difference betwene these termes, Not to be: at all, and To be: that which is not: for the former importeth a nullity and abolishment of all substance; and the other sheweth the difference of that which is participated and that which doth

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participate:

\* Colotes seem  
to divide  
this & reade  
Dionysius  
that is to say,  
hath made  
swifter the  
world.

participate: which distinction and diversity they who came after, have reduced onely unto a different ranke, of kinds, formes, and of certeine common and proper qualities or accidents, but higher than so they mounted not, falling downe upon some doubts and difficulties more reasonable: for the same reason and proportion there is betwene the thing participated and participating, as is betwene the cause and the matter, the originall and the image, the power and the passion. Wherein principally differeth that which is by it selfe, and ever the same, from that which is by another, and never keepeth one state: for that the one never shall be, nor ever was not exsistent: and for this cause, it is truly and altogether subsistent; whereas the other hath not so much as that being constant, which it hapneth to participate from another, but doth degenerate and grow out of kinde, through imbecillitie; in that the matter doth glide and slide about the forme, receiving many passions and mutations bending toward the image of subsistence, in such sort, as continually it moveth and shaketh to and fro. Like as therefore he who saith, that *Plato* is not the image of *Plato*, taketh not away the sense and substance of an image, but sheweth the difference betwene that which is of it selfe, and the other which is in regard of it: even so they abolish not the nature, the use nor sense of men, who say, that every one of us by participating the *Idea* of a certeine common substance, is become the image of that which giveth similitude and affinity unto our generation. For neither he who saith, that ironed bar is not fire, or the Moone, the Sunne, but (to use the very words of *Parmenides*)

*A flame that beares a borrowed light,  
Wandering about the earth by night,*

doth take away the use of a burning gleed, or the nature of the moone: but if he should affirme, that it were no bodie nor illuminate, then he went against the senses, as one who admitted neither body nor living animall, nor generation nor sense. But he that by opinion imagineth these things to have no subsistence but by participation, and withall, how farre they are short and distant from that which hath always being; and which gave them the power to be, considereth not amisse the sensible, but is dim-sighted in the intelligible: neither doth he annihilate and overthrow the passions which arise and appeare in us, but sheweth unto them that are docible and follow him, that there be other more firme and stable things than these, as touching essence, for that they neither are engendered nor perish, nor yet suffer ought: but teacheth more cleerely & purely, noting and touching the difference by the very termes and names, calling the one for so exsistent, & the other breeding or ingendered. The same usually befalleth also to our late modern writers, who deprive many great and weighty things of this denomination of subsistence, as namely, Voidnesse, Time, Place, and generally, the whole kinde of those speeches wherein are comprised all things true. For these things being, they say are not; and yet they say some are; yea and use the same aswell in their life as their doctrine and philosophy, as having subsistence & being. But I would gladly demand of this accuser of ours himselfe, whether he and his fellows in their affairs perceive not this difference, whereby some things be permanent and immutable in their substances, like as they affirme of their Atomes, that they be at all times and continually after one and the same sort, by reason of their impassibility and stiffe soliditie: whereas all things compounded and compact of them, be flexible, pliable, mutable, breeding and perishing: for that an infinite number of images doe passe and flow from them evermore, yea and an innumerable sort of other things, by all likelihood, from out of the ambulant aire do redow and have recourse unto them, for to supply and fill up the heape still, which masse is become much altered, diversified and transvalsed as it were by this permutation, in that the Atomes which are in the bottome of the said masse can never cease nor give over stirring, but reciprocally beat one upon another, as they themselves affirme. So there is in things such a difference of substance as this: and yet *Epicurus* is more wise and learned than *Plato*, in that he teacheth all things equally subsisting, Voidnesse impalpable, the Body solid and resisting, the Principles, things compounded: and for that hee thinketh that the eternall doeth not so much as participate in the common substance with that which is ingendered; the immortal with that which doth perish; the natures impassible, perdurable, immutable, which never can fall or be deprived from their being, with those which have their essence in suffering and changing, and never can continue in one and the same state. Now were it so, that *Plato* had most justly of all men in the world deserved to be condemned for his error herein, yet my good friend, there should no imputation be charged upon him by these our great masters here, who speake purer and finer Greeke and more exquisitely than he, but onely for confounding some words and speaking improperly; nor

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to be blamed for abolishing the matters themselves, or taking us out of this life, because he termed them ingendered, and not exsistent, as these men do.

But seeing wee have passed over *Socrates* after *Parmenides*, wee must now take his defence in hand. *Colotes* then began directly at the first (as we say in the common proverbe) to remove him from the sacred line or tribe: and having related how *Charephon* had brought an answer from the Oracle at *Delfos*, as touching *Socrates*, which we all know to be so, saith thus: As for this discourse and narration (quoth he) of *Charephon*, for that it is altogether odious, captious, sophistical, and full of untrueth, we will overpasse. Then is *Plato* likewise (to say nothing of others) odious and absurd, who hath put the said answer downe in writing. Then are the Lacedaemonians more odious and intolerable, who keepe that Oracle delivered, as touching *Lycurgus*, among their most ancient writings and authentical records. Semblably, the discourse and narration of *Themistocles* was a sophistical and counterfeit device, whereby he perswaded the Athenians to abandon their citie, and so in a navall battell defeated the barbarous prince *Xerxes*. And even so all the noble lawgivers and founders of *Greece* are to be counted odious and intolerable, who established the most part of their temples, their sacrifices and solemn feasts, by the answer from the Oracle of *Apollo*. But if it be so, that the Oracle brought from *Delfos* as touching *Socrates*, a man ravished with a divine and heavenly zeale to vertue; whereby he was declared and pronounced wise, were odious, fained and sophistical: by what name shall we truly and justly call your cries, your shouts, your hideous noises, your applauses and clapping of hands, your adorations and canonizations wherewith you exalt and celebrate him, who incited and exhorted you to continuall pleasures one after another, who in one of his letters sent unto *Anaxarchus* hath written thus: As for me, I invite and call you to continuall pleasures, and not to these vaine and unprofitable vertues, such as have nothing but turbulent hopes of uncerteine fruits. And yet *Metodorus* writing unto *Timarchus*, saith thus unto him, Come on (quoth he) let us do some goodly and honest thing for those who are faire and beautifull, so that we be not plunged in these semblable and reciprocal affections, but retiring anon out of this base and terrestriall life, let us advance our selves to these true, holy and divine ceremonies and mysteries of *Epicurus*. And even *Colotes* himselfe hearing *Epicurus* one day discomfiting of Naturall things, fell downe at his feet immediately, and tooke holde of his knees, as if hee had beene a god. And *Epicurus* likewise taking no small pride and glorie herein, writeth thus unto him againe: For as if you adored that which then was delivered by mee, there came upon you suddenly a desire and zeale proceeding from no cause in nature, to come toward mee, to prostrate your selfe upon the ground, to clip and claspe my knees, and to use those gestures unto me, which ordinarily they doe, who worship the gods and pray unto them: So that you have (quoth he) made mee also reciprocally to desire and adore you. Certes I could finde in my heart to pardon them, who say they would not spare for any cost, but give they cared not what for a table or picture, wherein they might see lively represented to the cie this story depicted; namely, how the one lieth prostrate at the others feet, and embraceth his knees: who mutually againe adoreth him, and maketh his devout prayers unto him. And yet this devotion and service of *Colotes*, how well soever it was by him ordered and precisely observed, reaped not the condigne fruit thereof: for he was not by him declared A wise man: onely this blessing he had from him againe, Goe thy waies and walke immortal, and repute us also semblably immortal. These men knowing full well in their owne consciences that they use such foolish words, ridiculous jestures, and fond passions, yet forsooth they are so bold as to call other men odious. And *Colotes* verily having given us a taste of his goodly first fruits, & wise positions as touching Naturall senses, namely, That we do eate our viands and cates, nor hay or forage, and that when the rivers be high, wee ferry over them in botes, but when they be low and passable, we wade easily on foot through the fould, exclaimeth and crieth out afterwards: You use *Socrates* vaine speeches, you intertaine those who come and speake unto you with one thing in word, and do practise others cleane contrary in deed. And say you so *Colotes*? First I would gladly know wherein the words of *Socrates* were vaine & arrogant, considering that he was wont ordinarily to say, that he knew nothing at all; but was a learner continually, and went to search and finde out the trueth: But if haply you should light upon such speeches from *Socrates* his mouth, as those were which *Epicurus* wrote unto *Idomeneus*, send us then the first fruits, for the furniture of our sacred body, for us (I say) & our children: For thus it comes upon me to speake, what more insolent and sottish words could you devise to speake? And yet, that *Socrates* never said other wise than he did, he hath given us marvellous proofes in the battell of

*Delium*, and in that of *Potidea*: That which he did during the time of the thirty tyrants against *Archelaus* and against the people of *Athens*: his poverty; his death; his carriage and demeanour in all these times and occasions, be they not answerable every way to the sayings and doctrines of *Socrates*? This had been a true proof indeed, to have shewed that hee lived and did otherwise than he spake and taught, in case he had proposed the end of man to be a joyfull and pleasant life, and then lived as he did. Thus much as touching the reprochfull termes that hee hath given *Socrates*. Moreover, he perceiveth not how himselfe is attaint even in those points which he reprooveth and objected as touching things \* evident and apparent. For one of the positions and decrees of *Epicurus* is this, That no person ought irrevocably to beleieve or be perfwaded to a thing, but onely the wife man. Now seeing that *Colotes* became not one of the 10 Sages, for all that adoration & worship which he performed unto *Epicurus*, let him demand first and formost these questions, How it is, that he falleth to cates, and not to hay, when he hath need of victuals? and why he casteth a robe about his owne body, and not upon a pillar? considering that he is not assuredly perfwaded, that cates be cates, or that a robe is a robe: But if he doe so, namely, feed upon viands, and wear a robe: if he venture not to wade through rivers when they be risen and high; if he flee from serpents and wooves, being not in a sure beleefe that any thing is such as it seemeth, but doing every thing according as it appeereth unto him; the opinion as touching senses, would not hinder *Socrates* at all, but that he might likewise use that which seemeth not him. For bread seemed not bread unto *Colotes*, nor hay to be hay, because he had read those holy canons and sacred rules of *Epicurus* which fell from heaven 20 out of *Jupiters* lap: and *Socrates* upon a vaine arrogance of his owne, conceived an imagination of bread that it was hay, and of hay that it was bread. For these wise men heere, have better opinions and rules to goe by than we. But to have sense, and to receive an impression in the imagination of things evident, is common as well to ignorant persons as to Sages, for that it proceedeth from causes that need no discourse of reason. But that position, that our naturall senses are not certeine nor sufficient enough to proove a thing, and cause beleefe, is no hindrance, but that every thing may appeere unto us: but when we use the senses in our actions, according to that which appeereth, it permitteeth us not to trust the, as if they were every way true and without error: for that sufficeth in them, which is necessary and commodious for use, because there is nothing better. As for Science, knowledge, and perfection, which the soule of 30 a Philosopher desireth to have of every thing, the senses have just none. But of these matters which *Colotes* hath charged upon many others, he will give us occasion else where to discourse thereof.

Furthermore, that wherein he doth vilipend and mocke *Socrates* most, in that he demandeth the question, What is man? and in a youthfull bravery, and childishly as he saith, affirmeth that he knoweth not, it is evident that even hee who derideth him, never came himselfe where it was, nor attained thereto: whereas *Heracitus* contrariwise, as one who had done a great and worthy matter, said thus, I have beene seeking out my selfe. And of all those sentences which are written over the gates of *Apollons* temple at *Delphos*, this was thought to be most heavenly and divine, Know thy selfe: which gave unto *Socrates* occasion first to doubt and enquire thereof; according as *Aristotle* hath set downe in his Platonique questions. But this fourth seemeth unto *Colotes* to be a foolish and ridiculous thing. I marvel then why he mocketh not his master likewise for doing so, as often as he writeth and discourseth as touching the substance of the soule, and the beginning of that confused masse: for if that which is compounded of both, as they themselves doe teach, to wit, of such a body & soule, be man, he who searcheth the nature of the soule, searcheth consequently the nature of man, even from his principall & chiefe principle. Now that the same is hardly by reason to be comprehended, but by the outward sense altogether incomprehensible, let us learne not of *Socrates*, a vaine glorious man & sophistical disputer, but rather of these wise men here, who doe forge & frame the substance of the soule so farre onely as to the faculties extending to the flesh, whereby the giveth heat, 40 softnesse & strength to the bodie, of I wot not what heat and aireous spirit, never wading so far as to that which is the principall, but faint & give over in the way. For that faculty whereby the judgeth, whereby he remembreth, whereby he loveth or hateth, and in one word, that reason which wisely foreseeth & discourseth, he saith, is made of a certaine quality which is namelesse. Now that this namelesse thing is a mere confession of shameful ignorance, in them that say they cannot name that, which indeed they are not able to comprehend and understand, we know well enough. But this also may well deserve pardon, as they are wont to say. For it seemeth that this 15

is no small and light matter neither a thing that every one can finde out and reach unto, being deeply settled in the bottom of some by-place far remote and in some obscure and hidden corner, seeing that among so many words and termes which be in use, there is not one significant enough and sufficient to declare and explaine the same. And therefore *Socrates* was no fool nor loo, for seeking and searching what himselfe was, but they rather be dolts who go about enquiring after any other thing before this, the knowledge whereof is so necessary and hard to be found. For hardly may he hope to attaine unto the knowledge of any other thing, who is not able to understand the principall part of himselfe. But say we should graunt and yeeld thus much unto him, as to confesse that there is nothing so vaine, so unprofitable and so odious, as 10 for a man to seeke himselfe, we will be so bolde as to demand, what confusion of mans life this should be, or how it is that a man cannot continue in life, when he comes to discourse & reason thus with himselfe, Who and what mought I be? Am I after the maner of some composition, confected and mingled of soule and body? or rather a soule making use of the body, as the horseman doth of his horse? and not a subject composed of horse and man? or whether the principall part of the soule whereby we understand, we discourse, we reason and doe every action, is every each one of us? and all the parts besides both of soule and body, be nothing but the organs and instruments serving to this puillance and faculty? Or to conclude, whether there be no substance of the soule apart, but onely a temperature and complexion of the body, so disposed, that it hath power to understand and to live. But *Socrates* herein saith he doth not over- 20 throw the life of man, considering that all naturall philosophers doe handle this argument, May they be those monstrous questions that trouble the common-wealth, and turne all upside downe, which are in the Dialogue *Phaedrus*, wherein he thinketh that he ought to examine and consider himselfe, namely whether he be a beast more savage, more subtil, cautelous and furious than ever was that *Typhon*: or rather some animal more tame and gentle by nature, and endued with a portion more divine, and a condition nothing proud and insolent. But yet by these discourses and reasonings he overturneth not the life of man, but he chafeth out of it presumption & arrogance, proud and puffed up opinions and vaine overweenings of a mans selfe. For this is that fell *Typhon*, which your good master and teacher hath made to be so great in your, warning as he doth both against the gods and all good and godly men.

30 After he hath done with *Socrates* and *Plato*, he falleth in hand with the Philosopher *Stilpo*. As for the true doctrines and good discourses of the man, whereby he ordered and governed himselfe, his native country, his friends, & those kings and princes who affected him and made good account of him, he hath not written a word: neither what gravity and magnanimity was in his heart and the same accompanied with mildenesse, moderation, and modesty: but of those little sentences or propositions which *Stilpo* was wont to use & cast forth in meriment against the Sophisters, when he was disposed to laugh and play with them, he made mention of one: and without alledging any reason against it or solving the subtilty thereof, he made a tragodie, and kept a soule stirre with him about it, saying that by him the life of man and the whole course of this world was subverted: because he said, that one thing could not be affirmed and ve- 40 rified of another. For how should we live (quoth *Colotes*) if we may not say a good man, or a man is a captain, but we must pronounce apart, man is man, good is good, and captain is a captain: neither ten thousand horsemen, nor a fenced city, but horsemen be horsemen, ten thousand be ten thousand, and so of the rest? But tell me I pray you, what man ever lived the worse for saying thus? And who is he who having heard these words and this maner of arguing, did not conceive and understand straight waies that it was the speech of a man disposed to make some game and disport leamedly, or to propose unto others this Logically quill for exercise sake? It is not *Colotes*, such a greivous scandall and hainous matter as you would make it, to say man is not good or horsemen be not ten thousand: marry to affirme that god is not god as you and the rest doe, who will not confesse that there is a *Jupiter* president over generation, or a *Ceres* that giveth lawes, or a *Neptune* superintendent over plants, is a dangerous point. This is the separation of names and words that is pernicious, this filtheth our life with contemptuous impiety, Athisme & dissolute audaciousnesse: For when you plucke from the gods these attributes & appellations that essentially be linked & tied to them, you abolish therewithall holy sacrifices, divine mysteries, sacred processions and solemnities: for unto whom shall we performe the nuptiall sacrifices called *Proteleia*, unto whom shall we offer the oblations for health named *Soteria*? How shall we accomplish the rites of *Phosphoria*, the Bacchanals, and the ceremonies going before marriage, if we leave not any priests of *Bacchus*, if we admitte not *Phosphori Præeresii*, 50 and

and the saving gods *Soters*? For I tel you, this toucheth the maine & principal points, this breedeth error in the things themselves & not about certaine bare voices in the *Syntaxes* and construction of words or use of termes. Now if these be matters that trouble and subvert this life of ours, who be they that offend and be delinquent more in their phrase & language than you? who making prepositions to be the only substance of speech, abolish altogether all simple voices, & admitting such as come next hand, you abolish in the meane while the things by them signified; whereby all discipline, doctrines, erudition, anticipations, intelligences, inclinations and assents are performed, and holde generally that all these be just nothing. But as for *Stilpo* thus the case standeth: If we affirme of an horse, to runne: he doth not say that the thing affirmed which the Logicians call *Predicatum*, is all one with the *Subiectum*, of which it is affirmed; but 10 that the essentiall definition of a man is one, and that of good is another; as also, to be an horse is different from to be running: For if we asked the definition of the one and the other, we will not give the same for both; and in that regard, they doe amisse who affirme the one of the other. For if a man and Good were all one: likewise, an horse, and to runne were both one: how cometh it to passe that the terme Good is affirmed of some meate, drogue, or medicine, and to run likewise, of a lion and a dog? But if the *Predicatum* or thing affirmed be different, then we doe not well, to say, Good man, or the horse runneth. Now if *Stilpo* in these matters doe exorbitate and be foully deceived, admitting no copulation at all nor connexion of such things as are said to be in or about the subject, together with the said subject it selfe: but every one of them if it be not absolutely the very same with that unto which it hapneth, hee thinketh not that the same 20 ought to be said and affirmed thereof as an accident: and if therein he be offended with some termes, and go against the ordinary custome of speech, he doth not therefore straightwaies subvert and overthrow mans life, nor humane affaires, as all the world may see well enough.

*Colotes* now having done with the ancient Philosophers, turneth himselfe to those of his owne time, and yet he nameth not one. Howbeit, he should have done better to have argued atwell against these moderne as those ancients, by name, or not at all to have named those of old time. But he who so often hath pricked *Socrates*, *Plato* & *Parmenides* with his pen, sheweth plainly, that it was for meere cowardise that he durst not be seene to deale with the living; and not upon any modesty or reverence that he spared their names, considering that he used them, who were farre more excellent than they, in no good sort and respect. His meaning was I 30 suspect and guesse, to assaile the Cyrenaiques first, and then in a second place the Academicke, sectaries of *Arcesilaus*: for as these were the Philosophers who doubted of all things and yielded their assent in nothing at all; so the other reposing passions and imaginations in themselves, thought that the beleefe proceeding from thence, was not sufficient to assure & confirme things, but faring like unto those who are besieged within a citie, abandoning and forsaking all without, they keepe themselves shut within their passions, using this word ordinarily. It seemeth: and of things without, affirming and pronouncing, It is. And therefore (quoth *Colotes*) they cannot live nor have the use of things. And then, playing his part as it were in a Comedie: These men (saith he) denie that a man, a horse and a wall are; but they say, that they become 40 walles, horses and men; abusing first and formost cautelously and wickedly these termes, like slanderous and foule mouthed lycophants: for surely this is an ordinary cast and usuall with these men. But it behooved to declare the thing it selfe, according as they teach: for they affirme, that things become sweet, wax bitter, prove light some, or grow darke, when ech of these hath the proper efficacye of these passions in it selfe naturally inbred, and such as can not be distracted from it. But if honie be said sweet, an olive branch bitter, haile colde, meere wine hot, the aire of the night darke; there be many beasts, many things, and many men, that will resist the contrary: whilst some are offended with honie and abhorre it, others are delighted with the taste of the olive branch; some are burnt and singed by haile, others cooled with wine; some can not abide the light of the Sun but their sight therewith is dazled and dimmed, others againe 50 see well enough by night. And therefore opinion persisting still and abiding in the passions, keepeth it selfe from offence and error: but going forth once, and busily judging or pronouncing of things exterior, it troubleth many times it selfe, and repugneth with others, who of the same objects receive contrary passions, and different imaginations. And as for *Colotes*, he resembleth for all the world young children who newly begin to learne their A. B. C. for being used to pronounce and name the letters which they see engraven in their owne baldeaders, when they finde them written elsewhere, they sticke at them, and are much troubled: and even so the very words and sayings which he approoveth, praiseth and embraceth in the writings of *Epi-*

*curus*, hee will not understand nor acknowledge, when they are uttered by others. For when there is presented unto us one image round and another broken, they who say that the sense verily is truly informed and hath a true impression, but will not suffer us to pronounce that the tower is round, but the oare broken, surely they confirme thereby that their passions be their owne fancies and imaginations, but they will not avow and confesse, that the things without are so affected. But as they before are to say, that they be not horse or wall, but become horse and wall; even so of necessitie we must say, that the sight is imprinted with a round figure or triangular with three unequall sides, but not that a tower is necessarily either triangular in that sort or round: for that the image wherewith the sight is affected may well be broken, but the oare 10 from whence proceedeth the image is not broken. Seeing then there is a difference between the passion and the subject without, either we must say that the beleefe abideth in the passion, or els that the being which is affirmed by the apparence is convinced of untruth, and not found to be so. And whereas they cry out and be offended and angry about the sense, they doe not say that the thing without is hot, but that the passion in the sense is so: is it not all one with that which is spoken as touching the taste, as if one should say, that the thing without is not sweet, but that it is some passion and motion about the sense, that is become such? And he who saith, that hee apprehendeth the imagination of a mans forme, but perceiveth not that it is a man, whereupon hath he taken occasion to say so? Came it not from them who say that they receive an imagination and apprehension of a bowing forme and figure, but the sight 20 doth not affirme that it is bowing and bending, neither that it is round, but some imagination and impression about the sense is become round? True it is will some one say: but as I approach neere unto a tower, or else touch an oare, I will pronounce and affirme, that the one is straight, and the other hath many angles and many faces: But he when he shall come neere, will confesse and say that it seemeth so and that it appeareth such unto him, but no more. O yes good sir, and more than so, when hee seeth and observeth the consequence hereupon, namely, that every fantasie and imagination is feebly of it selfe sufficient to procure beleefe, and none at all, in regard of another; but be all of equall condition. But this your opinion is come just to nothing, namely, that fantasies be all true, and none false and incredible, in case you thinke that these ought to pronounce affirmatively of that 30 which is without, and beleefe not the other a farre off no farther than in that which they suffer: for if they be of equall condition and beleefe alike, when they are neere, and when they be far off, meet it is and just, that either all indifferently or else not these, should have the affirmative judgement following upon them, to pronounce, that a thing is. But if there be a difference of passion in things that be neere, & those which are farther off, then is it false that neither imagination nor sense is one more expresse and evident than another: like unto those which they call attellations which are nothing to the sense, but unto the opinion: so that in following the, they would have their followers to affirme and pronounce of exterior things, attributing to opinion the judgement, that a thing is, and to sense, the passion that appeareth: whereby they transport the judgement from that which is alwaies true, unto that which falleth oftentimes to be so, 40 But what need is there at this time to shew, the confusion and contradiction that is herein? But it seemeth that the reputation of *Arcesilaus*, who of all Philosophers in his time was best beloved and most esteemed, was his fittall thorn in *Epicurus* his sides; but troubled him beyond all measure: For he giveth out of him, that delivering as he did nothing of his owne invention he imprinted in the minds of ignorant and unlettered men a certaine opinion and conceit of him, that he was a deep philosopher and very well seene in all kinde of literature. But so far was *Arcesilaus*, from affecting any glorie & reputation in the world by broching novelties or strange opinions and derogating from the auncient ascribing anything of theirs to himselfe, that the Sophisters in his daies reprooved and charged him for flustering upon *Socrates*, *Plato*, *Parmenides* and *Heracitus* the opinions as touching the retention of assent and the incomprehensibility of things 50 who indeed never sought nor desired so much at his hands, onely because he would referre the same unto such famous personages, the better to be confirmed by the authority of their name. Howbeit for this; thanks be to *Colotes* still everyone who saith that the Academicke doctrine was more ancient than *Arcesilaus*; and was derived from others before his time unto him. But as for the retention of assent, & the doubting of all things, not so much as they verily who have greatly travelled in the matter and have strived to that purpose for to write many great bookes and large treatises, could ever remove or overthrow: but bringing in at the last out of the very schoole and doctrine of the Stoicks; the cessation from all actions, as it were the fiend

Gorgon to scare folke withall, were weary and gave over in the plaine field, after they saw once, that what attempt soever they made, & which way soever they turned themselves their instinct and appetition was never so obeisant as to become a consent and approbation, neither received sense for the beginning of propension and inclination, but seemed to present it selfe to actions, as having no need to be joined with others. For surely with these men the combat is lawfull and the conflict just.

*For looke what words thou doest to others give,  
The like thou must be sure to heare, believe.*

And verily to speake unto Colotes, as touching instinct and appetition, is all one as to sound the harpe before an asse. But this point of learning would be delivered unto those who can give eare and conceive, that there be in our soule three kinds of motions, Imaginative Appetitive and Assenting. As for the Imaginative, we cannot take it away, would we never so faine; for as things approach and objects be presented, we cannot chuse but be informed and receive as it were an impression and suffer by them. The Appetitive being stirred up by the imaginative, moveth a man effectually to those things which are proper and convenient for him; as if in the principall and reasonable part thereof there were some propension and inclination. And verily this motion do not they overthrow and anul who hold off, and keepe in their assent, doubting of every thing, but make use of this appetition or instinct, conducting naturally every man to that which is proper and meet for him. What is the onely thing then that the Academics flie and avoid? even that wherein alone there is engendered leasing, deceit and falshood, to opine, to apply the assent, which is ayeelding through imbecillity to that which appeareth, and hath no true profit. For our action requireth two things, to wit, the apprehension or imagination of that which is convenient and familiar: and the instinct or appetition driving unto the same: whereof neither the one nor the other is repugnant to the cohibition of assent. For the discouffe of reason withdraweth us from opinion, and not from appetition or imagination. When as therefore that which is pleasant and delectable seemeth unto us to be proper for us and familiar, there is no need at all of opinion for to move and carry us to it, but appetition immediately presenteth it selfe, which is nothing else but a motion and incitation of the minde. Now for that there must be a sense as it were of these things, and the same consisting of flesh and blood, the same pleasure and delight likewise will appeare good. And therefore it will seemably seeme good unto him who holdeth off his assent, for surely he hath senses, and is made of flesh, blood and bone, and so soone as he hath apprehended the imagination of good, he hath an appetite and desire thereto, doing all that ever he can, not to misse it nor lesse the fruition thereof: but as much as is possible to cleave and adhere continually to that which is proper unto him, as being driven and drawn thereto, by Naturall and not Geometrical constraints. For these goodly, pleasant, and tickling motions of the flesh, be of themselves without any other teacher attractive enough, as they themselves forget not to say, and are able to draw and traine him whosoever he be, that will not confesse nor be knownen, but stoutly denieth that he is made soft and pliable by them. But peradventure you will aske me how it comes to passe that one of these that are so retentive and deinty of their assent, climeth not up some hill, but to the baine or hot house: or when hee riseth and purposeth to goe into the market place, why hee runneth not his head against a post or the wall, but taketh his way directly to the dore? And aske you me this question indeed, you that holde all senses to be infallible, the apprehensions also and imaginations to be certaine and true? Forsooth it is because the baine seemeth unto him a baine and not a mountaine, the dore also appeareth to be a dore, and not the wall: And so is it to be said likewise of such other things everie one: For the doctrine delivered as touching this cohibition of assent, doth not pervert the sense, nor worke in it by strange passions and motions any such change and alteration as may trouble the imaginative faculty. Onely it taketh away and subverteth opinions; but useth all other things according to their nature. But impossible it is not to yeeld consent unto apparent evidences. For to denie those things which wee are verily perswaded of and doe beleve, is more absurd, than neither to deny nor asseme any thing at all. Who be they then that deny such things as they beleve, and goe against things evident? even they who overthrow divination, and denie that there is any government by divine providence: they who say that neither the sun is small nor the moone, which all men honour and adore, to which they make their prayers and offer sacrifice. As for you, doe yee not anull that which is apparent to the whole world, to wit, that naturally infants & yongones, are contained within their mothers and dams? and that be-  
tweene

tweene paine and pleasure there is no meane, even against the sense and experience of all men? saying that not to be in paine, is to have pleasure; and not to do, is to suffer; as also, not to joy, is to be sorrowfull? But to let passe all the rest, what is more evident, and so fully believed generally, than this, that those who have their braines troubled, and their wits distracted, or otherwise sicke of melancholicke diseases, weene they see and heare those things which they neither heare nor see? namely, when their understanding comes to be in such sort affected and transported, as to breake out into these speeches?

*These women here in habit blacke  
yet glad, hold in their hands,  
To dart at me and burne mine eies,  
torches and fry brands.*

Also:

*Loe how she in her armes doth beare  
My mother deare, who did me reare.*

These verily, and a number besides of other illusions more strange and tragicall than these, resembling the prodigious monsters that Empedocles describeth like anticks, which they make sport and laugh at,

*Einhodo, \*Necrota, & Bojui, Antefopage.*

That is to say,

*With crooked shanks and winding feet,  
resembling rammes in pace,  
In bodie made like ox or cow,  
like man before, in face.*

And all other sorts of monstrous shapes and strange natures, mixed together all in one, fetched from troublesome dreames and alienations of the minde. But these men say, that none of all this is any deception or error of the sight, or vaine apparition, but be all true imaginations of bodies and figures, which passe to and fro out of the inconstant aire about them. Tell me now, what thing is so impossible in nature, that we need to doubt, if it be possible to belevee these? For such things as never any conceived maske-maker or deviler of vildards, any inventive potter, glasse-maker, or curious painter and drawer of woonderfull shapes, durst joine together, either to deceive the beholders, or to make them sport for their pastime: these men supposing verily and in good earnest that they be really subsistent; and that which more is, affirming all firme and constant beleve, all certitude of judgement and of truth, to be quite gone for ever, if such things have not their subsistence, these men I say be they, which involve all in obscuritie and darknesse, who overthrow all apparence, and bring into our judgement feare and terrour, into our actions doubtfull suspition; in case our ordinary and usuall actions, and such affaires of ours which are dayly ready at hand, be caried in the same imagination, beleefe and perswasion, that these enormous, absurd, and extravagant fantasies: for the equalitie which they suppose in all, plucketh away more credit from things ordinary, than it addeth unto such as be uncouth and unusuall: which is the cause that we know Philosophers not a few, more willing to avouch, that no imagination is true, than that all be true without exception; and who distrust all men whom they had not conversed withall, all things which they had not tried generally all speeches which they had not heard, rather than belevee so much as one of these imaginations and illusions which made and franticke folke, fanaticall persons possessed with a furious spirit, or dreamers in their sleeps doe apprehend. Seeing then, some imaginations we may utterly abolish, and others not, lawfull it is to retaine our assent and doubt of things whether they be or no, if there were no other cause els but this discordant, which is sufficient to worke in us suspition of things, as having nothing assured and certaine, but all incertitude and perturbation. As for the differences and differences about the infinite number of worlds, the nature of the Atomes, being indivisible bodies, and their declinations to a side, although they trouble and disquiet many men, yet this comfort there is and consolation, that in all this there is nothing neere at hand to touch us, but rather every one of these questions be farre remote, and beyond our senses; whereas this distrust and diffidence, this perturbation and ignorance about sensible things and imaginations, presented to our eies, our eares and our hands, this doubt, I say, whether they be true or false, what opinion is it that they doe not shake and make to waver, what judgement and assent do not they turne up-side downe? For if men, being not drunke nor intoxicated, nor otherwise troubled in their braines, but sober, well in their wits and found of judgement, professing  
also

\* Or rather  
Necrota.



also to write of the truth, and of the canons and rules to judge by, in the most evident passions and motions of the sense, set downe that for true which can not possibly subsist, and for false that which subsisteth, it is not to be marvelled nor thought incredible, if they give no judgement of such things which evidently appeare, but rather be of contrary judgements. For a man may lesse wonder at one for affirming neither the one nor the other, and keeping himselfe in a meane between two opposits, than for putting downe things repugnant and meere contrary. For he that neither affirmeth nor denieth, but holds himselfe quiet, is lesse repugnant both unto him who putteth downe his opinion, than he who denieth it; and also to him that denieth it, than he who puts it downe. And if it be possible to make doubt and sticke at these things, it is not impossible then to doe so of others; at leastwise according to you who are of opinion, that there is no difference at all betweene sense and sense, betweene imagination and imagination: and therefore this doctrine as touching the retention of belief and assent, is not as Colotes saith, a vaine fable, nor a captious toy of rash and light-headed yong men, that love to jangle and prate, but a setled resolution and habituall disposition of staied men, who be wary and take heed that they mistake not any thing, and fall into inconvenience, or abandon at adventure their judgement to the senses, so conjecturall and doubtfull, and not suffering them to be deceived and carried away with those, who hold that things uncerteine, if they seeme and appeare, ought to be beleaved as well as if they were certeine, notwithstanding they see so great obscurity and incertitude in imaginations and apparent things: But rather the infinity that you put downe, and the images which you dreame of be fables. And as for heady rashnesse and a vaine humour of much babble, hee engendreth in yong students who writeth of *Pythoetes* being not fully eightene yeeeres of age, that there was not in all *Greece* a better or more towardly nature; as being one who with admiration was able most excellently to expresse the conceptions of his minde; and that his case was much like to the incomparable beauty of women, wishing and praying therefore, that all those surpassing gifts and most rare parts might not worke the yong man hated and envie.

But busie Sophisters they be, and vaine fellows, who against so great and excellent personages, dare write so impudently and proudly: And yet I confesse, *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Theophrastus*, and *Democritus* gainesaid and contradicted those who wrote before them: Howbeit there was never man known but himselfe so bold, as to make a booke against all indifferently, and with such a proud inscription as he did: And than afterwards forsooth, like unto those who have offended and displeased the gods: in the end of the said booke, as one confessing his faults, he saith: That they who have established lawes and ordinances, who have erected roiall governments and pollicke rule of cities and states, have set the life of man in great quiet, safety, and security, yea and delivered it from dangerous troubles: which if they were abrogated and put downe, we should lead a savage life like wilde beasts; one would eat another as they met together; for these be the very words that he useth, though unjustly and untruly: For say a man did abolish lawes, and yet withall leave behind unrepealed and uncondemned the doctrines and books of *Parmenides*, *Socrates*, *Heraclitus*, and *Plato*, we should be farre for all that from devouring one another, or living a savage life; for we should feare and forbear dishonest things, we should even for vertue and honesty, honour justice, beleve that the gods, good magistrats, and the angels or spirits have the guarding, keeping, and superintendence of mans life, thinking all the gold that is both above and under the ground, not able to counterpeize vertue, and doing willingly by reason and learning as *Xenocrates* was wont to say, that which now we doe perforce for feare of the lawes. But when shall our life become beastly, savage, and insociable? Mary when, the lawes being taken away, there shall be left remaining, books and discourses, inciting and soliciting men unto pleasure: when it shall be thought and beleaved, that the world is not ruled and governed by Gods providence, when they shall be deemed Sages and wise men, who spit against honesty and vertue, unless it be joined with pleasure, and when they shall deride and mocke such sentences as these,

*In Justice is an eye,  
Which all things doth espie.*

*And  
God neere doth stand,  
And sees all at hand.*

As also this old said sawe; God having in his power the beginning, mids, and end of the whole world, passeth directly throughout all nature, and goeth round about, attended upon by justice,

to punish those who transgresse the law divine. For they that despise and contemne these instructions as idle fables, and suppose that the soveraigne good consisteth in the belly and other parts, whereby we enjoy pleasure, be those who had need of the law, they ought to feare the whip, and stand in awe of some king, prince, and magistrate, who hath the sword of justice in his hand, to the end that they might not devour their neighbour by insatiable gluttony, which upon Atheisme and impiety, would grow to excessive outrage: For verily such is the life of brute beasts, for that they know nothing better than pleasure, they have no sense of Gods justice, they neither honour nor regard the beauty of vertue: But if nature hath endued them with any hardnesse, craft, and industrious activity, they employ the same, to satisfie their fleshly pleasure, and accomplish their lusts. And therefore *Metadorus* is reputed a great wise man, for saying, that all the fine, subtill, witty, and exquisite inventions of the soule, have beene devised for to please and delight the flesh, or else for the hope to obtaine and enjoy the fame; and looke what art soever tendeth not thereto, is vaine & to no purpose. By such discourses and Philosophicall reasons as these, downe goe holosome lawes, and in place thereof enter in lions pawes, woollves teeth, oxes paunches, and camels necks and throates: and for want of writings and speech, the very beasts doe preach and teach such doctrines and opinions as these, with their bleating, bellowing, neighing, and braying: For all the voice that they have, is nothing but belly chere, and the pleasure of the flesh, which they either embrace presently, or joy in the expectation thereof; unless haply there be some kind of them that delighteth naturally in gagling, cackling, and garrulity. So that no man is able to praise those sufficiently, and to their full desert, who to repress such furious and beastly affections, have set downe law, established pollicie and government of State, instituted magistrats, and ordeined holosome decrees and edicts. But who bee they that confound, yea, and utterly abolish all this? Are they not those, who give out that all the great empires and dominions in the worlde are nothing comparable to the crowne and garland of \* fearelesse tranquillity and repose: Are they not those, who say, that to be a king and to reigne is to sinne, to erre and wander out of the true way leading to felicity: yea and to this purpose write diversly in these termes, we are to shew, how to maintaine in best sort and to keepe the end of nature: and how a man may avoid at the very first not to enter willingly and of his owne accord into offices of state and government of the multitude. Over and besides, these speeches also be theirs, there is no need at all henceforth for a man to labour and take paines for the preservation of the Greeks, nor in regard of wildeome and learning to seeke for to obtaine a crowne at their hands, but to eate and drinke, & *Timocrates*, without hurt doing to the body, or rather withall contentment of the flesh. And yet the first and most important article of the digests and ordinance of lawes and pollicie which *Colotes* so highly commendeth, is the belcefe and firme perswasion of the gods: whereby *Lycurgus* in times past sanctified the Lacedemonians, *Numa* the Romans, that ancient *Ion* the Athenians, and whereby *Democritus* brought all the Greeks universall to religion: which noble and renowned personages made the people devout & affectionate zealously to the gods in priers, oracles and propheties, by the meanes of hope and feare together, which they imprinted in their hearts: In such sort, that if you travell through the world, well you may finde cities without wals, without literature, without kings, not peopled and inhabited, without houses, monasteries, and such as desire no coine, which know not what Theaters or publicke hales of bodily exercise meane: but never was there nor ever shall be any one city, scene, without temple, church, or chappell, without some god or other, which useth no priers nor orthes, no propheties and divinations, no sacrifices either to obtaine good blessings or to avert heavy curses and calamities: nay, me thinks a man should sooner finde a city built in the aire without any plot of ground whereon it is seated, than that any common wealth altogether void of religion & the opinion of the gods should either be first established, or afterwards preserved and maintained in that state. This is it that containeth and holdeth together all humane society, this is the foundation, prop and stay of all lawes which they subvert and overthrow directly, who goe not round about the bush as they say, nor secretly and by circuit of covert speeches, but openly and even at the first assault set upon the principall point of all, to wit, the opinion of God, and religion: and then afterwards as if they were haunted with the furies, they confesse how grievously they have sinned, in shuffling and confounding thus, all rights and lawes, and in abolishing the ordinance of justice and pollicy, to the end that they might obtaine no pardon, for to slip and erre in opinion, although it be not a part of wise men, yet it is a thing incident to man: but to impute and object those faults unto others which they commit themselves, what should a man call it if he fore-  
beare

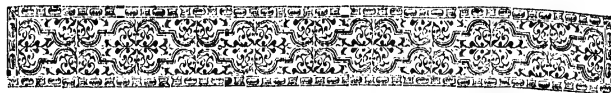
bear to use the proper termes & names that it deserveth? For if in writing against *Anidormus* or *Bion* the Sophister, he had made mention of lawes, of pollicy, of justice and government of common weale, might not one have said unto him as *Electra* did to her furious brother *Orestes*,

Poore Soule, be quiet feare none ill  
Deare hart, in beed thou be still.

cherishing and keeping warme thy poore body? As for me, let them argue and expostulate with me about these points, who have lived economically or politickly. And such are they all whom *Colotes* hath reviled and railed upon. Among whom *Democritus* verily in his writings admonisheth and exhorteth, both to learne military science, as being of all others the greatest, and also to take paines, and endure travels. Whereby men attaine to much renomme and honour. As for *Parmenides* hee beautified and adorned his owne native countrey with most excellent lawes which he ordained: in so much as the magistrates every yeere when they newly enter into their offices, binde the citizens by an oth to observe the statutes and lawes of *Parmenides*. And *Empedocles* not only judiciously convented and condemned the principall persons of the city wherein he dwelt, for their insolent behaviour and for distracting or embeselling the publicke treasure, but also delivered all the territorie about it from sterility and pestilence, wherunto before time it was subject, by emmuring and stopping up the open passages of a certaine mountaine, through which the southern winde blew and overspred all the plaine country underneath. *Socrates* alter he was condemned to death, when his friends had made means for him to escape, refused to take the benefit thereof, because he would maintaine and confirme the authority of the lawes; chusing rather to die unjustly, than to save his life by disobaying the lawes of his country. *Melissus* being pretor or captain generall of the city wherein he dwelt, defeated the Athenians in a battell at sea. *Plato* left behinde him in writing many good discourses of the lawes and of civill government: but much better imprinted he in the hearts and minds of his disciples & familiars, which were the cause that *Dion* freed *Sicily* from the tyranny of *Dionysius*; and *Thrace* likewise was delivered by the means of *Pytho* and *Heraclides*, who killed king *Cotys*. *Chabrias* and *Phocion*, worthy commanders of the Athenians armie, came both out of the schoole *Academia*. As for *Epicurus* he sent as farre as into *Asia* certaine persons of purpose to taunt and revile *Metrodorus* his brother. And this you may read written in their owne books. But *Plato* sent of those friends which were brought up under him *Aristimachus* to the Arcadians, for to ordeine their common wealth, *Phormio* to the Elians *Menedemus* to those of *Pyrrhia*, *Eudoxus* to the Cnidians, and *Aristotle* to those of *Stagira*, who being all his disciples and familiars, did pen and set downe lawes. *Alexander* the Great requested to have from *Xenocrates* rules and precepts as touching the government of a kingdome. And he who was sent unto *Alexander* from the Greeks dwelling in *Asia* & who most of all other set him on a light fire and whetted him on to enterprise the warre against the barbarous king of *Persia*, was *Delius* an Ephesian, one of *Platos* familiars. *Zenon* also a scholar of *Parmenides* undertooke to kill the tyrant *Demylus*, and having no good successe therein, but missing of his purpose, maintained the doctrine of *Parmenides* to be pure and fine golde tried in the fire from all base metal, shewing by the effect, that a magnanimous man is to feare nothing, but turpitude and dishonour and that they be children and women, or else effeminate and heartlesse men like women, who are afraid of dolor and paine: for having bitten off his tongue with his owne teeth, he spit it in the tyrants face. But out of the schoole of *Epicurus*, and of those who follow his rules and doctrines, I doe not aske what tyrant killer there was or valiant man and victorious in feares of armes, what lawgiver, what counsellour, what king or governour of state, either died or suffered torture for the upholding of right and justice: but onely which of all these Sages did ever so much as imbarke and make a voyage by sea in his countries service and for the good thereof, which of them went in embassage or disburshed any mony thereabout? or where is there extant upon record any civill action of yours in matter of government. And yet because that *Metrodorus* went downe one day from the city, as far as to the haven *Pyræum*, & tooke a journey of five or six miles to aide *Mythra* the Syrian one of the king of *Persia* traine and court, who had bene arrested and taken prisoner, he wrote unto all the friends that he had in the world, of this exploit of his: and this doubty voyage *Epicurus* hath magnified & exalted in many of his letters. What a doe would they have made then, if they had done such an act as *Aristotle* did who rectified the city of his nativity *Stagira*, which had bene destroyed by king *Philip*? or as *Theophrastus*, who twice delivered and freed his native city being held and oppressed by tyrants? Should not think you

you the the river *Nilus* have sooner given over to beare the popyr reed, than they bene weary of describing their brave deeds. And is not this a grievous matter and a great indignity, that of so many sects of Philosophers that have bene, they onely in manner enjoy the good things and benefits that are in cities, without contributing any thing of their owne unto them? There are not any Poets Tragedians or Comedians, but they have endeavoured to doe or say alwaies some good thing or other for the defence of lawes and policie: but these here, if peradventure they write ought, write of policie, that we should not intermeddle at all in the civill government of state: of Rhetoricke, that we should not plead any causes eloquently at the barre: of Royalty, that we should avoid the conversing and living in kings courts: neither doe they name at any time those great persons who manage affaires of common weale, but by way of mockerie for to debase and abolish their glorie. As for example of *Epaminondas* they say that he had indeede some good thing onely in name and word, but the same was but *adversary*, that is to say, as little as might be, for that is the very terme that it pleaseth them to use. Moreover they name him heart of yron demanding why he marched up and downe through out all *Peloponnesus* with his armie as he did, and sat not rather quiet at home in his owne house with a dainty chaplet upon his head given wholly to make good chere, and to sleepe with his belly full in a whole skin. But me thinks I should not for any thing omit in this place to rehearse what *Metrodorus* hath written in his booke of philosophy, wherein abjuring all dealing in government of state, he saith thus, Some there be of these wise men (quoth he) who being full of vanity and arrogancy, had to deepe an insight into the businesse thereof, that in treating of the rules of good life and of vertue they suffer themselves to be carried away with the very same desires that *Lycurgus* and *Solon* fell into. What? was this vanity indeed and the abundance of vanity and pride, to let the city of *Athens* free, to reduce *Sparta* to good policy, and the government of holisome lawes, that yong men should doe nothing licenciously nor get children upon curtisans and harlots? and that riches, wanton delicacie, intemperance, loosenesse & dissolution should beare no sway nor have the command in cities, but law onely and justice; for these were the desires of *Solon*. And thus *Metrodorus* by way of scorne and contumelious reproch addeth thus much more for a conclusion to the rest, And therefore (quoth he) it is well becomming a gentleman, to laugh a good and right heartily at all other men, but especially at these *Solones* and *Lycurgi*. But verily such an one were not a gentleman *Metrodorus*, nor well borne, but servile, base, unruly and dissolute and who deserved to be scourged not with the whip which is for free borne persons, but with that whip *Atragalote*, wherewith the maner was to whip and chastise those gelded sacrificers called *Gally* when they did amisse in the ceremonies and sacrifices of *Cybele* the great mother of the gods. Now that they warred not against the lawgivers but the very lawes themselves, a man may heare and learne of *Epicurus*; for in his questions he demanded of himselfe, whether a wife man being assured that no man ever should know, would doe and commit any thing that the law forbiddeth? and he maketh an answer which is not full nor an open, plaine and simple affirmation, saying, doe it I will, marry confesse it and be knowne thereof I will not. Again, writing as I suppose unto *Idomeneus*, he admonisheth him not to subject and enhrall his life unto lawes and the opinions and reputations of men: unlesse it be in this regard onely that otherwise there is prepared odious whipping chere and that neere at hand. If then it be so, that they who abolish lawes, governments and policies, do withall subvert and overthrow mans life: if *Metrodorus* and *Epicurus* doe no lesse, withdrawing and averting their friends and followers from dealing in publicke affaires, and spitefully hating those who doe meddle therein, miscalling and railing at the chiefe and wisest lawgivers that ever were, yea and willing them to contemne the lawes, so that they keepe themselves out of the feare of the whip and danger of punishment, I cannot see that *Colotes* hath in any thing so much belied others, and raised false imputations against them, as he hath indeed and truly accused the doctrine and opinions of *Epicurus*.





## OF LOVE.

## The Summarie.

10

**T**his Dialogue is more dangerous to be read by young men than any other Treatise of Plutarch, for that there be certaine glaunces heere and there against honest marriage, to upholde indirectly and underhand, the cursed and detestable filthinesse cover- by couched under the name of the Love of young boyes. But minds guarded and armed with true chastitie and the feare of God, may see evidently in this discourse the mis- 20 rable estate of the world, in that there be found patrons and advocates of so detestable a cause; such I meane as in this booke are brought in under the persons of Protogenes and Pisias. Meane while they may perceive likewise in the combat of matrimoniall love against unnaturall Pæderastie not to be na- med, that honestie hath alwaies meanes sufficient to defend it selfe for being vanquished, yea and in the end to go away with the victorie. Now this Treatise may be comprised in foure principall points: of which, the first (after a brieve Preface wherein Autobulus being requested to rehearse unto his com- panions certaine reports which before time hee had heard Plutarch his father to deliver as touching Love, encreth into the discourse) containeth the historie of Himenodora, enamoured upon a young man named Bacchon; whereupon arose some difference and dispute: of which, Plutarch and those of his companie were chosen arbitrators. Therupon Protogenes seconded by Pisias, (and this at the second point) setting himselfe against Himenodora, disgraceth and discrediteth the whole sex of wo- man kinde, and praiseth openly enough the love of males. But Daphneus answereth them so fully home and pertinently to the purpose, that he discovereth and detecteth all their filthinesse, and confu- 30 teth them as behovefull it was, shewing the commodities and true pleasure of conjugall love. In this defence, assisted he is by Plutarch, who prooveth that neither the great wealth, nor the forward af- fection of a woman to a man, causeth the marriage with her to be culpable or woorthy to be blamed, by divers examples declaring that many women even of base condition, have bene the occasion of great evils and calamities. But as he was minded to continue this discourse, newes came how Bacchon was caught up and brought into the house of Himenodora, which made Protogenes and Pisias to dis- lodge; inasmuch as their departure gave entrie into the third and principall point concerning Love what it is? what bethe parts, the causes, the sundry effects and fruits thereof, admirable in all sorts of persons in altering them so as they become quite changed and other then they were before: which is confirmed by many notable examples and similitudes. In the last point Plutarch discourseth upon this 40 argument, and that by the Philosophy of Plato and the Egyptians, conferring the same with the doctrine of other Philosophers and Poets. Then having expressly and flatly condemned Pæ- derastie, as a most vile and abominable thing, and adjoined certaine excellent ad- vertisements for the enterprising of love in wedlocke, betweene husband and wife, of which he releaseth one proper example, his speech endeth by occasion of a messenger who came in place, and drew them all away to the wedding of Himenodora and Bacchon, before said.

50



OF

## OF LOVE.

FLAVIANUS.

**I**t was at *Helicon* (ô *Autobulus*) was it not, that those discourses were held as touching Love, which you purpose to relate unto us at this present, upon our request and intreaty, whether it be that you have put them downe in writing, or beare them well in remembrance, considering that you have so often required and demanded them of your father?

AUTOBULUS.

Yes verily, in *Helicon* it was (ô *Flavianus*) among the Muses, at what time as the Theſpians ſolemnized the feaſt of *Cupid*: for they celebrate certaine games of priſe every five yeeres, in the honour of Love, as well as of the Muses, and that with great pompe and magnificence.

FLAVIANUS.

And wot you what it is that we all here that are come to heare you, will request at your hands?

AUTOBULUS.

No verily, but I ſhall know it when you have tolde me.

FLAVIANUS.

20 Mary this it is: That you would now in this recheſfall of yours, lay aſide all by-matters and needleſſe preambles, as touching the deſcriptions of faire meadowes, pleaſant ſhades; of the crawling and winding Ivie; of rills iſſuing from fountaines running round about; and ſuch like common places, that many love to inſert, deſirous to counterfeit and imitate the deſcription of the river *Iſſus*, of the Chaſt-tree, and the fine greene graſſe and pretty herbs growing daintily upon the ground, tiſing up alittle with a gentle aſſent, and all after the example of *Plato* in the beginning of his Dialogue *Phædrus*, with more curioſitie iwis and affectation, than grace and elegancie.

AUTOBULUS.

30 What needs this narration of ours (my good friend *Flavianus*) any ſuch Proceeme or Pie- face? for the occaſion from whence aroſe and proceeded theſe diſcourſes, requireth onely an affectionate audience, and calleth for a convenient place as it were a ſtage and ſcaffold, for to relate the action: for otherwiſe, of all things els requiſit in a Comedie or Enterlude, there wanteth nothing: onely let us make our praier unto the Muſes Mother, Ladie Memorie, for to be propice unto us, and to vouchſafe her aſſiſtance, that we may not miſſe, but deliver the whole narration. My father long time before I was borne, having newly eſpouſed my mother, by oc- caſion of a certaine difference and variance that fell out betwene his parents and hers, tooke a journey to *Theſſia*, with a full purpoſe to ſacrifice unto *Cupid* the god of Love; and to the ſeaſt hee had up with him my mother alſo, for that it principally appertained unto her to perſorme 40 both the praier & the ſacrifice. So there accompanied him from his houſe, certaine of his moſt familiar friends. Now when he was come to *Theſſia*; he found *Daphneus* the ſonne of *Archida- mus*, and *Lyſander* who was in love with *Simons* daughter; a man who of all her woerts was beſt welcome unto her and moſt accepted: *Saccharis* alſo the ſonne of *Ariſtion*, who was come from *Thibora*: there was beſides, *Protogenes* of *Tarſus*, and *Zuxippus* the Lacedæmonian, both of them his olde friends and good hoſts, who had given him kinde entertainment: and my father ſaid moreover, that there were many of the beſt men in *Beotia* there, who were of his acquain- tance. Thus as it ſhould ſeeme, they abode for two or three daies in the citie, enterprising one another gently at their leaſure with diſcourſes of learning, one while in the common empaled 50 places, keeping companie together. But afterwards, for to avoid the troubleſome contentions of Miniſters and Muſicians, where the youth uſed to wreſtle, and otherwiſe in the Theaters and Shew- places, before-hand for voices, they diſlodged from thence for the moſt part of them, as out of an enemies countrey, and retired themſelves to *Helicon*, and there ſojourned and lodged among the Muſes: where, the morrow morning after they were thither come, arrived and repaired un- to them *Anthemion* and *Piſias*, two noble gentlemen, allied both and affectionate unto *Bacchon*, ſurnamed *The Faire*, and at ſome variance one with another by reaſon of I wot not what jealousie, in regard of the affection they bare unto him. For there was in the city of *Theſſia*, a certaine 60 Dame

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Dame named *Ismenodora*, descended of a noble house and rich withall: yea and of wife and honest carriage besides in all her life: for continued shee had no small time in widowhood without blame, reproch or touch, notwithstanding shee was young, and therewith beautifull.

This fresh widow whiles she treated of a marriage to be made between *Bacchus* a young gentleman, a neighbours childe, whose mother was a very familiar friend of hers; a certaine young maiden a kinswoman of her owne, by often talking with him, and frequenting his company much, fell herselfe in some fancie with the young man: Thus both hearing and speaking much good and many kinde speeches of him, and seeing besides a number of other gentlemen and persons of good worth to be enamoured upon him; by little and little she also fell to bee in hot love with the youth: howbeit, with a full intention and resolution to doe nothing that should be dishonest, or unbecoming her place, parentage, & reputation, but to be wedded unto *Bacchus* lawfully in the open sight of the world, and so to live with him in the estate of wedlocke. As the thing it selfe seemed at the first very strange, so the mother of the young man of one side doubted and suspected the greatnesse of her state, and the nobility & magnificence of her house & linage, as not meet & correspondent to his condition, for to be a lover or to be matched there; and on the other side, some of his companions who used to ride forth a hunting with him, considering that the young age of *Bacchus* was not answerable to the yeeres of *Ismenodora*, buzzed many doubts in his head, and frighted him from her what they could, saying: That he might be his mother, and that one of her age was not for him; and thus by their jesting and scoffing, they hindered the marriage more, than they who laboured in good earnest to breake it: for hee too began to enter into himselfe, and considering that he was yet a bearded youth, and scarcely undergrown, he was abashed and ashamed to marry a widow. Howbeit in the end, shaking off all others, he referred himselfe to *Anthemion* and *Pisias*, for to tell him their minds upon the point, and to advise him for his best: Now was *Anthemion* his cousin german, one of good yeeres, and elder than himselfe farre; and *Pisias* of all those that made love unto him, most austere: and therefore he both withstood the marriage, and also checked *Anthemion*, as one who abandoned and betrayed the young man unto *Ismenodora*. Contrariwise, *Anthemion* charged *Pisias* and said he did not well: who being otherwise an honest man, yet herein imitated lewd lovers, for that he went about to put his friend beside a good bargain, who now might be sped with so great a marriage, out ofso worshipfull an house, and wealthy besides; to the end that he might have the pleasure to see him a long time stripped naked in the wrestling place, fith still, and smooth, and not having touched a woman. But because they should not by arguing thus one against another, grow by little and little into heat of choler, they chose for umpiers and judges of this their controvercie, my father and those who were of his company; and thither they came: assistant also there were unto them, other of their friends, *Daphneus* to the one, and *Protagenes* to the other, as if they had beene provided of set purpose to plead a cause: As for *Protagenes* who sided with *Pisias*, he inveighed verily with open mouth against dame *Ismenodora*: whereupon *Daphneus*: O *Hercules* (quoth he) what are we not to expect, and what thing in the world may not happen; in case it be so that *Protagenes* is ready heere to give defiance and make warre against love, who all his life both in earnest and in game, hath bene wholly in love, and all for love, which hath caused him to forget his booke, and to forget his naturall countrey, not as *Laius* did, who was but five daies journey distant: for that love of his was slow and heavy, and kept still upon the land: whereas your *Cupid*, *Protagenes*

*With his light wings displayed and spread,*

*Hath over seas full swiftly fled.*

from out of *Cilicia* to *Athens*, to see faire boies, and to converse and goe up and downe with them (for to say a trueth, the chiefe cause why *Protagenes* made a voyage out of his owne countrey, and became a traveller, was at the first this and no other) Heereat the company rooke up a laughter, and *Protagenes*: Thinke you (quoth he) that I warre not against love, and not rather stande in the defence of love against lascivious wantonnesse, and violent intemperance, which so by most shamefull acts and filthy passions, would perforce challenge and breake into the fairest, most honest, and venerable names that be? Why (quoth *Daphneus* then) do you terme marriage and the secret of marriage, to wit, the lawfull conjunction of man and wife, most vile and dishonest actions, than which there can be no knor nor linke in the world more sacred and holy? This bond in trueth of wedlocke (quoth *Protagenes*) as it is necessary for generation, is by good right praised by Politicians and law-givers, who recommend the same highly unto the people and common multitude: but to speake of true love indeed, there is no jot or part thereof in the societie

tie and fellowship of women: neither doe I thinke that you and such as your selves, whose affections stand to wives or maidens, do love them no more than a ste loveth milke, or a bee the honny combe; as caters and cookes who keepe foules in mure, and feed calves and other such beasts fatte in darke places, and yet for all that they love them not. But like as nature leadeth and conducteth our appetite moderately, and as much as is sufficient to breed and other viands; but the excess thereof, which maketh the naturall appetite to be a vicious passion, is called gourtman-dise, and pampering of the flesh: even so there is naturally in men and women both a desire to enjoy the mutuall pleasure one of another: whereas the impetuous lust which commeth with a kinde of force and violence, so as it hardly can be held in, is not fildly called love, neither doth it serveth it that name: For love if it seise upon a young kinde, and gentle heart, endeth by amity in vertue: whereas of these affections and lusts after women, if they have successe and speed never so well, there followeth in the end the fruit of some pleasure, the fruition and enjoying of youth and a beautifull body, and that is all. And thus much testified *Aristippus*, who when one went about to make him have a distaste and dislike of *Lais* the curtisan, saying, that she loved him not, made this answer: I suppose (quoth he) that neither good wine, nor delicate fish loveth me, but yet (quoth he) I take pleasure and delight in drinking the one, and eating the other. For surely the end of desire and appetite, is pleasure and the fruition of it. But love if it have once lost the hope and expectation of amity and kindnesse, will not continue nor cherish and make much for beauty sake, that which is irksome and odious, be it never so gallant and in the flower and prime of age, unlesse it bring forth and yeeld such fruit which is familiar unto it, even a nature disposed to amity and vertue. And therefore it is that you may heare some husband in a comedie, speaking tragically thus unto his wife:

*Thou hatest me: and I againe,*  
*thine hatred and disdain*

*Will easily beare: and this abuse*  
*turne to my proper game.*

For surely, more amorous than this man is not hee, who not for lucre and profit, but for the fleshly pleasure of *Venus*, endureth a curst, shrewd and froward wife, in whom there is no good nature nor kinde affection. After which manner *Philippides* the Comical Poet scoffed at the

30 Orator *Stratocles* and mocked him in these verses:

*She winds from thee, she turnes away unkint,*  
*Hardly thou canst once kisse her head behind.*

But if we must needs call this passion Love, yet surely it shall be but an effeminate and baftard love, sending us into womens chambers and cabinets as it were to *Cynosarges* at *Athens*, where no other yourthes do exercise but misbegotten baftards: or rather, like as they say, there is one kinde of gentle faulcons or roiall eagles bred in the mountaines, which *Homer* calleth the Blacke eagle for game: whereas other kinds there be of baftard hawks, which about pooles and meres catch fish or seize upon heave winged birds and slow of flight; which many times wanting their prey, make a piteous noise and lamentable cry for very hunger and famine: even so the true and naturall love is that of young boies, which sparkleth not with the ardent heat of concupiscence, as *Anacreon* saith the other of maidens and virgins doeth: it is not besmired with sweet ointments, nor tricked up and trimmed, but plaine and simple alwaies a man shall see it, without any intifing allurements in the Philosophers schooles, or about publicke parks of exercise and wrestling places, where it hunteth kindly and with a very quicke and piercing eye after none but young striplings and springals, exciting and encouraging earnestly unto vertue, as many as are meet and woorthy to have paines taken with them: whereas the other delicate and effeminate love, that keepeth home and stirreth not out of doores, but keepeth continually in womens laps, under canopies or within curtaines in womens beds and soft pallers, seeking alwaies after daintie delights, and pampered up with unmanly pleasures, wherein there is no reciprocal amitie, nor heavenly ravishment of the spirit, is worthy to be rejected and chased farre away: like as *Solon* banished it out of his common wealth, when he exprefly forbade all slaves and those of servile condition to love boies or to be anointed in the open aire without the baines, but he debarrd them not from the companie of women. For amitie is an honest, civil and laudable thing: but fleshly pleasure, base, vile, and illiberal. And therefore that a servile slave should make love to a sweet youth, it is neither decent, civil nor commendable: for this is no carnall love nor hurtfull any way, as that other is of women. *Protagenes* would have continued his speech and said more, but *Daphneus* interrupting him: Now surely, you have done it

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very well (quoth he) and alledged *Solon* trimly for the purpose; and wee must belike, take him for the judge of a true lover, and the rule to go by, especially when he saith:

*Thou shalt love boies, till lovely downe  
upon their face doth spring,  
Catching at mouth their pleasant breath,  
and soft sighs cherishing.*

Adjoine also unto *Solon* (if you thinke good) the Poet *Aeschylus*, whereas he saith:

*Unthankfull man, unkinde thou art,  
For kisses sweet which thou hast found,  
Regarding not of thy deare hart,  
The thighs so freights and buttocks round.*

Here are proper judges indeed of love. Others I wot well there be, who laugh at them, because they would have lovers like to sacrificers, bowel-priers and soothsaiers, to cast an eie to the handes and the loines: but I for my part, gather from hence a very good and forcible argument in the behalfe of women: for if the companie with males that is against kinde, neither taketh away nor doth prejudice the amitie and good will of lovers, farre more probable it is that the love to women which is according to nature, is performed by a kinde of obsequious favour, and endeth in amity: for the voluntarie submission of the female to the male, was by our ancestors in olde time, *o Protagenes*, termed *zans*, that is to say, Grace or Favour: which is the reason that *Pindarus* saith *Vulcane* was borne of *Junno* *and zans*, that is to say, without the Graces. And *Sappho* the Poetesse speaking to a yong girle not as yet for her tender yeeres marriageable:

*Too yong (my childe) you seeme to me,  
Withonten Grace also to be.*

And *Heracles* was asked the question of one in these termes:

*What did you force the maiden by compulsion,  
Or win her grace and favour with perjavation.*

whereas the submission in this kinde of males to males, if it be against their will, is named violence and plaine rape: but if it be voluntarie, and that upon an effeminate weaknesse they be so farre beside their right wits as to yeeld themselves to be ridden as it were and covered, for those be *Platoes* words, in manner of foure footed beasts; I say such love is altogether without Grace, so without decencie, most unseemly, filthy and abominable. And therefore I suppose verily, that *Solon* powred out those verses when he was a lustie yoonker, ranke of blood and full of naturall feed, as *Plato* saith: for when he was well steeped in yeres he sung in another tune and wrote thus:

*The sports of VENUS Lady bright,  
And BACCHUS now are my delight:  
In MUSICKE like I pleasure take:  
For why? these three men joies domake.*

when he had retired and withdrawn his life as it were out of a troublesome sea and tempestuous storme of *Pederastium*, into the quiet calme of lawfull marriage and studie of Philosophie.

Now if we will consider better, & looke nerer into the truth, the passion of Love (*o Protagenes*) be it in one sex or another, is all one & the same: but if upon a froward and contentious humor you will needs divide and distinguish them, you shall finde that this love of boies doth not containe it selfe within compasse, but as one late borne and out of the seasonable time of age and course of this life, a very bastard and begotten secretly in darknesse, it would wrongfully drive out the true legitimate naturall love, which is more ancient. For it was but yesterday or two daies ago as one would say my good friend, and namely, since yong lads began in *Greece* to disrobe & turne themselves naked out of their clothes, for the exercise of their bodies, that it crept into these unvalpled places, where youtnes prepared themselves for to wrestle: & there closely settling it selfe, lodged and was entailed; where by little and little when the wings were full grown, it became so insolent, that it could not be held in, but offer injury and outrage to that nuptiall love, which is a coadjutresse with nature, to immortalize mankind, in kindling it immediately againe by generation according as the flame is extinguished and put out by death. But this *Protagenes* here would seeme to deny that the said love tendeth to any pleasure: The truth is this, he is ashamed to confesse, and afraid to avow so much. But there must needs be devised some pretie reason, and cleanly excuse, for the touching, feeling, and handling of these faire yong boies. Wel the pretence and colour to coverall, is amity and vertue. He bestreweth himselfe with dust against he should wrestle, he doth bath and wash in cold water, he knitteth & bendeth his

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browes full gravely, he giveth it out and maketh his boast that he studieth Philosophie, that he is chaste and continent: and all this is abroad and before folke, for feare of the lawes; but when the night comes, and that every man is retired to his rest,

*Sweet is the fruit that stolen is secretly,  
And gatherd close while keeper is not by.*

And if as *Protagenes* saith this *Pederastium* aimeth not at carnall conjunction, how then can it be love, if *Venus* be not there? considering that of all other gods and goddes, her alone *Cupid* is destined and devoted to serve and attend upon, having neither honour, power nor authoritie, no farther than the will impart and bestow upon him. And if you say unto mee, that there may be some love without *Venus*, like as there is drunkennesse without wine, for a man may drinke of a certain decoction of figs, or barly made into malt, & be drunke therewith: I answer you, that as this is but a flatulent exagitation, so the motion of such love is fruitlesse, unperfect, bringing lothsome fatietie, and wearisome fulnesse soone. Whiles *Daphneus* thus spake, it appeered evidently, that *Pisias* found himselfe galled, and was enchaffed against him. Therefore so soone as he had made an end of his speech, after some little pause: *O Heracles* (quoth hee) what intollerable impudency and inconsiderate rashnesse is this, that men should confesse and avow, that like dogs they be tied to women by their naturall parts, and so chaste and banish this god *Cupid*, out of the publicke places of exercise, out of the open galleries and walks; from the pure conversation in open aire, sunne-shine, and before the whole world for to be ranged and brought, to little spades, hatchets, drogues, medicines, charmes and forceries of these wanton and lascivious women? For to speake of chaste and honest dames, I say, it is not becoming that they should either love or be loved. And heereat verily my father said, that himselfe tooke *Protagenes* by the hand, reciting this verse out of the Poet:

*Such words as these no doubt will make  
The Argives, armes anon to take.*

For surely *Pisias* through his insolencie, causeth us to side with *Daphneus*, and undertake to mainteine his part, seeing he so farre exceedeth the bonds of all reason, as to bring into marriage and wedlocke, a society without love, and void of that divine instinct of amity, and inspired from heaven above: which we see how we have enough to doe for to mainteine and hold with all the yokes, bittes and bridles, of feare and shame, if this hearty affection and grace be away. Then *Pisias*, I passe little (quoth he) for all these words: and as for *Daphneus* me thinks I see how it fareth with him, as it doth with a piece of brasle, which melteth not so much by force of fire, as it doth by another piece of brasle melted, if a man power the same upon it, for then anon it will be liquified and runne together with it. And even so, the beauty of *Lysandra* doth not so greatly affect and trouble him, as this that conversing along time with one that is enflamed and full of fire, by touching her he is himselfe all fire: and evident it is, that unless hee retire with speed unto us, he will melt and runnall to liquor: But I perceive (quoth he) that I do that which *Anthemion* should most desire and wish, namely, that I am offensive both to the judges and to myselfe; wherefore I will hold my peace & say no more: You say true indeed (quoth *Anthemion*) you do me a great pleasure, for you should at the very first have said somewhat to the point, and upon the particular matter now in question: I say therefore (quoth *Pisias*, but I protest before hand, & that aloud, that for mine owne part I will be no hindrance, but that every woman may have her lover) that this yong man *Bacchon* had need to take heed and beware of the riches and wealth of *Ismenodora*, otherwise if wee match him with such an house of so great state and magnificence, we shall ere wee be aware consume him to nothing, like a piece of time among brasle. For a great matter I may tell you it were, if being so yong as he is, and depousing a wife of meane and simple degree, he should in such a mixture hold his owne, and keepe the predominance as wine over water. But we may see that this gentlewoman heere seemeth already to looke for to commaund and be his master: otherwise she would never have refused and rejected so many husbands as she hath done of such reputation, so nobly descended, and so wealthy withall, for to woo and sollicite as she doth a very boy new crept out of the shell, no better than a page but the other day, one iwis that had more need to goe to schoole still, and be under a tutor and governour. And heereupon it is, that those husbands who are of the wiser sort, doe of themselves cast away, or else clip and cut the wings of their wives, that is to say, their goods and riches, which cause them to be proud and insolent, sumptuous and wastefull, full of shrewdnesse, vaine, light, and foolish; and with these wings they mount many times, take their flight and away; or if they stay at home, better it were for a man to be bound with fetters of gold, as the

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maner is to encheine prifoners in *Aethiopia*, than to be tied with the wealth and riches of his wife: But he hath faid nothing as yet (quoth *Protopogenes*) heereof, nor once touched this string, namely, how in admitting this marriage, we shall in maner invert and that ridiculouslly and with absurdity enough the sentence of *Heliodorus* who giveth counsell in these words:

*At thirty yeeres (not much above  
nor under) of thine age,  
Wed thou a wife: this is the time,  
most meet for marriage:  
At fowercene yeeres a damosell  
doth signes of ripenesse shew,  
At fifteene would she married be,  
and her bedfellow know.*

And we heere cleane contrary almost, will match a young man before he be ready for marriage, unto a woman as old againe well neere as himselfe, as if one should set dates or figges upon old flocks, to make them ripe. And why not? some one will haply say; for she is enamoured upon him; she burnes & is ready to die for love of him, I marvel much who hinders her that she goeth not to his house in a maske, that she sings not lamentable ditties at his dore, & amorous plaints, that she adorneth not his images with garlands and chaplets of flowers, and that she entreth not into combat with her corrivals, and winne him from them all by fight and feats of activity: for these be the casts of lovers; let her knit her browes; let her forbear to live bravely and daintily, 20 putting on the countenance and habit meet for this passion: but if she be modest, shamefaced, sober, and honest, as that she is abashed so to doe; let her sit womanly and decently as it becometh, at home in her house, expecting her lovers and woers, to come and court her there. For such a woman as doth not dissemble, but bewraith openly that she is in love, a man would avoid and detest, so farre would he be from taking her to be his wife, or laying for the ground of his marriage such shamelesse incontinence. Now when *Protopogenes* had made an end of his speech, and paused a while: See you not *o Anthemion* (quoth *Daphneus*) how they make this a common cause againe and matter of disputation, enforcing us to speake still of nuptiall love, who denie not our selves to be the maintainers thereof, nor avoid to enter into the daunce as they say, and to shew our selves to be the champions of it? Yes mary do I (quoth *Anthemion*) & 30 I pray you take upon you to defend at large this love: and withall let us have your helping hand about this point, as touching riches, which *Pisfas* urgeth especially, and wherewith he seemeth to affright us more than with any thing else: What can we doe lesse quoth my father then; for were it not a reproch offered unto woman kind, and would it not greatly redound to their discredit and blame, in case we would reject and cast off *Ismenodora*, for her love and her wealth sake? But she is brave, she is sumptuous, costly, and bearing a great port: What matters that, so long as she is faire, beautifull, and young? But she is come of a noble house and highly descended? What harme of that if she live in good name, and be of good reputation? for it is not necessary that wives to approve their honesty and wisdom, should be fower, austere, curst & shrewd: for chaste dames and sober matrons, doe indeed detest bitterness, as an odious thing and in- 40 tollerable. And yet some there be that call them furies, and say they be curst shrewes unto their husbands, when they be modest, wife, discret, and honest. Were it not best therefore to espouse some old *Abasionon* out of *Thracia*, bought in open market: or some *Bacchis*, a Milesian \* passing in exchange for raw hides, and prized no deerer: And yet we know there be many men, whom such women as these hold most shamefully under their girdles, and rule as they list: For even minstrell wenches of *Samar*, and such as professed dauncing, as *Arithonica*, *Oeanthe*, with her labour and pipe & *Agatholeia*, have over-topped kings and princes, yea trodden their crownes and diademes under foot: As for *Semiramis* a Syrian, she was at first no better than a poore wench, servant and concubine to one of the great king *Ninus* slaves: but after that the king himselfe had fet his eye and fancie upon her, he was so devoted unto her, & the againe so imperiouslly ruled over him, and with such contempt, that she was so bold to require at his hands, that he would permit her to sit one day upon her roiall throne, under the cloth of estate, with the diademe about her head, and so to give audience and dispatch the affaires of the kingdome in stead of him; which when *Ninus* had graunted, & given expresse charge withall, that all his subjects whatsoever should yeeld their loiall obedience to her as to his owne person, yea and performe whatsoever she ordeined and decreed: she caried herselfe with great moderation in her first commandements, to make trial of the pensioners and guard about her; and when she saw that 50

\* *Agatholeia* was a famous dancer, that is to say, whose open sale is a pwaye for assurance, that she will be true and obedient to her husband, as some interpret it.

they gainesaid her in nothing, but were very diligent and serviceable; she commanded them to arrest and apprehend the body of *Ninus* the king, then to binde him fast, and finally to doe him to death. All which when they had fully executed, she reigned indeed, & for a long time in great state and magnificence ruled all *Asia*. And was not *Bellestis* I pray you a Barbarian woman, bought up even in the very market among other slaves? and yet those of *Alexandria* have certain temples, chappels & altars, which king *Ptolomeus* who was enamoured upon her, caused to be entituled by the name of *Venus Bellestis*? And *Phryne* the famous courtesan, who both heere and also at *Delphos* is shrined in the same temple and chappell with *Cupid*, whose statue all of beaten gold standeth among those of kings and queenes; by what great dowry was it that she had all her lovers in such subjection under her? But like as these persons through their effeminate softnesse and puffanimity, became ere they were aware a very prey and pillage to such women: so on the other side, we finde others of base degree and poore condition, who being joined in marriage to noble & rich wives, were not utterly overthrowen with such matches, nor struck faile or abated ought of their generositie and high spirit, but lived alwaies loved and honored by those wives, yea and were masters over them to their dying day. But he that rangeth and reduceth his wife into a narrow compasse and low estate, as if one bent a ring to the slenderesse of his finger, for feare it should drop off, resembleth those for all the world, who clip and shave the maines of their mares, and plucke the haire off their tails, and then drive them to water, into some river or poole: for it is said, that when they see themselves in the water so ill favouredly shorne and curtailed, they let fall their courage, stomacke, and haucie spirit, so as they suffer themselves afterward to be covered by asses. And therefore like as to pretense the riches of a woman above her vertue, or to make choise thereof before nobility of birth were base and illiberal: so to reject wealth joined with vertue and noble parentage is meer folly. King *Antigonus* writing unto a capitaine of his whom he put with a garison into the fortreffe *Munichia* in *Athens*, the which he fortified with all diligence possible, commanded him not only to make the collar and chaine strong, but the dogge also weak and leane: giving him thereby to understand, that he should empoverish the Athenians, and take from them all means whereby they might rebell or rise against him. But a man who hath taken to wife a rich and beautifull woman, ought not to make her either poore, or foule and ill-favoured; but rather by his discretion, 30 good government & wisdom, and by making semblance that he is ravished with no admiration of any thing that she hath, to beare himselfe equall unto her and in no wise subject, giving by his good demeanour and carriage a counterpoise to the balance for to hold her firme, or a waight rather to make her incline and bend that way which is good for them both. Now to returne unto *Ismenodora*, her yeeres are meet for marriage, and her person fitte for breeding and bearing children, and I heare say the woman is in the very floure and best of her time; for elder she is not (and with that he smiled upon *Pisfas*) than any of her sisters and corrivals, neither hath she any gray haire, as some of those that be affectionate to *Bacchon* and follow him. Now if they thinke themselves of a meet age to converse familiarly with him, what should hinder her but she should affect and fancie the young mans person as well (if not better) as any young maiden 40 whatsoever. And verily these young folke are otherwhiles hard to be matched, united and incorporated together, and much a doe there is but by long continuance of time, to cast aside and shake off wantonnesse and wildenesse: for at the first there is many a foule day and blustering tempest, and unlineth will they abide the yoke and drawe together: but especially if there be any inking or jealousy of other loves abroad, which like unto winds when the pilot is away do trouble and disquiet the wedlocke of such young persons as are neither willing to obey, nor have the skill to command. If it be so then, that a nurse can rule her little babe sucking at her paps; a schoolemaster the boy that is his scholar; a master of exercises, the young springall; a lover, the youth whom he loveth; the law and the capitaine, a man grown and him that is able to beare armes; in so much as there is no person of what age soever without government, and at his owne 50 libertie to doe what he list: what absurdity is it if a wife that hath wit and discretion, and is besides the elder, governe and direct the life of a young man her husband? being as she is profitable unto him in regard she is the wiser, and besides milde and gentle in her government, for that she loveth him? Over and besides, to conclude, we all that are Boeotians (quoth he) ought both to honour *Heracles*, and also not to be offended with the marriage of those who are in yeeres unequal, knowing as we doe that he gave his owne wife *Megeta* being thirty three yeeres olde, in marriage to *Iolani* being then but fixteene yeeres of age. As these words passed to and fro, there came (as my father made report) one of *Pisfas* companions galloping hard one horsebacke from

from out of the city bringing newes of a very strange and wonderfull occurrent. For *Ismenodora*, perswading her selfe (as probable it was) that *Bacchon* misliked not this marriage in his heart but that he held off, for the respect and reverence that he carried unto those who seemed to divert him from it, resolved, not to give over her suit, nor to cast off the yong men. Whereupon she sent for such of her friends, as were lusty yong and adventurous gallants, and withall her favourites those that wished well to her love: certain women also who were inward with her and most trusty: and when she had assembled them all together in her house and communicated her mind unto them, she waited the very houre, when as *Bacchon* was wont ordinarily to passe by her dores, going well and orderly appointed forth to the publicke place of wrestling. Now when he approached nere unto her house all enhuiled and anointed as he was, accompanied only with two or three persons, *Ismenodora* her selfe stepped forth of dores, crossed the way upon him and only touched the mandilion that he had about him: which signall being given, all at once her friends leapt forth & faire caught up this faire youth in his mandilion and dublet as he was, and gently caried him into her house, and immediately shut the dores fast locked. No sooner had they gotten him within dores, but the women in the house turning him out of his upper mandilion afore said, put upon him a faire wedding robe, & withall the servants of the house ran up and downe, and adorned with ivie and olive branches the dores and gates not only of *Ismenodora* but also of *Bacchons* house: and with that a minstrill wench also passed along through the street piping and singing a wedding song. As for the citizens of *Thebes* and the strangers who were there at that time, some of them tooke up a laughter, others being angry and offended hereat, incited the masters and governours of the publicke exercises (who indeed have great authority over the youth and carry a vigilant eye unto them, for to looke nereely unto all their behaviours) whereupon they made no account at all of the present exercises then in hand, but leaving the theater, to the dore they came of *Ismenodora*, where they fell into hot reasoning and debating of the matter one against another. Now when the said friend of *Pisias* was come in all hastening upon the spurre with this newes, as if she had brought some great tidings out of the campe in time of warre, he had no sooner uttered, pausing for want of winde and in manner breathlesse, these words, *Ismenodora* hath ravished *Bacchon*, but *Zenoxippus*, as my father told the tale, laughed heartily, and out of *Euripides* (as he was one who alwaies loved to reade that Poet) pronounced this sentence:

*Well done faire dame: you having wealth at will,  
Are worldly wife, your minde thus to fulfill.*

But *Pisias*, rising up in great choler, cried out, O the will of God, what will be the end of this licentious libertie, which thus overthroweth our citie? seeing how all the world is grown already to this paffe, that through our unbrideled audaciousnesse, we doe what we list; and passe for no lawes? but why say I lawes, for haply it is but a ridiculous thing to take indignation for the transgressing of civill law and right: for even the very lawe of nature is violated by the insolent rashnesse of women. Was there ever the like example scene in the very like *Lemnos*? Let us be gone (quoth he) goe we and quit from hence forth the wrestling schools, and published place of exercises, the common hall of justice, and the senate house, and commit all to women, if the city be so inveterate as to put up such an indignitie. So *Pisias* brake company and departed in these termes, and *Protagenes* followed after him, partly as angry as he, and in part appeasing & mitigating his mood a little. Then *Anthemion*: To say a truth (quoth he) this was an audacious part of hers, and favouring somewhat of the enterprise of those *Lemnian* wives in old time, and no marvell; for we our selves know that the woman was exceeding voracious. Hereat *Sostratus*: Why thinke you (quoth he) that this was a ravishment indeed, and plaine force, and not rather a subtil devise and stratageme, as it were of a yong man himselfe, who hath wit at will, to colour and excuse himselfe, in that escaping out of the armes of his other lovers, he is fallen into the hands of a faire, yong and wealthie Ladie. Never say so (quoth *Anthemion*) nor intertaine such an opinion of *Bacchon*: for say that he were not of a simple nature (as he is) and so plaine in all his dealings, yet would he never have concealed so much from me, considering that he hath made me privie to all his secrets, and knoweth full well that in these matters I was of all other most ready to second and set forward the sute of *Ismenodora*. But a hard matter it is to withstand not anger as *Heraclitus* saith, but love: for whatsoever it be that it would have, compass the same it will, though it be with the perill of life, though it cost both goods and reputation. For setting this thing aside, was there ever in all our citie, a woman more wise, sober and modest than *Ismenodora*? when was there ever heard abroad of her, any evil report, and when

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went there so much as a light suspicion of any unhoneft act out of that house? Certes we must thinke and say, that the seemes to have bene surprisid with some divine instinct supernaturall and above humane reason. Then laughed *Pemptides*: You say even true (quoth he) there is a certaine great maladie of the bodie, which thereupon they call sacred: is there any marvell then that the greatest and most furious passion of the minde some do terme sacred and divine? But it seemes unto me, that it fares with you here, as I saw it did sometime with two neighbours in *Aegypt*, who argued & debated one with another upon this point, that whereas there was presented before them in the way as they went, a serpent creeping on the ground, they were resolved both of them, that it presaged good & was a luckie signe; but either of them tooke & challenged it to himselfe: for even so when I see that some of you draw love into mens chambers, and others into womens cabinets, as a divine and singular good thing, I nothing wonder thereat, considering that this passion is growen to such power and is so highly honoured, that even those who ought to clip the wings thereof, and chase it from them of all sides, those be they that magnifie and extoll it most. And verily hitherto have I held my peace as touching this matter in question, for that I saw the debate and controversie was about a private cause rather than any publicke matter: but now that I see how *Pisias* is departed, I would gladly heare and know of you, whereat they aimed and tended, who first affirmed that Love was a God? When *Pemptides* had propounded this question, as my father addrest himselfe and began to make his answer, there came another messenger in place, whom *Ismenodora* had sent from the citie, for to bring *Anthemion* with him; for that the trouble and tumult in manner of a sedition grew more and more within the towne, by occasion that the two masters of the publicke exercises, were at some difference one with another, whiles the one was of this minde that *Bacchon* was to be redemanded and delivered, the other againe thought that they were to deale no farther in the matter. So *Anthemion* arose incontinently and went his way with all speed and diligence possible: and then my father calling to *Pemptides* by name, and directing his speech unto him: You seeme *Pemptides* (quoth he) in my conceit, to touch a very maine and nice point, or rather indeed to stirre a string that would not be stirred, to wit, the opinion and beleefe that we have as touching the gods, in that you call for a reason and demonstration of them in particular. For the ancient faith and beleefe received from our ancients in the country where we are borne is sufficient, than which there can not be said or imagined a more evident argument:

*For never was this knowledge found,  
By wit of man or sense profound.*

But this tradition being the base and foundation common to all pietie and religion, if the certitude and credit thereof received from hand to hand be shaken and mooved in one onely point, it becometh suspected and doubtfull in all the rest. You have heard no doubt how *Euripides* was coursed and troubled for the beginning of his Tragedie *Metamippe*, in this manner:

*Ὡς δὲ θεῶν ἄλλοι ἐγὼ, &c.*

*Jupiter whose name I know  
By heare say onely and no mo.*

And verily he had a great confidence in this Tragedie, being as it should seeme magnificently and with exquisite elegancie penned: but for the tumultuous murmuring of the people, hee changed the foresaid verses, as now they stand written:

*Ὡς δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἢ δαίμονος ἑσθλῶς, &c.*

*God Jupiter (which name in veritie  
Doth sort full well to his divinitie.)*

And what difference is there by our words and disputation, betwene calling the opinion which we have of *Jupiter* and of *Mercurie* into question and making doubt of *Cupid* or Love? For it is not now of late, and never before, that this God begins to call for altars or to challenge sacrifices: neither is he a stranger come among us from some barbarous superstition, like as certaine  
50 *Atta* and I wot not what *Adonides* and *Adonai*, brought in by the meanes of some halfe-men or mungrell *Hermaphrodites* and odde women; and thus being closely crept in, hath met with certaine honours and worshippes farre unmeet for him, in such sort as he may well be accused of bastardie and under a false title to have bene enrolled in the catalogue of the gods: for my good friend, when you heare *Empedocles* saying thus,

*And equal to herest in length  
and breadth, was Amittis,*

But

*But see in spirit thou it beholds,  
nor with deceitfull eie.*

you must understand him, that he writeth thus of Love; for that this God is not visible, but apprehended onely by opinion and beleefe, among other Gods which are most ancient. Now if of all them in particular, you seeke for a prooffe and demonstration, laying your hands upon each temple, and making a sophisticall triall by every altar, you shall find nothing void and free from calumnniation and envious slander: for not to go farre off, marke but these verses:

*But Venus aneth can I see  
How great a goddesse she should be:  
Of Cupid she the mother is,  
And she alone that Love doth give:  
Whose children we (you not wel this)  
Are all, who ont the earth do live.*

And verily, *Empedocles* called her *Cupid*, that is to say, fertile or giving life: *Sophocles*, *Empedocles*, that is to say, fruitfull: both of them using most fit and pertinent attributes. Howbeit, this great and admirable worke, to wit, Generation, is wrought principally and directly by *Venus*, but collaterally and as an accessary by Love: which if love be present, is pleasant & acceptable; contrariwise, if love be away, and not assistent thereto, surely the act thereof remaineth altogether not expetible, dishonorable, without grace and unamiable. For the conjunction of man and woman without the affection of love, like as hunger and thirst which tend to nothing else but satiety and fulnesse, endeth in nought that is good, lovely and commendable: but the goddesse *Venus*, putting away all lothsome satiety of pleasure, by the meanes of love, engendred amitie and friendship, yea and temperature of two in one. And herereupon it is that *Parmentides* verily affirmeth love to be the most ancient worke of *Venus*, writing thus in his booke intituled *Cymogenia*, that is to say, the creation of the world.

*And at the first she framed love  
Before all other gods above.*

But *Hesiodus* seemeth in mine opinion more physically to have made love more ancient than any other whatsoever, to the end that all the rest by it might breed and take beginning. If then we becaue this love of the due honours ordained for it, certes those which belong to *Venus* will not keepe their place any longer. Neither can it be truly said that some men may wrong and reproch love, and forbear withall to doe injurie unto *Venus*. For even from one and the same stage we doe here these imputations, first upon love:

*Love idle is selfe, and in good troth  
Possesseth such like persons, given to sloth.*

And then againe upon *Venus*:

*Venus (my children) hath not this onely name  
Of Venus or of Cypris: for the same  
Answereth right well to many an attribute,  
And surname, which men unto her impute.  
For hell she is: and also violence  
That never ends, but aie doth recommence  
And furious rage, yong folke for to incense*

Like as, of the other gods there is not one almost, that can avoid the approbrious tongue of unlettered rufficity and ignorance. For do but consider and observe god *Mars*, who as it were in an *Caldæan* and *Astronomicall* table standeth in a place diametrally opposit unto love; make I say what great honours men have yielded unto him, and contrariwise what reprochfull termes they give him againe:

*Mars is starke blinde and seeth not  
(faire dames) but like wilde bore,  
By turning all things up side downe,  
works mischeife evermore.*

*Homer* calleth him *Phaenon*, that is to say, imbrued with blood and polluted with murders; likewise *Allogesimachos*, that is to say, variable and leaping from one side to another. As for *Christippus*, by etymologizing and deriving this gods name, fastneth upon him a criminous accusation, saying that *apros*, for so he is named, in Greeke, cometh of *apros*, that is to say to murder and destroy:

giving

giving thereby occasion unto some, to thinke that the facultie and power in us, prone to warre, fight, debate, quarrell, anger, and fell stomacke, is called *Apros*, that is to say, *Mars*. Like as others also will say, that concupiscence in us, is termed *Venus*; our gift of speaking, *Mercurius*; skill in arts and sciences, *Muses*; and prudence, *Minerva*. See you not how deepe a pit and downfall of Atheisme and impietie is ready to receive and swallow us up, in case we range and distribute the gods according to the passions, powers, faculties and vertues that be in us?

I see it very well (quoth *Pemprides*;) but neither standeth it with pietie and religion, to make gods to be passions; nor yet contrariwise, to beleue that passions be gods. How thinke you then (quoth my father) is *Mars* a god, or a passion of ours? *Pemprides* answered, That he thought him to be a god, ruling and ordering that part of our soule wherein is seated animosity, anger and manly courage. What *Pemprides*, cried out my father then, hath that turbulent, warring, overthwart and quarrelling part in us, a deitie to be president over it; and shall this that breedeth amity, societie and peace, be without a divine power to governe it? Is there indeed, a martiall and warlike god of armes, called thereupon *Stratium* and *Enyalium*, who hath the superintendence and preidence of mutuall murders wherein men kill and be killed, of armour, weapons, arrowes, darts and other shot of assaults and scaling walles, of saccage, pillage and booties? Is there never a god, to be a witnesse, guide, director and coadjutour of nuptiall affection and matrimoniall love, which endeth in unitie, concord and fellowship? There is a god of the woods and forests, named *Agroteus*, who doth aide, assist and encourage hunters, in chasing and crying after the roe-bucke, the wilde goat, the hare and the hart; and they who lie in secret wait for to intercept woolves and beares in pitfallles, and to catch them with snares, make their priates to *Asifaw*,

*Who first, as I have heard men say,  
Did grimace and snares for wilde beasts lay.*

And *Hercules* when he bent his bowe, and was ready to shoot at a bird, called upon another god: and as *Aschylus* reporteth,

*Phoebus the hunter, directed by-and-by,  
His arrow straight, as it in aire did fly.*

And shall the man who hunteth after the fairest game in the world, even to catch friendship and amitie, have no god nor demi-god, no angell to helpe, to favorise, and speed his enterprize and good endeavours? For mine owne part, my friend *Daphneus*, I take not man to be a more bafe plant or viler tree, than is the oake, the mulberie tree, or the vine which *Homer* honoured with the name of *Hemeris*, considering that in his time and season he hath a powerfull instinct to bud and put forth most pleasantly, even the beauty both of body and minde. Then (quoth *Daphneus*) who ever was there, before God, that thought or said the contrary? Who answered my father: many even all they verily, who being of opinion, that the carefull industrie of plowing, sowing and planting, apperteineth unto the gods:

*For certaine Nymphs they have light Diades  
Whose life they say is equall with the trees.*

And as *Pindarus* writeth,

*God Bacchus who the pure resplendent light  
Of Autumne is, and with his kinde influence  
Doth nourish trees and cause to grow upright,  
And fructifie at length in affluence.*

Yet for all this are not perswaded that the nouriture and growth of children, and yong folke, who in their prime and flour of age, are framed and shaped to singular beauty and feature of personage, belongeth to any one of the gods or demy gods. Neither by their saying, any deitie or divine power, hath the care & charge of man, that as he groweth he should shoot up streight, and arise directly to vertue; and that his naturall indument and generous ingenuity should be perverted, daunted and quelled, either for default of a carefull tutour and directour, or through the leawd and corrupt behaviour of bad company about him. And verily were it not a shamefull indignity and ingratitude thus to say: and in this behalfe to drive God as it were from that bounty and benignity of his to mankind, which being defused spread and dispersed over all, is defectious in no part, no not in those necessary actions and occasions, whereof some have their end more needfull iwis many times than lovely or beautiful to see. As for example, even our very birth at first, is nothing fightly at all nor pleasant, in regard of the bloud and bitter pangs that do accompany it, yet hath the same a goddesse to be the president & overseer there-

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of,

of, to wit *Lucina*, called thereupon *Lochia* and *Ilithia*. Besides, better it were for a man never to have bene borne, than to become evill and naught, for want of a good governor and guardian. Moreover the deitie and devine power, leaveth not man destitute when he is sicke, nor when he is dead: but some God there is or other, that hath an office and function even then, and is powerfull in those occasions: there is one, I say, that helpeth to convey the soules of such as have ended their life, from hence into another world, and to lay them in quiet repose, who for bestowing and transporting of them in that sort is called *Catunastes* and *Psychopompos* according as he saith.

*The shady night never bare  
(The harps to sound) a fine musician:  
Nor prophet secrets to declare:  
Ne yet in cures a good physician:  
But for the soules of dead, below,  
In their due place, them to bestow.*

And yet in these ministreries and functions many odious troubles and incombrances there be: whereas contrariwise there can be named no worke more holy, no exercise, game of price or profession of maisteries, whatsoeuer, whereof it becometh a god better, to have the dispose, preference and oversight, than is the charge and regard, to order and rule the desires of lovers, affecting and pursuing beautifull persons in the floure and prime of their age. For herein their is nothing foule, nothing forced nor by constraint: but that gentle perswasion & attractive grace, to which yeelding in trueth a pleasaunt and sweet labor, leadeth all travell whatsoever unto vertue and amitie; which neither without a god can attaine unto the desired end which is meet and convenient, nor hath any other god, for the guide, master, and conductor, than Love which is the companion of the Muses graces and *Venus*;

*For Cupid sowing secretly  
In heart of man a sweet desire,  
And heat of Love, immediately  
By kindling milde and gentle fire.*

According as *Menalippides* saith, tempereth the pleasaunt things that be with those that are most faire and beautifull. How say you *Zenxippus*, is it not so? Yes verily (quoth he) I am altogether of that minde: for to hold the contrary were very absurd. Then (quoth my father againe) and were it not as monstrous, that whereas amitie hath foure severall kindes and branches, according as the ancient Philosophers have divided it: The first in nature, then that of propinquity and local affinity, the third of society, and the last this of love, every one of the rest should have a god to be the president and governour thereof, to wit, surname either *Eros*, or *Erôs*, or *Eros*, or *Eros*, and *eros*, and this amorous amitie onely or love as accursed, interdicted and excommunicate, be left without a lord and ruler? considering that it requireth more care, sollicitude and government than all the rest? It doth indeed (quoth *Zenxippus*) and need it hath out of that which is strange but proper and familiar, of the owne.

Moreover (quoth my father) a man may here take hold by the way of *Plato* his opinion and doctrine to this purpose: to wit, that there is one kind of furie transmitted from the body to the soule proceeding from certaine indispositions and malignant distemperatures of ill humours, or else occasioned by some hurtfull winde or pernicious spirit that passeth and entrench into it, and this furie is a sharpe and dangerous disease. There is another not without some divine instinct: neither is it engendred at home and within us: but a strange inspiration it is, coming from without, a very alienation of reason, sense, and understanding, the beginning and motion whereof ariseth from some better power and a certaine divine puissance. And this passion in generall is named *Enthusiasmus*, as one would say, a divine inspiration, for like as, *ἐνθουσιάζω*, in Greeke significth repletion with spirit or winde. And *ἔνθουσι*, that which is full of prudence and wit: Even so saith he an agitation and shaking of the soule is called *ἐνθουσιάζω* by the participation and society of some more heavenly and divine power. Now this enthusiastic is subdivided: for one part thereof is prophetical, and can skill of foretelling natural things, when one is inspired and possessed by *Apollo*. A second is *Bacchanall* sent from *Bacchus* whereof *Sophocles* speaketh in one place thus,

*And see you dance,  
With Corybantes.*

For those furies of dame *Cybele* the mother of the gods, as also Panique & terrors frights hold al

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of the *Bacchanall* sacred ceremonies. The third proceedeth from the Muses, which meeting with a tender and delicate soule, not polluted with vice, stirreth up and raiseth a poetical spirit, and musically humour: as for that raging and martiall *Enthusiasmus* (for *ἄρτιναιος* it is called) that furious inspiration breathing warre, is well known to every man, for to proceed from god *Mars*; a furie wherein there is no grace, no musically sweetnesse, hindring the generation and nourishment of children, and inciting people to take armes. There remaineth one alienation more of the understanding *ὁ Δαφναιος*, and an extasie or transportation of mans spirit, and the same not obscure, nor quiet and calme: concerning which I would demand of *Pempeides* heere,

*What god is he, that shakes the speare  
In hand, which doth so faire fruit beare.*

Even this ravishment of love, settled as well upon faire and good boies, as honest and sober dames; which is the hottest and most vehement transportation of the minde: for see you not that even the very foldier and warrior himselfe, comming once to be surpris'd therewith, laide downe his armes presently, and cast off his warlike furie,

*For then his servants joy did make,  
And corselet from his shoulders take.*

and himselfe having no more minde to battell, far still looking upon others that fought. And as for these *Bacchanall* motions, these wanton skipplings and frisks of the *Corybantes*, they use to appease and stay by changing, onely in dauncing of the measures, the foot *Trochæus* into *Spondæus*; and in song, the *Phrygian* tune into the *Dorique*: semblably *Pylbia* the priestesse of *Apollo*, being once come downe from her three footed fabrick, upon which she receiveth that incentive spirit of furie, remaineth quiet and in calme tranquillity: whereas the rage of love, after it hath once in good earnest caught a man, and set him on fire, there is no musick in the world, no charme, no lenitive song, no change of place able to stay it: for amorous persons when they be present, doe love, if they be absent, doe long; in the day time they follow after their sweet hearts, by night they lie and warch at their doores; fasting and sober they call upon their faire paramours, full and drunken, they sing and chant of them: neither are poeticall fancies and inventions, as one sometimes said for their lively and effectuall expression, the dreams of persons waking; but rather this may be verified of lovers imaginations, who devise and talke with their loves absent, as if they were present, they salute, embrace, chide, and expostulate with them, as if they saw them in place: for it seemeth that our ordinarie sight doth depaint or other imagination with liquid and waterish colours, which quickly passe away, are gone and departed out of our minds: but the fancies and visions of Lovers being imprinted in their cogitations by fire or enambled, leave in their memorie lively images surely engraven, which move, live, breathe, speake, remaine and continue ever after; like as *Cato* the Romane said, that the soule of the lover lived & dwelt in the soule of the loved: for that there is settled sure in him the visage, countenance, manners, nature, life, and actions of the person whom he loveth, by which being led and conducted, he quickly dispatcheth and cutteth off a long journey, as the

\* *Cynicks* are wont to say, finding a short, compendious and direct way unto vertue: for hee passeth speedily from love to amity and friendship, being caried on end by the favour of this God of Love, with the instinct of his affection, as it were with winde and tide, with weather and water together: in summe, I say, that this enthusiastic or ravishment of lovers is not without some divine power, and that there is no other god to guide and governe it, than he whose feast we solemnize, and unto whom we sacrifice this very day: howbeit, for that we measure the greatness of a god by puissance especially & profit, according as among all humane goods, we hold dear royalty and vertue to be most divine, and so to call them. It is time now to consider first and forme, whether Love be inferior to any other god in power? And verily *Sophocles* saith:

*Venus in power doth much avale,  
To win a prize and to prevail.*

Great also is the puissance of *Mars*: and verily we see the power of all other gods to be after a sort divided in these matters two waies, the one is allecative, and causeth us to love that which is beautifull and good, the other is adversative, and maketh us to hate that which is foule and bad, which are the first impressions, that from the beginning are engraven in our mindes, according as *Plato* in one place speaketh of the *Idea*. Let us now come to the point, and consider how the very act alone of *Venus* may be had for a great or some such small piece of silver, neither was

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their

\* *ἄρτιναιος*, some  
read *ἄρτιναιος*,  
that is, *Comis-*  
call Poets.

there ever man known to endure any great travell, or to expose himselfe to any danger, for the enjoying of such a fleshy pleasure, unlesse he were amorous withall and love sicke. And to forbear here to name such cuttanes as *Phryne* and *Lais* were, we shall finde my good friend, that *Gnathanium* the harlot,

*At lanterne light in evening list,  
Waiting and calling for some mate.*

is many time passed by and neglected: but otherwhiles againe

*If once some sudden spirit moove,  
The raging fit of fervent love.*

it maketh a man to prize and esteeme the forefaid pleasure which erewhile he reckoned nothing to worth, comparable in value to all the talents as they say, of *Tantalus* treasure, and equal to his great seignorie and dominion; so enervate is the delight of love: which we may see yet more evidently by this one argument; namely, that there be many men who will be content to part with others in this kind of venereous pleasure, yea, and can find in their harts to prostitute unto them not only their mistresses and concubines, but also their owne espoused wives; as it is reported of that *Galba* or *Cabbas* a Romane, who, if I doe not mistake, invited *Macenas* upon a time unto his house, & feasted him; where perceiving how from him to his wife there passed some wanton nods and winking, which bewtraid that hee had a minde and fancie to her, he gently rested his head upon a pillow or cushion, making semblance as though he would take a nap and sleepe, whiles they dallied together: in the meane time when one of the servants which were without spying his time, came softly to the table for to steale away some of the wine that stood there; avaunt unhappy knave (quoth *Galba*) being broad awake, and open eyed, knowest thou not that I sleepe onely for *Macenas* sake? But peradventure this was not so strange a matter, considering that the said *Galba* was no better than one of the buffons or pleasaunts that profess to make folke merry and to laugh. I will tell you therefore another example: At *Argos* there were two of the principall citizens concurrents, and opposite one to the other in the government of the city, the one was named *Philostratus*, & the other *Phanilus*; now it fortuned upon a time that king *Philip* came to the towne: and commonly thought it was, that *Phanilus* plotted and practised to attaine unto some absolute principallity and soverieignty in the city, by the means of his wife, who was a yong and beautifull ladie, in case he could bring her onco to the kings bed, and that she might lie with him. *Philostratus* smelling and perceiving as much, walked before *Phanilus* doore and about his house for the nonce, to see what he would do: who indeed having shod his wife with a paire of high shooes, cast about her a mantle or mandilion, and withall set upon her head a chaplet or hat after the Macedonian fashion; and dressed her every way like unto one of the kings pages; sent her secretly in that habit and attire unto his lodging. Now considering there hath bene in times past and is at this present such a number of amorous persons and lovers, have you ever read or knowen that any one of them hath bene the bawd to prostitute his owne love, though he might thereby have gained soverieigne majesty, and obtained the divine honours of *Jupiter*? I verily beleve no: for why? there is not a person who dare quetch to contradict and oppose himselfe in government of State against the actions of princes and tyrants? But on the other side, corrivals they have and concurrents many in love, such as will not stick to beard them in the question of faire, yong and beautifull persons, whom they affect and fancie. For it is reported that *Aristogiton* the Athenian, *Anitoleon* the Metapontine, and *Menalippus* of *Agrirentum* never contended nor contested with the tyrants, for all they saw them to waste and ruinate the common-weale, yea, to commit many enormous outrages; but when they began once to sollicite and tempt their paramours and loves, then they rose up as it were in the defence of their sacred temples and sanctuaries, then they stood against them even with the hazzard and perill of their lives. It is said, that king *Alexander* wrote unto *Theodorus* the brother of *Proteus* in this wise: Convey unto me that Musically wench of thine, so that sings so daintily, and receive for her ten talents, which I send by this bearer; let me have her, I say, unlesse thou thy selfe be in love with her. When *Antipatrides* another of his minions, came in a maske on a time to his house, accompanied with a pretty gilde that plaied upon the psaltery, & sung passing well; *Alexander* taking great delight & contentment in the said damosell, demanded of *Antipatrides*, whether he were not himselfe enamoured of her. And when he answered, Yes verily, and that exceeding much. A mischief on thee (quoth he) leud varlet as thou

thou art, and the divell take thee: but the wench he abstained from, and would not so much as touch her. But marke moreover & besides, of what power, even in martiall seats of armes, Love is: Love I say, which is not (as saith *Euripides*)

*Of nature slow, dull, fickle, inconsistent,  
Nor in soft cheeks of maidens resistant.*

For a man that is possessed secretly in his heart with Love, needeth not the assistance of *Mars* when he is to encounter with his enemies in the field; but having a god of his owne within him, and presuming of his presence,

*Most prest he is and resolute,  
To passe through fire and seas;*

10 *The blasts of most tempestuous winde,  
he cares not to appease.*

And all for his friends sake, and according as he commandeth him. And verily, of those children, as well sonnes as daughters, of lady *Niope*, who in a Tragedie of *Sophocles* are represented to be shot with arrows, and so killed, one there was, who called for no other to helpe and succor her at the point of death, but onely her paramour, in this wise:

*Oh that some god my Love would send,  
My life to save, and me defend.*

Ye all know I am sure, doe ye not? how and wherefore *Cleomachus* the Thessalian died in 20 combat? Not I for my part (quoth *Pemprides*) but gladly would I heare and learne of you. And it is a storie (quoth my father) worth the hearing and the knowledge. There came to aide the Chalcidians, at what time as there was horwarre in *Thessalie* against the Eretrians, this *Cleomachus*: now the Chalcidians seemed to be strong enough in their footmen, but much adoe they had, and thought it was a difficult peece of service, to breake the cavallerie of their enemies, and to repell them. So they requested *Cleomachus* their alie and confederate, a brave knight, and of great courage, to give the first charge, and to enter upon the said men of armes. With that, he asked the youth whom he loved most entirely, and who was there present, whether he would beholde this enterprize, and see the conflict: and when the yong man answered Yea, and withall, kindly kissing and embracing him, set the helmet upon his head; *Cleomachus* much 30 more hardy and fuller of spirit than before, assembled about him a troupe of the most valourous holmen of all the Thessalians, advanced forward right gallantly, and with great resolution set upon the enemies, in such sort, as at the very first encounter he brake the front, disarraied the men of armes, and in the end put them to flight. Which discomfiture, when their infanterie saw, they also fled: and so the Chalcidians woon the field, and achieved a noble victorie. Howbeit, *Cleomachus* himselfe was there slaine, and the Chalcidians shew his sepulchre and monument in their Market place, upon which there standeth, even at this day, a mighty pillar erected. And whereas the Chalcidians before-time held this paderastie or love of yong boies an infamous thing, they of all other Greeks ever after affected and honoured it most. But *Aristotle* writeth, that *Cleomachus* indeed lost his life after he had vanquished the Eretrians in 40 battell: but as for him who was thus killed by his lover, he saith that he was of *Chalcis* in *Thrace*, sent for to aide those of *Chalcis* in *Euboea*: and hereupon it cometh that the Chalcidians use to chant such a caroll as this:

*Sweet boies, faire impes extract from noble race,  
Endued besides with youth and beauties grace,  
Envie not men of armes and bolde courage,  
Ermition of your prime and flowering age:  
For here aswell of Love and kinde affection,  
As of prowess, we all do make profession.*

The lover was named *Anton*, and the boy whom he loved *Philistus*, as *Diomysius* the Poet writeth 50 in his booke \* of *Caules*.

And in our city of *Thebes*, *o Pemprides*, did not one *Ardetas* give unto a youth whom he loved, a compleat armour, the day that he was enrolled souldier, with the inscription of *Ardetas* his owne name? And as for *Pammenes* an amorous man and one well experienced in love matters, he changed and altered the ordinance in battell of our footmen heavily armed, reprooving *Homer* as one that had no skill nor experience of love; for ranging the Achaeans by their tribes and wards, and not putting in array the lover close unto him whom he loveth: for this indeed had bene the right ordinance, which *Homer* describeth in these words:

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The

\* Or entium  
led Antia.



*The Morians set to close, and shield to shield  
So jointly touch'd, that one the other held.*

And this is the onely battalion and armie invincible. For men otherwhiles in danger abandon those of their tribe, their kindred also and such as be allied unto them: yea, and beleve me, they forsake their owne fathers and children: but never was there enemye scene, that could passe through, and make way of evasion betwene the lover and his darling, considering that such many times, thew their adventures resolution in a bravery, and how little reckoning they make of life, unto them being in no distresse nor requiring so much at their hands. Thus *Therothe* the Theffalian laying and clapping his left hand to a wall, drew forth his sword with the right, and cut off his owne thumbe, before one whom he loved, and challenged his corivall to doe as much, to if his heart would serve him. Another chanced in fight to fall groveling upon his face, and when his enemye lifted up his sword to give him a mortall wound, he requested him to stay his hand a while untill he could turne his body, that his friend, whom he loved, might not see him wounded in his backe part. And therefore we may see, that not onely the most martiall and warlike nations are most given to Love, to wit, the Boeotians, Lacedaemonians, and Candians, but also divers renowned princes and captaines, of olde time: as namely, *Meleager, Achilles, Ariflomenes, Cimon, Epaminondas*. And as for the last named, he had two yong men whom he deerey loved, *Aspicus* and *Zephiadorus*, who also died with him in the field at *Mantineas*, and was likewise interred neere unto him. And when *Aspicus* became hereupon more terrible unto his enemies, and most resolute, *Enchmann* the Amphyffian, who first made head against him, to resisted his furie, and smote him, had herioque honors done unto him by the Phocaeans. To come now unto *Hercules*; hard it were to reckon and number his loves they were so many: But among others, men honour and worlup to this day *Iolau*, because they take him to have bene *Hercules* his derling, in so much as upon his tombe the manner is of lovers to take a corporall oth and assurance of reciprocall Love. Moreover it is reported of *Apollo*, that being skillfull in Physicke, he saved the life of *Alceſis* being desperatly sicke, for to gratifie *Admetus*, who as he loved her intirely being his wife, so he was as tenderly beloved of him. For the Poets doe fable, that *Apollo*, being inamoured, for pure Love,

*Did serve Admetus one whole yeere  
As one that his hir'd servant were.*

And here it falleth out, in some sort well, that we have made mention of *Alceſis*: for albeit women have ordinarily much dealing with *Mars*, yet the ravishment and furious fits of Love driveth them otherwhiles to enterprise somewhat against their owne nature, even to voluntarie death: and if the poeticall fables are of any credit, and may goe currant for trueth, it is evident by such reports as goe of \* *Alceſis* of *Protesilaus*, and *Euridice* the wife of *Orpheus*, that *Plato* obiecth no other god but onely Love, nor doth what they command. And verily howsoever in regard of all other gods, as *Sophocles* saith,

*He cannot skill of equity,  
Of favour and of grace.  
But onely with him taste straight,  
and vigour taketh place.*

Yet he hath good respect and reverence to lovers, and to them alone he is not implacable nor inflexible. And therefore a good thing it is, my friend, I confesse, to be received into the religious confraternity of the Eleusian mysteries: but I see that the votaries professed in Love, are in the other world in better condition accepted with *Plato*: And this I say as one who neither am too forward in beleiving such fables of Poets, nor yet so backward as to distrust and discredit them all: for I assure you they speake well, and by a certaine divine fortune and good hap they hit upon the trueth, saying as they do, that none but lovers returne from hell unto this light againe: but what way and how they wot not; as wandering indeed and missing of the right path, which *plato* of all men first by the means of philosophy found out and knew. And yet among the Aegyptians fables, there be certaine small slender and obscure shadowes of the truth, dispersed here an there. Howbeit they had need of an expert and well experienced hunter, who by small tractes knoweth how to trace and finde out great matters. And therefore let us passe them over.

And now that I have discoursed of the force and puissance of Love being so great as it appeareth, I come now to examine and consider the bountie and liberality thereof to mankind, not whether it confere many benefites upon them, who are acquainted with it, and make use thereof

thereof (for notable they be and well knowne to all men) but whether it bringeth more and greater commodity to those that are studious of it, and be amorous? For *Euripides*, howsoever he were a great favourit of Love; yet so it is, that he promised and admired that in it, which of all others is least, namely when he said,

*Love teacheth Musicke, make when you will  
Though one before thereof had no skill.*

For he might as well have said, that it maketh a man prudent and witty, who before was dull and foolish; yea & valiant, as hath bene said, who before was a coward; like as they that by putting into fire burning peeces of wood, make them firme and straight, where as they were before 10 weake and tender: Semblably, every amorous person becommeth liberall and magnificent, although he had bene aforetime a pinching snudge: For this bafe avarice and micherie waxeth soft, and melteth by love, like as iron in the fire, in such sort, as men take more pleasure to give away and bestow upon those whom they love, than they doe, to take and receive of others. For yee all know well how *Anytus* the sonne of *Antenor* was inamoured upon *Alcebiades*, and when he had invited certaine friends and guests of his unto a sumptuous and stately feast in his house, *Alcebiades* came thither in a maske to make pastimes; and after he had taken with him one halfe of the silver cups that stood upon the boord before them, went his waies, which when the guests tooke not well, but said that the youth had behaved himselfe very proudly and malipertly toward him. Not so (quoth *Anytus*) for he hath dealt very courteously with me, in that, when he 20 might have gone away withall, he left thus much behinde for me. *Zenoxippus* taking joy hereat: O *Hercules* (quoth he) you want but a litle of ridding quite out of my heart that hereditary hatred derived and received from our ancestors, which I have taken against *Anytus*, in the behalfe of *Socrates* and Philosophie, in case he were lo kinde and courteous in his love. Be it so (quoth my father) but let us proceed: Love is of this nature, that it maketh men otherwise melancholike, austere, and hard to be pleased or conversed withall, to become more sociable, gentle and pleasant: for as ye know well enough,

*More stately is that house in sight,  
Wherein the fire burnes cleere and bright.*

and even so, a man is more lightsome and jocund, when he is well warmed with the heat of love. 30 But the vulgar sort of men are in this point somewhat perversly affected and beside all reason; for if they see a flashing celestiall light in an house by night, they take it to be some divine apparition, and woonder thereat: but when they see a bafe, vile, & abject mind suddenly replenished with courage, libertie, magnificence, desire of honour, with grace, favour and liberality, they are not forced to say as *Telemachus* did in *Homer*:

*Certes, some god, I know full well,  
Is now within, and here doth dwell.*

And is not this also, quoth *Daphnau*, (tell me, I pray you, for the love of all the Graces) an effect of some divine cause, that a lover who regardeth not, but despieth in a manner all other things, I say nothis familiar friends onely, his fellows and domesticall acquaintance, but the 40 lawes also and magistrates, kings and princes; who is afraid of nothing, admireth, esteemeth and observeth nothing; and is besides so hardy, as to present himselfe before the flashing thot of pitering lightning, so soone as ever he elpieth his faire love,

*Like to some cocke of a ravine kinde less full,  
Or hangs the wing, and daunted is withall.*

He drops I say, his courage is cooled, his heart is done, and all his animostic quailed quite. And heere it were not impertinent to the purpose, to make mention of *Sappho* among the Muses. The Romans write in their history, that *Casus* the sonne of *Vulcan* breathed and flathed flames of fire from his mouth. And in trueth the words that *Sappho* uttereth, be mixed with fire, and by her verses testifieth the ardent and flaming heat of her heart,

50 *Seeking for love some cure and remedy  
By pleasant sound of Muses melodye.*

as *Philoxenus* writeth. But *Daphnau*, unless peradventure the love of *Lyfandra* have made you to forget your olde sports and delights wherewith you were wont to passe the time away, call to minde (I beseech you) and rehearse unto us those sweet verses of faire *Sappho*, wherein the faith, that when her love came in her sight, she lost her voice presently, and was speechlesse, her bodie ran all over into colde sweats, she became pale and wan, she fell a trembling and quaking, her braines turned round, surprised she was with dizzinesse, and fell into a fainting fit of swooning.

*Thrice*

\* For *Alceſis* was reported to die for the love of *Protesilaus*, and to have his life.

Thrice happy do I holde that wight,  
Who may espionnes enjoy thy sight,  
Of thy sweet voice to reape delight,  
And pleasant smiles:

Which kinde in me such a fire,  
That, as I them do much admire,  
My heart they ravish, and desire  
Transport the whiles.

Thy face no sooner doe I see,  
But sudden silence comes on me;  
My tongue strings all dissolved bee,  
And speech quite gone:

Then, underneath my skin is spread  
A fiery flush of colour red;  
With that mine eyes be darkened,  
And sight yeeld none.

Mine eares also do buzze and ring,  
And yet distinctly heare nothing;  
Cold drops of sweate run down trickling,  
Or stand as dew:

My joints anon and sinewes shake,  
My heart-roots pants, my flesh doth quake;  
And paleness soone doth overtake  
My former hew.

And thus full wan I do remaine,  
As flower in house that long hath laine,  
Or graffe in field, which wanting raine,  
Doth quickly fade:

Untill at length in extase,  
Withouten sense and breath I lie;  
As if death of me suddenly

Surprize had made.

When *Daphnaeus* had recited this sonnet: Is not this (quoth my father, in the name of *Jupiter* I beseech you) a plaine possession of the minde by some heavenly power; is not this (I say) an evident motion and a very celestiall ravishment of the spirit? What furious passion was there ever so great and strong, that came upon the propheticke *Pythia*, when she mounted that three-footed fabrick, from whence she delivered oracles? Who ever was there so farre transported and carried beside himselfe by the pipes and flutes of fanaticall persons supposed to be surprized by some divine spirit of furie, by the tabour and other strange ceremonies in the service of *Cybele* the mother of the gods? Many there be, that holde the same body, and looke upon the same beauty; but the amorous person onely is caught and ravished therewith. What should be the reason of it? Certes, there is some cause thereof? Verily, when *Menander* sheweth it unto us, yet we learne it not, nor understand his meaning by these verses:

There is a mal: die of the minde,  
That it surpriseth fatally:  
Who smitten is therewith, doth finde  
Himselfe forewounded inwardly.

And heereof is god Love the cause, who toucheth one, and spareth another. But that which ought indeed to have been spoken rather at the first,

Since now it comes into my minde,  
And way out of my mouth would finde.

as *Aeschylus* saith, I thinke not good to overpasse in silence, being a matter of so great importance. For of all things (my good friend) in a manner, whereof we take knowledge, not by the ministerie of the five naturall senses; some there be, that came into credit (at the beginning) and authority, by fables; other, by lawes; and the rest, by doctrine and discourse of reason. Now the constant beleefe and full perswasion of the gods, the first masters, teachers and authors altho thereof, were Poets, Lawgivers, and in a third ranke, Philosophers, who all with one accord

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jointly did set this downe as a verity, that Gods there be: howbeit, they are at great discord and variance, touching the number, order, nature, essence and power of them. For those whom the Philosophers acknowledged to be gods, are not subject to diseases, nor to age, neither know they what it is to feele paine or endure trauell:

Escape they doe the passage of the firth,  
Of roaring *Acheron*, and live in joy and mirth.

And in that regard Philosophers admit not at all the Poeticall *Idols* and *Myths*; that is to say, contentions and reconciliations: they will not allow *Astias* and *Asios*, to be gods, nor confesse them to be the sonnes of *Mars*: and in many points doe they differ also and dissent from lawgivers; as *Xenophanes* did, who said unto the Egyptians as touching *Osiris*: if you take him for a mortall man, adore him not; if you account him an immortal god, lament not for him. Again, the Poets and lawgivers on the other side, deigne not, nor will abide so much as to heare those Philosophers who of certaine Ideas, numbers, unities and spirits, make gods; neither can they possibly conceive and understand such doctrine. In summe, much variety there is & difference in their opinions, about this one point: but like as in old time there were three sects or factions in *Athenes*, all adverse, opposite & malicious one unto the other, to wit, of the *Parall*, the *Epacri*, and *Pædæi*: yet notwithstanding, when they were assembled and met together in a generall councill, they gave all their voices and suffrages to *Solon*, and elected him with one common assent their peace-maker, their governour, and lawgiver, as one woorthy without any question or doubt at all, to have conferred upon him the principality and highest degree of vertue and honour: even so those three sects differing in opinion about the gods, and giving their voices some on this side, and others on that, and not willing to subscribe one unto another, nor easily receiving that which is otherwise delivered than by themselves, be all of one and the same minde as touching this one god Love; and him the most excellent Poets, the best Lawgivers, and the principall Philosophers, admit with one voice into the register and kalender of the gods, praising and extolling him highly in all their writings. And like as *Alcæus* saith, That all the *Mitylenians* with one accord and generall consent, chose *Pittacus* for their soveraigne prince and tyrant; even so *Hesiodus*, *Plato*, and *Solon*, bring and conduct Love out of *Helicon*, into the *Academie* unto us, for our king, prince, and president, crowned and adorned gaily with garlands and chaplets of flowers, honored also, and accompanied with many shackles and couples professing amitie and mutuall societie: not such as *Euripides* saith:

With fetters bound and tied was,  
Faire stronger than of iron and brasse.

Linking them by a cold, heavy, and massive chaine of need and necessitie; as a colourable vaile and pretence to shame and turpitude; but such as are carried by winged chariots unto the most goodly and beautiful things in the world, whereof others have treated better and more at large. When my father had thus said: See you not (quoth *Isacarus*) how being fallen now againe, the second time into one and the same matter, you forced your selfe to turne away from it, I wot not how, avoiding to enter into this holy discourse, and (if I may be so bold to say what I thinke) shifting off unjustly to pay the debt, which you have promised us? for having ere while by the way, and against your will made some little mention of the Egyptians and of *Plato*; you passed them over then, and even so doe you at this present: as for that which *Plato* hath written, or rather these Muses heere have by him delivered, I know well you will say nothing thereof; although we should request and pray you to doe it: but for that you have covertly signified thus much, that the mythologie or fables of the Egyptians accord sufficiently with the doctrine of the *Platonikes* concerning Love: it were against all reason that you should refuse to discover, reveale, and declare it unto us: and content will we be, in case we may heare but a little of such great and important matters. Now when the rest of the companie instantly intreated likewise, my father began againe and said: That the Egyptians like as the Greeks, acknowledge two kinds of Love, the one vulgar, the other celestiall: they beleefe also that there is a third beside, to wit, the sunne; and *Venus* above all they have in great admiration; as for us we see a great affinity and resemblance betweene Love and the sunne; for neither of them both is (as some doe imagine) a materiall fire, but the heat of the one and the other is milde and generative; for that which proceedeth from the sunne, giveth unto bodies nouriture, light, and deliverance from cold winter; that which cometh from the other worketh the same effects in foules: and as the sunne betweene two clouds, and after a foggy mist breaketh forth most ardent: even so Love after anger, fallings out, and fits of jealousie; upon attonement and reconciliation made be-

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tweene Lovers, is more pleasant and fervent: and looke what conceit some have of the sunne, that it is kindled and quenched alternately, namely, that every evening it goeth out, and every morning is lighted againe: the same they have of Love, as being mortall, corruptible, and not permanent in one estate: moreover, that habite or constitution of the body which is not exercised and inured to endure both cold and heat, can not abide the sunne; no more can that nature of the soule which is not well nurtured and liberally taught, be able to brooke Love, without some paine and trouble; but both the one and the other is transported out of order, yea and indisposed or diseased alike, laying the weight upon the force and power of Love, and not upon their owne impuissance and weaknesse: this onely seemeth to be the difference betwene them; that the sunne exhibiteth and sheweth unto those upon the earth who have their eyesight, things beautifull and foule indifferently; whereas Love is the light that representeth faire things onely, causing lovers to be lookers of such alone, and to turne toward them; but contrariwise to make none account of all others. Furthermore, they that attribute the name of *Venus* to the earth, are induced thereto by no similitude nor proportion at all; for that *Venus* is divine and celestiall, but the region wherein there is a mixture of mortall with immortall, is of it selfe feeble, darke, and shady, when the sunne shineth not upon it; like as *Venus*, when love is not affixed unto it: and therefore more credible it is, that the moone should resemble *Venus*, and the sunne Love, rather than any other god; yet are not they therefore all one, because the body is not the same that the soule is, but divers; & like as the sunne is sensible & visible; but Love spiritual and intelligible: and if this might seeme a speech somewhat harsh, a man might say, that the sunne doeth cleane contrary unto Love, for that it diverteth our understanding from the speculation of things intelligible unto the beholding of objects sensible, in abusing and deceiving it by the pleasure and brightnesse of the sight, perswading it to seeke in it, and about it, as all other things; so trueth it selfe, and nothing else where, being ravished with the Love thereof,

*For that we see it shine so faire  
Upon the earth, amidst the aire.*

according as *Empidius* saith, and that for want of knowledge and experience of another life, or rather by reason of forgetfulness of those things which Love reduceth into our memorie. For like as when we awake in some great and resplendent light, all nightly visions and apparitions vanish away and depart, which our soule saw during sleepe: even so it seemeth that the sunne doeth astonish the remembrance of such things as heere happen and chance in this life; yea, and to bewitch, charme, and enchant our understanding, by reason of pleasure and admiration, so as it forgetteth what it knew in the former life: and verily there is the true & real substance of those things; but heere apparitions onely, by which our soule in sleepe admireth, and embraceth that which is most beautifull, divine, and wonderfull: but as the Poet saith;

*About the same are vaine illusions,  
Dreams manifold, and foolish visions.*

And so the mind is perswaded that all things heere be goodly and precious, unless haply by good adventure it meet with some divine, honest, and chaste Love for to be her Physician and favor; which passing from the other world by things corporall, may conduct and bring it to the truth, and to the pleasant fields thereof, wherein is seated and lodged, the perfect, pure, and naturall beautie, not sophisticated with any mixture of that which is counterfeite and false; where they desire to embrace one another, and to commune together as good friends, that of long time have had no interview nor intercourse, assisted alwaies by Love, as by a Sextaine, who leadeth by the hand those that are professed in some religion, shewing unto them all the holy reliques and sacred ceremonies one after another. Now when they be sent hether againe, the soule by it selfe can not come neere and approach thereto, but by the organe of the body: and like as, because young children of themselves are not able to comprehend intelligible things; therefore Geometricians put into their hands visible and palpable formes, of a substance incorporeal and impassible, to wit, the representations of spheres, cubes, or square bodies, as also those that be *dodecaedra*, that is to say, having twelve equall faces: even so the celestiall Love doth present and shew unto us, faire mirrors to behold therein beautifull things, howbeit mortall, thereby to admire such as be heavenly and divine; sensible objects, for to imagine thereby those that be spiritual and intelligible. These be the severall favors and beauties, faire colours, pleasant shapies, proportions and features of young persons in the floure of their age; which shining and glittering as they doe, gently excite and stirre up our memorie, which by little and little

little at the first is enflamed thereby: whereby it cometh to passe that some through the folly of their friends and kinsfolke, endeavoring to extinguish this affection and passion of the minde, by force, and without reason, have enjoined no benefit thereof; but either filled themselves with trouble and sinnenke, or else running with their heads forward, into beastly and filthy pleasures, pined away and were consumed. But such as by wise and discreet discourse of reason, accompanied with honest and shamefast modestie, have taken from Love the burning furious and fire heat thereof, and left behinde in the soule a splendeur and light, together with a moderate heat (and not a boiling agitation thereof; stirring, as one said, a slippery motion of the seed, when as the atoms of *Epicurus* by reason of their smoothnesse and tickling are driven together) which causeth a certaine dilatation, wonderfull degenerative, like as in a plant or tree, which putteth forth leaves, blossomes, and fruit; for that she receiveth nutriment, because the pores and passages of docilitie, obedience and facilitie, to be perswaded by entreteining gently good admonitions and remonstrances be open, such I say within a small time pierce farther, and passe beyond the bodies of those whom they Love, enting as farre as into their soules, and touch their towardnesse, their conditions and manners, reclaiming their eyes from beholding the bodie, and conversing together by the communication of good discourses, behold one another by that meane; provided alwaies that they have some marke and token of true beautie imprinted within their understanding; which if they cannot finde, they forsake them, and turne their Love unto others, after the manner of bees, which leave many greene leaves and faire floures, because they can gather out of them no hony; but looke when they meet with any trace, any influence, or semblance of divine beauty smiling upon them, then being ravished with delight and admiration, and drawing it unto them, they take joy and contentment in that which is truly amiable, expetible, and to be embraced of all men.

True it is that Poets seeme to write the most part of that which they deliver as touching this god of Love, by way of meriment, and they sing of him as it were in a maske; and little doe they speake in good earnest touching the very truth, whether it be upon judgement and reason, or some divine instinct and inspiration: as for example among other things, that which they give out concerning the generation of this god, in this manner:

*Dame Iris with faire winged shoes,  
and golden yellow haire,  
Conceived by Sir Zephyrus,  
the mightiest god did beare.*

unless it be so that you also are perswaded by the Grammarians, who holde that this fable was devised to expresse the variety and gay diversitie, as it were of sundry colours represented in this passion of Love. For, what else should in respect (quoth *Daphnaus*.) Listen then said my father, and I will tell you. Forced we are, by manifest evidence to believe, that when we behold the rainbow, it is nothing else but a reflexion of raies and beames, which our eyes suffer, when our sight falling upon a cloud somewhat moist but even & smooth withall and of an indifferent and meane thicknesse, meeteth with the Sunne beames, and by way of repercussion seeth the radiant raies thereof, and the shining light about it, and so imprinteth in our mind this opinion, that such an apparition indeed is settled upon the cloud. And even such is the sophistical device and subtle invention of that in the generous and toward minds of gentle lovers, it causeth a certaine reflexion of memorie, from beauties appearing here, and so called, in regard of that divine, lovely indeed, blessed and admirable beautie. Howbeit the common sort, pursuing and apprehending the image onely thereof, expresse in faire persons, as well boies as young damoels, as it were in mirrors, can reape no fruit more certaine and assured than a little pleasure mingled with paine among; which is nothing else as it seemeth, but the error and wandering dizziness or conceit of most folke, who in clouds and shadows seeke and hunt after the contentment of their lust and desire: much like unto young children who thinke to catch the rainbow in their hands, being drawn and allured thereto by the deceitfull shew presented to their eyes. Whereas the true lover indeed, who is honest and chaste, doth farre otherwise: for he listeth up his desire from thence to a divine, spiritual and intelligible beauty: and whensoever he meeteth with the beauty of a visible bodie, he useth it as the instrument onely of his memorie, he embraceth and loveth it: by conversing also with it ioifully, & with contentment, his understanding is more and more inflamed. Such amorous persons as these, whiles they hunt these bodies here, neither rest to sitting still, in a desire and admiration of this cleare beautie: nor when they are come

come thither after their death, returne they hither againe as fugitives, for to hover and keepe about the dores, chambers and cabinets of young married wives, which are nothing else but vaine dreames and illusions appearing to sensuall men and women given overmuch to voluptuous pleasures of the body, and such as untruely be called lovers. For he, who intrueth is amorous, and is thither come where true beauties are, and converseth with them, as much as it is possible and lawfull for a man to doe, is winged anon, mounteth up on high, he is purified and sanctified, continually abiding resedent above, dauncing, walking and disporting alwaies about his god, untill he come backe again into the greene and faire meadowes of the Moone and of *Venus*, where, being laid a sleepe, he beginneth to receive a regeneration and new nativity. But this is an higher point and deeper matter, than we have undertaken at this present to discourse upon. To turne therefore unto our love, this propertie also it hath, like as all other gods, according to *Eu-ripides*,

*To take great joy and much content,  
When men with honors him profert.*

And contrariwise, he is no lesse displeased, when abuse or contempt is offered unto him. For most kinde and gracious he is unto them that receive and intertaine him courteously: and againe as curst and shrewd to those who shew themselves stiffe-necked and contumacious unto him. For neither *Jupiter* surnamed *Hospital*, is so ready to chastice and punish wrongs done unto guests and suppliants, nor *Jupiter Genetrix* so forward to prosecute & accomplish the curses and execrations of parents, as love quickly heareth the praiers of those lovers who are unthankfully requited by their loves, being the punisher of proud, rude, and uncivill persons. For what should one speake of *Encheyritus* and *Leucomantis*, her I meane, who even at this day is called in *Cyprus*, *Paraclypta*? And peradventure you have not heard of the punishment of *Gorge* in *Candia*, who was served much after the manner of the said *Paraclypta*, save onely that she was turned into a stone, when she would needs looke out at a window, and put forth her body to see the corps of her lover entered. But of this *Gorge* there was sometime one enamoured, whose name was *Asander*, a yooing gentleman, honest and of good parentage descended, who having beene before time of worshipfull and wealthy estate, was decayed much and brought to poverty: howbeit his minde a bated not so withall, that he thought himselfe unworthy of the best fortune that might be. Whereupon he sued unto this *Gorge* a kinsfellowman of his, by way of marriage, notwithstanding that for her goods and riches she was much sought unto & wooed by many others: and albeit he had divers great and wealthy competitors and corivals, yet he had wrought and gained all the guardians, tutours and neerest kinsfolke of the damoelle to serve his suit.

Here there is a great defect and breach in the originall.

Moreover those things which are named to be the causes that engender Love, be not proper and peculiar to the one sex or to the other, but common to them both. For those images which from without perce and enter into amorous persons, according to the Epicureans opinion, running to and fro, stirring and tickling the masse of the whole body, gliding and flowing into the generall feed, by certaine other dispositions of the atomes, it cannot be that they should so doe from yong boies, and impossible altogether from women: unless also these faire and sacred recordations we call and referre unto that divine, true and celestiall beautie, according to the Platoniques, by the meanes of which rememorations as with wings the soule is mounted and carried up. What should hinder then, but that such recordations may passe as well from yong boies as damoells or women? especially when as we see a good nature, chaff and honest, appeare jointly in the flower of favour and beauty, like as, according to *Aristotle*, a straight and well fashioned shoe, sheweth the good forme and proportion of the foot: which is as much to say, as when under beautifull faces and in neat and faire bodies, they, who are skillfull in the knowledge and iudgement of such things, perceive the cleare and evident traces of a sincere minde not corrupt nor counterfeit. For it is no reason that a voluptuous person being demanded this question,

*For wanton Love how stands thy minde?  
To male more, or to female kinde?*

and

and answering,

*Both hands are right with me where beauty is,  
Neither of swaine to mee can come a misse.*

Should seeme to have made fit and pertinent answer according to his owne carnall concupiscence: and that an honest and generous person should not direct his affections to the beautiful and toward disposition of a youthe's nature, but to the naturall parts that make difference of sex. Certes he that loveth horses and is skillfull in good horfmanship, will love no lesse the generosity and swiftnesse of the horse *Podergus*, then of *Aetha* the mare of *Agamemnon*. And the huntsman, taketh not pleasure onely to have good doggs and hounds of the male kinde, but also keepeth the braches and bitches of *Candia* and *Laconia*. And shall he who loveth the beauty and sweet favour of mankind, not be indifferently affected both to the one sex and to the other, but make a difference as in divers garments, betwene the love of men and women? And verily men say, that beauty is the flower and blossome of vertue. Now to say, that the feminine sex doth not flower at all, nor shew any apparence and token of a good and towardly disposition to vertue, were very absurd: for *Aeschylus* went to the purpose, when he wrote these verses:

*A damselfe young, if she have knownen  
and a seld man once carnally,  
Her eie doth it bewray anon,  
it sparkles fire suspiciously.*

Go to then: are there evident marks & signes to be seene upon the visages of women, to testifie a malapert, bold, wanton, and corrupt nature; and contrariwise, shall there be no light shining in their faces, to give testimony of their modestie and pudicitie? Or rather, shall there be divers demonstrative evidences in many of them, but yet such as will not stirre up and provoke any person to lovethem? Surely it is neither so nor so; there is no truth nor probabilitie in any of them both: but every thing is common indifferently, as well in the one sex as the other, as we have shewed.

Here also there is another want in the originall.

O *Dybanus*, let us impugne and confute those reasons, whereupon *Zeuxippus* erewhile discoursed, supposing that Love is all one with concupiscence, which is disordinate, and leadeth the soule into all loosenesse and dissolusion. And yet do I not thinke, that he is so perswaded indeed, and of that beliefe; but for that he hath heard often times odious persons, and such as have no loveliness in them, so to say: of whom, some holde under their hands, and have at command, poore silly women, whom they have gotten for some petty dowries sake, and whom together with their moneys they put to the managing of domesticall affaires, and to make base, vile, and mechanickall accounts, quarrelling and brawling with them every day; and others againe, having more minde and desire to get children, than to love espoused wives, like unto grathoppers, which cast their seed upon squilles, sea onions, or such like herbs, having discharged their lust in all the haste upon any body that first comes in their way, and reaped the fruit onely that they sought for, bid marriage farewell, and make no farther account of their wedded wives, or if they tary and stay with them still, they regard them no more than their olde shoes, making no count either to love them, or to be loved reciprocally of them. And verily, *σῆμα* and *σῆμα*, which signifie, to love and to be loved againe dearly, which differ but in one letter from the verbe *σῆμα*, that is to say, to containe and holde together, seeme unto me at the first sight, directly to import and shew a mutuall benevolence, by long time and acquaintance tempered with a kinde of necessity. But looke what person forever love setleth upon in marriage, so as he be inspired once therewith; at the very first, like as it is in *Platoes* Common-wealth, he will not have these words in his mouth, *Mine and Thine*: for simply all goods are not common among all friends, but those only who being severed apart in body, conjoine and colliquate, as it were perforce, their soules together, neither willing nor believing that they should be twaine, but one: and afterwards by true pudicity and reverence one unto the other, whereof wedlocke hath most need. As for that which commeth from without, carying with it more force of lawe, than voluntary obsequence and reciprocall duty, and that in regard of feare and shame,

Eccc

*A piece of worke, that needs the guide  
Of many bits, and helmes beside.*

requireth alwaies to have ready at hand a carefull regard among those that are coupled in matrimony: whereas in true love there is so much continency, modesty, loyalty and faithfulness, that although otherwhile it touch a wanton and lascivious minde, yet it diverteth it from other lovers, and by cutting off all malapert boldnesse, by taking downe and debasing insolent pride and untaught flubburnnesse, it placeth in lieu thereof, modest bashfulness, silence and taciturnity; it adorneth it with decent gesture, and seemly countenance, making it for ever after obedient to one lover onely. Ye have heard (I am sure) of that most famous and renowned courtisan *Lais*, who was courted and sought unto by so many lovers, and ye know well, how she too inflamed and set on fire all *Greece* with the love and longing desire after her; or to say more truly, how two seas strave about her? how after that the love of *Hippolochus* the Theffalian had ceased upon her, she quit and abandoned the mount *Acerocinthus*,

*Seated upon the river side,  
Which with greene waves byt did glide.*

as one writeth of it; and flying secretly from a great army as it were of other lovers, she retired herself right decently within *Megalopolis* unto him; where other women upon very spight, envie and jealousy, in regard of her surpassing beautie, drew her into the temple of *Venus*, and stoned her to death: whereupon it came, as it should seeme, that even at this day they call the said temple, The temple of *Venus* the murderesse. We our selves have known divers young maidens, by condition no better than slaves, who never would yeeld to lie with their master; as also sundry private persons of meane degree, who refused, yea, and disdained the companie of queenes, when their hearts were once possessed with other love, which as a mistresse had the absolute command thereof. For like as at *Rome*, when there was a Lord Dictatour once chosen, all other officers of State and magistrates valed bonet, were presently deposed, and laied downe their ensignes of authority; even so those, over whom Love hath gotten the mastery and rule, incontinently are quit, freed and delivered from all other lords and rulers, no otherwise than such as are devoted to the service of some religious place. And in trueth an honest and veruous dame, linked once unto her lawfull spouse by unfained love, will sooner abide to be clipped, claped and embraced by any wolves and dragons, than the contredaction and bedfellowship of 30 any other man whatsoever but her owne husband. And albeit there be an infinit number of examples among you here, who are all of the \* same country, and professed associates in onedance with this god Love; yet it were not well done to passe over in silence the accidents which befell unto *Camma* the Galatian lady. This young dame being of incomparable beauty, was married unto a tetrarch or great lord of that countrey named *Sinnatus*; howbeit, one *Synorix* the mightiest man of all the Galatians was enamoured upon her: but seeing that he could not prevail with the woman neither by force and perswasion, so long as her husband lived, he made no more ado but murdered him. *Camma* then having no other refuge for her pudicity, nor comfort and easement of her hearts griefe, made choise of the temple of *Diana*, where she became a religious votary, according to the custome of that countrey. And verily the most part of her time she bestowed in the worship of that goddesse, and would not admit speech with any suiters, many though they were, and those great personages, who sought her marriage: but when *Synorix* had made meanes very boldly to aske her the question, and to sollicite her about that point, she seemed not to reject his motion, nor to expostulate and be offended for any thing past, as if for pure love of her, and ardent affection, and upon no wicked and malicious minde unto *Sinnatus*, he had bene induced to do that which he did: and therefore *Synorix* came confidently to treat with her and demand marriage of her: she also for her part came toward the man kindly, gave him her hand, and brought him to the altar of the said goddesse; where after she had made an offering unto *Diana* by pouring forth some little of a certaine drinke made of wine & hony, as it should seeme, empoisoned, which she had put into a cup, she began unto *Synorix*, & dranke up the one halfe of it, giving the rest unto the said Galatian for to pledge her. Now when she saw that he had drunke it all off, she fetched a grievous grone, and brake forth aloud into this speech, naming withall her husband that dead was: My most loving and deere spouse (quoth she) I have lived thus long without thee in great sorrow and heavinesse expecting this day; but now receive me joyfully (seeing it is my good hap to be revenged for thy death upon this most wicked and ungratious wretch) as one most glad to have lived once with thee, and to die now with him. As for

\* *country*,  
or *happily* *happy*  
*country*.

for *Synorix*, he was caried away from thence in a litter, and died soone after; but *Camma* having survived him a day and a night, died by report most resolutely and with exceeding joy of spirit. Considering then, that there be many such like examples, aswel among us here in *Greece*, as the Barbarians, who is able to endure those that reproch and revile Love, as if being associate and assistant to love, she should hinder amitie? whereas contrariwise, the company of male with male, a man may rather terme intemperance and disordinate lasciviousnesse, crying out upon it in this manner:

*Grasse wantonnesse or filthy lust, is it  
Not Venus faire that workes it this.*

10 And therefore such filths & baggages as take delight to suffer themselves voluntarily thus to be abused against nature, we reckon to be the worst and most flagitious persons in the world; no man repose in them any trust, no man doth them any iote of honor and reverence, nor vouchsafeth them woorthy of the least part of friendship: but in very trueth, according to *Sophocles*,

*Such friends as these, men are full glad  
and joy when they be gone:*

*But whiles they have them, wish and pray,  
that they were rid anon.*

As for those, who being by nature leaud and naught, have bene circumvented in their youth, and forced to yeeld themselves and to abide this villany and abuse, al their life after, abhorre the sight of such wicked wantons, and deadly hate them, who have bene thus disposed to draw them to this wickednesse; yea, and ready they are to be revenged, and to pay them home at one time or other, whensoever meanes and opportunity is offered: for upon this occasion *Crates* killed *Archelaus*, whom, in his flower of youth he had thus spoiled: as also *Pytholaus* slew *Alexander* the tyrant of *Phrya*. And *Pertander* the tyrant of *Ambracia* demanded upon a time of the boy whom he kept, whether he were not yett with childe: which indignity the youth tooke to the heart, that he slew him outright in the place: whereas, with women, and those especially that be espoused and wedded wives, these be the earnest penies as it were and beginnings of amity; yea, & the very obligation and society of the most sacred & holiest ceremonies. As for fleshly pleasure it selfe, the least thing it is of all other: but the mutuall honour, grace, dilection and fidelity 30 that springeth and ariseth from it daily, is highly to be reckoned and accounted of: and therefore neither can the Delphians be noted for follic, in that they terme *Venus* *theia*, that is to say, a chariot; by reason of this yoke-fellowship: nor *Homer*, in calling this conjunction of man and wife, *shamos*, that is to say, amity and friendship. *Solan* likewise is deemed by this, to have bene an excellent law-giver, and most expert in that which concerneth marriage; when he decreed exprelly, that the husband should thrice in a moneth at the least embrace his wife and company in bed with her; not for cattall pleasures sake, (I assure you) but like as cities and states use, after a certaine time betwene, to renew their leagues and confederacies one with another, so he would have that the alliance of marriage should ensooones be entertained ancw by such solace and delectation, after jarres, which otherwhiles arise and breed by some bone cast betwene. 40 Yea, but there be many enormous and furious parts, will some one say, that are plaid by such as are in love with women. And be there not more (I pray) by those that are enamoured upon boies? do but marke him who uttereth these passionate words:

*So often as these eyes of mine behold  
That beardless youth, that smooth and lovely boy,  
I faint and fall: then wish I him to hold  
Within mine armes, and so to die with joy:  
And thus on tombe were set where I do lie,  
An Epigram, mine end to testify.*

But as there is a furious passion in some men doting upon women, so there is as raging an affection in others toward boies, but neither the one nor the other is love. Well, most absurd it were to say that women are not endued with other virtues: for what need we to speake of their temperance and chastity, of their prudence, fidelity and justice: considering that even fortitude it selfe, constant confidence and resolution, yea and magnanimity, is in many of them very evident. Now to holde, that being by nature not indisposed unto other virtues, they are untoward for amitie onely and frendship, (which is an imputation laid upon them) is altogether beside all reason. For well knownen it is that they be loving to their children and husbands: and this their





for to make the same faire and yellow like burnishing gold, hath a certaine propertie in it to pinguish withall, to incarnate, and so to raise and refine the flesh, that it causeth it to be lax, and so to swell and puffe up more plump: of this medicinable oile she made no spare, but used to rub and besmeare the other parts of her body, in such sort, as that by their proportionable rising, she hid her great belly, which grew more round and full every daie than other. Now when her time was come, she endured the pangs and paines of her travell in child-birth, alone by herselfe; being gone downe to her husband like a lionesse into her denne, and there she suckled at her owne breast secretly, if I may so say, her male whelpes, for two boy twinnes she was delivered of; of which two sonnes, the one chanced to be slaine in *Aegypt*, the other, not long since, but very lately, was with us at *Delphos*, named after his father, *Sabinus*. Howbeit for all this, *Vespassian* caused this lady to be put to death; but for this murder of his he dearly paid, and was punished accordingly: for within a while after, his whole posterity was utterly destroyed and rooted out from the face of the earth, so as there remained not one of his race: for there was not in those daies, and during his empire, a more cruell and inhumane fact committed; neither was there ever any other spectacle that both gods and angels seemed more to abhorre and to turne away their eyes from beholding. And yet her grandiloquence and stout resolutions in her speech, whereby she did exasperate and provoke *Vespassian* most, was such, that it diminished much the pittifull ruth and compassion, that the beholders of the execution had of her: for when she was past hope of obtaining her husbands life, she would needs die in his turne, and required that exchange for him, saying withall, that it was a greater joy unto her, to for to live in darkenesse and under the earth, than to see him emperor.

And heerewith (quoth my father) ended their discourse as touching Love, at what time as they were nere unto *Thesties*, for then they might perceive coming toward them, faster than with a foote pace, one of *Pisus* friends, named *Diogenes*; unto whom *Sostrus* spake aloud, when he was yet a good way off: You bring us no newes I hope *Diogenes* of warre: Oyle better than so (quoth he) being, as there is, a marriage toward; why mend you not your pace therefore, and make haste thither? for the nuptiall sacrifice staith onely for your coming: At which words (as my father said) all the rest of the company joied, and were exceeding glad, onely *Zeuxippus* shewed himselfe mal-content, and not well pleased; for he could not dissimble it: howbeit he was the first man that approved the act of *Ismenadora*, as good and lawfull: so and even now he willingly set a garland upon his owne head, and put on a white wedding robe, marching before all the companie through the market place, to render thanksgiving unto the god Love, for this marriage. Well done (quoth my father then) I sweare by *Jupiter*: goe we on all hands away, and let us be gone; that we may laugh and make our selves merie with this man, and withall adore and worships the god: for evident it is, that hee taketh joy in that which hath beene done, and is present with his favour and approbation to grace the wedding.



OF



## OF THE FACE AP- PEARING WITHIN THE ROUNDE OF THE MOONE.

### The Summarie.

**T**His dialogue is defective in the beginning thereof. In it are brought in Sylla and Pharnaces, with some others, disputing with Plutarch, as touching one point of naturall Philosophy, worthy to be considered and read over againe, by those that take delight in such pleasant speculations meete for good wits to be exercised in. The weight of this matter concerneth the globe of the Moone and toucheth principally this notable accident of the face which appeareth therein: by occasion whereof, divers questions depending upon the first and principall, are discussed and resolved by our author, according as he hath comprised and understood them. But here is the mischief in this discourse, like as in many others of this second tome, that it is not only headlesse, but maimed also and dismembred otherwise: and yet the transiour and the french especially hath with great dexterity laid the pieces together, so as the breaches can hardly be seene, unlesse a man looke very nere. Now the principall matters handled here, be these that follow. After that Plutarch had refused three opinions concerning the face in the Moone, and brought in one Lucius, maintaining that position of the Academies, who presuppose that the Moone is terrene and consisteth of an earthly substance, he entreteth into disputation against those who attribute one centre unto the world and the earth, labouring to confirme his owne opinion by divers arguments marked in their order: which he handleth with such a grace that yet a man may see withall, how naturall Philosophy destitute of that light of Gods word (which by Moses in the first chapter of Genesis resolveth and cleareth infinit disputations and controversies in these matters) is in a manner blinde and stumbleth many times most grossly and absurdly. Moreover, according to the traine of words and speeches, which commonly in such conferences follow one upon another, they treat of the centre and motion of the universall world, of the proportion thereof, and the principal parts of it, of the illumination of the Moone, of reflexions and mirrors, of eclipses and the shadow of the earth. Item, whether the Moone be a globe of fire, or of what else? what is her colour? from whence proceedeth & how cometh this resemblance of a face which is observed in her? whether she be inhabited or no? as also of her nature and effects. Toward the end he intermedleth a fable fetched from the Poets and ancient naturall Philosophy, for to mollifie and make more probable and credible that which had beene delivered as touching those that dwell within the Moone. In sum, this treatise giveth good proofe of the quicke and pregnant wit of our author, who could enter into, and perce through all things: whereof if he have not abrayes attained unto the exact knowledge, we should rather by all likelihood blame the iniquity of long time, which hath not permitted us to have these bookes entire and whole, than the insufficiency of so deepe a clerke. To conclude, this ought to unite those that sound and search into the secrets of nature, to joine with that which the moderne Philosophers of our time are able to write slightly and at ease of such matters, what hath beene delivered by the ancients, who indeed have made the coverture unto those who succeeded after them: to the end that there might be drawn out of them all, a certaine firmer resolution, which raiseth us up above the Moone, and all other celestiall bodies, unto the onely God and sole Creator of so many admirable works, thereby to acknowledge, serve and praise him according as his omnipotent greatness doth deserve.

OF

## OF THE FACE APPEARING in the roundle of the Moone.



Ell, thus much said *Sylla*, for it accorded well to my speech, and depended thereupon: but I would very willingly before all things else know, what need is there to make such a preamble for to come unto these opinions, which are so currant and rife in every mans mouth, as touching the face of the Moone. And why not (quoth I) considering the difficultie of these points which have driven us thither: for like as in long maladies, when we have tried ordinarie remedies, and usual rules of diet, and found no helpe thereby, we give them over in the end, and betake our selves to lustrall sacrifices and expiations, to annulets or preservatives for to be hanged about

our necks, and to interpretations of dreames: even so in such obscure questions, and difficult speculations, when the common and ordinarie opinions, when usual and apparent reasons will not serve nor satisfie us, necessary it is to assay those which are more extravagant, and not to reject and despise the same, but to enchant or charme our selves, as one would say, with the discourses of our auncients, and trie all means for to finde out the truth: for at the very first encounter you see, how absurd he is & intollerable, who faith, that the forme or face appearing in the Moone, is an accident of our eie-sight, that by reason of weaknes giveth place to the brightness thereof, which accident we call the dazzling of our eies, not considering withall, that this should befall rather against the Sunne, whose light is more resplendent, and beames more quicke and piercing, according as *Empedocles* himselfe in one place pleasantly noteth the difference, when he faith:

*The Sunne that shines so quicke and bright,  
The Moone with dimme and stony light.*

for so he expresseth that milde, amiable, pleasant, and harmelesse visage of the Moone: and afterwards rendereth a reason, why those, who have obscure & feeble sights, perceive not in the Moone any different forme or shape, but unto them her circle shineth plaine, even, uniforme and full round about; whereas they who have more quicke and piercing eies, doe more exactly observe the proportion and lineaments, and discern better the impression of a face, yea, and distinguish more perfectly and evidently the severall parts: for in mine opinion it would fall out cleane contrary, in case the weakenesse of the eie being overcome, caused this apparition, that where the patient eie is more feeble, there the said apparence and imagination should be more expresse and evident: furthermore, the inequality therein, doth fully every way confute this reason; for this face or countenance is not to be seene in a continuante and confuted shadow: But *Ageanax* the Poet, right elegantly depainteth in some sort the face, in these words:

*All round about environed  
With fire she is illumined:  
And in the middes there doth appeere,  
Like to some boy, a visage cleere:  
Whose eies to us doe seeme in view,  
Of colour grayish more than blew:  
The browes and forehead, tender seeme,  
The cheeks all reddish one would deeme.*

For in truth darke and shaddowy things, compassed about with those that are shining & cleare are driven downward, and the same doe rise againe receprocallly, being by them repulled, and in so one word, are interlaced one within another, in such sort as they represent the forme of a face lively and naturally depainted: and it seemeth that there was great probability in that which *Clearchus* said against your *Aristotle*. For this *Aristotle* of yours, though he familiarly conversed with that ancient *Aristotle*, perverted and overthrew many points of the Peripateticks doctrine. Then *Apollonides*, taking upon him to speake, demanded, what opinion this might be of *Aristotle* and upon what reason it was grounded. Surely (quoth I) it were more meet for any man

man else to be ignorant hereof, than for you, considering that it is grounded upon the very fundamental principles of Geometry. For this man affirmeth that the thing, which we call the face in the Moone, are the images and figures of the great ocean, represented in the Moone as in a mirror: for the circumference of a round circle, being reflected backe every way, is wont to deceive the sight in such things as are not directly seene. And the full Moone her selfe is, for evenesse, smoothnesse and lustre, the most beautifull and purist mirror in the world. Like as therefore yee holde, that the rainbow appeareth (when our eie-sight is reflected backe upon the Sunne) in a cloud, that hath gotten smoothnesse somewhat liquid, and a consistence withal; even so (quoth he) a man may see in the Moone the great ocean, without, not in the very place where it is situate: but from whence the reflexion by touching the light reverberat and sent backe, maketh a sight and apparition thereof. which *Ageanax* hath said in another place, after this manner,

*The figure of the Ocean  
is just resembled there  
In flaming mirror, when great waves  
it doth against it reare.*

*Apollonides* then, being perswaded that it was so; a singular opinion beleeve me (quoth he) this was of his, and when all is said, newly and after a strange manner devised by a man, who may be thought bold and confident enough in his projects, howbeit full of wit and a great cleke withall. But how did *Clearchus* refute the same? First & formost (quoth I) If the maine sea or ocean be all of one nature then it must needs be that the currant thereof is all one uniforme & continuante: but the apparence of those blacke & dim obscurities which are observed in the face of the Moone, is not even and continued, but there be certaine isthmes or partitions betwene cleere and bright, which divide and seperat that which is shadie and darke. Therefore seeing each part is distinct, and hath proper bounds and limits apart, the conjunctions & approachments of the cleere to that which is darke, making a semblance of high and low, do expresse and resemble the similitude of a figure, with eies & lips; so that of necessity we are to suppose, that there be many oceans and maine seas, distinguished by the isthmes of firme lands betwene: which is a manifest untruth. And admit that there is but one continued sea for all, it is not credible that the image thereof should appeare so dissipate and distracted by peeces: and as for this point, the surer way is, and lesse dangerous, to demand, than to affirme ought in your presence; namely whether, the habitable earth being equall in length and breadth, it be possible, that all the light reflected and sent backe by the Moone, should equally touch the whole ocean and all those that faile therein, and even such as seeme to dwell in it, as the Brittaines doe: seeing that your selves have maintained that the whole earth, in proportion to the globe or sphere of the Moone, is no more than a very pricke. As for this verily (quoth I) it is your part to regard and consider: and true it is that as touching the reverberation and reflexion of the light from the Moone, it belongeth neither to you nor to *Hipparchus*. And yet I assure you, my good freind *Lamprias* (quoth *Apollonides*) there be many naturalists, who holde it not good to affirme with *Hipparchus* that our sight is so driven backe; but they suppose and affirme, that it is more like and probable that it hath a certaine temperature and obesant compact structure, than such beatings and repercussions as *Epicurus* imagineth the Atomes have. Neither doe I beleeve that *Clearchus* would have us to suppose, that the Moone is a massive and waighy bodie, but celestiall and lightsome: against which you say that the refraction of our eie-sight should reach: and therefore all this reflexion, and reverberation falleth to the ground and comes to nothing. But if I should be urged, and intreated by him to receive and admit the same, I would aske him the question, how it comes to passe, that this image of the sea is to be seene onely in the bodie of the Moone, and not in any of the other starres? for by all likelihood and probability, our sight should suffer the same equally in all, or just in none at all. But I pray you (quoth I, casting mine eies upon *Lamprias*) call to minde againe that which was first delivered of our part, & by those of our side. Nay rather I am affraid (quoth *Lamprias*) least we may be thought to offer over much injury unto *Platon*, if we should so passe over the Stoicks opinion unconfuted, and without opposing any thing against it. Why then reply somewhat upon this man (quoth I) who holdeth that the Moon is a whole mixtion of the aire, and of some milde fire, and then afterwards faith, that like as in a calme, there happeneth other whiles a litle horror or winde, that rumbleth and bloweth upon the sea, even so the aire thereby becommeth blacke; and thereupon is made a certaine resemblance

blance and forme of a visage. Courteously done of you *Lucius* (quoth I) thus to clad and cover with faire words and good termes fo absurd and false an opinion. But so did not our friend, but spake the plaine troth, and said that the Stoicks disfigured the Moones face making it blacke and blew, and filling it with darke spots and clouds, and withall invocating her by the name of *Minerva* and *Diana*, and in the meane while making her a lumpie as it were of paste, consisting of darke aire and a fire of charcole, that cannot burne out, nor yeeld light of it selfe, but having a body hard to be judged and knowne, ever smoaking and alwaies burning like to those lightnings which by the Poets are called, lightlesse and smoakie. But that a fire of coales, such as they would have that of the Moone to be, continueth not long, nor can so much as substist, if it meete not with some solid matter, which may holde it in and withall feed and nourish it; I suppose that they know better, who in meriment say that *Vulcane* is lame and doth halt, than these Philosophers doe: for that indeed fire cannot goe forward without wood or fwell, no more than a lame cripple without his staffe or crouches. If then the Moone be fire, how cometh it to have so much aire in it? For this region aloft which mooveth round, doth not consist of aire, but of some other more noble substance, which is able to subtilize and set on fire every thing beside. But in case it be afterwards engendred in it, how is it that it perissheth not by being changed and transmuted by the fire into a celestiall substance, but maintaineth it selfe, and continueth together as it were, cohabiting with the fire so long, like unto a spike or nail fast set continually in the same parts, and fitted thereto? For being rare as it is, and diffused, meet it were that it should not so abide and continue, but be dissipated and resolved; and to grow compact and thicke it is impossible, so long as it is mixed with fire, having no earth nor water; which are the two onely elements whereby the aire will gather to a consistence and thicknesse. Moreover, the swiftnesse and violence of motion, is wont to enflame the aire that is within stones, yea, and in lead as cold as it is: much more then, that which is in fire, being whirled about, and turned with so great celeritie and impetiositie: for in this regard they are offended with *Empedocles*, for that he made the Moone congealed aire, in manner of haile, and included within a sphere of fire: and yet themselves say, that the Moone being a sphere or globe of fire, doeth enclose and containe the aire disperfed to and fro; and that the same hath neither ruptures nor concavities, ne yet any profundities, which they admit who will have the Moone to be of earth, but forsooth superficially onely, and as it were settled upon the imbossed and swelling backe thereof: which is against all reason, if it be to endure, and cannot possibly be, in case we give credit to that which we do see in full Moones: for divided it ought not to be, and separate apart, being blacke and darke, but either being hidden, to be altogether darkened, or else to be illuminate when the Moone is overspied by the Sunne. For heere beneath with us, the aire that is in deepe pits and low caves of the earth, where the Sunne beames never come, remaineth darke and shade, without any light at all: but that which is spred about the earth, is cleere, and of a lightsome colour; for by reason of the raritie thereof, it is very easie to be transmuted into every qualitie and facultie; but principally by the light, which if it never so little touch it, as they say, and lay hold of it, you shall see it incontinently changed, and light throughout. This very reason therefore seemeth greatly to helpe and maintaine the opinion of them who drive the aire into I wot not what deepe vallies and pits within the Moone; as also to confute you, who mingle and compound I know not how, her sphere of fire and aire; for impossible it is that there should remaine any shadow or obscuritie in the superficies thereof, when the Sunne with his brightnesse doeth cleere and illuminate whatsoever part of the Moone we are able to discern, and cut with our eye-sight. And as I spake these words, even before I had made an end of my peeche: See (quoth *Pharnces*) the ordinary cast of the Academie, how it is, practised upon us, in that they busie themselves evermore, and spend time in all their discourses to speake against others, but never allow the discussing and reprooving of that which they deliver themselves: but if any happen to conferre and dispute with them; they must plead in their owne defence alwaies, and not be allowed to reply or come upon them with any accusations: for mine owne part, you shall not draw me this day to render a reason of such matters as you charge upon the Stoicks, nor to speake in their behalfe, before I have called you to an account: for thus turning the world upside downe, as you doe. Heereat *Lucius* laughing; And very well content am I good sir, (quoth he) so to do, provided alwaies, that you accuse us not of impietie; like as *Aristarchus* thought that the Greeks ought to have called *Cleanthes* the Samean into question, judiciously & to condemne him for his impietie and Atheisme, as one that thooke the very foundations

dations of the world to overthrow all, in that the man endeavoring to save and maintaine those things which appeare unto us above, supposed the heaven to stand still as immooveable, and that it was the earth that mooved round by the oblique circle of the Zodiacke, and turned about the owne axeltree. As for us, we speake of our selves, and in our owne behalfe. But they, my good friend *Pharnces*, who suppose that the Moone is earth, why doe they turne the world upside downe, more than you; who place the earth heere hanging in the aire, being faire greater then the Moone, as the Mathematicians take their measure, in the accidents of the eclipses, and by the passages of trajections of the Moone through the shadow of the earth, collecting thereby the magnitude thereof, and what space it taketh up? for surely the shadow of the earth is lesse than it selfe, by reason that it is cast by a greater light. Now that the said shadow is straight, and pointed upward toward the end, *Homer* himselfe was not ignorant, but signified as much, when he called the night *noctua*, for the sharpenesse at the point of the said shadow; and yet the Moone as it appeareth in her eclipses, being caught and comprehended within the compass of that shadow, hath much ado to get out of it, by going forward in length, thrice as much as her owne bignesse comes to. Consider then, how many times greater must the earth needs be than the Moone, if it be so, that the shadow which it casteth, where it is sharpest and narrowest, is thrice as much as the Moone. But yee are afraid least the Moone should fall, if she were avowed to the earth: (for it may be haply, that *Aeschylus* hath sealed you a warrant, and secured you for the earth, when he said thus of *Atlas*:

*He standeth like a pillar strong and sure,  
From earth to heaven above that reacheth straight:  
To beare on shoulders twaine, he doeth endure  
A masse burden and unwieldy weight.)*

if under the Moone there runne and be spred a light and thin aire, not firme and sufficient for to susteine a solide masse: whereas according to *Pindarus*:

*To beare the earth there standeth most puissant  
Columns and pillars of hard diamant.*

And therefore *Pharnces* for himselfe is out of all feare, that the earth will fall; may he pittieeth those who are directly and plumbie under the course of the Moone, and namely the Aethiopians, and those of *Taprobana*, least so weightie a masse should tumble downe upon their heads. And yet the Moone hath one good meane and helpe to keepe her from falling, to wit, her very motion and violent revolution, like unto those bullets or stones, or whatsoever weights be put within a sling, they are sure enough from slipping or falling out, so long as they be violently swong and whirled about. For every body is carried according to the naturall motion thereof, if there be no other cause to empeach or turne it aside out of course: which is the reason that the Moone mooveth not, according to the motion of her poise, considering the inclination thereof downward, is staied and hindered by the violence of a circular revolution. But peradventure more cause there were to marvel, if she should stand altogether as the earth, immovable: whereas now the Moone hath this great cause to empeach her, for not tending downward hither. As for the earth, which hath no other motion at all to hinder it; great reason there is, that according to that onely weight of the owne, it should moove downward and there settle; for more heavy it is than the Moone, not so much in this regard, that greater it is, but more, for that the Moone by reason of heat and adustion of fire, is made the lighter. In briefe, it appeareth by that which you say, if it be true that the Moone be fire, it hath need of earth, or some other matter to rest upon and cleave unto, for to maintaine, nourish, and quicken still the power that it hath: for it cannot be conceived or imagined, how fire should be preserved without fuel, or matter combustible. And you your selves affirme, doe yee not? that the earth abideth firme and sure, without any base or pedestal to susteine and hold it up? Yes verily (quoth *Pharnces*) being in the proper and naturall place, which is the very mids and center. For this is it whereto all heavy and weightie things doe tend, incline, and are carried to, from every side, and about which they cling, and be counterpeized: but the upper region throughout, if haply there be any terrestriall and heavy matter, by violence sent up thither, repelleth and casteth it downe againe with force incontinently, or to speake more truly, letteth it goe and fall, according to the owne naturall inclination, which is to tend and settle downward.

For the answer and refutation whereof, I willing to give *Lucius* some reasonable time to summon his wits together, and to thinke upon his reasons: and calling unto *Theon* by name, Which

Which of the tragical Poets was it (*Theon* quoth I) who said that Physicians  
Bitter medicines into the body poure,

When bitter cholers they meane to purge and scoure?

And when he made me answer that it was *Sophocles*. Well (quoth I) we must permit them so to doe upon necessity: but we ought not to give care unto Philosophers, if they would maintain strange paradoxes, by other positions as absurd, or to confute admirable opinions, devise others much more extravagant and wonderfull; like as these here who broche and bring in a motion forsooth tending unto a middle, wherein, what absurdity is there not? Holde not they that the earth is as round as a ball, and yet we see how many deepe profundities, haucie sublimities & manifold inequalities it hath? affirme not they that there be antipodes dwelling opposit one unto another, and those sticking as it were to the sides of the earth with their heeles upward & their heads downward all arse verſe, like unto these woodwormes or cats which hang by their sharpe claws? Would not they have even us also that are here for to goe upon the ground not plumb upright, but bending or enclining sidelong, reeling and staggering like drunken folke? Doe they not tell us tales, and would make us believe, that if barres and masses of iron waighing a thousand talents a peece, were let fall downe into the bottom of the earth, when they came once to the middle centre thereof, will stay and rest there, albeit nothing els came against them nor sustained them up? And if peradventure by some forcible violence they should passe beyond the said midst, they would soone rebound backe thither againe of their owne accord? Say not they that if a man should faw off the trunks or ends of beams on either side of the earth, the same would never settle downward still throughout, but from without forth fall both into the earth, and so equally meet one another, and cling together about the hart or centre thereof. Suppose not they that if a violent streame of water should runne downward still into the ground, when it met once with the very point or centre in the midst, which they holde to be incorporall, it would then gather together and turne round in maner of a whirlepoole, about a pole, waving to and fro there continually like one of these pendant buckets, and, as it hangeth, wagge incessantly without end? And verily some of these assertions of theirs are so absurd, that no man is able to enforce himselfe to imagine in his minde although falsely, that they are possible. For this indeed is to make high and low all one: this is to turne all upside downe: that those things, which be come as farre as to the midst, shall be thought below and under: and what is under the middle shall be supposed above and aloft; in such sort, as that if a man, by the sufferance and consent of the earth, stood with his navell just against the middle and centre of it, he should by this meanes have his head and his heeles both together standing upward: and if one should come and digge through the place beyond that part of him which was above, shall in the digging be drawn downward, and that which was beneath be cast upward both at once: and if there may be imagined another to goe cleane contrary unto him, their feet which were opposite one unto the other, should nevertheless be said and be indeed both together, beneath and above. Thus they both carrying upon their backs and also drawing after them, not I assure you a box or litle budget, but a fardle and packe, I sweare unto you, of judglers boxes full of so many and so grosse paradoxes and absurdities, wherewith they play passe and repasse, yet the say for all this, that others erre, who place the Moone which they holde to be earth, above, and not where the midst and centre of the world is. And yet if every ponderous body, incline to the same place and bendeth from all sides and on every part to the midst thereof, certainly the earth shall not appropriate and challenge unto it selfe waightie masses as parts thereof because it is the middle of the world, more than in regard it is whole and entire: and the gathering together of heavie bodies about it, shall be no signe nor argument to shew that it is the middle of the world, but rather to prove and testifie that these bodies which have bene taken and pulled from it and returned againe, have a communication and conformitie in nature with the earth. For like as the Sunne converteth into it selfe the parts whereof it is composed, even so the earth receiveth and beareth a stone, as a part appertaining unto it, in such sort as in time every one of these things is incorporate and united with it. And if it chanced that there be some other body which from the beginning was not allotted and laid unto the earth nor plucked from it, but had a part from it, a proper consistence and peculiar nature of the owne, as they may say the Moone had, what should let, but it may abide severally by it selfe, compacted and bound close together in all the proper parts thereof? For heereby, is not the shewed demonstratively that the earth is the midst of the whole world: and the conglotation of waighty bodies

dies heere and their concretion which the earth declareth unto us the maner how it is probable that the parts the which be their gathered to the bodie of the Moone, may there also remaine. But he who driveth all earthly and ponderous things into one place, ranging them altogether, and making them the parts of one and the same bodie, I marvell why he attributeth not in like maner the same force and constraint unto light substances, but suffereth so many conglotations of fire to be apart and distinct afunder, neither can I see the reason why he should not bring all the starres into one, and thinke that there ought to be one entire body of all those substances that flie upward and are of fire nature. But you Mathematicians, (friend *Pollonides*) affirme that the Sunne is distant from the *Primum Mobile*, and highest scope of heaven, infinite thousand sands of miles: and after him, that the day starre *Venus* and *Mercury*, with the other Planets, which being situate under the fixed starres, and distant one from another, by great intervals and spaces betwene, doe make their severall revolutions: meane while you doe not thinke, that the world affordeth unto heavy and terrestriall bodies, a great and large place in it, and a distance one from another. But see what a ridiculous thing it were, to denie the Moone to be earth because it is not seated in the lowest place of the world; and withall to affirme it to be a star so farre remote from the firmament and *Primum Mobile*, even a huge number of *stadia*, as if it were plunged low into some deepe gulfe: for so farre under other starres she is, as no man can expresse, and even you Mathematicians want numbers to reckon and summe the distance: and she seemeth after a sort to touch the very earth, making her revolution as the doth, so nere unto the tops of high mountaines, leaving behinde her (as *Empedocles* saith) the very prints and tracks of her chariot wheelles upon them: for often times she surpasseth not the shadow of the earth, which is very short, and reacheth not high, by reason of the excellencye greatnesse of the Sunne that shineth upon it: and she seemeth to walke her stations so neere unto the upper face of the earth, and in a maner within the armes of it, that she obstructeth and hideth from us the light of the Sunne, because the mounten not above this shadowy, terrestriall and darke region like unto the night, which is (as one would say) the very finge and marches allotted to the earth. And therefore a man may be bolde to say, that the Moone is within the limits and confines of the earth, seeing withall that darkened and shadowed it is by the high crests and tops of mountaines therein. But to leave all other starres, as well fixed as wandring, consider the demonstrations of *Aristarchus* in his treatise of *Magnitudes and Distances*, that the distance of the Sunne from us is more than that of the Moone, above eightene folde, but under twentie: and he verily who raiseth the Moone highest, saith that she is from us, fix and fifty times as farre as is the centre of the earth; the distance whereof is fortie thousand *stadia*. By their calculation who keepe a meane, and according to this supputation, the Sunne ought to be distant from the Moone more than foure thousand and thirty *stadia* ten thousand times tolde: so farre (I say) is she off from the Sunne in regard of her ponderosity, and so neere approacheth she unto the earth: so that if, by places, we ought to distinguish of substances, the region and portion of the earth challengeth the Moone, and in regard of her proximity and vicinage unto it, she ought by right to be reckoned and enrolled among the natures, affaires, and bodies terrestriall. Neither shall we do amisse in my conceit, if having given unto these bodies (that are said to be aloft) so large a space and distance, we allow also to those beneath, such a race and spacious rounne to runne in, as is from the earth to the Moone: for as he is not moderate nor tolerable, who calleth the upper superficies onely and cope of the heaven *æther*, that is to say, aloft, or superiour; and all the rest *ære*, that is to say, beneath; so he who termeth the earth or rather the center of it onely, *gæa*, that is to say, below or inferiour, is not to be endured; considering that the huge vastity of the world may afford, even in this region beneath, such a competent space as is meet and convenient for motion. For if one would mainteine, that all above the earth is immediately to be counted high and aloft; another presently will come upon him with this contradiction, and say, that he may as well hold, that whatsoever is beneath the *Primum mobile* or terrestriall firmament, ought to be called, Below. In summe, how is the earth called, The middle? and whereof is it the middle? for the universall frame of the world, called *æther*, is infinit; and this infinit which hath neither head nor foot: how can it in reason have a navell? for even that which we call the mids of any thing, is a kinde of limitation; whereas infinitie is a meere privation of all limits and bounds. As for him who saith, it is not in the mids of that universalitie, but of the world, he is a pleasant man, if he thinke not withall, that the world it selfe is subject to the same doubts and difficulties: for the said universall frame leaveth not unto the very world a middle,



middle, but is without a certaine feat, without affured footing, mooving in a voidnesse infinite, not into some one place proper unto it: and if haply it should meet with some any other cause of stay, and so abide still, the same is not according to the nature of the place. And as much may we conjecture of the Moone, that by the meanes of some other soule or nature, or rather of some difference, the earth continueth firme beneath, and the Moone mooveth. Furthermore you see, how they are not ignorant of a great error and inconvenience: for if it be true, that whatsoever is without the centre of the earth, it skils not how, is to be counted Above and Aloft, then is there no part of the world to be reckoned Below or Beneath; but aswell the earth it selfe, as all that is upon it, shal be above & aloft: and to be short, every bodie neere or about the centre, must go among those things that are aloft; neither must we reckon any thing to be under or beneath, but one pricke or point, which hath no bodie: and the same forsooth must make head and stand in opposition necessarily, against all the whole nature besides of the world; in case, according to the course of nature, *above* and *below*, that is to say, above and beneath, be opposite. And not onely this absurdity will follow, but also all heave and ponderous bodies must needs lose the cause, for which they bend and incline hither: for, bodie there will be none, toward which it should move: and as for this pricke or centre that hath no bodie, there is no likelihood, neither would they themselves have it so, that it should be so puissant and forcible, as to draw to it, and reteine about it, all things. And if it be found unreasonable and repugnant to the course of nature, that the world should be all above, and nothing beneath, but a terme or limit, and the same without body, without space and distance; then this that we say, is yet more unreasonable, namely, that the region beneath and that above, being parted distinctly one from another, have nevertheless each of them a large and spacious route to round themselves in. But suppose (if it please you) it were against nature, that terrestriall bodies should have any motion in heaven; let us consider gently and in good termes, not after a tragical maner, but mildly, this prooveth not by-and-by, that the Moone is not earth, but rather, that earth is in some place, where naturally it should not be: for the fire of the mountaine *Aetna*, is verily under the ground, against the nature of it; howbeit, the same ceaseth not therefore to be fire. The winde contained within leather bottles, is of the owne nature light and given to mount upward, but by force it cometh to be there, where naturally it ought not to be. Our very soule it selfe (I beseech you in the name of *Jupiter*) is it not against nature deteined within the body; being light, so in that which is heave; being of a fire substance in that which is colde, as yee your selves say; and being invisible, in that which is grosse and palpable? do we therefore denie, that the soule is within the bodie, that it is a divine substance under a grosse and heave masse, that in a moment it passeth thorowout heaven, earth and sea; that it pierceth and entreth within flesh, nerves and marrow; and finally, is the cause together with the humors of infinite passions? And even this *Jupiter* of yours, such as you imagine and depaint him to be, is he not of his owne nature a mighty and perpetuall fire? howbeit, now he submitteth himselfe and is pliable; subject he is to all formes and apt to admit divers mutations. Take heed therefore, and be well advised (good sir) lest that in transferring and reducing every thing to their naturall place, you do not philosophize, as that you will bring in a dissolution of all the world, and set on foot againe that olde quarrell and contention among all things which *Empedocles* writeth of: or, to speake more to the purpose, beware you raise not those ancient Titans and Giants, to put on armes against nature: and so consequently endeavour to receive and see againe that fabulous disorder and confusion, whereby all that is weightie, goeth one way, and whatsoever is light, another way apart,

Where neither light some countenance  
of Sunne, nor earth all Greene  
With herbs and plants, admired is,  
nor surging seas is seene.

according as *Empedocles* hath written; wherein the earth. seeleth no heat, nor the water any winde; wherein there is no ponderosity above, nor lightnesse beneath; but the principles and elements of all things be by themselves solitary, without any mutuall love or dilection between them; not admitting any society or mixture together, but avoiding and turning away one from the other, mooving apart by particular motions, as being disdainfull, proud, and carying themselves in such sort, as all things do where no god is, as *Plato* saith, that is as those bodies are affected wherein there is no understanding nor soule, untill such time as by some divine providence there come into nature a desire; and so amity, *Venus* and Love be there engendred, according to the

the sayings of *Empedocles*, *Parmenides* and *Hesiodus*; to the end, that changing their naturall places and communicating reciprocally their gifts and faculties; some driven by necessity to moove, other bound to rest; they be all forced to a better state, remitting somewhat of their power, and yielding one to another, they grew at length unto accord, harmony and societie. For if there had not bene any other part of the world against nature, but that each one had bene both in place, and for quality, as it ought naturally to be, without any need of change or transposition, so that there had bene nothing at the first wanting, I greatly doubt what and wherein was the worke of divine providence; or whereupon it is, that *Jupiter* was the father, creator and maker. For in a campe or field, there would be no need of a man who is expert and skillfull in ranging and ordering of battell, in case every souldier of himselfe knew his ranke, his place, his time and opportunity, which he ought to take, keepe and observe. Neither would there be any use of gardeniers, carpenters or masons, if water were of it selfe taught naturally to go where as it is needfull, and to runne and overflow a place which requieth watering; and if bricks, timber, logs and stones by their owne inclinations and naturall motions, were to range and couch themselves orderly in their due places. Now if this reason and argument of theirs doth directly abolish all providence; if order belong unto God, together with the distinction of all things in the world; why should any man wonder, that nature hath bene so disposed and ordered by him, as that fire should be here, and the starres there? and againe, that the earth should be seated here below, & the Moone placed there above, lodged in a more sure & strong prison, devised by reason, than that which was first ordained by nature? For were it so, that absolutely and of necessity, all things should follow their naturall instinct, and move according to that motion which naturally is given them, neither would the Sunne runne his course any more circularly, nor *Venus*, nor any other planet whatsoever; for that such light substances, and standing much upon fire, mount directly upward. Now if it be so, that nature receiveth such an alteration and change in regard of the place, as that our fire here being moved and stirred, riseth plumbe upward; but after it is gotten once up to heaven, together with the revolution thereof, turneth round: what marvel is it, if semblably, heave and terrestriall bodies, being out of their naturall places, be forced & overcome by the circumstant aere, to take unto another kind of motion? For it can not be said with any reason, that heaven hath this power to take from light substances the propriety to mount aloft, and can not likewise have the puissance to vanquish heave things & such as naturally move downward: but one while it maketh use of that power of her owne, another while of the proper nature of things, alwaies tending to the better. But to let passe these habitudes and opinions whereto we are servilly addicted, and to speake frankly and without feare what our minde is, I am verily perswaded, that there is no part of the universall world, that hath by it selfe any peculiar order, feat or motion, which a man simply may say to be naturall unto it: but when each part exhibiteth and yeeldeth profitably that, wherefore it is made, and whereto it is appointed, moving it selfe, doing or suffering, or being disposed as it is meet and expedient for it, either for safetie, beautie, or puissance, then seemeth it to have place, motion and disposition, proper and convenient to the owne nature. For man, who is disposed (if any thing els in the whole world) according to nature, hath in the upper parts of the bodie, and especially about his head, those things that be ponderous and earthy; but in the mids thereof, such as be hore and of a fiery nature; his teeth, some grow above, others beneath; and yet neither the one range of them nor the other, is against nature. Neither is that fire which shineth above in his eyes, according to nature, and that which is in the bellie and heart, contrary to nature, but in each place is it properly seated and commodiously. Now if you consider the nature of shell-fishes, you shall finde, that (as *Empedocles* saith)

The oysters, mures of the sea,  
and shell-fish every one,  
With mus sic coats; the tortoise eke,  
with crust as hard as stone,  
And vaulted backe, which archwise he  
aloft doth hollow reare;  
Shew all, that heave earth they do  
above their bodies beare.

And yet this hard coat and heave crust, like unto a stone, being placed over their bodies, doth not presse or crush them; neither doth their naturall heat, in regard of lightnesse, rise up and vanish away, but mingled and composed they are one with the other, according to the nature of

every one. And even so it standeth to good reason, that the world, in case it be animall, hath in many places of the body thereof, earth, and in as many, fire and water, not driven thither perforce, but so placed & disposed by reason: for the eie was not by the strength of lightnesse forced to that part of the body wherein it is; neither was the hart depressed downe by the weight that it had, into the brest; but because it was better and more expedient for the one and the other, to be seated where they are. Semblably, we ought not to thinke, that of the parts of the world, either the earth seated where it is, because it fell downe thither by reason of ponderosities, or the Sunne, in regard of lightnesse, was carried upward, like unto a bottle bladder full of winde, which being in the bottome of the water, presently riseth up, (as *Merodorus of Chios* was persuaded) or other stars, as if they were put in a ballance, inclined this way or that, as their weight more or lesse required, and so mounted higher or lower to those places where now they are seated: but rather by the powerful direction of reason in the first constitution of the world, some of the starres like unto bright and glittering eies have bene set fast in the firmament, as one would say aloft in the very forehead thereof: and the Sunne representing the power and vigor of the heart, sendeth and distributeth in manner of blood and spirits, his heat and light throughout all. The earth and sea are to the world, proportionable to the paunch and bladder in the body of a living creature: the moone situate betweene the Sunne and the earth, as betweene the heart and the bellie, resembling the liver or some such soft bowell, transmitteth into the inferior parts here beneath, the heat of those superior bodies, and draweth to herselfe those vapors that arise from hence, and those doth she subtilize & refine by way of concoction and purification, and so send and distribute them round about her. Now whether that solid and terrestriall portion in it, hath some other propertie serving for a profitable use or no; it is unknown to us; but surely it is evermore the best and surest way in all things, to go by that which is needfull: for what probability or likelihood can we draw from that which they deliver? They affirme, that of the aire the most subtle and light some part, by reason of the raritie thereof, became heaven; but that which was thickened and closely driven together, went to the making of starres; of which the Moone being the heaviest of all the rest, was concreat and compact of the most grosse and muddy matter thereof: and yet a man may perceive how she is not separate nor divided from the aire, but moveth and performeth her revolution through that which is about her, even the region of the winds; and where comets or blasing starres be engendered and hold on their course. Thus these bodies have not bene by their naturall inclinations, according as each of them is light or heavey, placed and situate as they be, but surely by some other reason they have bene so ranged and ordeined.

After these words were said, when I would have given unto *Lucius* his turne to speake, and to hold on this discourse, there being nothing at all behinde left, but the demonstrations of this doctrine: *Aristotle* began to smile, I am a witnesse (quoth he) that you have directed al these your contradictions and refutations, against those, who hold that the Moone is it selfe halfe fire; and who affirme, that all bodies of their owne accord, tend either upward or downward directly: But whether there be any one who saith, that the Starres of their owne nature, have a circular motion, & that in substance they be far different from the foure elements; that came not ever, so much as by chance and fortune into your remembrance: and therefore I count my selfe exempt from all trouble and molestacion in that behalfe. Why, good sir (quoth *Lucius*) if yee should haply suppose and set downe, that the other starres, and the whole heaven besides, were of a pure and sincere nature, voide of all change and mutation, in regard of passion, as also bring in a certaine circle, in which they performed their motions by a perpetual revolution, you should not finde any one at this time to gaine-say you; notwithstanding there were in this position doubts and difficulties innumerable. But when your speech is descended so low as to touch the Moone, then can it not mainteine in her that impassibility, and the celestially beautie of that body. But to leave all other inequalities and differences therein; certes, that very face which appeareth in the body of the Moone, cometh necessarily from some passion of her owne substance, or else by the mixture of some other, (for that which is mingled in some sort alwaies suffereth) because it loseth that former puritie, being perforce overcast and filled with that which is worfe. As for that dull and slow course of hers, that weake and feeble heat where-by, as the Poet *Ion* saith,

*The grapes their kinde concoction lacke,  
And on the vine tree turne not blacke.*

unto what shall we attribute the same, if not to her imbecillitie, in case an eternall and heavenly body

body can be subject unto any such passion? In summe, my good friend *Aristotle*, if the Moone be earth, surely a most faire and beautifull thing it seemeth to be, and full of great maiesticke: if a starre, or light, or some divine and celestially body, I am affraid least the proove deformed and foule, yea, and disgrace that beautifull name of hers, in case of all those bodies in heaven, which are in number so many, she onely remaineth to have need of the light of another,

*Casting behinde, her eie alwaies,*

*Upon the Sunne and his bright raies.*

according as *Parmenides* writeth. And verily our familiar friend, having in a lecture of his, prooved by demonstration this proposition of *Anaxagoras*; that all the light which the Moone hath, the Sunne giveth unto her, was commended and well reputed for it. For mine owne part, I am not minded to say what I have learned, either of you, or with you; but taking this for a thing granted and confessed, I will proceed forward to the rest behinde. Probable therefore it is, that the Moone is illuminate, not in manner of a glasse or crysfall stone, by the bright irradiation and shining beames of the Sunne striking through her; neither yet by a certaine collustration and mutuall conjunction of lights, as torches which being set a burning together, do augment the light: for so it would be no lesse full moone in the conjunction or first quarter, than in the opposition, in case she did not containe and keepe in, nor repell the raies of the sunne, but suffer them to passe through her by reason of her raritie and frugositie, or if by a contemperate she shineth and kindleth as it were the light about her: for we cannot alledge her oblique and biase declination, or her averfions and turnings away, before and after the conjunction or change, as when it is halfe Moone, tipped croissant, or in the wane; but being directly and plumbe under the bodie that illuminateth it, as *Democritus* saith, it receiveth and admitteth the Sunne, in such sort, as by all likelihood she should then appeare, and he shine through her: But so farre is the from so doing, that both herselfe at such a time is unseene, and many times hideth the Sunne, and keepeth off his beames from us: for according to *Empedocles*,

*His raies aloft she turneth cleane aside,*

*That to the earth beneath they cannot wend:*

*The earth this selfe she doth obscure and hide,*

*So farre as she in compasse doth extend.*

As if this light of the Sunne fell upon night and darknesse and not upon another starre. And whereas *Pojadanius* saith, that in regard of the thicknes & depth of the Moones body, the light of the Sun can not through her pierce, as far as unto us, this is manifestly convinced as untrue. For the aire as infinite as it is, and deeper by many degrees than the Moone, is nevertheless illuminated and lightned all over, and throughout by the Sunne. It remaineth therefore that according to the opinion of *Empedocles*, the Moone-light which appeareth unto us, cometh by the reflexion and repercussion of the Sunne-beames. And hereupon it is, that the same is not with us hot and bright, as of necessitie it would be, if it did proceed either from the inflammation or commixtion of two lights. But like as the refraction or reverberation of a voice, doth cause an echo, or resonance more obscure than is the voice it selfe, as it was pronounced; and as the raps, that shot, rebounding backe againe, doeth give, are more milde and soft,

*Even so the Sunne beames when they beat*

*Upon the Moone in compasse great.*

yeeld a weake and feeble reflexion or refuxion, as one would say of light, the force thereof being much abated & resolved by the refraction & reflexion. Then *Sylla*: Certes, great probability this carlieth with it, that you have delivered: But the most forcible objection that is made against this position, how thinke you, is it any waies mitigated and mollified? or hath our friend here passed it over quite with silence? Whereby speake you this (quoth *Lucius*?) what opposition meane you? or is it the doubt or difficulty about the Moone when she appeareth the one halfe? Even the very same (quoth *Sylla*) for there is some reason; considering that all reflexion is made by equall angles, that when the halfe Moone is in the middes of heaven, the light should not be caried from her upon the earth, but glance and fall beyond the earth: for the Sunne being upon the Horizon, toucheth with his raies the Moone, and therefore being reflected and broken equally; they must light upon the opposite bound of the Horizon, and so not send the light hither; or else there shall ensue a great distortion and difference of the angle, which is impossible. Why good sir (quoth *Lucius*) I dare assure you, this hath not bene overpassed, but explained already: and with that, casting his eie as he spake, upon *Menelaus* the

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Mathematician:

Mathematician: I am abashed (quoth he) friend *Menelam*, to overthrow a Mathematicall position, that is supposed and laid as a ground, and fundamentall principle for oblique matters of mirrors: And yet I must (quoth he) of necessity: for that it neither appeareth in this example, nor is generally confessed as true, that all reflexions tend to equall angles; for checked and confuted it is by round embowed or embossed mirrors, when as they represent images appearing at one point of the sight, greater than themselves. This also is disproved by double or two-folde mirrors, for that when they be inclined and turned one unto the other, so as the angle be made within, each of the glasses or plaine superficies, yeeld the resemblance of a double image, and so represent foure in all from one face; two apparent, answerable to that without on the left side; and other twaine obscure, & not so evident on the right side, all in the bottome of the mirrors, where they yeeld images, in appearance greater than the thing it selfe, at one point onely of the sight. The same likewise is overthrowen by those mirrors which are hollow, wherein the aspect is variable: whereof *Plato* rendereth a reason and efficient cause: for he saith, that a mirror rising of the one side and the other, the sight doeth change the reflexion, falling from the one side to the other: and therefore as the views and visions, some immediately retorne upon us, others gliding upon the opposite parts of the mirror, have recourse againe from thence unto us, it is not possible that all reflexions should be in equall angles: so that when they come to coping and close sight, they thinke by these oppositions to take from the fluxions of light, caried from the Moone to the earth, the equalitie of angles, supposing this to cary more probability with it, than the other. Howbeit, if we must needs yeeld thus much, and grant this unto our best beloved *Geometrian*: first and foremost by all likelihood this should befall unto those mirrors that are very smooth and exquisitely polished: whereas the Moone hath many inequalities, and asperities, in such sort, as the raies comming from the vast body of the Sunne, and caried to mightie altitudes, which receive one from another, and intercommunicate the lights, as they be sent to and fro, and distributed reciprocally, are refracted, broken, and interlaced all manner of waies, so as the counterlights doe meet and encounter one another, as if they came from many mirrors unto us. Moreover, if we should grant and suppose these reflexions of beames upon the superficies of the Moone, to be made by way of equall angles, there is no impossibility in the matter, but that the same raies being caried to great a way, should have their fractions, flexions, and delapsions; that thereby the light should be confused and shine the more.

Some also there be who prove by lineary demonstration, that the casteth much of her light to the earth plumb downe by direct line drawn under her as she doth encline: But for a man to make such a description and delineation, reading as he doth, and discouering in a publicke auditorie, especially being so frequent, it was not easie, neither could it well be. In briefe I marvel (quoth he) how they came thus to alledge against us the halfe Moone, more than halfe tipped or crostant. For if the Sunne do illuminate the masse, as a man would say, of the Moone, being of a celestiall or fry matter, surely he would not leave halfe the sphere or globe thereof darke alwaies & shadowed without light, to our sense, but how little soever he touched her, turning as he doth about, reason would give and convenient it were that she should be wholly replenished and totally changed and turned, by that brightnesse of his, which spreadeth so quickly, and passeth through all so easily. For considering that wine touching water in one point onely, or a drop of blood falling into some liquor, dieth and coloureth the same all red or purple, like unto blood: and seeing they say that the very aire is altered with light, not by any deflexion or beames intermingled, but by sudden conversion and change; even in a point or prick onely: how can they thinke that one starre comming to touch another starre, and one light another should not be mingled immediately, nor make a confusion and mutation throughout, but to illuminate that onely in the outward superficies which it toucheth? For that circle which the Sunn maketh in fetching a compasse and turning toward the Moone, one while falling upon the very line which parteth that which is visible in her fro the invisible, another while rising up directly, in such sort as that it both cutteth her in twaine & is cutte also by her reciprocally, according to divers regards and habitudes of that which is light to the darke, causing those sundry forms in her, whereby she appeareth but halfe, more than halfe horned and crostant: this I say is more than anything els, that this illumination of the Moone, whereof we speake all this whiles, is not a mixture of two lights but a touching onely, not a collustration or gathering together of sundry lights, but an illustration thereof round about. But for as much as she is not onely illuminate

illuminate her selfe, but he also sendeth backe hither unto us the image of that brightnesse, this consisteth us more and more in that which we say as touching her terrene substance. For never are there any reflections and reverberations upon a thing that is rare and of subtile parts; neither may a man easily so much as imagine how light from light, or one fire should reflect and rebound from another: but needs it must be that the subject which maketh the reverberation or reflection is firme, solid and thicke, to the end there may be a blow given against it, and a rebounding also from it. To prove this, doe but marke the aire, which giveth passage unto the Sunne for to perce quite through it, neither admitteth it any repulse or driving backe. Contrariwise we may see, that from wood, from stones, and from clothes or garments, hung forth against the fame, he maketh many reflections of his light, and illuminations on every side. And even so we see, that the earth by him is illuminate; for he sendeth not his beames to the very bottome thereof as in water, nor throughout the whole as in the aire: but looke what circle the Sunne maketh turning about the Moone, and how much he cutteth from her, such another there is that compasseth the earth: and just so much he doth illuminate alwaies, as he leaveth without light: for that which is illumined in the one and the other, is a little more than a hemisphere. Give me leave therefore now to conclude after the manner of Geometricians by proportion. If, when three things there be, unto which the light of the Sunne commeth, to wit, the Aaire, the Moone, and the earth, we see that one of them is by him illuminate, not as the aire, but as the earth: we must of necessity collect that those two be of one nature, considering that of the same cause they suffer the same effects. Now when all the companie highly commended *Lucius* for this disputation: Passing well done of you *Lucius* (quoth I) you have to a proper discourse annexed as prety a comparison; for we must give you your right and not defraud you of that which is your due. With that smiled *Lucius*: I have yet (quoth he) a second proportion which I will adde unto the other, to the end that we may prove demonstration, that the Moone wholly resembleth the earth, not only by this that she suffreth together with the earth, from the same cause, the same accidents: but also because they both doe worke the like effects upon the same object. For this I am sure you will yeeld and grant unto me, that of all those things which are observed about the Sunne, none doe so much resemble one another, as his eclipses doth his setting or going downe: if you will but call to minde that meeting of Sunne and Moone together, which hapned of late daies, and beginning immediately after noonelst, caused many a starre from sundry parts of the skie to be seene, and wrought such a temperature or disposition in the aire, as is of the twilight evening and morning. But if you will not grant me this said supposition in this, our *Theon* here will cite and bring, I trow, *Alimmermus*, *Cydias*, *Archiclaudus*: and besides them *Stefichorus* and *Pindarus*, lamenting that in eclipses, the world is robbed of their greatest light which they bewaile as if it were entered, saying that midnight was come at noone day, and that the radiant beames of the Sunne, went in the way and path of darkenesse: but above all he will alledge *Homer*, saying that in an eclips, the faces and viages of men were overcast and seized upon with night and darkenesse: also that the Sunne was quite lost and missing out of the heaven being in conjunction with the Moone.

And this happeneth by a naturall cause, according as *Homer* sheweth in this verse,

*Ἡ δὲ σελήνη πάλαι, τοῦ δὲ ἡλίου φάος.*

What time as Moones their interchange begin

As one goes out, another commeth in.

As for the rest in mine advise they be as certaine and doe conclude as exactly as the demonstrations of the Mathematicians, to wit, that as the night is the shadow of the earth, so the eclipse of the Sun, is the shadow of the Moone, when as the sight returneth upon it selfe. For the Sunne going downe is hidden from our sight by the earth, and being eclipsed is likewise darkened by the Moone, and both the one and the other be ofuscations of darkenesse; that of the Sunne setting, by the earth, and the other of the Sunne eclipsed by the Moone, by the reason that the shade enpeacheth our sight: of which premises the conclusion evidently doth follow. For if the effect be like, the efficient also be semblable; because necessary it is, that the same accidents or effects in the same subject, must come from the same efficient. Now if the darkenesse occasioned by the eclipses be not so deepe nor affect the aire so forcibly as doth the night, we are not so marvell thereat: for the substance of that bodie which maketh the night, and of it that causeth the eclipse, may wel be the same, although the greatnesse be not equall. For the Aegyptians

Some thinke he meaneth that darknesse over the face of the earth, which hapned at the verie time that our Saviour suffered upon the crosse, which continued six the sixt houre of the day, unto the ninth, that is to say, from noone, untill three of the clocke after noone. \* Somewhat had bene said of the change of the Moone, as it should seeme, for it will not stand with the Sunn eclipsed, to be at any other time than at the change, by course of nature.

tians, I suppose, doe hold, that the Moone is in bignesse the 72. part of the earth : And *Anaxagoras* saith it is just as big as *Peloponnesus*. *Aristarchus* writeth that the overthwart line or Diameter of the Moone in proportion to that of the earth is lesse than if 60. were compared with nineteene : and somewhat more than if a hundred and eight were compared with 43 : and thereby the earth bereaveth us of all sight of the Sunne, so great it is. For it must be a great obstacle and opposition betweene, which continueth the time of a night : and the Moone albeit otherwise the hideth all the Sunne, yet that eclipse neither lasteth not so long, nor is so universal : for there appeareth alwaies about his circumference some light, which will not permit the darknesse to be so blacke and deepe, and altogether so obscure. *Aristotle* also, I meane the ancient Philosopher of that name, rendring a reason why there happen eclipses of the Moone oftener than of the Sunne, among other causes, brings in this for one : that the Sunne is eclipsed by the obstruction of the Moone, and the Moone by that of the earth, which is much greater and more spacious, and so by consequence is opposed very often. And *Ptolemy* defined this accident thus : The eclipse of the Sunne (quoth he) is the conjunction or meeting of the Sunne and the Moone, the shadow whereof doeth darken our eye-sight : for there is no defect or eclipse of the Sunnes light, but unto those, whose sight the shadow of the Moone hath caught, and so hindreth them from seeing the Sunne. Now in confessing that the shadow of the Moone reacheth downe unto us, I know not what he hath left himselfe for to alledge. Certes, impossible it is, that a starre should cast a shadow : for that which is void altogether of light, is called a shadow ; and light maketh no shadow, but contrariwise, naturally riddeth it away. But what arguments besides, were alledged to this purpose (quoth he ?) The Moone (quoth I then) suffereth the same eclipse : Well done (quoth he) of you, to reduce this into my memorie : But would you have me to prosecute this disputation, as if you had already granted and set downe, that the Moone is subject to eclipses, when she is caught within the shadow of the earth ; or that for a subject and argument of some declamation, and demonstration unto you, I first rehearse all the arguments one after another ? Mary, do so I pray you (quoth *Theon* : ) bestow your labour in such a discourse, I had need verily (quoth he) of some perswasion, having onely heard say, that when these three bodies, to wit, the earth, the Sunne, and the Moone, are directly in one right line, then happen eclipses ; for that either the earth, taketh the Sunne from the Moone, or the Moone taketh him from the earth : for the Sunne is in defect or eclipse when the Moone, and the Moone likewise when the earth is in the midst of them three ; whereof the one falleth out in conjunction, the other in the opposition or full Moone. Then (quoth *Lucius*) these be in a manner all the principall points and the very briefe of those that which hath beene delivered : but to begin withall, if you thinke so good take in hand that firme argument which is drawn from the forme and figure of the shadow, which indeed is a *Conus* or *Pyramis* (resembling a sugar loaf) with the sharpe end forward, namely when a great fire or great light being round, comprehendeth a masse likewise round but lesse : and hereupon it cometh that in eclipses of the Moone the circumscription of the blacke or darkenesse, from the cleere and light, have alwaies their sections round : for the approachments and applications of a round body, in what part soever, whether it give or receive those sections, by reason of the similitude doe alwaies keepe a round forme and be circular. Now to the second argument. You know well (I suppose) that the first part eclipsed or darkened in the Moone, is that which regardeth the east : and contrariwise in the Sunne, that which looketh toward the west : for the shadow of the earth goeth from east to west, but contrariwise the Sunne and Moone, from west eastward. The experience of the apparitions, giveth us the visible knowledge of these things : and many words there need not to make the demonstration hereof plaine and evident to be understood : by which suppositions is confirmed the cause of the eclipse : For, in as much as the Sunne is eclipsed when he is overtaken, and the Moone by meeting with that which maketh her eclipse, by all likelihood, may rather necessarily, the one is caught behinde, the other surprised before, for that the obstruction, & inumbration beginneth on that side on which so that cometh first that maketh the said inumbration. Now the Moone lighteth upon the Sunne from the west, as striving with him in course and hastning after him : but the shadow of the earth cometh from the east, as having a contrary motion. The third reason is taken from the time and greatnesse of the eclipses of the Moone. For when she is eclipsed on high and farre from the earth, she continueth but a little while in defect or want of light : but when she suffereth the same default being low and nere unto the earth, she is much oppressed, and slowly

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getteth the fourth of the shade thereof : and yet when she is low she moveth most swiftly, and being aloft, as slowly. But the cause is in the difference of the shadow, which toward the bottom or base is broader as are the *Cones* or *Pyramids*, & so it groweth smaller and smaller taperwise, untill at the top it endeth in a sharpe point. And hereupon it cometh that the Moone being low and so falling within the shadow is compassed with greater circles of the shadow, & so passeth through the very bottom of it, & that which is most darke : but being on high, by reason of the narrow compass of the shadow, being as it were in a small puddle of mire, she is but a little sullied or beraied therewith, & so quickly getteth forth of it. Here I passe by the accidents and effects that have their particular causes. For we daily see that the fire, out of a shady place appeareth & shineth the rather, either by reason of the thicknesse of the darke aire, which admitteth no effusions nor diffusions of the vertue of the fire, keeping in and containing within it selfe the substance thereof : or rather if this be a passion of the sense, like as hot things nere unto cold are felt to be more hot, and pleasures presently upon paines found more vehement : even so things cleere, appeare better when they are laid nere unto those that be darke, by means of different passions, which doe streine the imagination : but the former conjecture seemeth to be more probable : for in the Sunne-shine, the whole nature of fire not onely leeseeth his brightness, but also in giving place unto it, becommeth more dull, and unwilling to burne, for that the heat of the Sunne doth scatter and dissipate the force thereof. If then it were true that the Moone had in it a feeble and dimme or dusky fire, as being a muddy starre, as the Stoicks saie it is, reason it were and meet, that it should not suffer any one of those accidents (but contrary al) which now we see it to suffer, namely to be seene at that time when as it is hidden, and againe to be hidden, what time as she sheweth herselfe : that isto say, to be covered all the rest of the time, being darkened by the aire environing it, and to shine out againe for six moneths, and afterwards for five moneths be hidden, entering within the shadow of the earth. For of 465. revolutions of eclipsed full Moones, 404. are of six moneths, and the rest of five. It must needs be then, during this time, the Moone should appeare shining in the shadow : but contrariwise we see, that in the shadow eclipsed she is, and looeth her light, which she recovereth againe afterwards, when she is escaped and gotten forth of the said shadow, yea, and appeareth often in the day time ; so that it is rather any thing else than a fire body, and resembling a starre.

*Lucius* had no sooner thus said, but *Pharnaces* & *Apollonides* came running both together, to set upon him, and to confute his speech : and then *Pharnaces* assailed by *Apollonides* there present : Why : this (quoth he) is that which principally proveth the Moone to be a starre, and to stand much upon fire, namely, that in eclipses she is not wholly darkened, and not at all to be seene, but sheweth through the shade a certaine colour, resembling a coale of fire, and the same fearefull to see to, which is the very naturall and proper hue of her owne. As for *Apollonides*, he made instance and opposition as touching the word shadow : for that (quoth he) Mathematicians by that terme use alwaies to call the place which is not illumined, but the heaven admitteth no shadow. Whereto I made answer, that this instance of his was alledged rather against the word contentiously, than against the thing Physically, or Mathematically ; for the place which is darkened and obstructed by the opposition of the earth, if a man will not call a shadow, but a place void or deprived of light, yet be it what it will, whensoever the Moone is there, you must of necessity confesse, that she becommeth obscure and darkened : and in one word, I say, it is a very absurd folly to hold, that the shadow of the earth reacheth not to that place, from whence the shadow the Moone falling upon our sight heere upon the earth, causeth the eclipse of the Sunne. And now will I come againe to you *Pharnaces* : For that burnt colour, like a coale in the Moone, which you say is proper unto her, agreeth very well to a body, that hath thicknesse and depth : neither use there to remaine in bodies which be rare any marke or token of a flame, nor a coale can possibly be made of a body which is not solide & able to receive deepe within it the heat of fire, and the blacknesse of smoake : as *Homer* himselfe sheweth very well in one place, by these words :

*When flower of fire was gon and shewen away  
And flame extinct the coales he did forth lay.*

For the coale seemeth not properly to be fire, but a bodie fire and altered by fire, remaining still in a solid masse or substance which hath taken as it were deepe root : whereas flames are but the setting on fire and fluxions of some nutriment or matter which is of a rare substance, and by reason of feeblenesse is quickly resolved and consumed. In so much as there were not another

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her argument so evident, to prove that the Moone is solid and terrestriall, as this, if the proper colour thereof resemble a coale of fire. But it is not so my *Pharnaces*: for in her eclipse she changeth diversly her colours, which Mathematicians in regard of time and place determinately distinguishing in this sort. If she be eclipsed in the West, she appeareth exceeding blacke for three houres and an halfe: if in the middle of the heaven, she sheweth this light reddish or bay colour resembling fire: and after seven houres and an halfe, there ariseth a rednesse indeed. Finally, when this eclipse hapneth in the east and toward the Sunne rising she taketh a blew or grayish colour, which is the cause that the Poets and namely *Empedocles* calleth her *Glaucopis*. Considering then, that they see manifestly how the Moone changeth into so many colours in the shadow, they doe very ill to attribute unto her this colour onely of a burning or live coale: which instructs a man may say to be lesse proper unto her than any other, and rather to be some little suffusion and remnant of light appearing and shining through a shadow; and that her proper and naturall colour is blacke and earthly. For seeing that here below whereas the lakes and rivers which receive the Sunne beames, and by that means seeme in their superficies to be some time reddish, and otherwhiles of a violet colour, the shadowy places adjoining take the same colours and are illuminated, starting backe by reason of reflexions & divers rebated splendours. What wonder is it, if a great river (as it were) or flux of shadow falling upon a celestiall sea as a man would say of a light not firm, fedy & quiet, but stirred with innumerable farrres walking over it, and besides, which admitteth divers mixtures and mutations, doth take from the Moone the impression of sundry colours, and send the same hither unto us? For it cannot be avowed that a starre or fire should appeare through a shadow either blacke, blew, or violet; but hills, plaines, and seas, are seene to have many and sundry resemblances of colours by reflexion of the Sunne running upon them, which are the very tinctures, that a brightnesse mingled with shadows and mists (as it were) with painters drugges and colours, bringeth upon them: which tinctures *Homer* went about to expresse in some fort and to name, when one while he calleth the sea *leucos*, and *eros*, that is to say, of a violet colour, or deepened as wine, and otherwhile the waves purple: in one place the sea blew, greene or grey, and the colour white: as for the tinctures and colours appearing upon the earth diversly, he hath let them passe, as I suppose, for that they be in number infinit. So, it is not like that the Moone should have but one plaine and even superficies in manner of the sea, but rather resemble naturally of all things especially the earth, whereof *old Socrates* in *Plato* seemeth to fable, whether it were, that under covert words and oenigmatically he ment this here of the Moone, or spake of some other. For it is neither incredible nor wonderfull if the Moone in it having no corruption nor muddinesse but the fruition of pure light from heaven, and being full of heat, not of furious and burning fire, but of such as is milde and harmlesse, hath also within her faire places and marvellous pleasant mountaines also, resplendant like bright flaming fire, purple tinctures or zones, gold and silver likewise good store, not dispersed heere and there in the bottome thereof, but arising up to the upper face of the said planes in great abundance, or else spread over the hills and mountaines, even and smooth. Now say that the sight of all these things cometh unto us through a shadow, and that after divers and sundry sorts, by reason of the variable and different mutation of the circumstant aire, yet looseth not the Moone for all that, the venerable opinion that goeth of her and the reputation of her divinity, being esteemed among men a celestiall earth, or rather a feculent and troubled fire, as the Stoicks would have it, and standing much upon lees or dreggish matter. For the very fire it selfe hath barbarian honours done unto it among the Medes and Assyrians, who for very feare serve and adore such things as be noisome and hurtful, hallowing & consecrating the same above those things which are of themselves good and honorable. As for the name of the earth, there is not a Greeke but he holdeth it right worshipfull, sacred, and venerable: in so much as it is an ancient custome received throughout all Greece, to honour it as much as any other god whatsoever. And far is it from us men, to thinke that the Moone which we take to be a celestiall earth, as a dead body without soule or spirit, and altogether void of such things, which we ought to offer as fruit frutes to the gods. For both by law we yeeld recompence and thanksgiving unto it, for those good things which we have received, and by nature we adore the same, which we acknowledge to be the most excellent for vertue, and right honourable for puissance, and therefore we thinke it no sine at all, to suppose the Moone to be earth. To come now unto the face that appeareth therein: like as this earth upon which we walke, hath many sinuosities and valleys, even so as probable it is, that the said heavenly earth, lieth open with great deepe caves;

and

and wide chinks or ruptures, and those containing either water or obscure aire: to the bottome thereof the light of the Sunne is not able to pierce and reach, but there falleth, and sendeth to us hither a certaine divided reflexion. Then *Apollonides*: Now I beseech you good sir, even by the Moone herselfe, thinke you it is possible that there should be shadows of caves, gulfs, and chinks there, and that the same should be discovered by our sight heere? or doe you not make reckoning of that which may come thereof? What is that (quoth I:) Mary I will tell you, (quoth he) and albeit you are not ignorant thereof, yet may you give me the hearing. The Diameter of the Moone, according to that bignesse which appeareth unto us, in the meane and ordinary distances, is twelve fingers breadth long: and every one of those blacke and daik shadowy streaks therein, is more than halfe a finger, that is to say, above the foure an twentieth part of the said Diameter. Now if we suppose the whole circumference of the Moone to be thirtie thousand stadia, and according to that supposition the Diameter to be ten thousand, every one of those obscure and shadowy marks within her, will not be lesse than five hundred stadia, or thereabout. Consider then first, whether it be possible that there should be in the Moone so great profundities, and such rugged inequalities, as to make so bigge a shadow? and then, whether being so great, their bignesse should not be defcried and seene by us. Heereupon I smiling upon him: Now I assure you *Apollonides* (quoth I) I can you thanke, you have done it very well, in devising such a proper demonstration, whereby you will proove both me and your selfe also to be greater than those Giants *Aloides*, I meane not at every houre of the day, but especially in the morning and evening: doe you thinke that when the Sunne maketh our shadows so long, hee yeeldeth unto our sense this goodly collection and augmentation, that if the thing which is shadowed be greater, then that which maketh the shadow must needs be exceeding great? Neither of us twaine, I wor well, hath ever bene in the isle *Lennos*, and yet both of us have many a time heard this vulgar lambique verse so rise in every mans mouth:

*Allos up'lon m'el'os Anagias fobos*

*The mountaine Athos shall on either side,*

*The cow that stands in Lemnos hide.*

For this shadow of the hill falleth as it should seeme, upon a certaine brazen image of an heifer in that Isle, reaching in length over sea no lesse than 700 stadia; not because the said mountaine which maketh the shadow is of that height, but because the distaces of the light causeth the shadows of bodies to be by many folds greater than the bodies are. Go to then, consider that when the Moone is at the full, at what time as the rendreth unto our eie the forme of a visage most expressly, by reason of the profunditie of the shadow within, then is she also farthest distant from the Sunne: for the farre recoiling and withdrawing backward of the light, is it that makes the shadow great, and not the bignesse of those inequalities, which are upon the superficies of the Moone. Moreover you see that the excessive glittering of the Sunne shining all about, will not suffer a man to see in the day time the very tops of mountaines: but the deepe, hollow, and shadowy parts therein, appeare very farre off. It carieth therefore no absurditie at all, that a man is not able exactly to see and discern that full light and illumination of the Moone: but that the opposition of darke shadowes unto cleare lights, by reason of their diversitie is more exquisitely seene. But this (quoth I) seemeth rather to checke and confute that reflexion, and reverberation which is said to rebound from the Moone, for that they who stand within the raies or beames that are returned and retorted backe, have meanes to see not onely that which is illumined, but that also which doeth illuminate. For when, in the refutation of a light from the water upon some wall, the light falleth upon the very place it selfe, which is thus illuminate by the reflexion, the eie seeth three things, to wit, the beames or shining light driven backe, the water which maketh that reflexion, and the Sunne it selfe, whose light hitting upon the superficies of the water, is reflexed and sent backe. This being generally granted as a thing evidently seene, yet by way of objection, they bid those who affirme, that the earth is illuminate from the Moone by the reflexion of the Sunnes light from it, to shew by night the Sunne appearing in the superficies of the Moone, like as he may be seene in the day time within the water upon which she shineth, when there is the foresaid reflexion of his beames: But because he cannot then be seene, they inferre, that it must be by some other manner, and not by reflexion, that the Moone is illuminate; and if there be no such reflexion, then cannot the Moone in any wise be earth. How shall this be met withall, and what answer shall be shaped unto it (quoth *Apollonides*?) for the reason of reflexion seemeth all one, and common as well

to



to us as to you. True (quoth I) common it is in some fort, and in some fort not: but first marke I beseech you the comparison, how they go cleane kin, kam, and against the streame, as if rivers ranne up hilles: for the water is heere beneath upon the earth, and the Moone is above and in the heaven: in such fort as the beames reflected, make the forme of their angles opposit and quite contrarie one unto the other; the one carrying the head or point upward against the superficies of the Moone, the other downward to the ground. Let them not then demand and require that a mirrour should render every forme or face alike, nor that in every distance there should be equall, or semblable reflexion, for in so dooing they would goe against apparent evidence. And they who holde the Moone to be a bodie not smooth, even subtil as water is, but solid, massy, and terrestriall, I cannot conceive why they should looke for to see the Sunne in it as in a glasse. For milke verily doth not yeeld such specularie images nor cause reflexion of the sight, by reason of the inequality and rugged asperity of the parts: how is it possible then, that the Moone should send backe from it the sight as mirrours doe which are more polished? And even this also, if any rafe, blur, filth, or confused spot have caught them in the superficies, from whence the sight being reflected is wont to receive the impression of some figure, may well be seene, but counter-light they yeeld none: and he who requireth, that either the Sunne should appear in the Moone, or our sight be redoubled against the Sunne, let him require withall, that the eie be the Sunne, the sight thereof the light, and man, heaven. For like it is that the reflexion of the Sunne beames against the Moone, for their vehement & exceeding great brightnesse, should with a stroke rebound upon us: but seeing our sight is weake and feeble, what marvel is it, if it neither give such a stroke as might rebound, nor maintaine the continuuty thereof if it leaped backe againe, but is broken and faileth, as not having that abundance of light, whereby it should not be disgregate and dissipated, within those uneven and unnequall asperities? For it is not possible that the reflexion of our sight upon water, or other sorts of mirrours, whiles the same is yet strong, and able, as being neere unto the spring from whence it cometh, should not returne againe upon the eie. But from the Moone, suppose there may rebound some glimmering glances, certes they be all weake and obscure, failing in the very way, by reason of so long a distance. For otherwise arched and hollow mirrours send backe their reflected raies with more force, than they came, in such sort as many times they catch fire and doe burne: whereas the imbossed and couled mirrours made round and bearing out like a bowle, cast from them feeble and darke raies, because they beate them not backe on all sides. You see certainly when two rainebowes appear in the heaven, by reason that one cloud doth inviron and comprehend another, that the rainebow which compasseth the other without forth, yeeldeth dim colours, and not sufficiently distinct & expressed, because the outward cloud being farther remote from our sight, maketh not a strong and forcible reflexion. And what needs there any more to be said? considering that the very light of the Sunne returned and sent backe by the Moone leaeth all the heat: and of his brightnesse there cometh unto us with much adoe but a small remnant, and a portion very little and feeble. Is it possible then that our sight running the same race there should any percell or residue thereof reach from the Moone backe againe to the Sunne? For mine owne part, I thinke not. Consider also I beseech you (quoth I) even your owne selves, that if our eyesight were affected and disposed alike by the water and by the Moone, it could not otherwise be but that the Moone should represent unto us the images of the earth, of trees, of plants, of men, and of farres, as well as water doth; and all other kinds of mirrours. Now if there be no such reflexion of our eie sight frō the Moone, as to bring backe unto us those images, either for the feeblenesse of it, or the rugged inequality of her superficies, let us never require that it should leape backe as far as to the Sun. Thus have we reported as much as our memory would carrie away, whatsoever was there delivered: Now is it time to desire *Sylla* or rather to require & exact of him, to make his narration, for that admitted he was to here this discourse upon such a condition. And therefore if you thinke so good, let us give over walking, and sitting downe here upon these seates, make him a sedentarie audience. All the companie liked well of this motion. And when we had taken our places, *Theon* thus began, Certes I am desirous (quoth he) and none of you all more, to heare what shall be said: But before I would be very glad to understand somewhat of those who are said to dwell in the Moone, not whether there be any persons there inhabiting, but whether it be possible that any should inhabit there. For if this cannot be, then it were mere folly and beside all reason, to say, that the Moone is earth: otherwise it would be thought to have beene created in vaine and to

no

no end: as bearing no fruits, nor affording no habitation; no place for nativity; no food or nourishment for any men or women, in regard of which cause, and for which ends we continually hold, that this earth wherein we live, as *Plato* saith, was made and created, even to be our nourse and keeper, making the day and night distinct one from another. For you see and know, that of this matter, many things have beene said as well merily and by way of laughter, as seriously and in good earnest. For of those who inhabit the Moone, some are said to hang by the heads under it, as if they were so many *Tantalus*; others contrariwise, who dwell upon it, are tied fast, like a sort of *Ixions*, and turned about with such a violence, that they are in danger to be flung and shaken out. And verily the moveth not after one single motion, but three manner of waies: 10 whereupon the Poets call her other-while, *reusim*, or *Trivis*, performing her course together, according to length, bredth, and depth in the Zodiak. Of which motions, the first is called, A direct revolution; the second, An oblique winding or wheeling in and out; and the third, The Mathematicians call (I wote not how) An inequality: and yet they see, that she hath no motion at all even and uniforme, nor certaine in all her monthly circuits and reverfions. No marvel therefore, considering the impetuositie of these motions, if there fell a lion sometimes out oflier into *Peloponnesus*: nay rather we are to wonder, why we see not every day a thousand fells of men & women, yea, and as many beasts shaken out from thence, and flung downe headlong with their heeles upward. For it were a meere mockerie, to dispute and sit and upon their habitation there, if they neither can breed nor abide there. For considering that the Egyptians and 10 Troglodytes, over whose heads the Sunne standeth directly one moment only of the day in the time of the Solstices, and then presently retireth, hardly escape burning, by reason of the excessive heat of the circumstant aires; how possibly can the men in the Moone endure 12 Summers every yere, when the Sunne once a moneth is just in their Zenith, and seeth plumb over head, when she is at the full? As for winds, clouds, and raines, without which the plants of the earth can neither come up nor be preserved, it passeth all imagination, that there should be any there, the aire is so subtil, drie and hote; especially, seeing that even here beneath, the highest mountaines doe admit or feele the hard and bitter Winters from yere to yere, but the aire about them being pure and cleere, and without any agitation whatsoever, by reason of the subtiltie and lightnesse, avoideth all that thicknesse and concretion which is among us: unless 30 haply we will say, that like as *Minerva* instilled and dropped into *Achilles* mouth some *Nectar* and *Ambrosia*, when he received no other food; so the Moone, who both is called and is indeed *Minerva*, nourisheth men there, bringeth forth daily for them *Ambrosia*, according as olde *Phereides* was wont to say, that the very gods also were fedde and nourished. For as touching that Indian root, which (as *Megasthenes* saith) certaine people of *India*, who neither eat nor drinke, nor have so much as mouths, whereupon they be called *Asiomis*, do burne and smoke to smoke, with the odor and perfume whereof, they live; how can they come by any such there, considering the Moone is never watered nor refreshed with raine? When *Theon* had thus said: You have (quoth I) very properly and sweetly handled this point; you have (I say) by this merry conceited jest, laid smooth and even, those bent and knit browes, the austerity (I meane) of this whole discourse; which hath given us heart and encouraged us to make answer: for that, if we 40 faile and come short, we looke not for streight examination, nor fear any sharpe and grievous punishment. For to say a trueth, they who take most offence at these matters, rejecting and discrediting the same, are not so great adversaries unto those who are most perswaded thereof; but such as will not after a milde and gentle sort consider that which is possible and probable. First and foremost therefore, this I say, that, suppose there were no men at all inhabiting the Moone, it doth not necessarily follow therefore, that she was made for nothing and to no purpose: for we see that even this earth here is not thorowout inhabited, nor filled in all parts: nay, there is but a little portion thereof habitable, like unto certaine promontories or deny-lands arising out of the deepe sea, for to breed, ingender and bring forth plants & living creatures: for of the 50 rest, some part is desert, waste and barren, by reason of excessive colde and heat; but in trueth, the greatest portion lieth drowned under the great and maine sea. But you (for the great love that you beare to *Aristarchus*, whom you admire so much, and evermore have in your hands) give no care to *Crates*, notwithstanding that you reade these verses in *Homer*:

*The ocean sea, from whence both men  
and gods were first bred,  
With surging waves the greatest part  
of earth doth overspread.*

Ggggg

And

And yet God forbid, that these parts should be said for to have beene made for nought: for the sea doth expire and breath forth certaine mild vapours: and the most gentle and pleasant winds which arise and blow in the greatest heat of Summer, come from frozen regions and not inhabited for extreme colde, which the snow melting and thawing by little and little do send from them and scatter over all our countreys. And the earth (as *Plato* saith) ariseth out of the sea in the mids, as a guardiansse and workmistrisse of night and day. What should hinder then, but that the Moone also may well be without living creatures in it, and yet give reflexions unto the light diffused and spread about her; yea, and yeeld a receit or receptacle of the stars raies which have their confluence, meeting and temperature in her, whereby the concocteth the evaporations ascending from the earth, and withall, abareth the over-ardent and fierie heat of the Sunne. Over & besides, attributing as we do very much to the ancient opinion & voice which we have received from our forefathers, we will be bold to say, that she hath bene reputed *Diana*, as a virgin, barren and fruitlesse, but otherwise salutary, helpfull and profitable to the world. And of all this that hath bene said (my friend *Theon*) there is nothing that doth proove and shew directly, this habitation of men in the Moone to be impossible: for her turning about being so milde, so kinde and calme, polisheth the aire neere unto it, it distribureth and spreadeth the same all about in so good disposition, that there is none occasion given to feare, that those who live in it should fall downe or slide out of her, unlesse she also come downe withall. As for that manifold variety of her motions, it proceedeth not from any inequality, error or confusion, but the Astrologers demonstratively shew thereby an order and course most admirable, contriving it so, that she should be fast within certaine circles that turne and winde about other circles, some devising that she herselfe stirreth not, others supposing that the mooveth alwaies equally, smoothly and in conforme celerity: for these are the ascensions of divers circles, the circumerensions and turnings about, the habitudes in references one to another, yea, and respective to us, which make most elegantly those orderly elevations and depressions in altitude, which appeare in her motion, yea, and her digressions in latitude, all jointly with that ordinary and direct revolution of hers in longitude. As touching that exceeding heat and continuall inflammation of the Sunne, you will cease (I am sure) to be afraid thereof, in case, first and formost, you will lay to those eleven hote and scalding conjunctions as it were in exchange, as many oppositions when she is at the full; and then oppose unto those excessive and enormous extremities which holde not long, the continuall change and mutation, which reduceth them into a proper and peculiar temperature, taking from them that which is excessive and overmuch in both: for it seemeth very probable, that the time betwene is a season resembling the Springtide. Moreover, the Sun sendeth his beames into us thorow a grosse and troubled aire, casting his heat nourished and fed by evaporations: whereas the aire there, about the Moone, being subtil & transparent, doth disgregate and disperse the said beames, as having no nouriture to mainteine them, nor body to settle upon.

To come now unto trees, woods and fruits; here indeed with us, they be the raines that nourish them: but in other high countreys with you, namely, about *Thebes* and *Siene*, it is not the water from heaven, but out of the earth, that feedeth them: for the earth being soaked therewith, and besides refreshed with coole winds and comfortable dewes, would be loth to compare infertilitie with the best watered ground in the world, such is the goodnesse, vertue and temperature of the soile. And verily the trees of the same kinde with us, if they have beene well Wintered, that is to say, if they have endured a sharpe and long Winter, bring forth plenty of good fruit; but in *Libys* and with you in *Aegypt*, they are soone hurt and offended with colde, and it they feare exceedingly. And whereas the provinces of *Gedrosia* and *Trogloditis*, lying hard upon the ocean sea, be very barren by reason of their drouth, and are altogether without trees: yet within the sea adjoining thereto, and which beareth upon the continent, there grow trees of a wonderfull bignesse, yea & there be that put forth fresh and Greene at the very bottom of the sea: whereof some they call Olive trees, others, Lawrels, and some againe *Sis* haire. As for those plants which be called *Anacamperotes*, after they be plucked forth of the ground where they grow, and so hanged up, they doe not onely live as long as a man would have them, but (that which more is) budde and put forth greene leaves. Moreover, of those plants which are set or sowne, some, as namely, Centaury, if they be planted or sowed in a rich or fat soile, and the same well drenched and watered, doe degenerate and grow out of their naturall quality, yea, and leese all their vertue, for that they love to grow drie, and in their proper nature and soile agreeable thereto, they thrive passing well. Others cannot so much as away with any dewes,

dewes, as the most part of the Arabian plants; for wet them once, they milke, fade and die. What marvel then if there grow within the Moone, rootes, seeds, plants, and trees, that have no need either of shewers, or of winter winde and weather, but are appropriate naturally to a subtile and dry aire, such as the summer season doeth afford? And why may it not stand with good reason, that the Moone herselfe sends certaine warme windes, and that by her shaking and agitation, as she still mooveth, there should breath forth a sweet and comfortable aire, fine dewes, and gentle moistures, spread and dispersed all about, sufficient to mainteine the plants fresh and Greene: considering withall, that the of her owne temperature is not ardent, nor exceeding drie, but rather soft and moist, and engendering all humiditie? For these cometh not from her unto us, any one effect or accident of ficcidity, but of moisture and of a feminine & soft constitution, many; to wit, the growing and thriving of plants, the putrefaction of flesh killed, the turning of wines to be soure, flat, and dead, the frumelle and tendernes of wood, and the easie deliverance of women in childbirth. But I feare me, that I should moove and provoke *Pharmaces* againe, who all this while sitteth still and saith nought, if I alledge the ebbing and flowing, or the inundations of the great Ocean, as they themselves say, the firties, streights, and armes of the sea, which swell and rise by the Moone, naturally given to encrease moisture and breed humours: and therefore I will direct my words toward you rather, friend *Theon*, for you lay unto us, in expounding these verses of the Poet *Aleman*,

*What things on earth the dew, as nowise doth feed:*

*Which Jupiter and Moone betwixt them breed.*

that in this place he calleth the aire *Jupiter*, and saith, that being moistened by the Moone, he is converted into dew: for the Moone my good friend, seemeth in nature to be quite contrary unto the sunne, not onely in this, that whatsoever he doeth thicken, drie, and harden, she is wont to resolve, moisten, and mollifie, but that which more is, to humect and refrigerate the heat that cometh from him, when the same lighteth upon her, or is mingled with her. Therefore as well they who suppose the Moone to be a fire and ardent body, doe erre, as those who would have the creatures there inhabiting, to have all things necessarie for their generation, food and maintenance, like unto them that live here; never considering the great difference and inequality which is in nature, wherein there be found greater and more varieties and diversities of living creatures, one with another, than with other things: neither would there be men in the world without mouthes, and whose lippes are grown up together, and who were nourished also with smels onely, in case men could not live without solide and substantiall food. But that power of Nature which *Ammonius* himselfe hath shewed us, and which *Hesiodus* under covert words hath given us to understand by these verses,

*In Mallows and in Asphodels,*

*which grow on every ground,*

*What use and profit manifold,*

*for man there may be found.*

*Epimenides* hath made plaine and evident indeed and effect, teaching us that nature susteineth and preserveth a living creature with very small food and maintenance: for so it may have but as much as an olive, it needs no more nourishment, but may live therewith, and doe full well. Now it is very like & probable, that those who dwell within the Moone, if any els, be light, active and nimble of body, and easie to be nourished with any thing whatsoever: also that the Moone (as well as the Sunne, who is a living creature, standing much upon fire, and by many degrees greater than the earth) is nourished and maintained as they say, by the humours which are upon the earth, like as all other stars, which are in number infinite. So light and slender they imagine those living creatures to be that are above, and so soone contented and satisfied with small necessities. But we neither see this, nor yet consider that a divers region, nature and temperature is meet and agreeable unto them: much like, as if when we could not our selves come nere unto the sea, nor touch and taste it, but have seene it only a farr off, & heard that the water in it is bitter, brackish, salt, and not potable, one should come and tell us, that it nourisheth a mightie number of great creatures, of all sorts & formes, living in the bottom thereof, and that it is full of huge and monstrous beasts, which make use of the water, as we doe of aire; hee would be thought to tell us tales and monstrous fables: even so it seemeth that we stand affected and disposed in these matters of the Moone, not believing that there be any men inhabiting within it. But I am verily perswaded, that they may much more marvel, seeing the earth heere

a farre off, as the dregges, sediment, and grounds as it were of the whole world, appearing unto them through moist cloudes, and foggie mists, a small thing God wot, and the same with-out light, bafe, object, and unmooveable: how the same should breed, nourish, maintaine, and keepe living creatures which have motion, breathing, and vitall heat: and in case they had ever heard these verses out of *Homer*, as touching certaine habitations,

*Ugly and foule, most hideous to be seene:  
Whereof the gods themselves right fearefull beene.*

Alfo:

*Under the earth beneath, and hell unscene,  
As farre as heavens from earth removed beene.*

they would thinke verily and say, that they had bene spoken of this earth heere: and that darke hell and *Tartarus* were heere situate, and farre remote: as also that the Moone onely was the earth, as being equally distant from heaven above and hell beneath. Now before I had well made an end of my speech, *Sylla* taking the words out of my mouth: Stay a while (quoth he) *ô Lamprias*, your speech; and hold off with your boat, as they say, for feare you runne an end with your tale upon the ground ere you be aware, and mar all the plaie, which for this present hath another scene and disposition; and I my selfe am the actour: but before I proceed farther, I will bring forth mine author unto you, if there be nothing to impeach me; who beginneth in this manner with a verse of *Homer*:

*Farre from the maine, within the Ocean sea,  
There lies an Island hight Ogygiae,*

distant from great *Britaine* or *England* Westward, five daies sailing: And other three isles there be, of like distance one from the another, and from the said island, bearing north-west, whereas the sun setteth in Summer: in one of which the barbarous people of the countrey do fable and feine that *Saturne* was detained and kept prisoner by *Jupiter*. Now for the keeping as well of it, as of those other isles, and the whole sea adjacent, which was called *Saturns* sea, the gyant *Ogygia*, or *Briareus* was placed: as also that the maine and firme land, wherewith the great sea is bordered round about, is remooved from the othes isles not so farre, but from *Ogygia* five hundred *stadia* or there about: unto which men use to row in galleis, for that sea is very ebbe and low, hardly to be passed by great vessels, by reason of the huge quantitie of mudde brought thither by a number of rivers, which running out of the maine continent, discharge themselves into it, raising mightie shelves and barres, whereby the sea is choked up as it were with earth, and hardly navigable: which gave occasion of that old opinion which went thereof, that it should be frozen and stand all over with an ice. Well, the coasts along the firme land, which lie upon this sea, are inhabited by Greeks, all about a mightie bay or gulfe thereof, no lesse spacious than the huge lake *Maotis*, the mouth or entrance whereof lieth directly opposite unto that of the Caspian sea: These people are reputed and named to be the inhabitants of the continent or firme land, accounting and calling all us Ilanders, as dwelling in a land environed round about, and washed with the sea. They suppose also, that they in old time who accompanied *Hercules*, and being left by him, abode there, and intermingled afterwards with the people and nations of *Saturne*, caused to revive againe the Greeke nation there, well nere extinguished, which being subdued and brought under the language, lawes, maners, and fashions of the Barbarians, flourished againe by these means, was well peopled, and recovered their ancient puissance and greatnesse. And heereupon it is, that the chiefe and principall honour, they doe unto *Hercules*, but in a second place, to *Saturne*. Now when the starre of *Saturne*, which we call *Phanon*, & there by his saying, *Nyctimus* is entred into the signe *Taurus*, (& that it doth once in the space of 30. yeeres) they having long before prepared all necessaries for a solemne sacrifice, & a long voiage or navigation, send forth those upon whom the lot falleth, to row in that huge sea, and to live a long time in a strange country. Now when they be imbarcked & entred once in to the wide and open sea, they take their adventure and fortune, as it falleth out. Such as have passed the dangers of the sea & arived in safetie, land first in those Ilands lying opposite against them, being inhabited by Greeke nations, where they see the Sunne to be hidden from them not one full houre in thirtie daies (and that is all their night) whereof the darkenesse is but small, as having a twilight in the west where the Sunne went downe, much like the dawning of the day. Having heere made their abode for ninety daies, during which space they were highly honored and found great entertainment, as being reputed holy men and so termed, conducted they are with

with the mindes and transported over into the Island of *Saturne*: which is inhabited by no others but themselves and such as had bene sent thither before time in this manner. For albeit lawfull it is for them, after they have done service unto *Saturne* the time of thirty yeeres, to faile home againe into their owne country; yet for the most part they chuse to remaine there still in peace and rest, than to returne soone, for that they be already inured and accustomed to the place: others because without any labor and trouble of theirs, they have plentie of all things, as well for their sacrifices, as for the ordinary maintenance of such, as continually are given to their books and to the study of Philosophy. For surely by their lying, the nature of the Island and the mildenesse of the aire is woonderfull. And whereas some of them were willing to depart from thence, they have bene staied and empeached by a divine power, which hath appeared unto them as unto their friends and familiars, not onely in dreames and by way of outward signes, but visibly also unto many of them, by the meanes of familiar spirits and angels, deviling and talking with them. For they say that *Saturne* himselfe is personally there, within the deepe cave of a great hollow rocke shining and glittering like pure gold, where he lieth asleepe, for that *Jupiter* had deviled for him sleepe, in stead of other chaines and bonds, to keepe him fast for stirring. But there be certaine birds haunting the top of the said rocke, which flie downe from thence and carry unto him the divine food *Ambrosia*. As for the whole Island, it is by report replenished with a most fragrant and odoriferous perfume, which out of that cave, as from a lively fontaine doth breath forth continually. And the said demons or angels doe attend and wait upon *Saturne*, such I meane as were his courtiers and minions, at what time as he raigned as soveraigne over gods and men; who having the skill of prophetic and divination, doe of themselves foretell many future things: howbeit of the greatest matters and of most importance, they make report and relation after they have bene downe below with *Saturne*, as his dreames revealed unto them. For whatsoever *Jupiter* thinketh and deviseth of before, *Saturne* dreameth: As for his sodaine wakenings, they be Titanicall passions and perturbations of the spirit in him. But his sleepe is milde and sweet, wherein hee the weath his divine and roiall nature of it selfe pure and incurrutable. And thither (quoth he) this stranger and friend of mine being brought, where he served god *Saturne* at his ease & repose, attained unto the skill of *Astrologie*, so far forth as it is possible for one that had the exact knowledge of *Geometry*. And among other parts of Philosophy he gave himselfe unto that which is called naturall. But having a longing desire to visite and see the great Island (for so they call the firme land wherein we are) after the thirtie yeares were past, and his successors thither arrived, taking his leave of his kinsfolke and friends whom he had farewell, he tooke sea in other respects lightly and nimble appointed, but good store he carried with him of voiage provision within pots and cups of gold. But to recount unto you in particular what adventures to him befell, how many nations he visited, through what countries he travelled, how he searched into holy writings, and was professed in all religious orders and holy confraternities, one whole day would not be sufficient (I say) to rehearse, as he himselfe delivered the same unto us, particularising very wel of every thing: but as much as concerneth this present discourse, listen and I will relate unto you. For he continued a long time at *Carthage*, where he was greatly honored and respected, as also among us, for that he found sacred skinnies of parchment, which at the overthrow and sackage of the former city called Great *Carthage* had bene secretly conveyed thither and lien hidden a long time under the ground. So he said that of those gods which appeare unto us in heaven, we ought (and so he advised me also) to adore and worship especially the Moone, as the principall guide and maiestie of our life. Whereat when I marvelled and besought him to expound and declare the same more plainly: The Greeks (quoth he) *ô Sylla*, talke very much of the gods; but in all things they say not well. As for example, first and foremost, in naming *Ceres* and *Persephone* they doe well and right: but to put them both together, and to thinke that they are both in one and the same place, they doe amisse: For the one, to wit, *Ceres*, is upon the earth, the very dame and mistresse of all those things that be above the ground; but the other is in the Moone, and called she is by them that inhabite the moone, *Core* and *Persephone* that is to say, *Proserpina*, *Persephone* as one would say *goddess*, for that she bringeth light and brightnesse: but *Core*, because the sight or apple of the eie, in which is seene the image of him who looketh into it, like as the brightnesse of the Sunne appeareth in the Moone, we call *Core*. Now whereas it is said that they goe up and downe wandering and seeking one the other, the same carieth some truth with it: for they desire and long after one another when they be parted and asunder, and they embrace

embrace one the other in the darke many times. Moreover, that this *Core* or *Proserpina* is one while above in heaven and in the light, another while in darkenesse and the night, is not untrue; onely there is some error in reckoning and numbering the time. For we see her not fix moneths, but every sixth moneth, or from fix moneths to fix moneths, under the earth, as under her mother, caught with the shadow: and seldome is it found that this should happen within five moneths: for that it is impossible that she should abandon and leave *Pluto*, being his wife: according as *Homer*, hath signified although under darke and covert wordes, not untrue, saying,

*But to the farthest borders of  
the earth and utmost end,  
Even to the faire Elysian fields  
the gods then shall thee find.*

For looke where the shadow endeth and goeth no farther, that is called the limit and end of the earth: and thither no wicked and impure person shall ever be able to come. But good folke after their death in the world being thither carried, lead there another easie life in peace and repose; howbeit, not altogether a blessed, happie and divine life, untill they die a second death: but what death this is, aske me not, my *Sylla*, for I purpose of my selfe to declare & shew it unto you hereafter. The vulgar sort be of opinion that man is a subject compounded: and good reason they have so to thinke: but in beleeving that he consisteth of two parts onely, they are deceived: for they imagine that the understanding is in some sort a part of the soule: but the understanding is better than the soule, by how much the soule is better and more divine than the bodie. Now the conjunction or composition of the soule with understanding, maketh reason: but with the bodie, passion: whereof this is the beginning and principle of pleasure and paine, the other of vertue and vice. Of these three conjoined and compact in one, the earth yeeldeth for her part the body; the Moone, the soule; and the Sunne, understanding to the generation or creation of man; and understanding giveth reason unto the soule; \* \* \* \* even as the Sunne light and brightnesse to the Moone. As touching the deaths which we die, the one maketh man of 3. two, and the other of 2. one. And the former verily is in the region and jurisdiction of *Ceres*, which is the cause that we sacrifice unto her. Thus it cometh to passe that the Athenians called in olde time those that were departed, *Demogorgones*, that is to say, *Cereles*. As for the other death it is in the Moone or region of *Proserpina*. And as with the one terrestriall *Mercury*, so with the other, celestially *Mercurie* doth inhabit. And verily *Ceres* dissolveth and separeteth the soule from the bodie sodainly and forcibly with violence: but *Proserpina* parteth the understanding from the soule, gently, and in long time. And hereupon it is, that she is called, *Mercurialis*, as one would say, begetting one: for that the better part in a man becometh one and alone, when by her it is separated: and both the one and the other hapneth according to nature. Every soule without understanding, as also endued with understanding, when it is departed out of the body, is ordeined by fatall destiny to wander for a time, but not both alike, in a middle region betweene the earth and the Moone. For such soules as have bene unjust, wicked, and dissolute, suffer due punishment and paines for their sinfull deserts: whereas the good and honest, untill such time as they have purified, and by expiration purged forth of them, all those infections which might be contracted by the contagion of the body, as the cause of all evil, must remaine for a certaine settime, in the mildest region of the aire, which they call the meadowes of *Pluto*. Afterwards, as if they were returned from some long pilgrimage or wandring exile into their owne country, they have a taste of joy, such as they feele especially, who are professed in holy mysteries, mixed with trouble and admiration, and ech one with their proper and peculiar hope: for it driveth and chafeth forth many soules, which longed already after the Moone. Some take pleasure to be still beneath, and even yet looke downward, as it were to the bottome: but such as be mounted aloft, and are there most surely bestowed, first as victorious, stand round about adorned with garlands, and those made of the wings of *Euthymia*, that is to saie, Constancie: because in their life time here upon earth, they had bridled and restrained the unreasonable and passible part of the soule, and made it subject and obedient to the bridle of reason. Secondly, they resemble in sight, the raies of the Sunne. Thirdly, the soule thus ascended on high, is there confirmed and fortified by the pure aire about the Moone, where it doth gather strength and solidity, like as iron and Steele by their tincture become hard. For that which hitherto was loose, rare and spongy, groweth

groweth close, compact and firme, yea, and becometh shining and transparent, in such sort, as nourished it is with the least exhalation in the world. This is that *Heraclitus* meant, when he said, that the soules in *Plutoes* region have a quicke sent or smelling. And first they behold there the greatnesse of the Moone, her beauty and nature, which is not simple nor void of mixture, but as it were a composition of a starre and of earth. And as earth mingled with a spirittuall aire and moisture, becometh soft, and the blood tempered with flesh, giveth it sense; even so, say they, the Moone mingled with a celestially quintessence even to the very bottome of it, is made animate, fruitfull, and generative, and withall, equally counterpeised, with ponderosity and lightnesse. For the whole world it selfe, being thus composed of things which naturally move downward and upward, is altogether void of motion locally, from place to place; which it seemeth that *Xenocrates* himselfe by a divine discourse of reason understood, taking the first light thereof from *Plato*. For *Plato* was he who first affirmed, that every starre was compounded of fire and earth, by the meanes of middle natures given in certaine proportion; in as much as there is nothing object to the sense of man, which hath not in some proportion a mixture of earth and light. And *Xenocrates* said, that the Sunne is compounded of fire and the first or primitive solid: the Moone of a second solid, and her proper aire: in summe, throughout, neither solid alone by it selfe, nor the rare apart, is capable and susceptible of a soule. Thus much as touching the substance of the Moone. As for the grandence & biggnesse thereof, it is not such as the Geometricians set downe, but farre greater by many degrees. And seldome doth it measure the shadow of the earth by her greatnesse; nor for that the same is small, but for that it bringeth a most fervent and swift motion, to the end, that quickly and with speed he might passe the darke place, and bring away with her the soules of the blessed which make haste and crie: because all the while they are within the shade, they can not heare any more the harmonie of celestially bodies: and withall, underneath, the soules of the damned which are punished, lamenting, wailing, and howling in this shadow, are presented unto them. And this is the reason, that in the eclipses of the Moone, many were wont to ring bassons and pannes of brasle, and to make a great noise and clattering about these soules. And affrighted they are to beholde that which they call the face of the Moone, when they approach neere unto it, seeming to be a terrible and fearefull sight, whereas it is no such matter. But like as the earth with us hath many deepe and wide gulfses, as namely, one here, to wit, the Mediterranean sea, lying betweene *Heraclius* pillars, and so running into the land hither to us: and another without, that is to say, the Caspian sea, and that also of the red sea. So there be these deepe concavities and vallies of the Moone, and those in number three; whereof the greatest they call The hole or gulf of *Heate*, wherein the soules do punish and are punished, according as they either did or suffered hurt whiles they were here: the other two \* be small, to wit, the very passages whereby the soules must go, one while to the tract of the Moone lying toward heaven, and another while to that which regardeth the earth. And verily, that which looketh to heaven, they call the Elysian field, whereas the other earthward to us, the field of *Proserpina*, nother, I meane, who is under the ground just against us. Howbeit, the *Dæmons* do not converse alwaies in the Moone, but descend other whiles hither below, for the charge and superintendence of oracles: there be assistant likewise to the highest mysteries and ceremonies, and those they do celebrate, having an observant eie to wicked deeds which they punish; and withall, ready they are to preserve the good in perils aw. If of warre as the sea: In which charge and function, if they themselves commit any fault, and hereupon earth do ought either by unjust favour or envie, they feele the smart thereof according to their merits: for thrust downe they are againe to the earth, and sent with a witness into mens bodies. But of the number of the better sort, are they who served and accompanied *Saturne*, as they themselves report; such as in times past also were the *Idai Daityli* in *Crete*, the *Corybants* in *Phrygia*, & those of *Bœotia* in the city of *Lebadia*, named *Trophoniades* besides, an infinit number of others in sundry parts of the earth habitable; whose names, temples and honors remaine to this day, but the powers & puissances of some do faile and are quite gone, as being translated into another place, & making a most happy change: which translation cometh sooner, other later, alter that the understanding is separate from the soule: and separated obtaine sooner, other later, alter that the love and desire to enjoy the image of the Sunne, by which that divine, blessed and desirable beautie which every nature after divers sorts seeketh after, shineth. For even the vertie Moone turneth about continually for the love of the Sunne, as longing to companie and converse with him, as the very fountaine of all fertilitye. Thus the nature of the soule is spent in the Moone,

Moone, retaining onely certaine prints, marks and dreames, as it were, of her life: and heretof, thinke it was well and truly said,

*The soule made haste, as one would say,  
Like to a dreame, and flew away.*

which it doth not immediatly upon her separation from the bodie, but afterwards, when she is alone by herselfe and severed from the understanding. And in truth, of all that ever *Homer* wrote, most divinely he seemeth to have written of those who are departed this life, & be among the spirits beneath, these verses:

*Next him, I knew of Hercules  
the strength and image plaine,  
Or semblance: for himselfe with gods  
immortall did remaine.*

For like as every one of us is not ire and courage, nor feare nor yet lust, no more than flesh or humours, but that indeed whereby we discourse and understand, even so, the soule it selfe being cast into a forme by the understanding, and giving a forme unto the bodie, and embracing it on every side, expresseth and receiveth a certaine impression and figure, so as albeit she is distinctly separate both from understanding and also from the bodie, she retaineth still the forme and semblance a long time, inasmuch as well she may be called an image. And of these soules, as I have already said, the Moone is the element, because soules doe resolve into her, like as the bodies of the dead into the earth. As for such as have bene vertuous and honest, and which loved to a studious and quiet life, imploied in philosophie, without meddling in troublesome affaires, soone are resolved, for that being left and rid of understanding, and using no more corporall passions, they vanish away incontinently; but the soules of ambitious persons, and such as are busied in negotiations, of ambitious folke also given to the love of beautifull bodies, and likewise of wrathfull people, calling still to remembrance those things which they did in their life, even as dreames in their sleepe, walke wandring to and fro, like to that ghost of *Endymion*: for considering their inconstancie and aptnesse to be over subject unto passions, the same transporteth and plucketh them from the Moone unto another generation, not suffering them quietly there to passe and vanish away, but still allureth and calleth them away: for now is there nothing small, staied, quiet, constant and accordant, after that being once abandoned of the understanding, so they come to be seized with the passions of the body: so that of such soules void of reason, came and were bred afterwards the *Tityi* and *Typhons*, and namely, that *Typhon* who in times past by force and violence seized the city *Delfos*, and overturned up-side-downe the sanctuarie of the oracle there; most ungracious imps destitute of all reason and understanding, and abandoned to all passions upon a proud spirit and violence, wherewith they were puffed up. Howbeit, at length, after long time, the Moone receiveth the soules, and composeth them: the Sunne also inspiring into them againe, and sowing in their vitall facultie, understanding, maketh them new soules: yea, and the earth in the third place, giveth them a new bodie: for nothing doth she give after death, of all that which she taketh to generation. And the sunne receiveth nothing of others, but taketh againe that understanding which he gave. But the Moone giveth and receiveth, joyneth and disjoyneth, uniteth and separateth, according to her divers faculties and powers: of which, the one is named *Ilithia*, to wit, that which joyneth: another, *Atymius* or *Diana*, which parteth and divideth. Of the three fatall fitters or destinies, she whom they name *Atrapos*, is placed within the Sunne, and giveth the beginning of generation. *Cloto* being lodged in the Moone, is she that joyneth, minglenth and uniteth. The third and last, called *Lachesis*, is in the earth, who also lendeth her helping hand, and doth participate much with Fortune. For that which is without soule, is weake in it selfe, and naturally exposed to all injuries and to suffer hurt: but the understanding is soveraigne over all the rest, and nothing is able to do it injurie.

Now the soule is of a middle nature and mixt of them both, like as the Moone was made and created by God, as a composition and mixture of things above and things beneath; keeping the same proportion to the Sun, as the earth doth to her. And thus you have heard (quoth *Syllis*) what I learned of this stranger or traveller; which (as he said himselfe) he understood by those *Dæmons*, who were chamberlaines and favourites to *Saturne*.

As for you, *O Lamprias* and the rest, you may take my relation in good or ill part, as you please.

WHY



## WHY THE PROPHE- TESSE PYTHIA GIVETH NO

ANSWERS NOW FROM THE  
ORACLE, IN VERSE OR  
MEETRE.

The Summarie.

**T**HEY who have so highly praised the excellency of man, extolling the vigor of humane wit and understanding; whatsoever they doe alledge to that purpose, have ordinarily forgot the principall, which is to shew that all the sufficiency of his intelligence is a furious guide; his will, a bottomlesse gulf and pit of confusion; the light of his reason, a deepe darke night; his lusts and desires, so many enraged beasts to rent and tear him in peeces, if God by some speciall and singular grace doe not illumine, regenerate and conduct him. Among a million of testimonies for the prooffe and confirmation hereof, that which presenteth it selfe unto us in this dialogue is most sufficient: for is not this wonderfull, and a certaine signe of a marvellous blindness of mans wisdom, to see those who all their life time doe nothing els but seeke after the soveraigne good, maintaine vertue, detest vices, condemne *Athists*, *Epicureans*, and *Libertines*, yet to dread, feare, yea and adore the sworn enemy of their salvation and true life, to wit, *Satan the devill*? Truly, and that which now we reade, agreeable to certaine discourses heereafter following, and namely, wherein a disputation is held, wherefore the oracles now doe cease? as also what this word *E.I.* signifieth, sheweth not onely the opinion of *Plutarch* and some other Philosophers as touching these matters: but also the miserable state of all those who are abandoned to their owne sense, and void of the knowledge of the true God. And this ought to be remembered a second time, for scarce lest in reading these discourses so eloquently penned, we be turned out of the right way: but rather contrariwise that we may perceive so much the better how vaine and detestable all the habit of man is, if it have for the ground and foundation, nothing but the conceits of his corrupt spirit. So then in this dialogue, we may behold the wisdom of the Greeks, running after *Satan*: and taking great paines for to stur and set on foot one matter, which we ought to abhorre and bury in perpetual oblivion: or to touch with their might and maine beside, that which the wisdom of the flesh cannot compass. There be here divers personages who revive and set a worke the oracles of that priestesse or prophesse at *Delfos*, where was the renowned temple of *Apollo*, the very cave and den of *Satan*, and wherem he exercised his trade and skill, with impostures and illusions incredible, during the space of many yeares. But to make this disposition of more force and validity, *Plutarch* after his accustomed fashion of broching and introducing his owne opinion by a third, following the stile and manner of the *Academicks* writing, bringeth to *Delfos* a stranger, who being together with *Basilocles*, *Philinus*, & other amused and occupied in beholding the statues which were there in great number, there began a discourse by way of disputation touching brasie and the properties thereof. Which when it was well discussed and debated, *Diogenianus* demanded, why the ancient oracles were delivered in homely verse & those in evil fashion? whereto there were made divers answers sending to this point, to make us beleefe, that wheresoever the words be most rusty, and worst conched, there we are to observe so much the more the excellency of the author. And this confirmeth fully, that which we have already spoken as touching the illusions of the devill, who is not content thus to abuse and deceive his slaves, but in this place hath to deale with a ridiculous & most apparent audaciousnesse: if the eyes of those whom he thus abuse, had never so little means to see the thousand part of his deceitfull guiles, as grosse and thicke as mountains. Continuing this discourse, they handle afterwards the prefaces of these statues, and of others reared in divers places for the better authorising of the oracles; which when *Boethus* the *Epicurean* mocked,

*Plutarch*



Plutarch replieth and reemeth into a common place, concerning the gravitie of the rude and ill fashioned oracles, conferring them with those of Sibylla, and maintaining the authoritie of them with his companions, through all the reasons they could devise. These be in summe, the contents of this Dialogue, which comprehendeth divers matters dependant thereof, and those noted in their order: the conclusion whereof is this, That as reprovable they be, who tax the simplicity and rudenesse of such oracles, as those, who otherwise controll them for their ambiguity, obliquity and obscurity.

## WHY THE PROPHETESSE

Pythia giveth no answers now from the

Oracle in verse or meeter.

### BASILOCLES.



Ou have led this stranger, *Philius*, such a walke in shewing him the statues and publike works, that you have made it very late in the evening, and I my selfe am weary in staying for you, and expecting when you will make an end.

### PHILINUS.

No marvell, we goe so softly, and keepe so slow a pace, *o Basilocles*, sowing and mowing (as they say) presently with all our speeches after fight and combat, which sprout forth and yeeld unto us by the way as we go, enemies lying as it were in ambush, much like unto those men which in old time came up of teeth sown by *Cadmus*.

### BASILOCLES.

How then? shall we fend for and intreat some one of those who were present there, or will you your selfe gratify us so much, as to take the paines for to deliver unto us, what speeches those were, and who were the speakers?

### PHILINUS.

I must be the man, I perceive *Basilocles*, to doe this for your sake; for hardly shall you meet with any other els throughout the whole citie: for I saw the most part of them going up againe together, with that stranger to *Corycium* and *Lycuria*.

### BASILOCLES.

What? is this stranger so curious and desirous to see things, and is he withall friendly and wonderfull sociable?

### PHILINUS.

Yes that he is; but more studious is he, and desirous to learne: neither is this most worthy of admiration in him; for he hath a kinde of mildnesse, accompanied with a singular good grace: his pregnant wit and quicke conceit ministreth unto him matter to contradict, and to propose doubts: howbeit the same is not bitter and odious in his propositions, nor leavened with any overthwart frowardnesse and perverse stubbornnesse in his answers; in such sort as a man having bene but a little acquainted with him, would soone say of him:

*Certes a lewd man and a bad,  
He never for his father had.*

For you know well I suppose *Diogenianus*, the best man one of them in the world?

### BASILOCLES.

I know him not my selfe, *Philius*: howbeit, many there be who report as much of this yong man. But upon what occasion or cause began your discourse and disputation?

### PHILINUS.

Those who were our guides, conversant and exercised in the reading of histories, rehearsed and read from one end to the other, all those compositions which they had written, without any regard of that which we requested them, namely, to epitomize and abridge those narrations, and most part of the Epigrams. As for the stranger, he tooke much pleasure to see and view those faire statues, so many in number, and so artificially wrought: But he admired most of all, the fresh brightnesse of the brasse, being such as shewed no filth nor rust that it had gathered, but carried the glosse and resplendent hew of azur: so as he seemed to be ravished and

astonied when he beheld the statues of the admirals and captaines at sea (for at them he began) as representing naturally in their tincture and colour as they stood, sea men and failers in the very maine & deepe sea. Whereupon: Had the ancient workmen (quoth he) a certaine mixture by themselves, and a temper of their brasse, that might give such a tincture to their works? for as touching the Corinthian brasse, which is so much renowned, it is thought generally, and so given out, that it was by meere adventure and chauce, that it tooke this goodly colour, and not by any art: by occasion that the fire caught an house, wherein there was laid up some little gold and silver, but a great quantitie of brasse, which mettals being melted together & so confused one with another, the whole masse thereof was stil called brasse because there was more thereof in it, than of the other mettals. Then *Theon*: We have heard (quoth he) another reason, more subtile than this, namely, that when a certeine brasse founder or copper smith in *Corinth*, had met with a casket or coffer, wherein was good store of golde, fearing lest hee should be discovered, and this treasure found in his hands, he clipped it by little and little, melted and mixed it gently with his brasse, which tooke thereupon such an excellent and wonderfull temperature, that he solde the pieces of worke, thereof made, passing deere, in regard of their dainty colour, and lovely beauty, which every man fer much by, and esteemed. But both this and the other is but a lying tale: for by all likelihood this Corinthian brasse was a certeine mixture and temperature of mettals, so prepared by art; like as at this day, artisans by tempering gold and silver together, make thereof a certeine singular and exquisite pale yellow by it selfe, howbeit, in mine eie, the same is but a wanne and sickly colour, and a corrupt hue, without any beautie in the world. What other cause then might there be (quoth *Diogenianus*) as you thinke, that this brasse heere hath such a tincture? To whom *Theon* made this answer: Considering (quoth he) that of these primitive elements and most naturall bodies that are, and ever shall be, to wit, fire, aire, water and earth, there is not one which approacheth or toucheth these brasse works, but aire onely, it must of necessitie be, that it is the aire which doeth the deed, and by reason of this aire lying alwaies close upon them, and never parting thereto, commeth this difference that they have from all others. Or rather this is a thing notoriously knowne of old, even before *Theognis* was borne, as said the comick Poet.

But would you know by what speciall propertie and vertue the aire should by touching, set such a colour upon brasse? Yes, very faire answered *Diogenianus*. Certes, so would I to my sonne (quoth *Theon*) let us therefore search into the thing both together in common: and first of all, if you please, what is the cause that oile filleth it full of rust, more than all other liquor whatsoever? for surely it cannot be truly said, that oile of it selfe setteth the said rust upon it, considering it is pure and neat, not polluted with any filth when it commeth to it. No verily (quoth the yong man) and there seemeth to be some other cause else, beside the oile; for the rust meeting with oile, which is subtile, pure, and transparent, appeareth most evidently; whereas in all other liquors, it maketh no shew, nor is seene at all. Well said my sonne (quoth *Theon*) and like a Philosopher: but consider, if you thinke so good, of that reason which *Aristotle* alledgeth. Marry that I will (quoth he againe.) Why then I will tell it you (quoth *Theon*.) *Aristotle* saith, that the rust of brasse lighting upon other liquors, pierceth insensibly, and is dispersed through them, being of a rare substance, and unequal parts, not abiding close together; but by reason of the compact and fast soliditie of oile, the said rust is kept in, and abideth thrust and united together. Now then, if we also of our selves were able to presuppose such a thing, we should not altogether want some meanes to charme as it were and allay somewhat this doubt of ours. And when we had allowed very well of his speech, and requested him to say on and prosecute the same: he said; That the aire in the citie of *Delphos* was thicke, fast, strong and vehement withall, by reason of the reflexion and repercussion of the mountaines round about it, and besides, mordicative, as witnesseth the speedie concoction of meat thar it causeth. Now this aire by reason of the subtility and incisive qualitie thereof, piercing into the brasse, and cutting it, forceth out of it a deale of rust, and skaleth as it were much terrestial substance from it: the which it restraineth afterwards and keepeth in, for that the densitie and thicknesse of the aire giveth it no issue: thus this rust being staid & remaining still, gathering also a substance by occasion of the quantity thereof, putteth forth this floure as it were of colour, and there within the superficies contracteth a resplendent and shining hew. This reason of his, we approved very well; but the stranger said, that one of those suppositions alone was sufficient to make good the reason: For that subtility (quoth he) seemeth to be somewhat contrary unto the pissitude and

and thicknesse, supposd in the aire: and therefore it is not necessarie to make any supposal thereof; for brasse of it selfe as it waxeth old, in tract of time exaleth and putteth forth this rust, which the thicknesse of the aire coming upon, keepeth in and doeth so incrassate, as that through the quantitie thereof, it maketh it evident and apparent. Against which objection and reply of his, *Theon* inferred thus againe: And what should hinder (quoth he) that one and the same thing might not be firme or subtle, and withall thicke, both at once: like as his clothes of filke, and linnen, of which *Homer* writeth thus:

*And from sale web of linnen, ran away,  
The oile as moist as it is and would not stay.*

Whereby he giveth us to understand, the fine spinning, and close weaving thereof, which would not suffer the oile to rest upon it, and soake through, but to glide off and drop downe, so neere were the threds, otherwise small, driven together, and so thicke, that it would not let any liquor to passe through. And thus a man may alledge the subtiltie of the aire, not only for to fetch out the rust, but also to bring it to a more pleasant and greenish colour, by mixing splendour and light together with the said deepe azure. Heereupon ensued a pause and silence for a pretie while; and then the discourses and historians above said, alledged againe the words of a certaine oracle in verse (which was delivered, if I be not deceived) as touching the roialtie and reigne of *Aegon*, an *Argive* king: Whereat *Diogenianus* said, that it had beene many times in his head to marvell, at the base, rude, and homely composition of those verses, which doe containe oracles: notwithstanding that the god *Apollo* is reputed the president of the Muses & eloquence; unto whom no lesse appertained the beauty & elegancy of stile & composition, than goodnesse of voice in song & melody, as who surpassed for sweet versifying *Hesiodus* & *Homer*, both very farre: and yet for all that, we see many of his oracles, rude, base, & faulty, as well for the meeter & measure, as the bare words. Then *Serapion* the Poet, who being come fro *Athenas*, was there present: Why (quoth he) beleeve you that those verses were of god *Apolloes* making? that we suffer you to say as you do, that they come a great way short of the goodnesse of those verses which *Homer* & *Hesiodus* composed? and shall we not use them as passing well and excellently made, correcting our owne judgement as forestalled and possessed aforehand with an ill custome? Then *Boethius* the Geometrician (for you wot well that the man hath ranged himselfe already to the sect of *Epicurus*.) Heard you never (quoth he) the tale of *Paufon* the painter: Not I verily, quoth *Serapion*. And yet worth it is the hearing, saith *Boethius*. He having bargained & undertaken to paint an horse wallowing & tumbling on his backe, drew him running on foote with all foure: whereat when the party was angry and offended, who set him a worke, *Paufon* laughed at him, and made no more ado, but turned the ends of the painted table; thus when the upper end was shifted downward, the horse seemed not to runne, but to tumble with his heeles aloft. Semblably it falleth out (quoth *Boethius*) in certaine speeches, when they are inverted and uttered the contrary way: and therefore soone you shall have who will say, that the oracles are not elegant, because they be of god *Apolloes* inditing: but contrariwise, that they be none of his, because they are but rudely made and unsavory: and as for that it is doubtful and uncerteine: but this is evident and plaine, that the verses of oracles be not exquisitely coyned, and laboriously endited, whereof I crave no better judge then your selfe *Serapion*: for you are wont to compose and write Poems, which as touching the argument and subject matter be austere and philosophical: but for their wit, grace and elegant composition otherwise, resemble rather the verses of *Homer* and *Hesiodus*, than those of the oracles pronounced by *Pythia* the Priestres of *Apollo*. With that *Serapion*: We are diseased all of us (o *Boethius*) in our eies and eares to, being wont (such is our nicenesse and delicacie) to esteeme and terme such things simply better, which are more pleasant: and peradventure ere it be long, we will finde fault with *Pythia*, for that she doeth not chaunt and sing more sweetly than *Glauce* the professed minstrell and singing wench; and because she is not befleeced with odoriferous oiles, nor richly arrayed in purple robes: yea, and some haply will take exception at her, for not burning Cinamon, *Ladanum* or Frankincense, for perfume: but onely Laurel and barley meale. And see you not faith one, how great a grace the Sapphik verses carie with them, and how they tickle the eares, and joy the hearts of the hearers? whereas *Sibylla* out of her furious and enraged mouth, as *Heracitus* saith, uttering forth and resounding words without mirth, and provoking no laughter, nor gloriously painted and set out, nor pleasantly perfumed and bespiced, hath continued with her voice a thousand yeeres, by the meanes of *Apollo*, speaking by her: And

*Pindarus*

*Pindarus* saith, that *Cadmus* heard from *Apollo*, not lesse and high musick, not sweet, not delicate, nor broken and full of varietie: for an impassible and holy nature, admitteth not any pleasure: but heere together with the base musick, the most part of the delight also is cast downe, and as it should seeme, hath runne into mens eares and possessed them. When *Serapion* had thus said: *Theon* smiling: *Serapion*, I see well (quoth he) hath done according to his old wont, and followed his owne disposition and maners in this behalfe: for there being offered some occasion to speake of pleasure, he hath quickly caught at it. But yet for all that, let us *Boethius*, howsoever the verses of oracles be woofse than those of *Homer*, not thinke that it is *Apollo* who made them; but when he hath given onely the beginning of motion, then each propheteesse is moved according as she is disposed to receive his inspiration. And verily if oracles were to be penned downe and written, and not to be barely pronounced, I doe not suppose that we would reprove or blame them (taking them to be the hand-writing of the god) because they are not so curiously endited as ordinarily the letters of kings and princes are. For surely, that voice is not the gods, nor the found, nor the phraze, ne yet the meeter and verse, but a womans they be all. As for him, he representeth unto her, fancies onely and imaginations, kindling a light in the soule to declare things to come: and such an illumination as this, is that which they call *Enthusiasmus*. But to speake in a word to you that are the priests and prophets of *Epicurus* (for I see well that you are now become one of that sect) there is no meane to cleape your hands, considering that yee impute unto the ancient propheteesses, that they made bad and faultie verses, yea and reprove those moderne priestesses of these daies, who pronounce in prose and in vulgar tearmes the oracles, for feare they should be article against by you, in case they delivered their verses headlesse, without loines and curtailed. Then (quoth *Diogenianus*) jell not with us I pray you in the name of God, but rather asseile us this common doubt, and rid us of this temple; for there is no man, but desireth to know the reason and cause, why this oracle hath given over to make answer in verses and other speeches as it hath done? Whereunto *Theon* spake thus: But now my sonne, we may seeme to doe wrong and shamefull injurie unto our discourses and directours heere, these Historians, in taking from them that which is their office: and therefore let that be done first which belongeth to them; and afterwards you may enquire and dispute at leisure of that which you desire. Now by this time were we gon forward as farr as to the statue of king *Hiero*: and the stranger albeit he knew well all the rest, yet so cautious he was and off to good a nature, that he gave care withall patience to that which was related unto him: but having heard that there stood sometime a certaine colunne of the said *Hiero* all of brasse, which fell downe of it selfe the very day whereon *Hiero* died at *Saracose* in *Sicilie*, he wondred thereat: and I thereupon recounted unto him other like examples; as namely, of *Hiero* the Spartan, how the day before that he lost his life in the battell at *Leuctres*, the eies of his statue fell out of the head: also that the two starres which *Lysander* had dedicated after the navall battell at the river called *Aigos-potamos*, were missing and not to be seene: and his very statue of stone put forth of a foddren fo much wilde weedes and greene grasse in so great quantity that it covered and hid the face thereof. Moreover during the time of those wofull calamities which the Athenians sustained in *Sicilie*, not onely the golden dates of a palme tree fell downe, but also the ravens came and pecked with their bills all about the scutcheon or theckle of the image of *Pallas*. The Cnidians coronet likewise which *Philemelus* the tyrant of the Phocæans had given unto *Phrysilis* the fine dauncing wench, was the cause of her death: for when she had passed out of *Greece* into *Italie*, one day as she played and daunced about the church of *Apollo* in *Sierapontine*, having the said coronet upon her head, the young men of the city came upon her for to have away the gold of that coronet: and striving about her one with another who should have it, tare the poore woman in peeces among them. *Aristotle* was wont to say that *Homer* was the onely Poet who made and devised words that had motion, so emphatical they were & lively expressed: but I for my part would say that the offerings dedicated in the city, to neat statues, jewels, & other ornaments moved together with the divine providence, do forsignifie future things: neither are the same in any part vaine and void of sense; but all replenished with a divine power. Then *Boethius*: I would not esse (quoth he): for it is not sufficient belike, to enclose God once in a moneth within a mortall bodie, unlesse we thrust him also into every stone and peece of brasse: as if fortune and chance were not sufficient of themselves to worke such feates and accidents. What (quoth I) thinke you then that these things every one have any assintie with fortune and chance? and is it probable that your Atomes doe glide, divide, and decline, neither before

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nor after, but just at the very time as each one of them who made these offerings, should fare better or worse? And *Epicurus* belike, as farre as I see serveth your turne now and is profitable unto you in those things which he hath said or written three hundred yeares past: but this god *Apollon*, unless he imprison and immure himselfe (as it were) and be mixed within every thing is not able in your opinion, to give unto any thing in the world the beginning of motion, nor the cause of any passion or accident whatsoever. And this was the answer which I made unto *Boethius* for that point: and in like maner spake I as touching the verses of *Sibylla*. For when we were come as farre as to the rocke which joineth to the senate house of the city, and there rested our selves, upon which rocke by report the first *Sibylla* first, being new come out of *Helicon*, where she had beene fostered by the Muses, although others there be that say she arived at *Maleon*, to and was the daughter of *Lamia*, who had *Neptune* for her father, *Serapion* made mention of certaine verses of hers wherein she praised her selfe saying, that she should never cease to prophesie and foretell future things, no not after her death; for that she her selfe should then goe about in the Moone, and be that which is called the face therein appearing: also that her breath and spirit mingled with the aire should passe to and fro continually in propheticall words and voices of oracles prognosticating: and that of her bodie transfused and converted into earth, there should grow herbes, shrubs and plants, for the food and pasturage of sacred beasts appointed for sacrifices: whereby they have all sorts of formes and qualities in their bowels and inwards: and by the meanes whereof men may foreknow and foretell of future events. Hereat *Boethius* made semblance to laugh more than before. And when *Zon* alledged, that howsoever these seemed to be fabulous matters and meere fables, yet so it was that many subversions & transmutations of Greeke cities, many expeditions also and voiaiges made against them of barbarous armies, as also the overthrowes & destructions of sundry kingdomes and dominions, give testimony in the behalfe of ancient propheties and predictions. And as for these late and moderne accidents (quoth he) which hapned at *Cumes* and *Dicaearchia*, long before chanted and foretold by way of prophesie out of *Sibylls* books; did not the time ensuing as a debt accomplish and pay? the breakings forth and eruptions of fire out of a mountaine, the strange ebullitions of the sea, the casting up aloft into the aire of stones & cinders by subterranean windes under the earth, the ruine and devastation of so many and those so great cities at one time, and that so suddenly, as they who came but the next morrow thither, could not see where they stood 30 or were built, the place was so confuted. These strange events (I say) and occurrents, as they be hardly beleeveld to have hapned without the finger of God, so much lesse credible it is, that foresee and foretolde they might be, without some heavenly power and divinitie. Then *Boethius*: And what accident (good sir, quoth he) can there be imagined, that Time oweth not unto Nature; and what is there so strange, prodigious and unexpected, as well in the sea as upon the land, either concerning whole cities or particular persons; but if a man foretolde of them, in proceesse and tract of time the same may fall out accordingly? And yet, to speake properly, this is not foretelling, but simply telling, or rather to cast forth and scatter at random in that infinity of the aire, words having no originall nor foundation, which wandering in this wise, Fortune otherwhiles encountreth and concurreth with them at a very venture. For there is a great difference, 40 in my judgement, betwene saying thus, that a thing is hapned which hath bene spoken; and a thing is spoken that shall happen: for that speech which uttereth things that are not extant, containing in it selfe the fault and error, attendeth not by any right, the credit and approbation thereof, by the accidentall event; neither useth it any true and undoubted token of prediction, with a certaine foreknowledge, that happen it will when it hath bene once foretold, considering that infinity is apt to produce all things; but he who guesseth well, whom the common proverbe pronounceth to be the best diviner,

*For whose conjecture misseth least,*

*Him I account the wisest best.*

resembleth him, who traceth out and followeth by probabilities as it were by tracts and foot- 50 ings, that which is to come. But these propheticall *Sibylls* and furious *Bacchides*, have cast at all adventure as it were, into a vast ocean, without either judgement or conjecture, the time; yea, and have scattered at random the nounes and verbs, the words and speeches of passions and accidents of all sorts. And albeit some of them fortune so to happen, yet is this or that false alike at the present time when it is uttered, although haply the same may chance afterwards to fall out truly. When *Boethius* had thus discoursed, *Serapion* replied upon him in this wise: *Boethius*

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(quoth he) giveth a good verdict and just sentence of those propositions which are indefinitely and without a certaine subject matter in this maner pronounced. If victorie be foretolde unto a Generall, he hath vanquished: if the destruction of a citie, it is overthrowen: but whereas there is expressed not onely the thing that shall happen, but also the circumstances, how, when, after what sort, and wherewith, then is not this a bare guesse and conjecture of that which peradventure will be; but a praesignification and denouncing peremptorily of such things as without faile shall be: as for example, that prophesie which concerned the lameness of *Agessilus*, in these words:

10 *Though proud and haughtie (Sparta) now,  
and sound of foot thou bee,  
Take heed by halting regiment,  
there come no harme to thee:  
For then shall unexpected plagues  
thy state long time assaile,  
The deadly waves of fearfull warres  
against thee shall prevail.*

Sensibly, that oracle as touching the Isle which the sea made and discovered about *Thera* and *Therapsa*, as also the prophesie of the warre betwene king *Philip* and the Romans, which ran in these words:

20 *But when the race of Trojan bloud,  
Phenicians shall defeat  
In bloody fight, looke then to see  
strange sights and wonders great.  
The sea shall from amid the waves  
yeeld fire tempests strong,  
And fishes thicke of lightning bright,  
with stony stormes among.  
With that an Island shall appear,  
that never man yet knew:  
30 And weaker men in battell set,  
the mightier shall subdue.*

For whereas the Romans in a small time conquered the Carthaginians, after they had vanquished *Antibal* in the field, and *Philip* king of the Macedonians gave battell unto the Aetolians and Romans, wherein he had the overthrow; also, that in the end there arose an Island out of the deepe sea, with huge leames of fire and hideous ghasts: a man can not say, that all these things hapned and concurred together by fortune and meere chance: but the very traine and orderly proceeding thereof, doth shew a certaine prescience and fore-knowledge. Also, whereas the Romans were foretolde the time five hundred yeeres before, wherein they should have warre with all nations at once, the same was fulfilled when they warred against the slaves and fugitives who 40 revolted and rebelled. For in all these, there is nothing conjecturall and uncerteine, nothing blinde and doubtfull, that we need infinitely to seeke after fortune therefore: whereas many pledges there be of experience, giving us assurance of that which is finite and determinate, shewing the very way, whereby fatall destinie doth proceed. Neither do I thinke any man will say, that these things being foretolde with so many circumstances, jumped altogether by fortune. For what els should hinder, but that a man may as well say (*o Boethius*) that *Epicurus* wrote not his books of principall opinions and doctrines so much approved of you, but that all the letters thereof were jumbled and hudled together by meere chance and fortune, that went to the composing and finishing of that volume. Thus discoursing in this maner, we went forward still. And when in the Corinthian chapell we beheld the date tree of brasse, the onely monument 50 there remaining of all the oblations there offered, *Diogenianus* wondred to see the frogges and water-snakes which were wrought artificially by turners hand about the butt and root thereof; and so did we likewise: because neither the Palme tree is a moorie plant and loving the waters, like as many other trees are: neither doe the frogges any way pertaine to the Corinthians, as a marke or ensigne given in the armes of their city: like as the Selinuntians by report, offered sometimes in this temple, the herbe *Smalach* or Parsley, called *Solimum*, all of gold: and the Tenedonians, an liatcher, taken from the Crabfishes bred in their Island, neere unto the Promonto-

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rie called *Asterion* : for those Crabs onely (as it is thought) have the figure of an hatchet imprinted upon their shell. And verily, for *Apollo* himselfe, we suppose that ravens, swannes, wolves, hawks, or any other beasts, be more acceptable than these. Now when *Serapion* alleged, that the workman heereby meant and covertly signified the nouriture and rising of the Sunne out of humors and waters, which by exhalation he converteth into such creatures, whether it were that he had heard this verse out of *Homer*,

*Then out of sea arose the Sun,  
And left this goodly lake anon.*

Or seeme the Aegyptians to represent the East or Sun-rising by the picture of a childe sitting upon the plant *Lotos*. Thereat I laughed heartily. What meane you thus (good sir, quoth I) to thrust hither the sect of the Stoicks : came you indeed to foist slyly among our speeches and discourses, your exhalations and kindlings of the starres, not bringing downe hither the Sunne and the Moone, as the Thessalian women doe by their enchantments ; but making them to spring and arise as from their first originall out of the earth and the waters ? For *Plato* verily, called mana celestiall plant, as rising directly from his root, above which is his head. But you in the meane time mocke and deride *Empedocles*, for saying that the Sunne occasioned by the reflexion of the heavenly light about the earth,

*Hieraies with farseffe visage sends againe  
Up to the heavens and there doth brightly shine.*

while your selves make the Sunne terrestrial, animall, or a fennith plant, ranging him among the waters and the native place of frogs. But let vs betake all these matters to the tragical and strange monstruosities of the Stoicks : meane while treat we curiously and by the way of the necessary and by-works of mechanickall artificers and handicrafts men : for surely in many things they be very ingenious and witty : many in every plot they cannot avoid the note of bald devices & affected curiosities in their inventions. Like as therefore he that painted *Apollo* with a rocke upon his head, signified thereby the day-broke, & the time a little before sunne rising : even so a man may say that these frogs doe symbolize and betoken the season of the Spring, at what time as the Sunne begins to rule over the aire and to discusse the winter : at least waies if we must according to your opinion, understand the Sunne and *Apollo* to be both, one god, and not twaine. Why ? (quoth *Serapion*) are you of another minde ? and doe you thinke the Sunne to be one, & *Apollo* another ? Yes may doe I (quoth he) as well, as that the Sunne and Moone doe differ. Yea and more than so : for the Moone doth not often, nor from all the world hideth the Sunne : whereas the Sunne hath made all men together, for to be ignorant of *Apollo* : diverting the minde and cogitation by the meanes of the fensle, and turning it from that which is unto that which appeareth onely. Then *Serapion* demanded of those Historians our guides and conductors, what was the reason that the forsaide cell or chappell, was not intituled by the name of *Cypselus* who dedicated it, but called the Corinthians chappell. And when they held their peace, because as I take it, they knew not the cause ; I began to laugh thereat : And why should we thinke (quoth I) that these men knew or remembered any thing more, being astonied and amazed as they were to heare you fable and talke of the meteors or impressions in the aire ? For even themselves we heard before relating, that after the tyranny of *Cypselus* was put downe and overthrowen, the Corinthians were desirous to have the inscription as well of the golden statue at *Pisa*, as of this cell or treasure house, for to tunne in the name of their whole city. And verily the Delphians gave and granted them so much according to their due desert. But for that the Elians envied them that privilege, therefore the Corinthians passed a publicke decree, by vertue whereof they excluded them from the solemnity of the Isthmian games : And hereof it came, that never after that, any champion out of the territorie of *Eli*, was known to shew himselfe to doe his devoir at those Isthmick games. And the massacre of the Molionides which *Hercules* committed about the city of *Cleone*, was not the cause as some doe thinke, why the Elians were debarred from thence : for contrariwise it had belonged to them for to exclude and put by others ; if for this they had incurred the displeasure of the Corinthians. And thus much said I for my part. Now when we were come as far as to the hall of the Acanthians and of *Braidas*, our discoursing Historians and exposticours shewed us the place, where sometimes stood theobelisks of Iton, which *Rhodopus* the famous courtisan had dedicated. Whereat *Diogenianus* was in a great chafe, and brake out into these words : Now surely (quoth he) the same city (to their shame be it spoken) hath allowed unto a common strumpet a place whether to bring and

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where to bestow the tenth part of that salarie which she got by the use of her body, and unjustly put to death *Aesope* her fellow servant. True (quoth *Serapion*) : but are you so much offended hereat : cast up your eie and looke aloft : behold among the statues of brave capitaines and glorious kings, the image of *Anefaret* all of beaten gold, which *Crates* faith was dedicated and set up for a Trophæe of the Greeks lasciviousnesse. The yong gentleman, seeing it : Yea, but it was of *Phryne* that *Crates* spake so. You say true (quoth *Serapion*) : for her proper name indeed was *Anefaret* : but surnamed she was *Phryne* in meriment because she looked pale or yellow like unto a kinde of frogge named in Greeke *Phryne*. And thus many times surnames doe drown and suppress other names. For thus the mother of king *Alexander* the great, who had for her name at first, *Pollyxene*, came afterwards to be as they say, surnamed *Myrtale*, *Olympias* and *Stratonice*. And the Corinthian lady *Eumetis*, men call unto this day, after her fathers name, *Cleobuline* ; and *Herophile*, of the city *Erythre*, she who had the gift of divination and could skill of prophesie, was afterwards in proceesse of time surnamed *Sibylla*. And you have heard Grammarians say, that even *Leda* her selfe, was named *Anefinoe*, and *Orestes* *Acham*. But how thinke you (quoth he) casting his eie upon *Theon*, to answer this accusation as touching *Phryne* ? Then he smiling againe : In such sort (quoth he) as I will charge and accuse you, for bulying your selfe in blaming thus the light faults of the Greeks. For like as *Socrates* reprooved this in *Callias*, that gave defiance onely to sweet perfumes or pretious odors ; for he liked well enough to see the daunces and gesticulations of yong boies, and could abide the sight of kissing, of pleasants, buffons and jesters to make folke laugh : so me thinks that you would chafe and exclude out of the temple, one poore silly woman who used the beaury of her owne body, haply not so honestly as she might : and in the meane time you can abide to see god *Apollo* environed round about with the first fruits, with the tenth and other oblations arising from murders, warres, and pillage, and all his temple throughout hanged with the spoiles and booties gotten from the Greeks : yea, and are neither angry nor take pity when you reade, over such goodly oblations, and ornaments, these most shamefull inscriptions and titles : *Braidas* and the Acanthians, of the Athenian spoiles : the Athenians of the Corinthians : the Phocæans of the Thessalians : the Orneates of the Sicyonians : and the Amphyctions of the Phocæans.

But peradventure it was *Praxiteles* alone who was offensive unto *Crates*, for that he had set up a monument there, of his owne sweet heart, which he had made for the love of her ; whereas *Crates* contrariwise should have commended him, in that among these golden images of kings and princes, he had placed a courtisan in gold, reproching thereby and condemning riches, as having in it nothing to be admired, and nothing venerable : for it well becometh kings and great rulers, to present *Apollo* and the gods with such ornaments and oblations as might testify their owne justice, their temperance and magnanimity ; and not make shew of their golden store and abundance of superfluous delicacies, whereof they have their part commonly who have lived most shamefully. But you alledge not this example of *Crates* (quoth another of our historians & directours) who caused a statue in gold to be made & set up here, of his woman-baker ; which he did not for any proud and insolent ostentation of his riches in this temple, but upon an honest & just occasion : for the report goeth, that *Alyattes* the father of this *Crates*, espoused a second wife, by whom he had other children, whom he reared and brought up. This lady then purposing secretly to take away the life of *Crates*, gave unto the baker aforesaid, poison, willing her, when she had tempered it with dough, and wrought it into bread, to serve the same up unto *Crates*. But the woman gave secret intelligence hereof unto *Crates*, and withall, bestowed the poisoned bread among the children of this step-dame. In regard of which demerit, *Crates* when he came to the crowne, would acknowledge and requite the good service which this woman had done, with the testimony, as it were, of this god himselfe ; wherein he did well and veritously. And therefore (quoth he) meet it is and seemly, to praise and honor highly such oblations, if any have bene presented and dedicated by cities upon semblable occasions, like as the Opuntians did. For when the tyrants of the Phocæans had broken and melted many sacred oblations both of golde and silver, and thereof coined money, which they sent and dispersed among the cities ; the Opuntians gathered as much silver as they could, wherewith they filled a great pot, sent it hither, and made thereof an offering to *Apollo*. And I verily, for my part, doe greatly commend those of *Smyrna* and *Apollonia* for sending hither certeine come-cars of gold, in token of harvest : and more than that, the Eretrians and Magnesiens, for presenting this god with the first fruits of their men & women, recognising thereby, him to be the giver, not only of

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the fruits which the earth yeeldeth, but also of children, as being the authour of generation and the lover of mankind. But I blame the Megarians as much, for that they onely in manner of all the Greeks, caused to be erected here, the image of this our god, with a lance in his hand, after the battell with the Athenians, who upon the defeature of the Persians, held their city in possession, and were by them vanquished in fight, and disseized thereof againe. And yet true it is, that these men afterward offered unto *Apollo* a golden plectre wherewith to play upon his Cittern or Viole, having heard (as it should seeme) the Poet *Seythimus*, speaking of the said instrument:

*Which Don Apollo, faire and lovely sonne  
Of Jupiter, doth tune in skilfull wise,  
As who is wont of all things wrought and done,  
All ends with their beginnings to comprise:  
And in his hand the plectre bright as gold,  
Even glittering rays of shining Sun doth holde.*

Now when *Serapion* would have said somewhat els of these matters: A pleasure it were (quoth the stranger) to heare you devise and discourse of such like things, but I must needs demand the first promise made unto me, as touching the cause why the Prophetesse *Pythia* hath given over to make answers any longer by oracle, in verse and metree: and therefore, if it so please you, let us surcease visiting the rest of these oblations and ornaments, and rather sit we downe in this place, for to heare what can be said of this matter, being the principall point and maine reason which impeacheth the credit of this oracle; for that of necessitie one of these two things must needs be: either that the Prophetesse *Pythia* approacheth not neere enough to the very place where the divine power is, or els that the aire which was wont to breathe and inspire this instinct, is utterly quenched, and the puissance quite gone and vanished away. When we had fetched therefore a circuit about, we sat us downe upon the tablements on the South side of the temple, nere unto the chappell of *Tellus*, that is to say, the Earth, where we beheld the waters of the fountaine *Castilium*, and the temple of the Muses, with admiration, in such sort as *Boethius* incontinently said, that the very place it selfe made much for the question and doubt moved by the stranger: For in olde time (quoth he) there was a temple of the Muses even there, from whence the river springs; inso much as they used this water for the solemne libations at sacrifices, according as *Simonides* writeth in this wise:

*Where water pure is kept in basons faire  
Beneath, of Muses with their yellow haire.*

And in another place, the same *Simonides* with a little more curiositie of words, calling upon *Cleio* the Muse, saith, she is the holy keeper.

*The sacred ewres, who doth superintend  
Wherby from lovely fountaine do descend  
Those waters pure, which all the world admires,  
And thereof for to have a taste desires:  
As rising from those caves propheticall,  
Thus yeeld sweet odors most mirificall.*

And therefore *Eudoxus* was much overseene to beleeve those who gave out, that this was called the water of *Styx*. But in trueth, they placed the Muses as assistants to divination, and the warders thereof, neere unto that rivier and the temple of *Tellus* aforesaid, whereunto appertained the oracle: wherby answers were rendered in verse and song. And some there be who say, that this heroique verse was first heard here:

*Συμφέρει μέγιστα δαίμωνι, κλέος τὴν μῆτιν.*

*That is to say,  
Thou prettie Bees and birds that sing:  
Bring hither both your wax and wing.*

at what time as the oracle being forsaken and destitute of the god *Apollo*, lost all the dignity and so majesty that it had. Then *Serapion*: These things indeed (quoth he) *o Boethus*, are more meet and convenient for the Muses. For we ought not to fight against God, nor together with prophetic and divination take away both providence and divinitie; but to seeke rather for the solution of those reasons which seeme to be contrary thereto, and in no wise to abandon and cast off that faith and religious belief, which hath in our countrey, time out of minde, passed from father to sonne. You say very well and truly (quoth I) good *Serapion*, for we despair not of *Philosophie*,

*lophilie*, as if it were quite overthrowen and utterly gone, because Philosophers beforetime, pronounced their sentences, and published their doctrines in verse: as for example, *Ophelus*, *Hesiodus*, *Parmenides*, *Xenophanes*, *Empedocles*, *Thales*, and afterwards ceased and gave over to verse, all but your selfe, for you have into Philosophie reduced Poetrie againe, to set up a loud and loftie note, for to incite and stirre up young men. Neither is Astrologie of lesse credite and estimation, because *Aristarchus*, *Timochares*, *Aristyllus*, and *Hipparchus*, have written in prose: whereas *Eudoxus*, *Hesiodus*, and *Thales*, wrote before them in verse of that argument; at leastwise, if it be true that *Thales* was the author of that Astrologie which is ascribed unto him. And *Pindarus* himselfe confelleth, that he doubted greatly of that manner of melodie, which was neglected in his daies, wondering why it was so despised. For I assure you it is no absurd thing, nor impertinent, to search the causes of such mutations: But to abolish all arts and faculties, if haply somewhat be changed or altered in them, I hold neither just, nor reasonable. Then came in *Theon* also with his vie, adding moreover & saying, that it could not be denied, but that in truth herein there have bene great changes & mutations: howbeit, no lesse true it is, that even in this very place there have bene many oracles & answers delivered in prose, & those concerning affaires, not of least consequence, but of great importance. For as *Thucydides* reporteth in his historie, when the Lacedæmonians demanded of the oracle, what issue there would be of the warre which they waged against the Athenians? this answer was made: That they should obtaine the victorie, and hold still the upper hand: also that he would aid and succour them, both requested, and unrequested: and that unless they recalled home *Pausanias*, he would gather together \* \* \* of silver. Semblably, when the Athenians consulted with the oracle about their successe in that warre which they enterprised for the conquest of *Sicilie*; this answer they received: That they should bring out of the city *Erythra*, the priestresse of *Minerva*: now the name of the said woman was *Tisychia*, that is to say, repose, or quietnesse. Moreover, at what time as *Dinomenes* the Sicilian, would needs know of the oracle, what should become of his sonnes? this answer was returned: That they should all three be tyrants, and great potentates: wherat when *Dinomenes* replied againe: Yea mary, my good lord *Apollo*, but peradventure they may rue that another day. *Apollo* answered: True indeed, & thus much more over I prophesie unto thee, for to be their destiny. And how this was fulfilled you all know: for *Gelon* during his reigne, had the dropfie: *Hiero* was diseased with the stone, all the time of his tyrannie: and *Thrasybulus* being overtoiled with warres and civil seditions, in short time was dethroned & driven out of his dominions. Moreover, *Procles* the tyrant of *Epiæum*, among many others, whom he had cruelly and unjustly put to death, murdered *Timarchus*, who fled from *Athens* unto him, with a great quantitie of money, after he had received him into his protection, and shewed him many courtesies and kindneses at his first arrivall: him (I say) he slew, and afterwards cast into the sea his corps, which he had put into a chest: and howsoever other knew not of this murder, yet *Cleander* of *Aegina*, was privie thereto, and the minister to execute the same. After this, in proceesse of time, when he was fallen into troubles, and that his state began to be disquieted, he sent his brother *Cleotimus* hither to the oracle, to enquire secretly whether he were best to flee and retire himselfe out of the way. *Apollo* made this answer: That he granted *Procles* flight and retreat thither, where as he commanded his host of *Aegina* to bellow a chest, or else where the staggas cast their heads. The tyrant understanding that *Apollo* willed him either to throw himselfe into the sea and there be drowned, or else to be enterred in the ground, because staggas are wont to bury and hide their homes within the earth, when they be fallen, made no halte, but delayed the time: but after a while, when troubles grew more and more upon him, and all things went backward with him, every day worse than other, at length he fled: But the friends of *Timarchus* having overtaken him, slew him likewise, and flung his body into the sea. Furthermore (which is the greatest matter of all) those *Rhetra*, by vertue whereof, *Lycurgus* ordeined the government of the Lacedæmonians common-wealth, were delivered unto him in prose. What should I speake of *Athyris*, *Herodotus*, *Philochorus*, and *Ister*, who of all others travelled most in gathering of oracles together, which were given in verse, and yet have penned many of them without verse. And *Theopompus*, who studied, no man so much, to cleere the history as touching oracles; sharply reprooveth those, who thinke that *Pythia* the prophetesse in those daies, gave no answers nor prophesies in metree: which challenge of his when he minded to proove and make good, he could alledge but very few examples; for that all the rest in manner were even then pronounced in prose, like as



at this day, some there be that runne in verse and meeter. By which allegations of his, he made one about the rest notoriously divulged, which is this. There is within the province of *Phocis*, a certaine temple of *Hercules*, furnished *Mythogone*, as one would say, hating women: and by the ancient custome and law of that cuntry, the priest thereof for the time being, must not in the whole yeere company with a woman: by occasion whereof, they chuse old men to this priesthood: howsoever not long since, a certaine young man, who was otherwise of no ill behaviour, but somewhat ambitious, and desirous of honour, and who besides loved a young wench, attuned to this prelacie or sacerdotall dignity: at the first he bridled his affection, and forbore the said damosell: howbeit, one time above the rest, when he was laid upon his bed, after he had drunke well, and beene a dancing, the wench came to visit him; and to be short, he dealt carnally with her; whereupon being much troubled in minde, and in fearefull perplexity, he fled unto the oracle, and enquired of *Apollo* as concerning the sinne which he had committed, whether he might not be absolved for it by praier or expiatorie satisfaction? and this answer he received:

*ἅρματα δαίμονα οὐ γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν.*

\* All things necessarie, God permitte th.

\* This is the  
divels divi-  
natie.

But if a man haply should graunt that no answer in these daies is delivered by oracle, but in verse; yet would he be more in doubt of ancient oracles, which sometime in meete and otherwhiles in prose gave answers. But neither the one nor the other (my sonne) is strange and without reason, if so be you conceive aright and carry a pure and religious opinion of god *Apollo*, and doe not thinke that he himselfe it was who in old time composed the verses and at this day prometh unto *Pythia* the prophesies, as if he spake through masks and visours. But this point is of such moment; that it requireth a longer discourse and farther inquire into it: may for this present it may suffice for our learning, that we call to remembrance and put you in minde briefly, how the body useth many organs or instruments; that the soule employeth the body and the parts thereof; and that the soule is the organ or instrument of God. Now the perfection of any organ or instrument, is principally to imitate and resemble that which useth it, as much as is in the power thereof: and to exhibit the worke and effect of the intention in it selfe, and to shew the same not such as it is in the workman, pure, sincere, without passion, without error and faultlesse, but mixed and exposed to faults: for of it selfe obscure it is and al- 30 together unknown unto us; but it appeareth another, and by another, and is replenished with the nature of that other. And here I passe over to speake of wax, gold, silver, brasse, and all other sorts of matter and substance, which may be cast and brought into the forme of a mould. For every of these verily receiveth one forme of a similitude imprinted therein, but to this resemblance or representation, one adjoineth this difference, and another that, of it selfe: as easily is to be seene, by the infinit diversities of formes in images, as also by the appearance of one and the same visage in divers and sundry mirours, flat, hollow, curbed, or embowed, round outwardly, which represent an infinit variety. But there is neither mirror that sheweth and expresseth the face better, nor instrument of nature more supple, obsequent and pliable, than is the Moone: howbeit receiving from the Sunne a light and fiery illumination, she sendeth not the same backe 40 unto us, but mingled with somewhat of her owne: whereby it changeth the colour, and hath a power or facultie far different, for no heat at all there is in it: and as for the light so weak and feeble it is that it faileth before it cometh unto us. And this I suppose to be the meaning of *Heraclitus*, when he saith, that the lord, unto whom belongeth the oracle at *Delphos*, doth neither speake, nor conceale, but signifie onely and give signe. Adde now to this which is so well said and conceived, and make this application: that the god who is heere, useth *Pythia* the prophetesse, for sight and hearing, like as the Sunne useth the Moone. He sheweth future things by a mortall body, and a soule which cannot rest and lie still, as being notable to shew her selfe immoveable and quiet to him who stirreth and mooveth her, but is troubled still more and more by the motions, agitations, and passions, of her owne, and which are in her selfe: for 50 like as the turnings of bodies, which together with a circular motion, fall downward, are not firme and strong, but turning as they do round by force, and tending downward by nature, there is made of them both a certaine turbulent and irregular circumpiration: Even so the ravishment of the spirit, called *Enthusiasmus* is a mixture of two motions, when the minde is moved in the one by inspiration, and in the other naturally. For considering that of bodies which have no soule, and of themselves continue alwaies in one estate quiet, a man cannot make use not

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moove them perforce, otherwise than the quality of their nature will beare, nor move a cylindre like a bal, or in manner of a square cube, nor a lute or harpe, according as he doth a pipe, no more than a trumpet after the order of a cithern or stringed instrument: ne yet any thing else otherwife than either by art or nature each of them is fit to be used. How is it possible then to handle and manage that which is animate, which mooveth of it selfe, is indured with will and inclination, capable also of reason; but according to the precedent habitude, puillance and nature? As for example, to move one musically, who is altogether ignorant and an enemy of musike; or grammatically, him who skilleth not of grammar, and knoweth not a letter of the booke; or eloquently and rhetorically, one who hath neither skill nor practise at all in orations. Certes I 10 cannot see or say how? And herein *Homer* also beareth witnesse with me, who albeit he supposeth thus much, that nothing (to speake of) in the whole world, is performed and effected by any cause, unless God be at one end thereof: yet will not he make God to use all persons indifferently in every thing, but each one according to the sufficiency that he hath by art or nature. To prove this, see you not (quoth he) my friend *Diogenianus*, that when *Minerva* would perswade the Achaeans to any thing she calleth for *Ulysses*? when she is minded to trouble and marre the treaty of peace, she seeketh out *Pandarus*? when she is disposed to discomfit and put to flight the Trojans, she addresseth her selfe and goeth to *Diomedes*? for of these three, the last was a valiant man of person, and a brave warrior; the second a good archer, but yet a foolish and brainficke man; the first right eloquent and wife withall: for *Homer* was not of the same minde 20 with *Pandarus*, if so be it were *Pandarus* who made this verse,

*If God so will, in sea thou maiest well faile*

*Upon an hurle or a wicker fraile.*

But well he knew, that powers and natures be destined to divers effects, according as each one hath different motions, notwithstanding that which mooveth them all, be but one. Like as therefore that facultie which moveth a living creature naturally going on foot, can not make it to flie; nor him who stuteth and stammereth, to speake readily; ne yet him to crie bigge and aloud, who hath a small and slender voice: which was the reason (as I take it) that when *Bastus* was come to \* *Rome*, they sent him into *Africke*, there to plant a colonie, and people a citie; for 30 howsoever he had a stutting and stammering tongue, and was otherwise of a small voice, yet a princely minde he carried, a politike head he had of his owne, and was a man of wisdom & government: even so impossible it is, that *Pythia* should have the knowledge to speake here elegantly & learnedly: for notwithstanding that the were well borne and legitimate as any other, & had lived honestly and discreetly, yet being brought up in the house of poore husbandmen, she descendeth into the place of the oracle, bringing with her no art learned in schoole, nor any experience whatsoever. But as *Xenophon* thinketh, that a young bride when she is brought to her husbands house, ought to be such an one as hath not seene much, and heard as little; semblably, *Pythia* being ignorant and unexpert in manner of all things, and a very virgin indeed as touching her minde and soule, cometh to converse with *Apollo*. And we verily are of opinion, that God for to signifie future things, useth Herons, Wrens, Ravens, Crows, and other birds, speaking after their maner: neither will we have footsaiers, and prophets, being as they are, the messengers and heralds of God, to expound and declare their predictions in plaine and intelligible words: but wee would that the voice and dialect of the prophetesse *Pythia*, resembling the speech of a *Chorus* in a tragedie from a scaffold, should pronounce her answers 40 not in simple, plaine, and triviall termes, without any grace to set them out, but with Poeticall magnificence of high and stately verses, disguised as it were with metaphors and figurative phrases, yea, and that which more is, with found of flute and hautboies: what answer make you then, as touching the old oracles? Surely, not one alone, but many. First, the ancient *Pythia* as hath bene said already, uttered and pronounced most of them in prose: secondly, that time afforded those complexions and temperatures of bodie, which had a propense and forward inclination to Poesie; whereto there were joined incontinently, the alacritie, desires, affections, and dispositions of the soule, in such sort, as they were ever preft and ready, neither wanted they ought but some little beginning from without, to set them on worke, and to stirre the imagination and conception; whereby there might directly be drawn unto that which was meet and proper for them, not onely Astrologers and Philosophers as *Philonus* saith; but also such as were well soaked with wine, and shaken with some passion, who either upon pittie surprisng them, or joy presented unto them, might immediately slide as it were, and fall into a melodious 50 and

and singing voice; inasmuch as their feasts were full of verses, and love songs; yea and their books and compositions, amorous, and favoring of the like. And when *Empirides* said:

*Love makes men Poets, make it when you will,  
Although before in verse they had no skill.*

He meaneth not that love putteth Poetrie or Musick into a man in whom there was none before; but wakeneth, stirreth and enchaineth that which before was drowie, idle, and cold. Or else my good friend, let us say, that now a daies there is not an amorous person, and one that skilleth of love, but all love is extinct and perished, because there is no man, as *Pindarus* saith,

*Who now in pleasant vaine Poeticall  
His songs and ditties doeth adresse,  
Which just in rhyme and meeter fall,  
To praise his faire and sweet mistresse,*

But this is untrue and absurd: for many loves there be that stirre and moove a man, though they meet not with such minds as naturally are disposed and forward to Musick or Poetrie: and well may these loves be without pipes, without harpes, violes, lutes, and stringed instruments: and yet no lesse talkative nor ardent, than those in old time. Again, it were a shame and without all conscience to say, that the Academie with all the quire and company of *Socrates* and *Plato*, were void of amorous affection (whose amorous discourses are at this day extant, & to be read) although they left no Poems behinde them. And is it not all one to say, that there was never any woman but *Sappho* in love, nor had the gift of prophesie, save onely *Sibylla*, and *Aristonice*, or such as published their vaticinations and prophesies in verse? For vertue as *Cheremon* was wont to say, is mingled and tempered with the manners of those that drinke it: And this Enthusiasticke or spirit of prophesie, like unto the ravishment of love, maketh use of that sufficiency and facultie, which it findeth ready in the subject, and mooveth each one of them that are inspired therewith, according to the measure of their naturall disposition: and yet as we consider God and his providence, we shall see that the change is ever to the better. For the use of speech, resembleth properly the permutation and worth of money; which is good and allowable, so long as it is used and known, being currant, more or lesse, and valued diversly, as the times require. Now the time was, when the very marke and stampe (as it were) of our speech was currant and approved, in meeter, verses, songs and sonets: Forasmuch as then, all historie, all doctrine of Philosophie, all affection; and to be briefe, all matter that required a more grave and stately voice, they brought to Poetry and Musick. For now, onely few men, hardly, and with much ado; give care and understand: but then, all indifferently heard, yea, and take great pleasure to heare those that sung.

*The rural ploughman with his hime,  
The fowler with his nets and line.*

as *Pindarus* saith: but also most men for the great aptitude they had unto Poetrie, when they would admonish and make remonstrances, did it, by the meanes of harpe, lute, and song withall: if they ment to rebuke, chastise, exhort, and incite, they performed it by tales, fables, and proverbes. Moreover their hymnes to the honour and praise of the gods, their praises and vowes, their balads for joy of victory, they made in meeter and musickall rhyme: some upon a dexterity of wit, others by use and practise. And therefore neither did *Apollo* envie this ornament and pleasant grace unto the skill of divination, neither banished he from this three-footed table of the oracle the Muse so highly honored, but rather brought it in, and stirred it up as affecting and loving Poeticall wittes: yea, and himselfe ministred and infused certeine imaginations, helping to put forward the losie and learned kinde of language, as being much prized and esteemed. But afterwards, as the life of men, together with their fortunes and natures came to be changed; thrift and utilitie (which remooveth all superfluitie) tooke away the golden lusts, and foretops of perukes, the spangled coifes, caules, and attires, it cast off the fine and deintie robes called *Xystides*; it clipped and cut away the bush of haire growing too long; it unbuckled and unlaced, the trim buskins, acquainting men with good reason, to glory in thriftinesse and frugalitie, against superfluous and sumptuous delicacies, yea, and to honour simplicitie and modestie, rather than vaine pompe and affected curiositie: And even so, the manner of mens speech, changing also and laying aside all glorious shew, the order of writing an historie therewithall, presently came downe as one would say from the stately chariot of verification, to prose, and went a foot; and by the meanes especially of this fashion of writing and speaking

king at liberty, and not being tied to measures, true stories, come to be distinguished from lying fables: and Philosophie embracing peripicuity of stile, which was apt to teach and instruct, rather than that which by tropes and figures amused and amazed mens braines. And then *Apollo* repressed *Pythia*, that she should not any more call her fellow citizens, *Pyrraeos*, that is to say, burning fires; nor the Spartanes, *Ophioboros*, that is to say, devourers of serpents; nor men *Oremnos*; nor river, *Oremptos*: and so by cutting off from her, prophesies, verses, and strange termes, circumlocutions and obcuritie, he taught and inured her to speake unto those who resorted to the oracles, as lawes do talke with cities, as kings devise and commune with their people and subjects; and as scholars give care unto their schoole-masters, framing and applying in his manner of speech and language so, as it might be full of sense and perswasive grace: for this lesse we ought to learne and know that, as *Sophocles* saith:

*God to the wise in heavenly things,  
is ay a lightsome guide,  
But soles so briefly he doth teach,  
that they goe alwaies wide.*

And together with plainnesse, and diluciditie, belief was so turned and altered, changing together with other things, that beforetime, whatsoever was not ordinary nor common, but extravagant, or obscurely and covertly spoken, the vulgar sort drawing it into an opinion of some holinesse hidden underneath, was astonished thereat and held it venerable: but afterwards, desirous to learne and understand things cleerely and easily, and not with masks of disguised words, they began to finde fault with Poesie, wherein oracles were clad; not onely for that it was contrary and repugnant to the easie intelligence of the truth, as mingling the darknesse and shadow of obscurity with the sentence, but also for that they had prophesies already in suspicion; saying, that metaphors ænigmatically, and covert words, yea and the ambiguities which Poetry useth, were but shifts, retractes, and evasions to hide and cover all, whensoever the events fell not out accordingly. And many you may heare to report, that there be certeine Poeticall persons, practised in versifying, sit yet about the oracle, for to receive and catch some words there delivered; which presently and extempore, they reduce and contrive into verse, meeter, and thime, as if they were panniers to bestow all the answers in. And heere I forbear to speake what occasion of blame, and matter of calumniation in these oracles, these *Onomacritoi*, *Prodanos* and *Cinesinos* have ministred, by adding unto them a tragicall pompe, and swelling inflation of words, when as neither they had need thereof, nor yet received any varietie and alteration thereby. Moreover, certeine it is, that these jugglers and vagarant circumforancian land-leapers, these practisers of legier demain, these plaiers at passe and repasse, with all the packe of those vagabonds, ribaunds, and jesters who haunt the feasts of *Cybele* and *Serapis*, have greatly discredited and brought into obloquie the profession of Poetrie: some by their extemporall facultie and telling fortunes, others by way of lotterie forsooth, and by certeine letters and writings, forging oracles which they would give to poore varlets and silly women, who were soonest abused thereby, especially when they saw the same reduced into verse, and so were caried away with Poeticall termes. And from hence it is now come to passe, that Poesie, for that she hath suffered herselfe thus to be prophaned and made common, by such counsers, jugglers, deceivers, enchanters, and false prophets, is fallen from the truth, and rejected from *Apolloes* three-footed table.

And therefore I nothing wonder if otherwhiles in old time, there was some need of this double meaning, circumlocution, and obcuritie: for I assure you, there was not wont to come hither one for to enquire and be resolved about the buying of a slave in open market: nor another to know what profit he should have by his traffike or husbandry: but hither came or sent great and puissant cities, kings, princes, and tyrants, who had no meane matters in their heads, to consult with *Apollo* as concerning their important affaires; whom to provoke, to displease, and offend, by causing them to heare many things contrary to their will and minde, was nothing good and expedient for those who had the charge of the oracle: for this god obedieth not *Empirides* when he setteth downe a law as it were for him, saying thus:

*Phoebus himselfe, and none but he,  
Ought unto men the prophet to be.*

for he useth mortall men to be his ministers and underprophets: of whom he is to have a speciall care for to preserve them, that in doing him service, they be not spoiled and flaine by wicked persons:

persons: in which regard he is not willing to conceal the truth; but turning aside the naked declaration thereof, which in poëtrie receiveth many reflexions, and is divided into many parcels, he thereby did away the rigor and odious austerity therein contained. And it skilled much, that neither tyrants should know it, nor enemies be advertised and have intelligence thereof. For their sakes therefore, he enfolded in all his answers, doubts, suspitions and ambiguities, which from others did hide the true meaning of that which was answered. But such as came themselves to the oracle, and gave close and heedfull care, as whom it concerned particularly, those he deceived not, neither failed they of the right understanding thereof. And therefore a very foolish man is he, and of no judgement, who doth take occasion of slander and calumination, if the world and estate of mens affaires being changed, this God thinketh that he is not to aide and helpe men any more after his accustomed maner, but by some other. Furthermore, by the meanes of poëtrie and verification, there is not in a sentence, any greater commodity than this, that being couched and comprised in a certaine number of words and syllables measured, a man may retaine and remember the same better. And necessarie it was for those in olde time, to carry away in memory many things, because there were delivered many signes and marks of places, many times and opportunities of affaires, many temples of gods beyond sea, many secret monuments, and repositories of demi-gods hard to be found of those who failed farre from Greece. For in the voyages of *Chios* and *Candie*, \* \* \* \* \* interpreted by *Onesichus* and *Palanthus*, beside many other captaines and admirals, how many signes and conjectures went they by, and were to observe, for to finde the resting feat, and place of abode, which was ordeined to every one of them? and some of them quite missed thereof: as for example, *Battus*: for his prophesie ran thus, That unless he arrived to the right place, he should be banished. Failing therefore of the country whereto he was sent, he returned againe to the oracle in humble maner, craving his favour. And then *Apollo* answered him in this wise:

*Thou knowest thy selfe, as well as I can tell,  
That uneth yet in Atrike thou hast bene;  
(For thither sent I thee to build and dwell)  
Nor Meliboea, that place so fertile, scene:  
If thither now accordingly thou wend,  
Thy wisdom then greatly will I commend.*

And so he sent him away the second time. Likewise *Lysander* being altogether ignorant of the little hill *Archeledes*, of the place called *Alopecon*, as also of the river *Oplites*.

*And of the dragon, some of earth by kinde  
Full craftily assailing men behinde.*

all which hee should have avoided, was vanquished in battell, and slaine about those very places, and that by one *Inachian* and *Ahartian*, who had for his device or armes in the target that he bare, a dragon purtraid. But I thinke it needlesse to recite many other ancient oracles of this kinde, which are not easily to be related, and as hardly remembered, especially among you who know them well enough. But now thanks be to God, the state of our affaires and of the world, in regard whereof men were wont to seeke unto the oracle is sealed: for which I reioice and congratulate with you. For great peace there is and repose in all parts; warres be staid, and there is no more need of running and wandering to and fro, from one country to another: civil dissensions and seditions be appeased: there are no tyrannies now exercised: neither doe there raigne other maladies and miseries of Greece, as in times past, which had need of sovereign medecines, exquisite drogues and powerfull confections, to remedy and redresse the same. Whereas therefore there is no variable diversity, no matter of secrecie, no dangerous affaires, but all demands be of pettie & vulgar matters, much like to these schoole questions: Whether a man should marry or no? Whether a man may undertake a voiage by sea or no? Whether he is to take up or put forth money for interest? where, I say, the greatest points, about which cities seeke unto *Apollo*, are about the fertility of their ground, plenty of corne and other fruits of the earth, the breed and multiplying of their cattell, and the health of their bodies: to goe about for to comprise the same in verse, to devise and forge long circuits of words, to use strange and obscure tearmes, to such interrogatories as require a short simple and plaine answer, were the part of an ambitious and vainglorious Sophister, who tooke a pride in the elegant composing of oracles. Over and besides, *Pythia* of her selfe is of a gentle and generous nature: and when she descendeth thither and converseth with the god, she hath more regard of truth than of glory,

ry, neither passeth she whether men praise or dispraise her. And better it is if it were for us, if we also were likewise affected. But we now in a great agony (as it were) & fearefull perplexity left the place should leese the reputation which it hath had for the space of three thousand yeeres, and doubting that some would abandon it and cease to frequent it, as if it were the schoole of a Sophister, who feared to lose his credit, and to be despised, devise apologies in defence thereof, faining causes and reasons of things which we neither know, nor is becoming us for to learne, and all to appease and perswade him, who complaineth and seemeth to finde fault, whereas we should rather shake him off and let him goe.

*For with him first,  
It will be worst,*

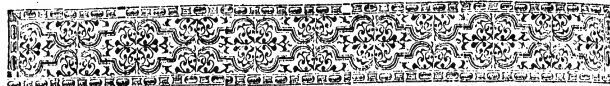
who hath such an opinion of this our God, as that he approved and esteemed these ancient sentences of the Sages written at the entrance of the temple, *Know thy selfe*; *Too much of nothing*; principally for their brevity, as containing under few words a pithy sentence well and closely couched, and (as a man would say) beaten soundly together with the hammer: but reprov'd and blamed moderne oracles for delivering most part of their answers, briefly, succinctly, simply, and directly. And verily such notable Apophthegmes and sayings of the ancient Sages, resemble rivers that runne through a narrow streight, where the water is pent and kept in so close, that a man cannot see through it, and even so uneth or hardly may the bottom of their sense be sounded. But if you consider what is written or said by them, who endeavour to search unto the very bottom, what every one of these sentences doth comprehend, you shall finde that hardly a man shall meet with orations longer then they. Now the dialect or speech of *Pythia* is such, as the Mathematicians define a straight and direct line, namely, the shortest that may be between two points: and even so it bendeth not, it crookeneth not, it maketh no circle, it carrieth no double sense and ambiguity, but goeth straight to the truth; and say it be subject to censure and examination, and dangerous to be misconstrued and beleaved amisse: yet to this day it hath never given advantage whereby it might be convinced of untruth: but in the meane time, it hath furnished all this temple full of rich gifts, presents and oblations, not onely of Greeke nations, but also of barbarous people, as also adorned it with the beautiful buildings and magnificent fabricks of the amphictyons. For you see in some sort, many buildings adjoined which were not before, and as many repaired and restored to their ancient perfection, which were either fallen to decay and ruined by continuance of time, or else lay confusedly out of order. And like as we see, that neere unto great trees that spread much and prosper well, other smaller plants and shrubs grow and thrive: even so together with the city of *Delphos*, *Pylaea* flourisheth, as being fed and maintained by the abundance and affluence, which ariseth from hence, in such sort as it beginneth to have the forme and shew of solemne sacrifices of stately meetings and sacred waters, such as in a thousand yeeres before it could never get the like. As for those that inhabited about *Galaxion* in *Beotia*, they found and felt the gracious presence and favour of our God by the great plenty and store of milke, For,

*From all their ewes thicke milke did spin,  
As water fresh from lively spring:  
Their rubs and tunnes with milke therein  
Brim full they all, home fast did bring:  
No barrels, bottels, pails of wood,  
But full of milke in houses stood.*

But to us he giveth better marks, and more evident tokens and apparent signes of his presence and favour, than these be; having brought our country (as it were) from drinnesse and penurie, from desert & waste wilderness, wherein it was before, to be now rich and plentiful, frequented and peopled, yea and to be in that honor and reputation, wherein we see it at this day to flourish. Certes, I love my selfe much better, for that I was so well affected, as to put to my helping hand so in this businesse, together with *Polyrates* and *Petræus*: Yea and him also I love in my heart, who was the first author unto us of this government and policy, and who tooke the paines and endeavoured to set on foot and establish most part of these things. But impossible it was, that in so small a time there should be seene so great and so evident a mutation by any industry of man whatsoever, if God himselfe had not bene assistant to sanctifie and honour this oracle. But like as in those times past, some men there were who found fault with the ambiguity, obliquity and obscurity of oracles; so there be in these daies, others, who like sycophants cavill at the over-

much simplicitie of them; whose humorous passion is injurious and exceeding foolish. For even as little children take more joy and pleasure to see rainbowed, haloes or garlands about the Sunne, Moone, &c. yea, and comets or blasing starres, than they do to behold the Sunne himselfe or the Moone; so these persons desire to have enigmaticall and darke speeches, obscure allegories, and wrested metaphors, which are all reflexions of divination upon the fanle and apprehension of our mortall conceit. And if they understand not sufficiently, the cause of this change and alteration, they go their waies, and are ready to condemne the God, and not either us or themselves, who are not able by discourse of reason to reach unto the counsell and intention of the said gods.

10



## OF THE DÆMON OR FAMILIAR SPIRIT OF SOCRATES.

20

\* *A Treatise in maner of a Dialogue.*

The Summarie.



He Thebans having lost their freedom and liberty by the violent proceedings of Archias, Leontidas and other tyrants, who banished a great number of good citizens and men of worth, in which roll and catalogue Pelopidas was one (as appeareth in the storie of his life, wherein Plutarch writeth of all this matter at large) it fell out at last, that the exiled persons tooke heart, drew to an head, and wrought so, as they reentred the city of Thebes, slew the tyrants, and displaced the garrison of the Spartans. Which done, they dispatched their ambassages to other States and Common wealths of Greece, for to justifie their action; and namely, among the rest, they sent Caphisias to Athens: who being there, at the request of Archidamus a personage of great authoritie, related and reported the returne of the banished men, the surprising of the tyrants, and the restoring of the citie to their ancient franchises; and that with discourses wonderfull pathetically, and such as shew the singular providence of God in the preservation of States, and confusion of such wicked members as disturbe the publike peace. But in thurt-  
citall, there inserted, and that with good grace, a digression as touching the familiar spirit of Socrates, by occasion of a Pythagorean Philosopher newly come out of Italie to Thebes, for to take up the bones of Lylis: for by occasion that Galaxidorus the Epicurean denied the superstition of this stranger, prising withall the wisdom and learning of Socrates, who had cleared and delivered Philosophie from all fantastical illusions of spirits and ghosts, Theocritus bringeth in an example of a certaine prediction of this familiar spirit. But withall, when the other had demanded the question, whether the same were an humane and naturall thing or no, the disputation began so kinde and waxe hote; untill such time as Epaminondas and this stranger named Theanor came in place: and then they fell into a discourse of portents and riches, by occasion that Theanor offered silver unto the Thebans, in recompense of their kindest and good entertainment shewed unto Lylis. And as they would have proceeded forward in this argument, there came one who ministred occasion for to returne unto the former narration as touching the enterprise and exploit of the said exiled persons: in which there is intermingled againe a treatise concerning the familiar of Socrates, with a large recitall of the fable of Timarchus. After which, Caphisias rehearseth the issue of the tragædie of the tyrants, shewing thoroughout, notable discourses of the divine wisdom, and joining therewith a consideration of Socrates his wisdom, guiding and directing to a particular plot for the good of all Greece. But in this place therea-  
der

der must remember and call to minde who this Socrates was; to wit, a man destitute of the true knowledge of God, and therefore he is to holde for suspected and naught this familiar spirit of his, if a man would receive and admit the opinion of some interloquutors, who suppose it was a Demon or spirit from without; to the end that we should not rest upon revelation, inspirations and guidances of angels, unlesse it be of such, the testimonies whereof are grounded upon the holy scripture; but ste from the profane curiositie of certaine fantastical heads, who by their books published abroad in print, have dared to revive and raise up againe this false opinion (which some in this age of ours have) of familiar spirits, by whom they are forsooth as well advised and as surely taught and instructed, as by the very spirit of God, speaking unto us by his written word.

10

## OF THE DÆMON OR familiar spirit of Socrates.

ARCHIDAMUS.



20

Have heard (as I remember) *ô Caphisias*, a pretty speech of a certaine painter making a comparison of those who came to see the pictures and tables which he had painted: for he was wont to say, that the ignorant beholders and such as had no skill at all in the art of painting, resembled them who saluted a whole multitude of people all at once; but the better sort and such as were skillfull, were like unto those who used to salve every one whom they met, severally by name: for that the former had no exquisite insight into the works, but a superficial and generall knowledge onely; whereas the other contrariwise, judging every piece and part thereof, will not misse one jote, but peruse, consider and censure that which is well done or otherwise. Semblably it falleth out in my judgement, as touching true actions indeed, which are not painted. The conceit and understanding of the more idle and carelesse persons resteth in this bare knowledge, in case they conceive only the summary and issue of a thing; but that of studious and diligent persons, and lovers of faire and goodly things, like unto a judicious and excellent spectator of vertue, as of some great and singular art, taketh more pleasure to heare the particularities in speciall: for that the end of matters, ordinarily, hath many things common with fortune; but the good wit is better scene in causes, & in the vertue of particular occurrences & affaires which are presented; as when valour sheweth it selfe not attonied, but considerate and well advised in the greatest perils; where the discourse of reason is mingled with passion, which the sudden occasion of danger presented doth bring. Supposing then, that we also are of this kinde of spectators, declare you to us now in order from the beginning, how this matter did passe and proceed in the execution thereof, as also what talke and discourse was held there; for that by all likelihood you were present: and for mine owne part, so desirous I am to heare, that I would not faile to go  
40 as farre as to Thebes for the knowledge thereof, were it not, that I am thought already of the Athenians, to favorise the Boeotians more than I should.

CAPHISIAS.

Certes, *Archidamus*, since you are so earnest and forward to learne how these affaires were managed, I ought in regard of the good will which you beare unto us; before any businesse whatsoever (as *Pindarus* saith) to have come hither, exprelly for to relate the same unto you: but since we are hither come in embassage already, and at good leasure, whiles we attend what answer and dispatch the people of Athens will give us, in making it strange and goodly, and refusing to satisfie so civill a request of a personage so kinde and well affectionate to his friends, were as much as to revive the olde reproch imputed upon the Boeotians, to wit, that they hate  
50 good letters and learned discourses; which reproch began to weare away with your *Socrates*, and in so doing, it seemeth that we treat of affaires with two priests: and therefore see, whether the Seigniors here present be disposed to heare the report of so many speeches and actions; for the narration will not be short, considering that you will me to adjoine thereto the words that passed also.

ARCHIDAMUS.

You know not the men, *ô Caphisias*, and yet well worthy they are to be known; for noble  
Iiiii 2 persons

persons they had to their fathers, and those who had been well affected to our country. As for him (pointing to *Lyfihides*) he is (quoth he) the nephew of *Thrasibulus*; but he here, is *Timotheus* the sonne of *Conon*: those there, be the children of *Archinus*; and the other, our familiar friends. So that you shall be sure to have a well willing auditors, and such as will take pleasure to heare this narration.

## CAPHISIAS.

You say well. But where were I best to begin my speech, in regard of those matters that ye have already heard and known, which I would not willingly repeat?

## ARCHIDAMUS.

We know reasonably well, in what state the citie of *Thebes* stood, before the returne of the banished persons; and namely, how *Archias* and *Leontidas* had secret intelligence, and conspired with *Phæbidas* the Lacedæmonian captaine, whom they perswaded, during the time of truce, to surprize the castle of *Cadmus*; and how having executed this disservice, they drave some citizens out of the city, and put others in prison, or held the men in awe, whilst themselves ruled tyrannically and with violence. Whereof I had intelligence, because I was (as you wot well) host to *Meton* and *Pelopidas*, with whom (so long as they were in exile) I was inwardly acquainted and conversed familiarly. Moreover, we have heard already, how the Lacedæmonians condemned *Phæbidas* to pay a great fine, for that he had seized the fort *Cadmia*, and how they put him by, and kept him from the journey and expedition of *Olynthus*, and sent thither in stead of him, *Lysanoridas* with two other captaines, and planted a stronger garrison within the castle. Furthermore, we know very well, that *Simenias* died not the fairest kinde of death, presently upon I wot not what proceesse framed, and an action commenced against him, for that *Gorgias* advertised the banished who were here, by letters, from time to time, of all matters that passed; in such sort, as there remaineth for you to relate, nothing els, but the returne of the said banished men, and the surprizing or apprehension of the tyrants.

## CAPHISIAS.

About that time (*Archidamus*) all we that were of the confederacie and conspired together, used ordinarily to meet in the house of *Simmias*, by occasion that he was retired and in cure of a wound which he had received in his leg, where we conferred secretly of our affaires as need required; but in shew openly, discoursed of matters of learning and Philosophy, drawing so unto us often times into our companie, *Archias* and *Leontidas*, men who misliked not such conferences and communications, because we would remove all suspicion of such conventicles. For *Simmias* having abode long time in forren parts among the Barbarians, being returned to *Thebes* but a little while before, was full of all manner of newes and strange reports as touching those barbarous nations; in so much, as *Archias* when he was at leisure, willingly gave eare to his discourses and narrations, sitting in the company of us young gentlemen, as being well pleased that we should give our mindes to the study of good letters and learning, rather than busie our heads about those matters which they went about and practised in the meane while. And the very day on which late in the evening, and toward darke night following, the exiled persons above said were come closely under the wall, there arrived from thence unto us a messenger, whom *Pherenicus* sent, one who was unknown to us all, unless it were to *Charon*, who brought us word, that to the number of twelve young gentlemen, and those the bravest gallants of all the banished conspirators, were already with the hounds hunting in the forest *Cithæron*, intending to be here in the evening; and that therefore they had sent before and dispatched a vauncourier of purpose, as well to advertise us thereof, as to be certified themselves who it was that should make his house ready for them to lie secret and hidden therein when they were once come; to the end that upon this foreknowledge they might sit forward and go directly thither. Now as we studied and tooke some deliberation about this point, *Charon* of himselfe offered his house: whereupon, when the messenger intended to returne immediately & with great speed to the exiles, *Theocritus* the soothsaier gripping me fast by the hand, & casting his eie upon *Charon* so that went before: This man (quoth he) *Capfissus*, is no Philosopher nor deepe scholar, neither is he come to any excellent or exquisite knowledge above others, as his brother *Epaminondas*, and yet you see how being naturally enclined, and directed withall by the Lawes, unto honor and vertue, he exposeth himselfe willingly unto danger of death, for the deliverie and setting free of his country; whilst *Epaminondas*, who hath had better meanes of instruction and education to the attaining of vertue, than any other Boeotian whatsoever, is resolute, dull, and backward,

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when the question is of executing any great enterprize for the deliverance of his native country. And to what occasion of service shall he ever be so well disposed, prepared and employed, than this? Vnto whom I made answer in this wise: We for our parts, most kinde and gently *Theocritus*, doe that which hath bene thought good, resolved and concluded upon among our selves, but *Epaminondas* having not yet perswaded us, according as he thinketh it better himselfe, not to put these our designements in execution, hath good reason to goe against that where-with his nature repugneth, and so he approveth not the designement whereunto he is moved and invited. For it were unreasonable to force & compell a physician, who promiseth & undertaketh to cure a disease, without lancet & fire, for to proceed to incision, cutting & cauterizing. Why (quoth *Theocritus*) doth not he approve of the conspiracie? No (quoth I) neither alloweth he that any citizens should be put to death, unless they were condemned first judicially by order of law: many, he saith, that if without massacre and effusion of citizens blood they would enterprize the deliverance of the city, he would assist and aide them right willingly. Seeing then that he was not able to induce us for to beleve his reasons, but that we followed still our owne course, he requireth us to let him alone pure, innocent, and unpolluted with the blood of his citizens, and to suffer him for to espie and attend some better occasions and opportunities, by means whereof with justice he might procure the good of the weale publicke. For murder (quoth he) will not containe it selfe within limits as it ought: but *Pherenicus* happily and *Pelopidas*, may bend their force principally upon the authors and heads of the tyranny, and wicked persons: but you shall have some such as *Eumolpidas* and *Samidas* hot stomacked men, set on fire with choler and desire of revenge, who taking liberty by the vantage of the night, will not lay downe their armes, nor put up their swords, until they have filled the whole city with bloodshed, and murdered many of the best and principall citizens.

As I thus devised and communed with *Theocritus*, *Anaxidorus* overhearing some of our words (for nere he was unto us:) Stay (quoth he) and hold your peace, for I see *Archias* & *Lysanoridas* the Spartan captaine coming from the castle *Cadmia*, and it seemeth that they make haste directly toward us. Heereupon we paused and were still: with that *Archias* calling unto *Theocritus*, and bringing him apart by himselfe unto *Lysanoridas*, talked with him a long while, drawing him aside a little out of the way, under the temple of *Amphion*; in such sort, as we were in an extreme agony & perplexity, for feare lest they had an inkling or suspicion of our enterprize, or that something were discovered: & thereupon they examined *Theocritus*. As these matters thus passed, *Phyllidas* (whom you *Archidamus* know) who was then the principall secretary or scribe under *Archias*, at that time captaine generall of the armie, being desirous of the approach of the conspirators, & withal both privy and party with us in the complot, came in place and rooke me (as his manner was) by the hand, beginning with open mouth to mocke our exercises of the body and our wrestling: but afterward, drawing me aside, a good way from the others, asked me whether the banished persons would keepe that appointed day or no? I made him answer, Yea. Then have I (quoth he) to very good purpose prepared a feast this day for to entertaine *Archias* in my house, and so to deliver him with ease into their hands, when he shall have eaten freely, and drunke wine merrily. Passing well done (quoth I) *Phyllidas*: but I beseech you withall, for to bring together all our enemies, or as many as you can. That is no easie matter (quoth he) to compass, but rather altogether impossible. For *Archias* hoping that some great lady of honor and estate will come thither unto him, in no wise can abide that *Leontidas* should be there, so that of necessity we must divide them into sundry houses. Now if *Archias* and *Leontidas* both, be once apprehended, I suppose that the rest will soone flie, or else remaine quiet, and be very highly contented if any man will grant them safety and security of their lives. Well (quoth I) we will so doe: but I pray you, what business have they with *Theocritus*, that they are so long in talke with him? I know not for a truth (quoth *Phyllidas*) but I have heard that there be certaine prodigious signes of unluckie and unfortunate presage unto the citie of *Sparta*.

When *Theocritus* was returned unto us againe, *Phidolam* the Haliertian coming toward us: *Simmias* (quoth he) requesteth you to stay here a while for his sake: for he is an intercessor in the behalfe of *Amphitem* by the means of *Leontidas*, that his life may be pardoned, and that instead of death, the man might be banished. This is fallen out (quoth *Theocritus*) in very good time and fitly to the purpose as a man would have it: for I was minded to enquire of you what things were found within the tombe of *Alemena*, and what shew it carried when it was opened a-

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among you: and also whether you were present when *Agessilaus* sent of purpose for to translate and carry the reliques unto *Sparta*. Present I was not my selfe *Phidolam* in person: and I was very much angry and offended with my fellow citizens, in that I was so discarded and left out. Howbeit found there was with the bones and other reliques of the corps, a certaine carquenet of brasse, and that of no great bignesse, and two earthen pots, containing amphors a piece full of earth which in continuance of time was growen hard and converted into stone.

Over the sepulcher there was a table of brasse likewise, wherein were written many letters, and thofe of a strange and wonderfull forme, as being of right great antiquity: for nothing could we pick out of them, notwithstanding the letters appeared very well, after that the brasse was faire washed and scoured cleane, the characters were of such a making by themselves, after a barbarous fashion, and resembling nearest those of the Aegyptians. Whereupon *Agessilaus* also, as men say, sent a copy of them unto the king of *Aegypt*, praying him to shew the same unto their priests, to see whether they understood them or no? But peradventure of these matters *Simmius* also is able to tell us some newes, because about that time he conversed much with the said priests in points of Philosophie. And those of the citie *Alartus* are of opinion, that their great sterility, and scarcitie, as also the swelling and inundation of the lake hapned not by chance, but was the vengeance divine upon those who suffered the monument of this sepulchre to be digged up and opened. Then *Theocritus* after he had paused a little: The Lacedaemonians likewise (quoth he) seeme to have beene threatened by the ire of the gods, as the prodigious signes and tokens presage no lesse, whereof *Lysanoridas* ere while talked with me: who even now is gone into the citie *Alartus*, to cause the said monument to be filled up againe, and there to offer certaine funerall effusions and libaments, to the ghost of *Alenema* and *Aleus*, according to a certaine oracle; but who this *Aleus* should be, he knoweth not: and so soone as he is from thence returned, he must search also the sepulchre of *Diree*, which none of the Thebanes doe know, unless they be those who have beene captaines of the horsemen. For looke who goeth out of this office, taketh with him his successor that entrencheth into his place, by night, and when they two be alone together, he sheweth it unto him, and there they performe certaine religious ceremonies without fire, the tokens and marks whereof, they shuffie together, and confound so, as they be not seene; which done, they depart in the darke, and goe divers waies, one from the other. But for mine owne part, *Phidolam*, I beleve verily he will never finde it out, for the most of those who have beene lawfully called to the captainship of the cavallerie, or to say more truly, even all of them are in exile, except *Gorgidas* and *Plato*, whom they will never aske the question, because they are afraid of them. And as for those who are now in place, well may they take the lance and the signet within the castle of *Calamus*; for otherwise they neither know nor can shew ought. As *Theocritus* spake these words, *Leontidas* went forth with his friends; and we entering in, saluted *Simmius*, being set upon his bed, but I suppose he had not obtained his request, for very penfive and heavie he was; and looking willy in the face upon us all, he brake out into these words: O *Hercules*, what a world is this, to see the barbarous and savage maners of men? And was not this then a very good answer made by old *Thales*, who being returned home, after a long voiage, from out of a forren country, and demanded what was the strangest newes that he could make relation of? answered: That he had seene a tyrant live to be an old man. For thus you see, that himselfe who in his owne particular, had never received wrong by a tyrant, yet in regard of the odious trouble, in conversing and having to doe with them, is offended and become an enemy to all soveraigne and absolute governments, which are not subject to render an account unto the lawes. But haply God will see to these matters, and provide in time convenient. But know you (*Caphisias*) who this stranger may be, that is come unto you? I wot not (quoth he) whom you meane. Why (quoth he) *Againe*, *Leontidas* came and told us of a man, who was seene by night to arise from about the tombe of *Lysis*, accompanied in stately wise, with a great traine of men, in good order; and well appointed, who lodged there and lay upon pallets: for that there were to be seene in the morning little beds hard by the ground, made of chaff tree and of heath or lings. There remained also the tokens of fire, and of the libaments and oblations of milke. Moreover betimes in the morning he demanded of all passengers whom he met, where he should finde the children of *Polymnius* dwelling in that country? And what stranger might this be (quoth I): for by your report he should be some great personage, and not a private man and of meane degree. Not so (quoth *Phidolam*) but when he comes welcome he shall be, and we will receive him courteously,

ously. But for this present, if peradventure *Simmius*, you know any thing more than we, concerning those letters whereof we were of late in doubt, declare it unto us: for it is said that the priests of *Aegypt* understood by conference together the letters of a certaine table of brasse, which *Agessilaus* not long since had from us, at what time as he caused the tombe of *Alenema* to be opened. I have not (quoth *Simmius*, calling another matter presently to minde) seene this said table, *Phidolam*: but *Agotriadas* the Spartan carrying with him many letters from *Agessilaus* came to the city *Memphis* and went unto the prophet *Chonuphis*, with whom we conferred as touching Philosophie, and abode together a certaine time, my selfe I meane, and *Plato*, with *Ellepion* the Peparethian. Thither I say arrived he as sent from king *Agessilaus*, who requested *Chonuphis*, that if he understood any thing of those letters which were written in the said brasse, he would interpret the same, and send it backe unto him incontinently. So this prophet was musing and studying three daies together by himselfe, perusing and turning all sorts of figures and characters of ancient letters: and in the end wrote backe his answer unto king *Agessilaus*, and by word of mouth told us, that the said writing gave direction and commandement unto the Greeks, to celebrate the feast, and solemnize the plaies and games in the honor of the Muses: also that the forme of those characters, were the very same which had beene used at the time when *Protem* reigned in *Aegypt*, which *Hercules* the sonne of *Amphitryon* learned: and that God by those letters advised and admonished the Greeks to live in peace and repose, instituting certaine games unto the Muses, for the study of Philosophie and good literature, and disputing one against another continually, with reasons and arguments as touching justice, laying armes cleane aside. As for us, we thought verily even then at the very first, that *Chonuphis* said well and truly; but much rather, when in our returne out of *Aegypt*, as we passed along *Caria*, certaine persons of the Isle *Delos*, met us upon the way, who requested *Plato* (as he was a man well seene and exercised in Geometrie) to explaine the meaning unto them of a certaine strange oracle, & hard to be understood; which god *Apollo* had given them: the tenour whereof was this: That the Delians and all other Greeke nations, should have a cessation & end of all their present troubles and calamities, when they had once doubled the altar which stood in the temple at *Delos*: for they being not able to guesse nor imagine what the substance and meaning should be, of this answer delivered by the oracle; and besides, making themselves ridiculous, when they thought to double the fabricke and building of the altar (for when they had doubled each side of the foure, they were not ware how by augmentation they made a solid bodie, eight times as bigge as it was before, and that by ignorance of the proportion, which in length yeeldeth the double) they had recourse unto *Plato*, for to be relolved of this difficulty. Then he calling to minde the foresaid Aegyptian priest, said unto them: that the god plaied with the Greeks, for despising good sciences; reproching them for their ignorance, and commanding them in good earnest to study Geometrie, and not curiously after a superficiall maner; for that it was a matter and worke, not of a depravate conceit, nor of a troubled and dimme understanding, but sufficiently exercised, and perfectly seene in the sciences of Lines; to find of two lines one middle proportioned, which is the onely means to double the figure of a cubicke body, being augmented equally in all dimensions: And as for these (quoth he) *Eudoxus* the Cnidian, or *Helicon* the Cyzicenian, hath performed sufficiently unto you: howbeit, we are not to thinke that the god hath need of any such duplication, neither was it, that which he meant, but he commanded the Greeks to give over armes for to converse with the Muses; in dulcing their passions by the study of good literature, and the sciences, and so to couple and carie themselves, as that they might profit, and not hurt one another. But whiles *Simmius* thus spake, my father *Polymnius* entred the place, and sat him downe close unto *Simmius*, beginning thus to speake: *Epaminondas* (quoth he) requesteth both you, and all the rest that be here, unless your busynesse otherwise be the greater, not to faile, but heere to stay; as being desirous to make you acquainted with this stranger, who is of himselfe a gentle person, and withall, is higher come with a generous and honest intention (being one of the Pythagorian Philosophers) from out of *Italy*, and his arrivall into these parts, as by occasion of certaine visions and dreames as he saith, yea, and evident apparitions admonishing him to powre and offer unto the good seignior *Lysis*, upon his tombe, those libaments which are due unto men departed: and having brought with him a good quantitie of gold, he supposeth that he is bound to make recompense unto *Epaminondas*, for the charges which he was at in keeping & maintaining good *Lysis* in his old age, and most ready he is, without our request, and against our will, to succour our need and poverty.

vertie. *Simmius* taking great pleasure to hear this: You tell us (quoth he) of a wonderfull man indeed, and such an one as is worthy of Philosophy: but what is the reason that he came not directly unto us? Because (quoth he) he tooke up lodging last night about the sepulchre of *Lyfius*; and as I take it, *Epaminondas* hath led him to the river *Ismenus*, for to wash; but from thence they will come both together unto us: but before that he spake with us, he lodged upon the tombe of *Lyfius*, with a purpose as I thinke, to take up the bones and reliques of his body, for to cary with him backe into *Italy*, unless there were some spirit or daemon impeached him in the night: When my father had thus much said, he held his tongue: and then *Galaxidorus*: O *Hercules* (quoth he) how hard a matter is it to finde a man who is altogether free from vanitie, and in whom there is no spice of superstition? For some there be, who even against their willes are otherwhiles surprisid with these passions, by reason either of ignorance or infirmity: others againe, to the end they might be thought more religious, more devout, and better beloved of the gods, upon a singularity, referre all their actions to the gods, as the authors thereof, preferring before all the inventions that came into their minde, dreames and fantasticall apparitions, and all such foolish toies and vanities; which peradventure is not unbecoming nor unprofitable for politicians and statists, who are forced to frame themselves to a stubberne & disordinate multitude, for to reclaime and to pull backe the common & vulgar sort by superstition, as it were by the bit of a bridle, unto that which is expedient for them. But this maske seemeth not onely undecent and unseemly for Philosophy, but also contrary to the profession thereof, which promisseth to teach us all that which is good and profitable with reason, and afterwards referreth the beginning of our actions unto the gods, as if it condemned reason and disgraced the prooffe of demonstration, wherein it seemeth to be most excellent turning aside to I wot not what oracles and visions in dreames, wherein oftentimes the wickedest man in the world, findeth as much as the very best. And therefore in mine opinion our *Socrates*, & *Simmius*, used that manner of teaching which is most worthy and befitting a Philosopher, to wit, simple, plaine, without all fiction, chusing it as most free and friendly unto the truth, rejecting and turning upon the Sophisters, all such vanity, as the very fume and smoake of Philosophy. Then *Theocritus* taking his turne to speake: How now (quoth he) *Galaxidorus*, hath *Melitus* perswaded you, as well as he made the judges beleieve, that *Socrates* dis-  
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familiar spirit of *Socrates*, and drew along with them *Charillus* the plaiur upon the flute, who was then come with me to *Athens*, for to visit *Cebes*. Now when they went by the shops of the imagers, neere the common halles and courts of justice, they might see before them a mightie heard of hogges, as thicke as one might stand by another, full of dirt and mire, and bearing downe all before them, by reason of their great number; and for that there was no meanes to turne aside from them, they overthrew some of the young men above said, and laid them along, on the ground, yea and all to be raied the rest of their fellows. Thus returned *Charillus* home to his lodging, with his legges, his thighs, and all his clothes, foully bedaubed with filthy dirt; in such sort, as he maketh us remember many times, and that with good laughing, the familiar  
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band, who flying with him for company, along the mountaine *Parnes*, were overtaken and killed by our horsemen, for that they had taken another way of flight from the battell, and not, that he directed him unto by his angell or familiar spirit. And thus much I suppose that *Simmas* himselfe hath heard as well as I. True (quoth *Simmas*) I have heard it oftentimes, and of many persons, for upon this example and such like, the familiar spirit of *Socrates* was not a little spoken of in *Athens*. Why suffer we then, *Simmas* (quoth *Phidolau*) this *Galaxidorus* here, by way of jest and meriment, to debase so much, this so great a worke of divination, as to passe it away in I wot not what voices and sneefings: Which signes the vulgar sort of ignorant persons made use of by jest and mockerie, in small matters, and of no consequence: for when the question is of more greivous dangers, and affaires of greater importance; the saying is verified 10 of *Euripides*:

*Roman will play the fool, nor such vaine words  
Cast out, so neere the edge and dint of swords.*

And *Galaxidorus*: If *Simmas* (quoth he) *Phidolau*, hath hard *Socrates* himselfe say ought of these matters, I am willing to give care and to pardon him with you: but for any thing that you (or *Polymnis*) have said, an easie matter it is to confute the same: for like as in Physicke, the beating of the pulse is no great matter in it selfe, nor a pimple or wheke: but signes they be both of the sight or voice of some bird, or a thin cloud running through the aire, signifieth some great winde or violent tempest in the sea: even so unto a propheticall and divining minde, a sneefing 20 or a voice spoken, in it selfe considered, is no such great matter, but signes these may be of most important accidents. For in no art nor science whatsoever, men doe despise the collection or judgement of many things by a few, nor of great matters by small: but like as if an ignorant person, who knoweth not the power of letters, seeing them few in number, and in forme vile and contemptible, could not beleve that a learned man was able to read and relate out of them long warres in times past, the foundations of cities, the acts of mighty kings, and their variable fortunes; and should say that there were something underneath, which tolde and declared unto the said Historian, every one of those matters in order; he might give good occasion of laughter & pleasantly to deride his ignorance unto as many as hard him (speake so: even so take heed and beware, lest we (for that we know not the vertue and efficacy of every signe and fore- 30 ken, in as much as they preface future things) be not foolishly angered, if some prudent and wise man by the same signes foretell somewhat as touching things unknown, and namely, if he say that it is not a voice nor a sneefing, but a familiar spirit, which hath declared the same unto him. For now come I to you *Polymnis*, who esteeme and admire *Socrates* as a personage, who by his plaine simplicity, without any counterfet vanity whatsoever, hath humanized as I may so say, Philosophy, and attributed it to humane reason, if he called not his signe that he went by, a voice or sneefing, but after a tragickall manner should name it a spirit familiar. For contrariwise, I would marvell rather that a man so well spoken as *Socrates* was, so eloquent, and who had all words to ready at command, should say that it was a voice or a sneefing, and not a divine spirit that taught him: as if one should say that himselfe was wounded by an arrow, and not with an 40 arrow by him who shot it, or that a poise was weighed by the balance, and not with a balance, by him that held or managed the balance in his hand: for the worke dependeth not upon the instrument, but upon him who hath the instrument, and useth it for to doe the worke: and even so the instrument is a kinde of signe used by that, which doth signify and prognosticate thereby. But as I have said already, we must listen what *Simmas* will say, as the man who knoweth this matter more exactly than others doe. You say true indeed (quoth *Theocritus*) but let us see first, who they be that enter heere in place: and the rather because *Epaminondas* is one, who seemeth to bring with him hither unto us the stranger above said. And when we looked all toward the gates, we might perceive *Epaminondas* indeed going before and leading the way, accompanied with *Isenodorus*, *Bacchilidas* and *Melissus*, the plaier upon the flute. The stranger followell af- 50 ter, a man of a good and ingenious countenance to see to, and who carried in his visage great mildnesse and humanity, & besides went in his apparel very gravely and decently. Now when he had taken his place and was set downe close unto *Simmas*, and my brother next unto me, and all the rest as every one thought good: after silence made, *Simmas* addressing his speech unto my brother: Go to now *Epaminondas*, (quoth he) what stranger is this, from whence cometh he, and what may be his name? for this is the ordinary beginning and usuall entrance to farther knowledge

knowledge and acquaintance. His name (quoth my brother) is *Theanor* or *Simmas*: a man borne in the city *Croton*, one of them who in those parts professe Philosophy, and did redireth not the glory of great *Pythagoras*: but is come hither from out of *Italy*, a long journey, to confirme by good works, his good doctrine and profession. But you *Epaminondas*, your selfe (quoth the stranger then) hinder me from doing, of all good deeds, the best. For if it be an honest thing for a man to doe good unto his friends, dishonest it cannot be to receive good at their hands: for in thanks there is as much need of a receiver as of a giver, being a thing composed of them both, and tending to a vertuous worke: and he that receiveth not a good turne, as a tennis ball fairly sent unto him, disgraceth it much, suffering it to fall short and light upon the ground. 10 For what marke is there that a man shooteth at which he is so glad to hit and so sorry to misse, as this, that one worthy of a benefit & good turne, he either hath it accordingly, or faileth thereof unworthily? And yet in this comparison, he that there, in shooting at the marke which standeth still, and misseth it, is in fault; but heere, he who refuseth and flieth from it, is he that doth wrong and injury unto the grace of a benefit, which by his refusal, it cannot attaine to that which it tendeth unto. As for the causes of this my voyage hither, I have already shewed unto you; and desirous I am to rehearse them againe unto these gentlemen heere present, that they may be just- 20 ges in my behalfe against you. When the colleges and societies of the *Pythagorean* Philosophers, planted in every city of our country, were expelled by the strong hand of the seditious faction of the *Cyclonians*, when those who kept still together were assembled and held a coun- sell in the city of *Metapontine*, the seditious set the house on fire on every side, where they were met: and burnt them altogether except *Phidolau* and *Lyffis*, who being yet young, active and able of body, put the fire by and escaped through it. And *Phidolau* being retired into the country of the *Laconians*, saved himselfe among his friends, who began already to rally themselves and grow to an head, yea, and to have the upper hand of the said *Cyclonians*. As for *Lyffis*, long it was ere any man knew what was become of him, untill such time as *Gorgias* the *Leontine* being failed backe againe out of *Greece* into *Sicilie*, brought certaine newes unto *Areteus*, that he had spoken with *Lyffis*, and that he made his abode in the city of *Thebes*. Whereupon *Areteus* minded incontinently to embarke and take the sea; so desirous he was to see the man: but finding himselfe for feeblenesse and age together, very unable to performe such a voyage, he 30 tooke order expressly upon his death bed with his friends to bring him over alive if it were possible into *Itale*, or at leastwise, if haply he were dead before, to convey his bones and reliques over. But the warres, seditions, troubles and tyrannies that came betwene and were in the way, impeached those friends, that they could not (during his life) accomplish this charge that he had laied upon them: but after that, the spirit or ghost of *Lyffis* now departed, appearing visibly unto us, gave intelligence of his death, and when report was made unto us, by them who knew the certaine truth, how liberally he was entertained and kept with you, *Polymnis*, and namely, in a poore house, where he was held and reputed as one of the children, and in his old 40 agerichly maintained, and so died in blessed estate, I being a young man, was sent alone from many others of the ancient sort, who have store of money, and be willing to bestow the same upon you who want it, in recompense of that great favor and gracious friendship of yours extended to him. As for *Lyffis*, worshipfully he was entered by you, and bestowed in an honourable sepulchre, but yet more honourable for him will be that confesse, which by way of recom- 50 pense is given to his friend, by other friends of his and kinsholke.

Whiles the stranger spake thus, the teares trickled downe my fathers checks, and he wept a good while for the remembrance of *Lyffis*. But my brother smiling upon me, as his manner was: How shall we do now *Caphisias*, quoth he; shall we cast off and abandon our poverty for money, and so say no more, but keepe silence? In no wise (quoth I) let us not quit and forsake our olde friend, and to good a foistresse of young folke: but defend you it, for your turne it is now to 50 speake. And yet I (quoth he) my father, feare not that our house is pregnable for money, unlessse it be in regard onely of *Caphisias*, who may seeme to have some need of a faire robe, to shew himselfe brave and gallant unto those that make love unto him, who are in number to many, as also of plenty of viands and food, to the end that he may endure the toile and travell of bodily exercises and combats which he must abide in the wrestling schooles. But seeing this other heere, of whom I had more distrust, doth not abandon povertie, nor fasheth out the hereditary indigence of his father and house, as a tincture and unseemly staine; but although he be yet a young man, repureth himselfe gaily set out and adorned with frugality, taking a pride therein, and

and resting contented with his present fortunes: Wherein should we any more employ our gold and silver, if we had it, and what use are we to make of it? What, would you have us to gild our armor, and cover our shields as *Nicias* the Athenian did, with purple and gold intermingled therewith? And shall we buy for you, father, a faire mantle of the fine rich cloth of *Adieu*, and for my mother, a trim coat of scarlet coloured with purple? For surely we will never abuse this present, in pampering our bellie, in feasting our selves, and making more sumptuous cheere than ordinary, by receiving riches into our house as a costly and chargeable guest? Fie upon that, my sonne (quoth my father) God forbid I should ever see such a change in mine house. Why (quoth he againe) we will not sit stil in the house, keeping riches with watch and ward idle: for so the benefit were not beneficiall, but without all grace, and the possession thereof dishonorable. To what end then shall we receive it, quoth my father. It seemed of late (quoth *Epaminondas*) unto *Jason* a captaine of the Theffalians, that I made him an uncivill and rustical answer, when he sent hither a great masse of gold, and requested me to take it as a gift: for I charged him plainly, that he did me great wrong, and began to picke a quarrell with me, in that he affecting and aspiring to a monarchie, came with money to tempt & solicit me a plaine citizen, of a free city, and living under the lawes. But as for you sir, who are come unto us as a stranger, I approve your good will, for it is honest, vertuous and becomming a Philosopher, yea, and I love and embrace it singularly well: but this I must needs say unto you, that you bring medicines and physicke drogues to men that are not sicke and aile nothing. Like as therefore, if you hearing that our enemies warred upon us, were come to bring us harnesse, armes and weapons as so well defensive as offensive for our succour; and being arrived and landed in these parts, should finde all quiet, and that we lived in peace and amitie with our neighbours, you would not thinke that ye ought to give or leave the said armes among them that had no need nor desire thereof: even so, come you are to aide us against povertie, as if we were afflicted and distressed thereby: but it is cleane contrary, for we can beare it with ease, and well content we are to have it dwell with us still in the house: and therefore we feele no want either of money or munition, against her that doth us no displeasure. But this message you shall cary backe unto your fellows and brethren in the same profession beyond sea, that as they use their goods and riches most honestly and in the best manner, so they have friends here also, that can make use of their poverty as well. Now for the keeping, funerals & sepulture of *Lysis*, he hath himselfe sufficiently paid us there: before and discharged all, in that among many other good instructions, he taught us, not to be afraid of povertie, nor to take it in ill part. To this, *Theamor* replied in this manner: Doeth it (I pray you) bewray a base minde and want of courage, to feare povertie? and is it not as absurd and as great a default in judgement, to dread and eschue riches? in case (I say) a man, not upon any sound reason, but for outward disguised shew, and in a foolish humor of vanitie, refuse and reject it. And what reason is there, to dissuade and debarre the getting and possession of goods, by all just and honest means, as *Epaminondas* useth? But rather, forasmuch as you are ready enough in your answeres, as appeareth by that which you made as touching this point, unto *Jason* the Theffalian, I demand of you first, *Epaminondas*, whether you thinke any kinde of giving money to be just and lawfull; but no manner of taking? or that simply, both givers and takers do offend and sinne? Not so, quoth *Epaminondas*: but of this opinion I am, that as of other things, so of riches likewise, there is one giving and possessing, that is civill and honest; and another, dishonest and shamefull. Well then, quoth *Theamor*, what say you of him who giveth willingly and with a good heart, that which he ought: doeth he not give it well? The other granted and confessed it. Go to then, quoth *Theamor*, he who receiveth that which is given well and honestly, doth he not take it honestly also? or can there be a more just and lawfull taking of money, than that which is received of him who giveth righteously? I suppose (quoth *Epaminondas*) there can not be. Betweene two friends therefore (quoth he) *Epaminondas*, if the one may give, the other likewise may justly take: for in battels I confesse, a man ought to turne away and decline from that enemy of whom he hath received some pleasure; but in the case of benefits and good turnes, it is neither seemly nor honest, either to avoid or to reject that friend that giveth well and honestly. No in trueth, quoth *Epaminondas*; but you are to consider with us, thus much, That there being in us many lusts and desires, and those of sundry things; some are naturall and (as they say) inbred, budding and breeding in our flesh and about our bodies, for the entertainment of those pleasures which be necessary; others be strangers, proceeding from vaine opinions, which gathering strength and force by tract of time and long custome in bad

nouriture,

nouriture, grow to such an head, that many times they plucke downe and holde our soules in subjection more forcibly and with greater violence, than doe those naturall before said, Now reason, by good use and vertuous exercise, minisreth means, that a man may draw away and spend many of those very passions which are inbred within us; but he had need to employ all the power and strength of custome and exercise against those other concupiscences which be forerunners and come from without forth, for to consume, cut off and chastice them, by all means of repressions and retentions that be reasonable. For if the resistance which reason maketh against the appetite of eating and drinking, forceth many times and conquereth both hunger and thirst; far more easie is it, to cut off avarice and ambition, by forbearing and abstaining those things which the fame do covet, so farre forth, as in the end they will be discomfited and subdued. How say you, thinke you not that it is so? The stranger confessed no lesse. See you not then, quoth he againe, that there is a difference betweene an exercise, and the worke unto which the exercise is addressed? And like as of the art which teacheth how to exercise the body, a man may say, that the worke is the emulation, strife and contention to win the prize of the crowne against the concurrent or adversarie; but the exercise thereof, is the preparation that the champion makes, for to have his body apt, nimble and active thereto by continual trials of matters: even so you will grant, that a difference there is betweene vertue and the exercise of vertue. The stranger said yea unto it. Then tell me first and formost, quoth he, To abstaine from vile, filthy and unlawfull lusts, what thinke you, is it an exercise unto continency, or rather the very worke it selfe, and proofe of continency? The very worke and proofe, I take it to be, quoth he againe: and the exercise and accustomance to sobriety, temperance and continency, is not that which you all practise, when after you have travelled your bodies, and like brute beasts provoked your appetites, you sit downe to meat, and there continue a long time, having your tables before you furnished with exquisit viands of all sorts, but touch not one dish, leaving them afterwards for your servants to engorge themselves therewith and make merry; when you the while present some little thing, and that plaine and simple, unto your appetites, which are already dulled and quenched: for the abstinence from pleasures and delights permitted, is it not an exercise against such as are forbidden? Yes verily, quoth the stranger. There is then (quoth he) my friend, a certaine exercise of justice against avarice and covetousnesse of money; and that is not, to forbear in night season to rob and spoile our neighbours houses, or to strip passengers out of their clothes: no, nor if a man doe not betray his country or friends for a piece of money, is he truly said to inure and exercise himselfe against avarice: for haply the law and feare doth bridle and restraine his covetous desire from doing wrong or hurt to another: but he, who many times abstaineth from taking just gaires, and such as are granted and permitted him by the lawes, he willingly exerciseth and woonteth himselfe to keepe farre from any unjust and unlawfull taking of money. For neither is it possible, that in great pleasures, and those wicked and pernicious, the soule should containe herselfe from the appetite thereof, if many times before, being in full libertie to enjoy them, she did not despise the fame: nor easie for a man to passe over & contemne wicked takings & great gaires presented, who long before hath not chastised and tamed his covetous desire to have and gaine, which by other habitudes enough is nourished & bred up impudently & without all shame to lucre: for it swelleth againe, & is puffed up with injustice, so as hardly & with much ado it can abstaine from doing outrage to any one, for to win private profit thereby: but never will it assault a personage who hath not abandoned & given himselfe over to receive gifts & largesses of his friends, or to take presents & rewards of kings, but hath renounced the very benefits allotted unto him by fortune: who also hath retired & removed himselfe far from avarice, and a leaping desire after a treasure discovered and seen: it will never (I say) tempt him to commit any injustice, nor trouble his thoughts & cogitations: but such an one, will quietly and peaceably frame himselfe to do that which is honest, as having his heart more hauty, than to stoop to law, and being privy to himselfe of all good things settled in his soule. Loe, what men they be, upon whom *Caphisus* and my selfe be enamoured: and this is the reason friend *Simmius*, why we request this honest gentleman heere, the stranger, to suffer us to be sufficiently exercised in povertie, that we may attaine unto such vertue. After that my brother had finished this speech, *Simmius* having twice or thrice nodded with his head: A great man no doubt (quoth he) is this *Epaminondas*, and a verie great man indeed: and well may he thanke his good father heere *Polymnis* for all; who from the first beginning, hath given his children the best education and bringing up in Philosphie: but as

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touching these matters, agree and accord with them, good stranger and friend. As for you *Lyfias*, let me demand of you (if we may be so bold, as to heare and know of you) whether you purpose to remove him out of his sepulchre, and so transport him over into *Italy*? or rather to leave him behinde you, to tary among his friends and well-willers, who no doubt will be glad of us to lodge with him, when we shall be there. *Theano* smiling upon him: It seemeth *Simmias* (quoth he) that *Lyfias* liketh well of the place where he is, and is not willing to remove, for that he had no want of any good things here, by the means of *Epaminondas*: for there be certeine particular sacred ceremonies, which we observe in the sepulture of our fellow professors in this confraternitie of the Pythagoreans, which if they have not when they be dead, me thinke they have not attained to that happy end which we desire. When as therefore we knew by dreames, that *Lyfias* was departed this life (for we have an infallible signe, appearing unto us in our sleepe, whereby we can discern whether it be the ghost and image of one alive or dead) many had this conceit, that being departed in a forren and farre country, he had bene otherwise enterred than he ought, and therefore we were to translate him from thence where he was, to the end, that being transported, he might have the due service, and accustomed obsequies belonging to our societie. Being therefore come with this minde and cogitation into these parts, and incontinently conducted by those of this country to his sepulchre; about the evening I powered out the libaments for mortuaries, for to call forth his spirit, that it might come and instruct me how I might proceed in this action: and this last night passed, I saw nothing; but me thought I heard a voice saying unto me: That I should not remove that which ought not to be stirred; because the corps of *Lyfias* had bene by his friends in holy manner enterred, and his soule having her dome already, had her conge and passport to go unto another generation and nativity, accompanied and coupled with another daemon. And verily this morning when I had conferred with *Epaminondas*, and heard the manner how he had buried *Lyfias*, I understood that he himselfe had bene instructed by him, in the most secret points of our religion, and how he used the same spirit or daemon for the guidance of his life, unlesse I be so unexpert, that I cannot conjecture what the pilot is by his manner of navigation: for broad be the waies of this life, but few they are, which these angels doe direct and lead men in. When *Theano* had thus said, he cast his eye upon *Epaminondas*, as if once againe he would behold his nature and manners, by the inspiration of his countenance and visage. And heereupon came in the Physician, and loosed the band wherewith *Simmias* his wound was bound up, as purposing to dresse him. Then *Phyllidas* who came in afterwards with *Hippothemidas*, willing me and *Charon*, and *Theocritus* to arise, drew us apart into a certeine corner or angle of the porch, woonderfully troubled as it might seeme by his countenance. With that, I spake unto him and said: What newes *Phyllidas*? No newes *Caphisus* (quoth he to me) for I foresaw my selfe, and foretold you as much, namely, the slacknesse and cowardise of *Hippothemidas*, requesting you not to communicate unto him your enterprize, nor admit him into your company. Now whiles we were much amazed and astonied at these words: Say not so good *Phyllidas* (quoth he) for gods sake; neither be you a cause both of our undoing and of the ruine of this city, by thinking rashnesse to be hardnesse: but have patience, and suffer these men to returne in safetie, in case it be so by farall destiny appointed. *Phyllidas* being chafed herewith, and set in a choler: Tell me (quoth he) *Hippothemidas*, how many thinke you be privy to our secrets in this designment? I know my selfe (quoth he) to the number of thirty at the least. If there be so many (quoth he) how cometh it to passe, that you onely crosse and gainsay, yea, and hinder that which hath bene concluded and agreed upon by us all? and to this purpose have dispatched a light-horseman, to ride in poste unto the banished persons, (who had put themselves in their journey hitherward) charging them to returne backe, and that in no wise they should goe forward this day? considering that the most part of those things which went to this journey, fortuneit selfe had procured & prepared fit for their hands? upon these words of *Phyllidas*, we were all much troubled and perplexed: but *Charon* about the rest, fastning his eye upon *Hippothemidas*, and that with a fowre and sterne countenance: Most wicked wretch that thou art, quoth he, what hast thou done unto us? No harme, said *Hippothemidas*, in case, leaving this curst & angrie voice of yours, you can be content and have patience, to heare and understand the reasons of a man asaged as your selfe, and having as many gray haies as you have: for if this be the point, to thew unto our fellow citizens how hardy and courageous we are, that we make no reckoning of our lives, and care not for any perill of death, seeing we have day enough

enough *Phyllidas*, let us never stay for the darke evening, but presently, and immediately from this place run upon the tyrants with our swords drawn, let us kill and slay, let us die upon them, and make no spare of our selves: for it is no hard matter to do and suffer all this: may to deliver the citie of *Thebes* out of the hands of so many armed men as hold it, to dilfize and expell the garrison of the Spartanes, with the murder of two or three men, is not so easie a thing, (for *Phyllidas* hath not provided so much wine for his feast and banquet, as will be sufficient to make fifteene hundred souldiers of *Archim* guard drunken: and say we had killed him, yet *Crippidas* and *Arceus*, are ready at night, both of them sober enough to keepe the corps du guard) why make wee such haste then, to draw our friends into an evident and certeine danger of present death, especially, seeing withall, that our enemies be in some sort advertised of their coming and approach; for if it were not so, why was there commandement given by them to those of *Thebes*, for to be in their armes upon the third day, which is this, and ready to goe with the Lacedaemonian captaines, whensoever they gave commandement? And as for *Amplicthem*, this very day as I understand, after their judicall proceeding against him, they minded to put to death, upon the coming of *Archias*. And are not these pregnant presumptions, that the plot and enterprize is to them discovered? Were it not better then to deterre the execution of our designments a while longer, untill such time as the gods be reconciled and appeased? for our diviners and withards having sacrificed a beecke unto *Ceres*, pronounce that the fire of the sacrifice denounceth some great sedition and danger to the common weale: and that which you *Charon* particularly ought to take good heed of is this: Yesterday, and no longer since, *Hippothodorus* the sonne of *Erimthes*, a man otherwise of good sort, and one who knoweth nothing at all of our enterprize, had this speech with me: *Charon* is your familiar friend, *Hippothemidas*, but with me not greatly acquainted; advertise him therefore, if you thinke to good, that he beware and looke to himselfe, in regard of some great danger & strange accident that is toward him: for the last night, as I dreamed, me thought I saw that his house was in travell as it were of child; that he and his friends being themselves in distresse, prayed unto the gods for her delivery, standing round about her during her labour and painfull travell; but she seemed to looie and rore, yea, and to cast out certeine inarticulate voices, untill at the last there issued out of it a mighty fire, wherewith a great part of the citie was immediately burnt, and the castle *Cadmea* covered all over with smoke onely, but no part of the fire ascended thereto. Loe, what the vision was, which this honest man related unto me, *Charon*: which I assure you, for the present, set me in a great quaking and trembling; but much more when I once heard say, that this day the exiled persons were to returne and be lodged here within an house of the citie. In great anguish therefore I am, and in a wonderfull agonie, for feare least we engage our selves within a world of calamities and miseries, without being able to execute any exploit of importance upon our enemies, unlesse it be to make a garboile, and set all on a light fire: for I suppose that the citie when all is done, will be ours, but *Cadmea* the castle as it is already, will be for them. Then *Theocritus* taking upon him to speake, and staying *Charon* who was about to reply somewhat against this *Hippothemidas*: I interpret all this (quoth he) cleane contrary: for there is not a signe that confirmeth me more in following of this enterprize (although I have had always good presages in the behalfe of the banished, in all the sacrifices that I have offered) than this vision which you have rehearsed: if it be so as you say, that a great and light fire thone over all the citie, and the same arising out of a friends house, and that the habitation of our enemies, and the place of their retreat was darkned and made blacke againe with the smoke, which never brings with it any thing better than teares and troublesome confusion: and whereas from among us there arose inarticulate voices, (in case a man should confute it in evil part, and take exception thereat, in regard of the voice) the same will be when our enterprize, which now is enfolded in obscure, doubtfull, and uncerteine suspicion, shall at once both appeere, and also prevaille: as for the ill signes of the sacrifices, they touch not the publike state, but those who

now are most powerfull and in greatest authoritie. As *Theocritus* thus was speaking yet still, I said unto *Hippothemidas*: And whom I pray you have you sent unto the men? for if he be not too farre onward on his way, we will send after to overtake him. I am not able to say of a truth *Caphisus*, whether it be possible to reach him, (quoth *Hippothemidas*) for he hath one of the best horses in all *Thebes* under him; and a man he is, whom yee all know very well, for he is the master of *Atelons* chariots, and his chariot men, one unto whom *Meleon* himselfe from this very first discovered this plot, and made privie unto it. With that, I considering and thinking with



with my selfe what man he should speake of: It is not *Chlidon* (quoth I) *Hippothemidas*, he who no longer since than the last yeere, wanne the prife in the horle running, at the solemne feast of *Iuno*? The same is the man quoth he. Who then is he whom I have seene this long while standing at the hall doore and looking full upon us? It is *Chlidon* himselfe: I assure you quoth he. Now by *Hercules* I sweare, could any thing have hapned woorse? And with that, the man perceiving how we looked upon him, approached faire and softly from the doore unto us. Then *Hippothemidas* beckned unto him, and nodded with his head, as willing him to speake unto us all, for that there was no danger because they were all honest men, and of our side. I know them all wel enough quoth he, (*Hippothemidas*) and not finding you at home nor in the market place, I guessed by and by that you were gone toward them, and therefore I made as great halfe as I could hither, to the end that you might not be ignorant of all things how they goe: For so soone as you commanded me in all speed to meet with our banished citizens in the forest, I went presently to my house for to take horse, & called unto my wife for my bridle, but she could not give it me, and to mend the matter, staid a great while in the chamber or store-house where such things use to be: now after she had made seeking & puddering in every corner within the roome, & could not find it, at length when she had plaid long enough with me, & made a foole of me, she confessed & told me plainly, that she had lent it forth to one of our neighbors, whose wife the evening before came to borrow it of her: whereupon I was in a great chafe, and gave her some curst words; but she like a shrew, paid me with as good as I lent her, and made no more adoe, but cursed me in abominable tearmes, wishing my forth going might be unhappy, and my home coming worse: which execrations I pray god may all light upon her owne head. To be short, she provoked me so farr, that in my choler I dealt her some blowes for her shrewd tongue: with that comes out a number of the neighbors and women especially, where after I had given and taken one for another with shame enough, at last with much adoe I got away from them and came hither to pray you for to send some other messenger to the parties you wot of: for I assure you at this present I am so much out of temper that I am not mine owne man, but in manner beside my selfe. This wrought in us all a mervellous alteration of our wils and affections: For whereas a little before we were offended that our designments were crossed, and their coming impeached, now againe upon this sudden occurrence & the shortnes of time, which allowed us no leisure to put of, & to procrastinate the matter, we were driven into an agony and fearefull perplexity. Howbeit letting a good countenance upon the matter, speaking also cheerfully unto *Hippothemidas*, and taking him friendly by the hand, I encouraged him, and gave him to understand, that the very gods themselves seconded our intentions and invited us to the execution of the enterprife. This done, *Phyllidas* went home to his house for to give order about his feast, and withall to draw on *Archias* to drinke wine liberally and to make mery: *Chilon* departed also to make ready his house for the intertainment of the banished men, against their returne. Meane while *Theocritus* and I went againe to *Simmius*: to the end that finding some good occasion and opportunity for the purpose, we might talke with *Epaminondas* againe, who was well entred already into a pretie question, which *Galaxidorus* and *Pbiodorus* a little before had begun, demanding of what substance, nature and puissance was the familiar spirit of *Socrates*, so much spoken of? Now what *Simmius* had alledged against *Galaxidorus* upon this point, we hard not: many thus much he said, that when he demanded upon a time of *Socrates* himselfe concerning the said matter, he never could get of him any answer, & therefore he never after would aske him the question, but he said, that oftentimes he had bene present when *Socrates* gave out that he reputed those men for vaine persons, who said they had seene with their eie any divine power, and so communed therewith: but contrariwise that he could hold better with those, who said they tooke knowledge of such a thing by hearing a voice, speaking unto one that gave attentive care thereto, or earnestly enquired thereof: whereupon he set our heads on worke when we were apart by our selves, and made us to guesse and conjecture, that this daemon of *Socrates*, was no vision, but a sense of some voice, and an intelligence of words, which came unto him, by an extraordinary manner. Like as in our dreames, it is not a voice indeed that men heare lying fast asleepe, but the opinion of some words that they thinke they heare pronounced: but this intelligence of dreames cometh in truth, to men asleepe, by reason of the repose and tranquillity of the body: whereas they that be awake cannot heare, but very hardly, these divine advertisementes, being troubled and disquieted with tumultuous passions, and the distraction of their affaires, by occasion whereof they cannot wholly yeeld their minde

minde and thought to heare the revelations that the gods deliver unto them. Now *Socrates* having a pure and cleare understanding not tossed and turmoiled with any passions nor mingled with the body, unlesse it were very little, for things necessary and no more, was easie to be touched, and so subtil that soone it might be altered with whatsoever was objected and presented to it: now that which met with it, we may conjecture that it was not simply a voice or sound, but a very articulare speech of his daemon, which without any audible voice touched the intellectuall part of his soule, together with the thing that it declared and revealed unto him. For the voice resembeth a blow or stroke given unto the soule, which by the eares is constrained to receive speech, when we speake one unto another: but the intelligence or understanding of a divine and better nature, leadeth and conducteth a generous minde by a thing that causeth it to understand without need of any other stroke: and the same minde or soule obedieth and yeeldeth thereto accordingly, as it either slacketh loofe or stretcheth hard the instincts and inclinations, not violently by resistance which the passions make, but supple and pliable, as slacke and gentle raines. And hereof we shall not need to make any wonder, considering that we see how little helmes turne about and winde the greatest hulks and caragues that be: and againe the wheeles that potters use, being never so little touched with the hand, turne very easily: for although they be instruments without life, yet being as they are counterpeised and framed even on every side, by reason of their polished smoothnesse, they are apt to stire and yeeld unto the moving cause with the least moment that is. Now the soule of man being bent and stretched out stiffe with innumerable inclinations as it were with so many cords, hath more agility than all the ingins or instruments in the world, if a man hath the skill to manage and handle it with reason, after it hath taken once a little motion, that it may bend to that which conceived it: for the beginnings of instincts and passions, tend all to this intelligent and conceiving part, which being stired and shaken, it draweth, pulleth, stretcheth and haleth the whole man: Wherein we are given to understand, what force and power hath the thing that is entred into the conceit and intelligence of the minde. For bones are senselesse, the sinewes and flesh full of humors, and the whole masse of all these parts together, heave and ponderous, lying still without some motions: but so soone as the soule putteth somewhat into the understanding, and that the same moveth the inclinations thereto, it starteth up and riseth all at once, and being stretched in all parts, runneth a maine, as if it had wings into action. And so the manner of this moving, direction, and promptitude, is not hard, and much lesse, impossible to comprehend: whereby the soule, hath no sooner understood any object, but it draweth presently with it, by instincts and inclinations, the whole masse of the body. For like as reason conceived and comprised without any voice, moveth the understanding: even so in mine opinion, it is not such an hard matter, but that a more divine intelligence and a soule more excellent, should draw another inferior to it, touching it from without, like as one speech or reason may touch another, and as light, the reflection of light: For we in truth, make our conceptions and cogitations knowne one to another, as if we touched them in the darke, by meanes of voice: but the intelligences of Daemons having their light, doe shine unto those who are capable thereof, standing in need of neither of nounes nor verbs which men use in speaking one to the other, by which makes they see the images and resemblances of the conceptions and thoughts of the minde: but the very intelligences & cogitations indeed they know not, unlesse they be such as have a singular and divine light, as we have already said: and yet that which is performed by the ministry of the voice, doth in some sort helpe and satisfie those who otherwise are incredulous. For the aire being formed and stamped as it were by the impression of articulare sounds, and become throughout, all speech and voice, carrieth a conception and intelligence into the minde of the hearer: and therefore according to this similitude and reason, what marvell is it if that also which is conceived by these superior natures altereth the aire, and if the aire being by reason of that quality which it hath, apt to receive impressions, signifith unto excellent men and such as have a rare and divine nature, the speech of him who hath conceived ought in is minde? For like as the strokes that light upon targuits or sheelds of brasse, be heard a farr off, when they proceeded from the bottome in the mids within, by reason of the resonance and rebound: whereas the blowes that fall upon other sheelds are drowned and disperfed, so as they be not heard at all: even so the words or speeches of Daemons and spirits, although they be carried and flie to the eares of all indifferently, yet they resound to those onely, who are of a settled and staid nature, and whose soules are at quiet, such as we call divine and celestiall men. Now the vulgar sort

have an opinion, that some Dæmon doth communicate a kinde of divinitie unto men in their sleepes: but they thinke it strange and a miracle incredible, if a man should say unto them, that the gods doe move and affect them sensibly when they be awake, and have the full use of reason: As if a man should thinke that a musician may play well upon his harpe or lute, when all the strings be slackt and let downe: but when the said instruments be set in tune, and have their strings set up, he cannot make any found, nor play well thereupon. For they consider not the cause which is within them, to wit, their discord, trouble and confusion, whereof our familiar friend *Socrates* was exempt, according as the oracle prophesied of him before, which during his infancie was given unto his father: for by it, commanded he was, to let him doe all that came into his minde, and in no wise either to force or divert him, but to suffer the instinct and nature of the child to have the reins at large, by praying onely unto *Jupiter Agoræus* that is to say eloquent, and to the Muses for him: and farther than so, not to busie himselfe nor to take care for *Socrates*, as if he had within him a guide and conductor of his life better than ten thousand masters and pedagogues. Thus you see, *Philolaus*, what our opinion and judgement is as touching the Dæmon or familiar spirit of *Socrates* both living and dead, as who reject these voices, sleeefings and all such fooleries. But what we have heard *Timarchus* of *Charonæto* discourse of this point, I wot not well whether I were best to utter and relate the same, for feare some would thinke, that I loved to tell vaine tales. Not so quoth *Theocritus*, but I pray you be so good as to rehearse the same unto us: For albeit fables doe not very well expresse the truth, yet in some sort they reach thereto. But first tell us, who this *Timarchus* was? For I never knew the man. And that may well be *Simias* (quoth *Theocritus*) for he died when he was very yong, and requested earnestly of *Socrates* to be buried, nere unto *Lamprocles Socrates* his sonne who departed this life but few daies before, being a deere friend of his, and of the same age. Now this yong gentleman, being very desirous (as he was of a generous disposition, and had newly tasted the sweetnesse of Philosophy) to know what was the nature and power of *Socrates* familiar spirit, when he had imparted his mind and purpose unto me only and *Cebes*, went downe into the cave or vault of *Trophonius*, after the usuall sacrifices and accustomed complements due to that oracle performed: where having remained two nights and one day, inasmuch as many men were out of all hope that ever he would come forth againe, yea and his kinsfolke and friends bewailed the losse of him, one morning betimes he issued forth very glad and jocund: And after he had given thanks unto the god and adored him, so soone as he was gotten through the presse of the multitude, who expected his returne, he recounted unto us, many wonders strange to be heard and seene: for he said, that being descended into the place of the oracle, he first met with much darknes, & afterwards when he had made his praies, he lay a long time upon the ground, neither knew he for certaine whether he was awake, or dreamed all the while? Howbeit, he thought that he heard a noise which light upon his head, and smote it, whereby the futures or seanes thereof were disjoined and opened, by which he yeelded forth his soule; which being thus separat, was very joyous, seeing it selfe mingled with a transparent & pure aire. And this was the first time that it seemed to breathe at liberty, as if long time before untill then, it had bene drawn in and pent, for then it became greater and larger than ever before, in manner of a saile spread and displaied to the full. Then he supposed that he heard (though not cleerely and perfectly) as it were a noise or sound turning round about his head, and the same yeelding a sweet and pleasant voice. And as he then looked behinde him he could see the earth no more, but the Isles all bright and illuminate with a mild and delicate fire, and those exchanged their places one with another, and withall, received sundry colours, as it were divers tinctures, according as in that variety of change the light did alter: and they all seemed unto him in number infinite, and in quantity excessive: and albeit they were not of equal pourprife and extent, yet round they were all alike: also, to his thinking, by their motion which was circular, the skie resounded, because unto the uniforme equality of their mooving, the pleasant sweetnesse of the voice and harmonie composed and resulting of them all, was correspondent and conformable. Amid these Ilands there seemed a sea or great lake diffused and spread, shining with divers mixt colours, upon a ground of grey or light blew. Moreover, of these Isles some few sailed as one would say, and were caried a direct course downe the water beyond the current; but others, and those in number many, went aside out of the chanell, and were with such a violence drawn backe, that they seemed to be swallowed under the waves. Now this sea or lake, was (as hee thought) very deepe toward the South; but on the North side full of selves and shallow flats; in

in many places it swelled and overflowed the land; in others it retired and gathered in, as much for it againe, and arose not to any high tides: as for the colour, in some place it was simple and sea-like; in another, not pure, but troubled and confused with mud, like unto a meere or lake. As concerning the force of the waves about these Isles which are caried together, the same bringeth them backe a litle, but never conjoineeth the end to the beginning: so as they make at no time a circle entire and perfect, but gently divert the application and meeting of their ends, so as in their revolution they winde in and out, and make one crooked obliquity. To the mids of these, and toward the greatest part of the ambient aire, is inclined the sea, somewhat lesse than eight parts of the universall continent, as he thought. And the same sea hath two moutnes or entrances, whereby it receiveth two rivers of fire breaking into it, opposite one to the other, in such sort, as the blewnesse thereof became whitish, by reason that the greatest part was repelled and driven backe. And these things he said, that he beheld with much delight. But when he came to looke downwarde, he perceived a mighty huge hole or gulfe all round, in manner of an hollow globe cut thorow the mids, exceeding deepe and horrible to see to, full of much darknesse, and the same not quiet and still, but turbulent and often times boiling and walmng upward, out of which there might be heard innumerable roarings and growings of beasts, cries and wrawlings of an infinite number of children, with sundry plaints and lamentations of men and women together, besides many noises, tumults, clamors and outcries of all sorts, and those not cleere, but dull and dead, as being sent up from a great depth underneath, wherewith he was not a litle terrified, untill such time as after a good while, there was one whom he saw not, who said thus unto him, O *Timarchus*, What is your desire to know? Who made answer: Even all, for what is there here, not admirable? True, quoth he; but as for us, litle have we to do, & a small portion in those superiour regions, because they appertaine to other gods: but the division of *Proserpina* being one of the foure, and which we dispose and governe, you may see if you will, how it is bounded with *Styx*. And when he demanded againe of him, what *Styx* was: It is (quoth he) the way which leadeth unto hell and the kingdome of *Pluto*, dividing two contrary natures of light and darknesse with the head and top thereof; for as you see, it beginneth from the bottome of hell beneath, which it toucheth with the one extremity, and reacheth with the other to the light all about, and so limiteth the utmost part of the whole world, divided into foure regiments. The first, is that of life; the second, of moving; the third, of generation; and the fourth, of corruption. The first, is coupled to the second, by unity, in that which is not visible; the second, to the third, by the minde or intelligence, in the Sun; the third, to the fourth, by nature, in the Moone. And of every one of these copulations, there is a friend, or Destiny the daughter of Necessity, that keepeth the key. Of the first, she that is named *Atropos*, as one would say, Inflexible; of the second, *Clotho*, that is to say, the Spinster; of the third in the Moon, *Lachesis*, that is to say, Lot, about which is the bending of geniture or nativity. As for all the other Isles, they have gods within them; but the Moone appertaining to the terrestriall Dæmons, avoideth the confines of *Styx*, as being somewhat higher exalted, approaching once onely in an hundred seventie seven second measures: and upon the approach of this precinct of *Styx*, the foules cry out for feare. And why? hell catcheth and swalloweth many of them, as they glide and slip about it: and others, the Moone receiveth and taketh up, swimming from beneath unto her; such I meane, as upon whom the end of generation fell in good and opportune time, all save those which are impure and polluted: for them, with her fearefull flashing and hideous roaring, she suffereth not to come neere unto her; who seeing that they have missed of their intent, bewaile their wofull state, and be caried downe againe as you see, to another generation and nativity. Why, quoth *Timarchus*, I see nothing but a number of starres leaping up and downe about this huge and deepe gulfe, some drowned and swallowed up in it, others appearing againe from below. These be (quoth he) the dæmons, that you see, though you know them not. And marke withall, how this comes about. Every soule is endued with a portion of minde or understanding; and of man, there is not one void of reason: but looke how much thereof is mingled with flesh and with passions, being altered with pleasures and dolours, it becommeth unreasonable. But every soule is not mixed after one sort, one as much as another; for some are plunged within the bodie, and being troubled and disquieted with passions, runne up and downe all their life time: others partly are mingled with the flesh, and in part leave out that which is most pure, and not drawn downward to the contagion of that grosse part, but remaineth swimming and floating as it were aloft, touching the top or crowne onely of mans head: (wheréas

the rest is depressed downward to the bottome, and drowned there) and is in manner of a cord hanging up aloft just over the soule which is directly and plumbe under, to upholde and raise it up, so farre forth as it is obeisant thereto, and not overruled and swaied with passions and perturbations: for that which is plunged downe within the bodie, is called the soule; but that which is entire and uncorrupt, the vulgar sort calleth the understanding, supposing it to be within them as in mirrorours that which appeareth by way of reflexion: but thoe that judge aright and according to the truth, name it Dæmon, as being cleane without them.

These stars then which you see as if they were extinct and put out, imagine and take them to be the soules which are totally drowned within bodies: and such as seeme to shine out againe, and to returne light some from beneath, calling and shaking from them a certaine darke & foggy milt, as if it were some filth and ordure, esteeme the same to be such soules, as after death are retired and escaped out of the bodies: but those which are mounted on high and move to and fro in one uniforme course throughout, are the Dæmons or spirits of men, who are said to have intelligence and understanding. Endeavour now therefore and straine your selfe to see the connexion of each one, whereby it is linked and united to the soule. When I heard this, I began to take more heed, and might see stars leaping and floating upon the water, some more, some lesse, like as we observe pieces of cooke, shewing in the sea where fishers nets have beene cast: and some of them turned in manner of spindles or bobins, as folke spin or twilt therewith, yet drawing a troubled and unequall course and not able to direct and compose the motion straight. And the voice said that those which held on a right course and order by motion, were they whose soules were obeisant to the raines of reason, by the meanes of good nurture and civill education, and such as shewed not upon the earth their beastly, grosse and savage brutishnesse: but they that estoones tile and fall up and downe unequally and disorderly, as struggling to breake out of their bounds, are those which strive against the yoke, with their disobedient and rebellious maners, occasioned by want of good bringing up, one while getting the mastery and bringing them about to the right hand, another while curbed by passions and drawn away by vices, which notwithstanding they resist another time againe, and with great force strive to withstand. For that bond which in manner of a bridle-bit is put into the mouth as it were of the brutish and unreasonable part of the soule, when it pulleth the same backe, bringeth that which they call repentance of sins, & the shame after unlawfull and prohibited pleasures, which is a griefe and remorse of the soule restrained and bridled by that which governeth and commandeth it, untill such time as being thus rebuked and chastised, it become obedient and tractable like unto a beast made tame without beating or tormenting, as quickly and readily conceiving the signes and markes which the Dæmon sheweth. These therefore, at the last (long and late though it be) are ranged to the rule of reason. But of such as are obedient at the first, and presently from their very nativity hearken unto their proper Dæmon, are all the kind of prophets and diviners, who have the gift to foretell things to come, likewise holy and devout men: Of which number you have heard how the soule of *Hermodorus* the Clazomenian, was wont to abandon his body quite, and both by day and night to wander into many places: and afterwards to returne into it againe, having beene present the while to heare and see many things done and said a farre off: which it used so long, untill his enemies by the treachery of his wife, surprisid his body one time when the soule was gone out of it, and burnt it in his house. Howbeit, this was not true: for his soule never departed out of his body: but the same being alwaies obedient unto his Dæmon, and slackening the bond unto it, gave it meanes and liberty to run up and downe, and to walke to and fro in many places, in such sort, as having seene and hard many things abroad, it would come and report the same unto him: But those that consumed his body as he lay asleepe, are tormented in *Tartarus* even at this day for it: which you shall know your selfe, good young man, more certainly within these three moneths (quoth that voice) and for this time see you depart. When this voice had made an end of speaking, *Timarchus*, as he told the tale himselfe, turned about to see who it was that spake; but feeling a great paine againe in his head, as if it had bene violently pressed and crushed, he was deprived of all sense and understanding, and neither knew himselfe nor any thing about him: But within a while after when he was come unto himselfe, he might see how he lay along at the entry of the foresaid cave of *Trophonius*, like as he had himselfe at the beginning. And thus much concerning the fable of *Timarchus*: who being returned to *Athens*, in the third moneth after, just as the voice foretold him, departed this life. And then we woondred heereat, and made report thereof backe to *Socrates*; who rebuked and

and chid us, for saying nothing to him of it, whiles *Timarchus* was alive; for that he would willingly himselfe have heard him more particularly, and examined every point at the full. Thus you have heard, *Theocritus*, a mingled tale and historie together of *Timarchus*: But see whether we shall not be faine to call for this strangers helpe, to the decision of this question: for verie proper and meet it is for to be discussed by such devout and religious men. And why (quoth *Theamor*) doth not *Epaminondas* deliver his opinion thereof, being a man trained up, and instituted in the same discipline and schoole with us. Then my father smiling at the matter: This is his nature (quoth he) my good friend, he loveth to be silent, and wary he is what he speaketh, but woonderfull desirous to learne, and insatiable of hearing others. And heereupon *Spintharus* the Tarentine, who conversed familiarly with him heere a long time, was wont to give out this speech of him; That he had never talked with a man, who knew more, and spake lesse than he. But tell us now what you thinke your selfe, of that which hath beene said. For mine owne part (quoth he) I saie, that this discourse and report of *Timarchus*, as sacred and inviolable, ought to be consecrated unto God: and marvel I would, if any should discredit and hardly beleieve that which *Simmius* himselfe hath delivered of him; and when they name swans, dragons, dogs, and horses, sacred, beleieve not that there be men celestiall and beloved of the gods, considering they hold and say, that God is never *εἰς οὐρανόν*, that is to say, a lover of birds, but *ἐν τῇ γῇ*, that is to say, a lover of mankind. Like as therefore a man who is said to be *Φυλιππος*, that is to say, a lover of horses, taketh not a fancie, nor regardeth alike all horses, comprised under the whole kinde, but chusing alwaies some one more excellent than the rest, rideth, cherisheth, and maketh much of him especially: even so, those divine spirits which surmount our nature, make choise and take as it were out of the whole flocke the best of us, upon whom they set their brand or marke, and them they thinke worthy of a more singular and exquisite education, and those they order and direct not with reines and bridles, but with reason and learning, and that by signes, whereof the common and rascall sort have no knowledge nor experience. For neither doe ordinary hounds understand the signes that huntmen use, nor every horse, the silling and chirting of the elcuiury, but such onely as have beene taught and brought up to it; for they with the least whistling and houping that is, know presently what they are commanded to do, and quickly be ordered as they ought. And verily, *Homer* seemeth not to be ignorant of this difference, whereof we speake: for of diviners and soothsaiers, some he calleth *εὐροτομοὶ*, that is to say, authours, or observers of birds; others, *πτεροί*, that is to say, bowel-priers, that spie into the inward of sacrifices; and some againe there be, who hearing and knowing what the gods themselves do speake, are able to declare secretly and foretell things to come; as may appeare by these verses:

King Priams decree *sonne Helenus*,  
their minde soon under stood,  
And what his god and goddesse both  
in counsell deemed good.

And a little after:

For thus I heard the gods to say,  
Who as immortal live for ay.

For like as they who are without, and not of the domesticall and neere acquaintance of kings, princes and generall captaines, do know and understand their willes & minds by the meanes of certaine firelights, found of trumpets and proclamations; but to their faithfull, trusty and familiar friends they speake by word of mouth: even so, God communeth and talketh with few, and that very seldom; but unto the common sort he giveth signes, and of these consisteth the arte of divination: for the gods receive very few men in recommendation for to adorne their lives, but those onely whom they are disposed to make exceeding happy and divine indeed: and those soules which be delivered from farther generation, and are for ever after at libertie and dismissed free from the bodie, become afterwards Dæmons, and take the charge and care of men, according as *Hesiodus* saith. For like as champions, who otherwise heretofore have made profession of wrestling and other exercises of the bodie, after they have given over the practise thereof, by reason of their olde age, leave not altogether the desire of glorie by that meanes, nor cast off the affection in cherishing the bodie, but take pleasure still to see other young men to exercise their bodies, exhorting and encouraging them thereto, yea, and enforcing themselves to runne in the race with them: even so, they that are past the combats & travels of this life, and through

the vertue of their soules come to be Dæmons, despise not utterly the affaires, the speeches and studies of those that be here, but being favorable unto them who in their good endeavors aspire to the same end that they have attained to, yea, and after a fort, banding and siding with them, do incite and exhort them to vertue, especially when they see them neere unto the ends of their hopes, and ready in manner to touch the same. For this divine power of Dæmons, will not fort and be acquainted with every man indifferently, but like as they who stand upon the shore, can do no other good unto them who swim farre within the sea, and a great way from the land, but looke upon them and say nothing; but to such as are neere to the sea side, they runne, and for their sakes, wading a little into the sea, helpe both with hand and voice, and so save them from drowning: even so (*Simmias*) dealeth the Dæmon with us; for so long as wee are plunged and drowned within mundane affaires, and change many bodies, as it were so many waggons and chariots, passing out of one into another, it suffereth us to strive and labour of our selves, yea, and by our owne patience and long sufferance to save our selves, and gaine the haven: but when there is a soule, which hath already by innumerable generations supported and endured long travels, and having in manner performed her course and revolution, straineth all her might and maine, with much swee to get forth and ascend up: to it God envieth not her owne proper Dæmon and familiar spirit to be assistant, yea, and giveth leave to any other whatsoever, that is willing thereto. Now one is desirous and ready alwaies to helpe and second another, yea, and forward to promote the safetie thereof: the soule also for her part, giveth good care, because she is so neere, and in the end is saved; but she that obiecth not nor hearkeneth to her owne familiar & proper dæmon as forsaken of it, speedeth not wel in the end. This said, *Epaminondas* looking toward me: It is high time, *Caphisias*, for you (quoth he) to go into the wrestling schoole and place of exercise, to the end that you disappoint not your companions: meane while, we (when it shall be thought good to dissolve and dismisse this meeting) will take the charge of *Theodor*. Then said I, Be it so: but I suppose, that *Theocritus*, together with *Galaxidorus* & my selfe, is willing to commune and reason with you a little. In good time (quoth he) let them speake their minde and what they will. With that, he rose up and tooke us apart into a winding and turning corner of the gallery, where we came about him, and began to perswade and deale with him for to take part with us in the enterprise. He made us answer, That he knew well enough the day when the banished persons were to returne; and had taken order with his friends to be ready a-30 gainst the time with *Gorgidas*, and to embrace the opportunity thereof: howbeit, they were not determined to take away the life of any one citizen, not condemned by order of law, unless some urgent necessitie enforced them thereto. And otherwise, it were very meet and expedient for the comminatie of *Thebes*, that there should be some not culpable of this massacre, but innocent and cleare of all that then shall be committed; for so these men will be lesse suspected of the people, and be thought to counsell and exhort them for the best. We thought very well of this advice of his, and so he repaired againe to *Simmias*; and we went downe to the place of publicke exercises, where we met with our friends; and there we deale one with another apart, as we wrestled together, questioning about one thing or another, and telling this or that, every one preparing himselfe to the execution of the designe: and there we might see *Archias* and *Philippus* all anointed and oiled going toward the feast. For *Phyllidas* fearing that they would make haste and put *Amphibemus* to death, so soone as ever hee had accompanied *Lysanorides* and sent him away, tooke *Archias* with him, feeding him with hope to enjoy the lady whom he desired, and promising that she should be at the feast: whereby he perswaded him to minde no other thing, but to solace himselfe and make merry with those who were wont to roist and riot with him. By this time it drew toward night, the weather grew to be colde, and the winde rose high, which caused every man with more speed to retire and take house. I for my part, meeting with *Damoclidus*, *Pelopidas* and *Theopompus*, entertained them; and others did the like to the rest. For after that these banished persons were passed over the mountaine *Cythera*, they parted themselves; and the coldnesse of the weather gave them good occasion (without all suspicion) 50 to cover their faces, and so to passe along the city undiscovered. And some of them there were, who as they entred the gates of the city, perceived it to lighten on their right hand without thunder, which they tooke for a good preface of safetie and glorie in their proceedings, as if this signe betokened, that the execution of their designment should be lightsome and honourable, but without any danger at all. Now when we were all entred in, and safe within house, to the number of eight and fortie, as *Theocritus* was sacrificing apart in a little oratorie or chappell by himselfe,

himselfe, he heard a great rapping and bouncing at the doore: and anon there was one came and brought him word, that two halberds of *Archias* guard knocked at the outward gate, as being sent in great haste to *Charon*, commanding to open them the doore, as greatly offended that they had staid so long. Whereat *Charon* being troubled in minde, commanded that they should be let in presently: who meeting them within the court with a coronet upon his head, as having newly sacrificed unto the gods, and made good chere, demanded of these halberds, what they would. *Archias* and *Philippus* (say they) have sent us, willing and charging you with all speed to repaire unto them. Why, what is the matter (quoth *Charon*) that they should send for me in such haste at this time of the night, and what great newes is there? We know not, said these sergeants; but what word would you have us to carry backe unto them? Mary, tell them (quoth he) that I will cast off my chaplet, and put on another robe, and presently follow after: for if I should goe with you, it might be an occasion of trouble, and moove some to suspect that you lead me away to prison. You say wel, answered the officers againe, do even so; for we must goe another way to those souldiers that watch and ward without the city, and deliver unto them a commendement from the head magistrates and rulers. Thus departed they. With that, *Charon* returned to us, and made relation of these newes; which strucke us into our dumps, and put us in a great affright, supposing for certeine, that we were betrayed, and our plot detected: most of the company suspected *Hippothenidas*, for that he went about to impeach the returne of the exiled persons, by the meanes of *Chlodon*, whom he meant to send unto them: who seeing that he missed of his purpose, by all likelihood, upon a fearefull and timorous heart, might reveale our conspiracie, now when it was come to the very point of execution: for come hee was not with others into the house where we were all assembled: and to be short, there was not one of us all, that judged better of him than of a wicked and treacherous traitor: howbeit, we agreed all in this, that *Charon* should go thither as he was commanded, and in any wise obey the magistrates who had sent for him.

Then he commanding (*Archidamus*) his owne sonne to be present, a stripling about fifteene yeeres of age, and the fairest youth in all the city of *Thebes*, very laborious and affectionate to bodily exercises; and for stature and strength, surpassing all his fellows and companions of that age; made this speech unto us: My masters and friends, this is my sonne and onely child, whom I love entirely, as you may well thinke; him I deliver into your hands, beseeching you in the name of the gods and all saints in heaven, that if you finde any perfidious treacherie by me against you, to doe him to death and not spare him. And now I humbly pray you, most valiant and hardy knights, prepare your selves resolutely against the last feast that ever these tyrants shall make: abandon not, for want of courage, your bodies to be villanously outraged and spoiled by these most leud and wicked persons, but be revenged of them, and now shew your invincible hearts, in the behalfe of your cuntry. When *Charon* had delivered these words, there was not one of us all but highly commended his magnanimitie and loialtie; but we were angry with him, in that he doubted of us that we had him in suspicion and distrust; and therefore willed him to have away his sonne with him. And more than that, me thinks (quoth *Pelopidas*) you have not done well and wisely for us, in that you sent him not before to some other house: for what reason or necessitie is there, that he should either perish or come into perill, being found with us? and yee it is time enough to convey him away, that in case it fall out with us otherwise than well, he may grow up after his kinde, for to be revenged of these tyrants another day. It shall not be so, quoth *Charon*; he shall even stay here, and take such part of fortune as we shall do: and besides, it were no part of honesty or honour, to leave him in danger of our enemies: And therefore, my good sonne (quoth he) take a good heart and a resolute, even above these yeeres of thine, enter in Gods name into these hazzards and trials that be thus necessarie, together with many valiant and hardy citizens, for the maintenance of liberty and vertue. And even yet, great hope we have, that good successe will follow, and that some blessed angell will regard 50 and take in protection those who adventure thus for righteousnesse and justice sake. Many of us there were (*Archidamus*) whose teares trickled downe their cheeks, to heare *Charon* deliver these words; but himselfe being inflexible and not relenting one jot, with an undanted heart, a settled countenance, and eyes still drie, put his sonne into *Pelopidas* hands, embraced every one of us, thooke us by the hands, and so encouraging us to proceed, went forth of the doores. Wondrous full was this; but much more you would have wondrous, to have seene the alacrity, cheerefull and constant resolution of his sonne, as if he had beene another *Neopolemus*, who never looked

looked pale, nor changed colour for the matter, notwithstanding so great danger presented; neither was he one jote astond: but contrariwise, drew forth *Pelopidas* sword out of his scabbard, to see and trie whether it was keene enough.

Whiles these matters thus passed, there comes towards us *Dionus*, one of *Cephsodorus* friends, with a sword by his side, and a good curialon of Steele under his robe, who having heard that *Charon* was sent for to come to *Archias*, blamed much our long delay, & whetned us on to go forthwith to the tyrants houses: For in so doing (quoth he) we shall prevent them, by coming suddenly upon them: if not, yet better were it for us, to set upon them without dores, separate one from another, and not all in one plumpe, than to stay for them, enclosed all within one parlour, and be there taken by our enemies, like a swarme of bees, and have all our throats cut. In like maner *Theocritus* the divinator, urged us to make haste, saying, that all the signes of sacrifices were good, and prefaged happy successe with all security. Whereupon we began on all hands to take armes, and to prepare our selves: by which time, *Charon* was returned to us, with a merrie and cheerefull countenance: who smiling and looking upon us: Be of good chere (quoth he) my masters and friends, all is well: there is no danger, and our affaire proceedeth well: for *Archias* and *Philippus*, so soone as they heard that I was come, upon their sending for me, being already well cup-shotten, and halfe drunke with wine, so as both their minds and bodies were very farre out of tune; with much adoe they rose from the boord, and came forth to the dore unto me: Now *Charon*, quoth *Archias*, we heare that our banished men lie lurking here within the citie, being secretly and by stealth entred into it. Whereat I seeming to be much amazed: Where (quoth I) are they said to be, and who? That we know not (quoth *Archias*, and that is the cause why we sent for you, to come before us, if haply you have heard any thing of it more certainly. Heereupon I remaining for a while as one somewhat astonied and pensive, comming againe to my selfe, began thus to thinke, that this must needs be some headlesse rumour, and arising from no good ground, nor certeine author; neither was it like to be any one of them that were privy to the complot who had discovered it, because they would not then have beene ignorant of the house where they were assembled, and therefore it could not chuse but be some blinde brute blown abroad through the citie, and come to their eares. So I said unto him, that during the life of *Androchides*, we had heard many such flying tales, and vaine false rumors that ranne about the city and troubled us. But now (quoth he) *Archias*, I have heard no such thing: howbeit, if it please you to command me, I will enquire and hearken farther into the thing, and if I find any matter of importance, I will come and enforme you of it. It is well said of you (quoth *Phylidas*: and it were very good *Charon*, that in these cases you be very inquisitive, and leave nothing unsearched: for why should we be carelesse and negligent in anything, but rather it behooveth us to be circumspect, and to looke about us on every side: providence in these cases is very requisite, and good it is to make all sure: and when he had so said, he tooke *Archias* and had him into the parlour, where they be now drinking hard: and therefore my good friends, let us stay no longer; but after we have made our prayers unto the gods, for our good speed, go about our businesse. *Charon* had no sooner said this, but we praied unto the gods for their assistance, and encouraged one another to the enterprise. It was the very just time, when all men use to be at supper: and the whistling winde arising still more & more, had brought some snow or sleet, mingled with a drifling raine, so as there was not one person to be seene in the streets as we passed along. Those therefore who were appointed to assaile *Leontidas* and *Hippates*, who dwelt neere together, went out in their cloakes, having no other armes or weapons, but each of them their swords, and those were *Pelopidas*, *Democidas*, and *Cephsodorus*: But *Charon*, *Melon*, and others, ordeined to set upon *Archias*, had their breast-plates or demy-cuiraces before them, and upon their heads thicke chaplets, some of firs, others of the pine or pitch tree branches: and part of them were clad in womens apparell, counterfeiting drunken persons, as if they were come in a maske and mummerie with their women. And that which more is, *Archidamus*, fortune also making the beastly cowardise and foolish ignorance of our enemies equal to our hardinesse, and resolute preparations, and having diversified and distinguished even from the beginning our enterprise, like a plaie or enterlude, with many dangerous intercurrents, was assistant & ran with us, at the very point and upshot of the execution thereof, presenting unto us, even then a doubtfull & dangerous occurrent, of a most sudden & unexpected accident: for when *Charon* after he had talked with *Archias* & *Philippus*, was returned to the house, and had disposed us in order, for to go in hand with the execution of our

deffignment;

deffignment; there was brought from hence a letter written by *Archias* the high priest heere among you, unto that *Archias* his old host and friend, which declared unto him (as it should seeme) by all likelihood, the returne of the banished, and the surpris which they were about, the house also wherein they were assembled, and all the complices who were of the conspiracy. *Archias* being by this time drenched and drowned in wine, and besides that, transported and past himselfe, with the expectation of the women, whose coming he attended, albeit the messenger that brought the letter, said it contained serious affaires, of great consequence, yet he onely received it, and made no other answer but this: What tellest thou me of serious affaires; we shall thinke of them to morrow; and with that, put the letters under the pillow, whereon he leaned, calling for the pot againe, and commanding that it should be filled; sending *Phylidas* ever and anon to the dore, to see if the women were yet coming. Thus whiles this hope entertained and held the feast, we came upon them, and passed along through the servitours unto the very hall or parlour, where they were at supper, and there we staid a while at the dore, eying and viewing every one of them as they sat about the table. Now the sight of those chaplets and garlands which we ware upon our heads, and of the womens apparell, which some of us were dressed in, deceived them a little upon our first coming, in such sort, as for a while there ensued silence, untill such time as *Melon* first laying hand upon his sword hilt, rushed in to the middes of the place: with that, *Cabirichus* *Cyamiſtos* who was Archon for the time, tooke him by the arme as he passed by, and held him backe, crying out withall: *Phylidas*, Is not this *Melon*? but *Melon* shaking him off so, as he left his hold, drew forth his sword withall, and ranne upon *Archias*, who being hardly able to rise, he gave not over untill he had killed outright in the place. *Charon* then fet upon *Philippus*, whom he wounded in the necke, and notwithstanding that he defended himselfe with the pots that stood about him upon the table, yet *Lysibemus* mounting upon the boord, laied him along on the floore, and there under-foot dispatched him. As for *Cabirichus* we spake him faire, and entreated him not to take part with the tyrants, but to joine with us, in delivering our native cuntry from tyranny, as he was a sacrosaint magistrate, and consecrated unto the gods for the good and safetie of the commonwealth. But being not easily induced to hearken unto reason, and that which was most expedient for him, because he was little better than halfe drunke; he hanging still in doubtfull suspense and perplexitie, arose up on his feet, and presented unto us his javelin, with the head forward, which by the custome of the place, the Provosts with us, ever goe withall: whereupon I caught hold of the javelin in the middes, and held it over my head, crying unto him, to let it goe, and save himselfe; or else he should die for it. In this meane while, *Theopompus* standing on his right side, ranne him through with his sword, saying withall: There lie thou also together with them whom thou hast flattered and soothed up: for it were not becomming thee to ware a coroner and garland when *Thebes* is set free, nor to offer any more sacrifice to the gods, before whom thou hast cursed thy cuntry, by making praiers so often for the prosperity of her enemies. When *Cabirichus* was fallen downe dead, *Theocritus* who stood by, caught up the sacred javelin, and drew it out of the blood that there was shed. This massacre being done, some few of the servants, who durst interpose themselves, and come betweene for the defence of those usurpers, we slew; but as many as were quiet, and stirred not, we shut up within a chamber, where men are wont to keepe; being not willing that they should get forth, and goe to publish throughout the city what was done, before we knew how the world went with others.

Thus you heare how this chare was done. As for *Pelopidas* and his traine, they came to the utmost gate of *Leontidas*, where they knocked as softly, as they thither came gently and with silence, and to one of the servants who heard them knocke, & demanded who was there, they answered, That they were come from *Athen*; and brought letters unto *Leontidas* from *Calistratus*. The servitour went and told his master so much, who being commanded to set open the gate, unbarred and unbolted it; the gate no sooner yielded from them a little, but they rushed in all at once with violence, bare downe the man and laied him along, ran a pace through the court and hall and so directly passed to the bed chamber of *Leontidas*: who presently suspecting what the matter was, drew his dagger, & put himselfe forward to make resistance & to stand upon his defence. Unjust he was no doubt & tyrannicall, howbeit otherwise a tall man of his hands, and of a touragious stomacke: yet forga he to overthrow the lampe, & put out the light, and in the darke to intermingle himselfe with those who came to assault him, and so haply to get a way from them; but being espied by them, so soone as ever the doore was open, he stabbed *Cephsodorus* in

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the very flanke under the short ribs : and then incounting with *Pelopidas* who would have entered second into the chamber, he cried out aloud and called to his servants for helpe : but *Samadas* with others about him kept them backe, and otherwise of themselves they durst not meddle nor hazard their lives to deale with the noblest persons of the city, and those who for strength and valour were known to surpass the rest. So there was a scuffling and stiffe combat betwene *Pelopidas* and *Leontidas*, in the very portall of the chamber dore, which was but narrow, where *Cephsiodorus* fell downe in the midst betwene them ready to die, so that others could not come in to succor *Pelopidas* : At the last when our friend *Pelopidas* had received a little wound in his head, but given *Leontidas* many a one, he overthrew him and flew him upon the body of *Cephsiodorus*, who being yet warme and not fully dead, saw his enemy fall, and therewith putting forth to his right hand to *Pelopidas*, and bidding all the rest adew, he joyfully yeelded up his breath. When they had dispatched this businesse, they turned immediately from thence to *Hypates* house, and when the doore was likewise set open for them, the killed him also, as he thought to escape, and fled by the roofof the house unto his neighbours. Which done, they returned with speed directly unto us, whom they found abroad at a gallery called *Polyfylon*. After we had saluted and embraced one another & talked a litle all together, we went straight to the common goale; where *Phyllidas* having called forth the goaler : *Archias* (quoth he) and *Philippus* command you with all speed to bring your prisoner *Amphithemus* unto them. The goaler considering that it was an unreasonable houre, and withall perceiving that *Phyllidas* in his speeches was not very well staied, but that he was yet chafed and panted still unquietly upon the fresh fray so that he had beene at, doubting and suspecting a skirmish : VVhen was it ever seene (quoth he) *Phyllidas*, that the Polemarchy or chiefe captaines sent for a prisoner at this time of the night when by you? and what token or watchword bring you from them? As the goaler reasoned thus, *Phyllidas* made no more adoe, but with an horlemans staffe or lance that he had in his hand, ranne him through the sides, and laied him dead on the ground, wicked wretch that he was, whom the next morrow, many a woman trampled under their feet, and spit in his face as he lay. Then brake we the prison dore open, and first called by name unto *Amphithemus*, and afterwards to others, according as each of them was of our acquaintance and familiarity; who hearing and knowing our voices leapt out of their pallets upon their feete, and willingly drew their chaines and irons after them : but such as had their feet fast in the stockes, stretched forth their hands and cried unto us, beseeching they might not be left behinde: and whiles we were busie in setting them loose, many of the neighbours by this time who dwelt nere and perceived what was done, were run forth already into the streets with glad and joyfull hearts. The very women also, as any of them heard ought of their acquaintance, without regard of observing the custome and manner of the Boeotians, ran out of doores oncunto another, and demanded of every one whom they met in the street, what newes? And as many of them as light either upō their fathers or husbands, followed them as they went, and no man impeached them in so doing : for the pitifull commiseration, the teares, praiers, and supplications, especially of honest and chaste wives, were in this case very effectuell, and moved men to regard them. VVhen things were brought to this passe, so soone as we heard, that *Epaminondas* and *Gorgidas* with other friends, were now assembled within the temple of *Minerva*, we went directly unto them, and thither repaired also many honest citizens and men of quality, flocking still more and more in great frequency. Now after relation was made unto them how all things sped, & that they were requested to assist us in the performance and execution of that which was behind, and for that purpose to meet all together in the common market place, incontinently they set up a shout, and cried unto the citizens, *Liberty, liberty*, distributing armes and weapons among as many as came to joine with them : which they tooke forth of the temples and halles, being full of the spoiles of all sorts, won from enemies in times past, as also out of the armoters, furbushers, and cutlers shops there adjoining. Thither came *Hipposthenidas* likewise with a troupe of friends and servants, bringing those trumpetters with him, who were by chance come to the city against the feast of *Hercules* : and so immediately some founded the al arm in the market place, and others in all parts of the city besides, and all to astonish and affright those of the adverse part, as if the whole city were revolted, and had risen against them : who making a great smoake, for the nonce in the streets, because they would not be defied, put themselves within the castle *Cadmea*, drawing with them those choise foldiers called *Hyperiores*, that is to say, the better, who were wont usually to ward all night and keepe a standing corps de guard about the said castle. Now those who were above in the

said

fast fort, seeing their owne captaine to run so disorderly and in great affright, and to make halt to get in, perceiving also from above, how we were gathered together about the market place in armes; and no part of the city quiet, but full of tumult, uprores and garboiles, whereof the noise ascended up unto them, durst not adventure to come downe, though they were to the number of five thousand, as fearing the present danger : but pretended for their excuse the absence of *Lysanoridas* their captaine, who was ever wont to remaine with them, but onely that day, which was the cause that afterwards as we have heard, the Lacedaemonians making meanes by a peece of money, to apprehend him in *Corinth*, whether he was retired, and immediately put him to death: but upon composition and safe conduct, they delivered up the castle into our hands, and so departed with all the foldiers in it.



## OF THE MALICE OF HERODOTUS.

### The Summarie.

**H**ERODOTUS considering in what credit and request Herodotus the Historiographer was, who in many places of his bookes, which are at this day extant in our hands describeth divers states and honorable persons of Greece, is minded here in this treatise to arme as it were and prepare the readers against all such false suggestions and imputations : and in the very entry of his discourse, accuseth Herodotus of malice and leasing. For proove of this challenge he setteth downe certaine markes, whereby a man may discern a slanderous writer from a sage and discreet Historiographer. Which done, he applyeth the said markes unto Herodotus, shewing by a number of examples drawn out of his stories and narrations that often times he useth odious words, when as others more milde and gentle were as ready for him to use : that he describeth an evill matter, when as there was no need to make mention thereof: that he taketh pleasure to speake ill & to raile: that among praises, he inserteth the bitter blames of one and the same personage : and in recounting one thing two manner of waies and more, he refresheth alwaies in the worse, and imputeth worthy deeds and brave exploits unto disordinate and irregular passions, and so after an oblique manner doth the persons injury. So that this treatise teacheth as well the writers of histories, to looke well about themselves, and stand upon their guard, lest they be esteemed, slanderous, foolish and impudent : as also the readers to carry with them a pure and sincere judgement, for to make their profit by those bookes, which they take in hand to read.

## OF THE MALICE of Herodotus

**M**ANY men there be, *ô Alexander*, whom the stile & phrase of Herodotus the Historiographer (because it seemeth unto them plaine, simple, naturall, and running smoothly upon the matters which he delivereth) hath much deceived : but more there are, who have bene caught and brought into the same error, by his maners and behaviour. For it is not onely extreame injustice, as *Plato* said, to seeme just and righteous, when a man is nothing lesse, but also an act of malice in the highest degree, to counterfeit mildenesse and simplicity, and under that pretence and colour, to be covertly most bitter and malicious. Now for that he sheweth this spite of his against the Boeotians and *Corinthians* especially, although he spareth not any others whatsoever, I thought it my part and duty

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duty doe defend herein the honor of our ancestors in the behalfe of truth, against this onely part of his writings, and no more. For to pursue and goe thorow all other lies and forged tales of his, dispersed in that historie, would require many great volumes. But as *Sophocles* said:

*Of eloquence the flattering face,  
Prevailles much and winneth grace,*

especially when it meeteth with a tongue which is pleasant, and carrieth such a force, as to cover among other vices, the malicious nature of an Historiographer. *Philip* king of *Macedonie* was wont to say unto those Greeks who revolted from his alliance, and sided with *Titus Quintus*, that they had changed their former chaines, and given them for others, that were indeed more polished; howbeit longer a faire deale. Even so a man may say, that the malignitie of *Herodotus* is smooother and more delicate than that of *Theopompus*, but it toucheth neerer to the quicke, and stingeth more; like as the windes are more sharpe and piercing, which blow through a narrow streight or close glade, than such as are spread more at large. I thinke therefore that I shall doe very well, first to describe generally, and as it were in grosse, the traits and marks as it were of a narration which is not pure, sincere, and friendly, but spitefull and malicious, for to apply the same afterwards to each point that we shall examine, and see whether they doe agree fitly thereto.

First and formost therefore, he that useth the most odious nounes and verbs, when there be others at hand more milde and gentle, for to expresse things done: as for example; whereas he might say, that *Xerxes* was very ceremonious, and somewhat superstitiously given; reporteth so that he was fanaticall; and chuleth rather to challenge *Cleon* for rash audacious, and furious madnesse, than for light and vaine speech: surely he carrieth not a good and gentle minde, but taketh pleasure to make a narration in the worst manner.

Secondly, when there is some vice otherwise in a man, which appertaineth not unto the historie, and yet the writer catcheth hold thereof, and will needs thrust it into the narration of those affaires which require it not, drawing his historie from the matter, fetching a compasse about, after an extravagant manner, and all to bring in either the infortunite or unhappy accident, or else some absurd and shamefull act of a man: it is very evident that such an one delighteth in reprochfull and evill language. And therefore contrariwise, *Thucydides*, howsoever *Cleon* committed an infinite number of grosse and foule faults, yet he never traduced him openly for them in his writings. And as touching the busie orator *Hyperbolus*, he glanced at him onely by the way, terming him a naughtie man, and so let him goe. *Philistus* likewise passed over all the outrages and wrongs (many though they were) of *Diomysus* the tyrant, which he offered unto the barbarous nations, so long as they were not interlaced among the affaires of the Greeks. For the digressions & excursions of an history, are allowed, principally for some fables or antiquities. Moreover, he who among the praises of some great personages, thrusteth in some matter tending to reproch & blame, seemeth to incur the malediction of the tragical Poet,

*Cursed be thou, that lov'st a vail to have,  
Of men's mishaps, who now lie dead in grave.*

Furthermore, that which is equipollent and reciprocall thereto, every man knoweth, that the leaving out and passing over quite of some good qualitie, or laudable fact, seemeth not to be a thing reprehensible and subject to account, though done it were maliciously, and the same were left out in some such place as pertained well to the traine of the historie: for to commend a man coldly and after an unwilling manner, favoreth no more of civillie, than to blame him affectionately; and besides that, it is nothing more civill, it smelleth haply more of malice, and of the twaine is worse.

The fourth signe of a malicious nature in an historian, in my account is this: when one and the same thing is interpreted or reported two waies, or more, to incline unto the harder construction. For permitted it is unto Sophisters and Rhetoricians, either for to gaine their fee, or to winne the name and reputation of eloquence, otherwhiles to take in hand for to defend and adorne the worse cause; because they imprint not deeply any credit or belife of that which they deliver: and they themselves doe not deny, that they undertake to proove things incredible, even against the common opinion of men. But he that composeth an historie, doeth his part and devoir, if he writeth that which he knoweth to be true: but of matters doubtful, obscure, and uncerteine, those which are better seeme to be reported more truly alwaies, than the worse. And many there be, who omit quite and overpasse the worse: as for example;

*Ephorus*

*Ephorus* having said as touching *Themistocles*, that he was privy to the treason that *Pausanias* plotted and practised, and what he treated with the lieutenants of the king of *Perſia*: Howbeit, he consented not (quoth he) nor never could be induced to take part with him of those hopes, whereto he did sollicit him. And *Thucydides* left this matter wholly out of his storie, as not acknowledging it to be true. Again, in matters confessed to have bene done, but yet not known, for what cause, and upon what intention; he that guesseth and casteth his conjecture in the worse part, is naught and maliciously minded: and thus did the comical Poets, who gave out, that *Pericles* kindled the Peloponneſian warre, for the love the of courtisan *Aspasia*, or else for *Phidias* sake, and not rather upon an high minde and contention to take downe the pride of the Peloponneſians, & in no wise to give place unto the Lacedæmonians. For of arts approved and laudable affaires, he that suppoſeth and setteth downe a lewd and naughty cause, and by calumniation draweth men into extravagant suspitions, of the hidden and secret intention of him who performed the act, which he is not able to reprove or blame openly: as they who report of *Alexander* the tyrants death, which dame *Thebe* his wife contrived, that it was nota deed of magnanimity, nor upon the hatred of wickednesse and vice, but proceeding from the passionate jealousy of a woman: as also those who say; that *Cato Uticensis* killed himselfe, fearing lest *Cæſar* would execute him shamefully: these (I say) are envious and spitefull in the highest degree. Semblably, an historical narration smelleth of malice, according as the manner of a worke or act done is related: as if it be put downe in writing, that it was by the meanes rather of money and corruption, than of vertue & valour, that some great exploit was performed, (as some there were who did not sticke to say as much of *Philip*) or else, that it was executed without any travel and danger, as others gave out of *Alexander* the Great: also not by forecast and wisdom, but by the favour of fortune; like as the envour and ill willer of *Timotheus*, who in painted tables represented the pourtraite of divers cities and townes, that of themselves fell within the compasse of his net and toile, when he lay fast asleepe: evident it is, that it is that it tendeth to the empaing of the glorie, beautie, and greatnesse of those acts, when they take from them the magnanimity, vertue, and diligence of the authors, and give out they were not done and executed by themselves. Over and besides, those who professedly and directly speake evill of one, incur the imputation of quarrellers, rash-headed and furious persons, in case they keepe not within a meane: but such as doe it after an oblique manner, as if they discharged bullets, or shot arrowes at one side from some blinde corner, charging surmises and suspitions; and then to turne behinde and shift off all, by saying, they doe not believe any such thing, which they desire most of all to be beleaved, howsoever they disclame all malice and evill will: over and besides their cancred nature, they are steined with the note of notorious impudencie. Next neighbours unto these, are they, who among imputations and blames, adjoine certaine praises: as in the time of *Socrates*, one *Aristoxenus* having given him the termes of ignorant, untaught, dissolute; came in with this afterwards: but true it is that he doeth no man wrong, and is worst to himselfe: for like as they, who will cunningly and artificially flatter otherwhiles, among many and unmeasurable praises, mingle some light reprehensions, joining with their sweet flatteries, (as it were some tart sauce to season them) certaine words frankly and freely spoken: even so the malicious person, because he would have that beleaved which he blameth, putteth thereto some little sprinkling of a few praises. There may be exemplified and numbered many other signes and marks of malice: but these may suffice to give us to understand the nature and intention of this author whom now we have in hand.

First and formost therefore to begin at heavenly wights, and as they say at *Vesta*, to the daughter of *Imachus*, whom all the Greeks thinke to have bene deified and honored with divine honors by the barbarous nations, in such sort as that she hath left her name to manie seas, and noble ports, in regard of her great glory and renomme; and opened the source (as it were) and original beginning of many right noble, most famous and roiall families; this our gentle Historiographer saith, that she yielded her selfe unto certaine marchants of *Phenicia*, to be caried away, for that the having bene deflowered not against her will, by a master of a ship, feared lest she should be spied great with child; and withall believeth the Phenicians themselves, as if they gave out as much of her. He reports himselfe also to the testimony of the sages and wise men of *Perſia*, that the Phenicians ravished and caried her away with other women: shewing withall directly his opinion a little after, that the most noble and bravest exploit that ever the Greeks achieved, to wit, the war of *Troy*, was an enterprize begone in folly, for a lewd and naughty woman: for

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it is very apparent quoth he, that these women if they had not bene willing themselves, they had never bene so ravished, and had away as they were. And therefore we may us well say that the gods did foolishly to shew themselves angry and offended, with the Lacedæmonians for the abusing of the daughters of *Scythus* the Leucærian; as also to punish *Ajax*, for that he forced lady *Cassandra*: for certaine it is according to *Herodotus*, that if they had not bene willing, they had never bene deflowered: and yet himselfe saith that *Aristomenes* was taken alive, and eared away by the Lacedæmonians; and afterwards *Philoemen* captaine generall of the Achæans talt: way by the Lacedæmonians, and the confill of the Romans, fell likewise into the hands of his enemies: all of them such personages as hardly may be found more valiant and hardy warriors in the world. But what marvel is this, considering that men doe take leopards, and tygres alive? Now *Herodotus* blameth the poore women, who were by force abused, and defendeth those wicked men who offered them that abuse. Besides, so much affected he is in love unto the Barbarous nations, that he will acquite & cleere *Buicides* of that ill name which went of him, for slaying of his guests & sacrificing men, and attributing unto all the Aegyptians by all his testimonies, much godlinesse, religion and justice, returneth upon the Greeks this inhumaine and abominable cruelty. For in his second booke he writeth that *Menelaus* having received *Helena* at the hands of king *Proteus* his wife, and bene by him honored with great and rich presents, shewed himselfe againe a most unjust and wicked man. For when the winde and weather served him not for to embarke and saile away, he wrought by his report, a most cursed and detestable fact, in taking two of the inhabitants male children of that countrey, and cut them in peeces for sacrifice: by occasion whereof being hated of the Aegyptians, and pursued, he fled directly with his fleet, and departed into *Libya*. For mine owne part, I wot not what Aegyptian hath given out this report of *Menelaus*: but contrariwise I know full well, that in *Aegypt* they retaine still to this day many honors in the memoriall, both of him and also of his wife *Helena*. Moreover this writer holding on still his course, reporteth that the Persians learned of the Greeks, to abuse boies carnally and contrary to kinde. And yet how is it possible that the Persians should learne this vilany and filthinesse of the Greeks, considering that the Persians in maner all doe confesse, that the children were there gueldd, before they had ever seene the Greeks sea. Also he writeth, that the Greeks were taught by the Aegyptians, their solemne pompes, festivall procellions, and publicke assemblies: likewise to adore the twelve gods: yea & that *Melampus* had learned of the same Aegyptians the very name of *Dionysus*, that is to say, *Bacchus*, who taught it the other Greeks. As touching the sacred mysteries, and secret ceremonies of *Ceres*, that they were brought out of *Aegypt* by the daughters of *Danaus*: as also that the Aegyptians beat themselves and are in great sorrow, yet will themselves name nothing why they so doe, but remaine close and keepe silence in the religious service of the gods. As touching *Hercules* and *Bacchus* whom the Aegyptians esteeme as gods, and the Greeks very aged men, he maketh mention in no place of this precise observation and distinction: howsoever he saith that this Aegyptian *Hercules*, was reckoned and ranged in the second order of the gods, and *Bacchus* in the third, as those who had a beginning of their essence, and were not eternall: and yet he pronounceth those other to be gods, but unto these, he judgeth that we ought to performe anniversary funerals, as having bene sometime mortall, and now canonized demi-gods, but in no wise to sacrifice unto them as gods. After the same maner spake he of *Pan*, overthrowing the most holy and venerable sacrifices of the Greeks by the vanities and fables which the Aegyptians deviled. Yet is not this the worst, nor so intolerable; for deriving the pedegree of *Hercules* from the race of *Perseus*, he holdeth, that *Perseus* was an Assyrian, according to that which the Persians say: But the captaines and leaders of the Dorians (saith he) seeme to be descended in right line from the Aegyptians, and fetch their genealogie and ancestours from before *Danaus* and *Atrius*: for as concerning *Epaphus*, *Io*, *Isus* and *Argus*, he hath wholly passed over and rejected, striving to make, not onely the other two *Hercules* Aegyptians and Phœnicians, but also this whom himselfe nameth to be the third, a meere stranger from Greece, and to enroll him among Barbarians, notwithstanding that of all the ancient learned men, neither *Homer*, nor *Hesiodus*, ne yet *Archilochus*, *Pindarus*, *Stesichorus*, *Alexander*, nor *Pindarus*, do make mention of any *Hercules* an Aegyptian or Phœnician, but acknowledge one alone, to wit, our Boeotian and Argian. And that which more is, among the seven sages, whom he termeth by the name of Sophilters, he will needs beare us downe, that *Thales* was a Phœnician borne, extracted from the ancient stocke of the Barbarians. And in one place, reproching in some sort the gods, under the vi-

fard and person of *Solon*, he hath these words: O *Craesus*, thou demandst of me as touching humane things, who know full well, that the deitie is envious and full of inconstant incertitude: where attributing unto *Solon*, that opinion which himselfe had of the gods, he joyneth malice unto impiety and blasphemy. And as for *Pittachus*, using him but in light matters, and such as are of no consequence, he passeth over in the meane while, the most worthy and excellent deed that ever the man did: for when the Athenians and Mitylenians were at warre about the port *Sigeum*; *Phrynon* the captaine of the Athenians having given defiance, and challenged to combat hand to hand; the hardiest warrior of all the Mitylenians, *Pittachus* advanced forward and presented himselfe to his face for to performe his devoir, where he bare himselfe with such dexterity, that he caught this captaine; as mighty a man as he was and tall of stature, and so entangled him; that he slew him outright. And when the Mitylenians, for this prowesse of his, offered unto him goodly rich presents, he launced his javelin out of his hand as farre as ever he could, and demanded so much ground onely as he raught with that shot. And thereupon, that field, even at this day, is called *Pittacium*. But what writeth *Herodotus*, when he comes to this place? In lieu of erecting this valiant act of *Pittachus*, he recounteth the flight of *Alcæus* the Poet, who flung from him his armour and weapons, and so ran away out of the battell: whereby it appeareth, that in avoiding to write of vertuous and valiant acts, but in not concealing vicious and foule facts, he testifieth on their side who say, that envie, to wit, a griefe for the good of another, and joy in other mens harmes, proceed both from one root of malice.

After all this, the Alcæonides who shewed themselves brave men and generous; and namely, by delivering their countrey from tyranny, are by him challenged for treason: for he saith, That they received *Pisistratus* upon his banishment, and wrought meanes for his returne again, upon condition, that he should espouse and marry the daughter of *Melesias*: and when the maiden said thus unto her mother, See my good mother, *Pisistratus* doth not company kindly with me, as he should, and according to the law of nature and marriage; hereupon the said Alcæonides tooke such indignation against the tyrant for his perverse dealing, that they chased him into exile. Now, that the Lacedæmonians should taste aswell of his malice as the Athenians had done before them, see how he defaceth and traduceth *Othryades*, a man esteemed and admired among them above all others, for his valiance: He only (saith he) remaining alive of those three hundred, ashamed to returne to *Sparta*, when all the rest of that company and confort of his were slaine and left dead in the field, presently overwhelmed himselfe in the place under an heape of his enemies shields reared for a Trophæ, and so died: for a little before, he said, that the victory betwene both sides rested doubtfull in even ballance; and now he witnesseth, that through the shame and baseness of *Othryades*, the Lacedæmonians lost the day: for as it is a shame to live being vanquished, so it is as great an honor to survive upon a victorie. I forbear now to note and observe, how in describing *Craesus* every where for a foolish, vain-glorious and ridiculous person in all respects, yet nevertheless he saith, that being prisoner he taught and instructed *Cyrus*, a prince who in prudence, vertue and magnanimity surpassed all the kings that ever were. And having by the testimonie of his owne historie, attributed no goodnesse unto *Craesus*, but this onely, that he honoured the gods with great offerings, oblations and ornaments, that he presented unto them; which very fame (as himselfe declareth) was the most wicked and profane act in the world: for whereas his brother *Pantaleon* and he were at great variance and debate, about succession in the kingdome during the life of their father; after that he came once to the crowne, he caught one of the nobles, a great friend and companion of his brother *Pantaleon*, who had before time bene his adversarie, and within a fullers mill all to beclawed and mangled him with tuckers cards and burling combs, so as he died therewith; and of his money which he did confiscate and seize upon, he caused those oblations and jewels to be made which he sent as a present to the gods. Concerning *Deioetes* the Median, who by his vertue and justice attained to the kingdome, he saith, that he was not such an one indeed, but an hypocrite, and by semblance of justice was advanced to that regall dignitie. But what should I stand upon the examples of Barbarous nations; for he hath ministred matter enough in writing onely of the Greeks. He saith, that the Athenians and many other Ionians, being ashamed of that name, were not only unwilling, but also denied utterly to be called Ionians: also, as many of them as were of the noblest blood, and descended from the very Senate and *Phryaneum* of the Athenians, begat children of Barbarous women, after they had killed their fathers and former children: by occasion whereof those women made an ordinance among themselves, which they bound

bound with an oth, and ministred the same unto their daughters, never to eat nor drinke with their husbands, nor to call them by their names: and that the Milesians at this day be descended from the said women. And having cleanly delivered thus much under hand, that those onely who celebrated the feast named *Apallutia*, were indeed true Ionians: And all (quoth he) doe keepe and observe that solemnity, save onely the Ephesians and Colophonians. By this lie device he doth in effect deprive these states, of the noble antiquity of their nation. He writeth likewise, that the Cumæans and Mitylenæans, were compacted and agreed withall, for a peece of money, to deliver into the hands of *Cyrus*, *Pactyas*, one of his captaines, who had revolted from him: But I cannot say (quoth he) certainly, for how much, because the just summe is not exactly knownen. But he ought not by his leave to have charged upon any city of *Greece* such a note of infamy, without he had bene better assured thereof. And afterwards he saith, that the inhabitants of *Chios* pulled him, being brought unto them out of the temple of *Athena Poliocha*, that is to say, Tutelar and protectresse of the city, for to deliver him unto the Persians; which the Chians did after they had received for their hire, a peece of land called *Starnes*. Howbeit, *Charon*, the Lampfacinian, a more ancient writer, when he handleth the story of *Pactyas*, taketh neither the Mitylenæans, nor the Chians, for any such sacrilege: but writeth of this matter, thus word for word: *Pactyas* (quoth he) being advertised that the Persian army approached, fled first to *Mitylena*, and afterwards to *Chios*: and there he fell into the hands of *Cyrus*. Moreover this our author in his third booke, describing the expedition or journey of the Lacedæmonians against *Polycrates* the tyrant, saith that the Samians, both are of opinion and also report, that it was by way of recompence and requital, because they had sent them aid in their warre against *Meffene*, that the Lacedæmonians entred into armes and warred upon the tyrant, for to reduce the exiled persons home againe, and restore them to their livings and goods: but he saith, that the Lacedæmonians deny flatly this to have bene the cause: saying it was neither to set the Isle *Samos* at liberty, nor to succour the Samians, for that they had intercepted and taken away a faire standing cup of chaffice the Samians, for that they had intercepted and taken away a faire standing cup of gold, sent by them as a present unto king *Craesus*: and besides a goodly cuirace or breastplate, sent unto them from king *Amasis*. And yet we know for certaine, that in all those daies, there was not a city in *Greece* so desirous of honour, nor so infest and deadly bent against tyrants, as Lacedæmon was: for what other cuppe of gold, or cuirace was there, for which they chased out of *Corinth* and *Ambracia* the usurping race of the Cypselidæ; banished out of *Nexos*, the tyrant *Lygdamis*; expelled out of *Athens*, the children of *Pisistratus*; drove out of *Sicyone*, *Aeschines*; exiled from *Thebes*, *Symmachus*; delivered the Phocæans from *Aulis*; and turned *Criseus* out of *Miletus*: as for the lordly dominions over *Thessaly*, they utterly ruined and rooted out, which *Aristomedes* and *Angelus* usurped, whom they suppressed and defeated by the meanes of *Leonyidas* their king? But of these things I have written else where more exactly and at large. Now if *Herodotus* saith true, what wanted they of extreame folly and wickednesse in the highest degree, in disavowing and denying a most just and honorable occasion of this warre, to confesse that they made an invasion upon a poorer and miserable nation oppressed and afflicted under a tyrant, and all in remembrance of a former grudge, to be revenged for a small wrong upon a base minde and mechanical avarice. Now haply he had a fling at the Lacedæmonians and gave them a blur with his pen, because in the traine and consequence of the story, they came so just under it; but the city of the Corinthians, which was cleane out of his way, he hath notwithstanding taken it with him and bespurred and dashed as he passed by, with a most grievous slander and heavy imputation. The Corinthians also (quoth he) did favor and second with great affection this voiage of the Lacedæmonians, for to requite an hainous outrage and injury, which they had received before time at the Samians handes: And that was this? *Periander* the tyrant of *Corinth*, sent three hundred yong boies, that were the sonnes of the most noble persons in all *Corfu*, to king *Altiastes* for to be gelded. These youths arrived in the Isle *Samos*, who being landed the Samians taught how to sit as humble suppliants within the temple and sanctuary of *Diana*, & set before them for their nourishment certaine cakes made of *Sesam* seed & hony. And this forsooth was it that our trim historiographer calleth to great an outrage & abuse offered by the Samians unto the Corinthians; for which he saith, the Lacedæmonians also were stirred up and provoked against them, because they had saved the children of Greeks from eviration. But surely he that fasteneth this reproch upon the Corinthians, sheweth that the city was more wicked than the tyrant himselfe. As for him, his desire was to be revenged of the inhabitants of *Corfu*,

*Corfu*, who had killed his sonne among them: but the Corinthians, what wrong received they of the Samians, for which they should in hostile maner set upon them, who opposed themselves and impeached so inhumane and barbarous cruelty to be committed? and namely, that they should revive and raise up againe an old cankred grudge and quarrels, that had lien dead and buried the space of three generations; and all in favour and maintenance of tyranny, which had laine very grievous and unsupportable upon them, and whereof, being overthrowen and ruined as it is, they cease not still to abolish and doe out the remembrance for ever. Lo, what outrage it was, that the Samians committed upon the Corinthians; but what was the revenge and punishment that the Corinthians devised against the Samians? For if in good earnest they tooke indignation and were offended with the Samians, it had bene meet, not to have incited the Lacedæmonians, but to have diverted them rather, from levying warre upon *Polycrates*, to the end that the tyrant not being defeated and put downe, they might not have bene freed nor delivered from tyrannicall servitude. But that which more is, what occasion had the Corinthians to bee angry with the Samians, who though they desired, yet could not save the *Corceyreans* children, considering they tooke no displeasure against the *Cnidians*, who not onely preserved, but also restored them to their parents? And verily the *Corceyreans*, make no great regard, nor speake ought, of the Samians in this behalfe: many the *Cnidians*, they remembered in the best maner; for the *Cnidians* they ordained honours, privileges, and immunities, and enacted publicke decrees to ratifie and confirm the same. For these *Cnidians* sailing to the Isle of *Samos*, arrived there, drove out of the foresaid temple the guard of *Periander*, tooke the children forth, and brought them safe to *Corfu*, according as *Antenor* the Candiote, and *Dionysius* the Chalcidian in the booke of Foundations have left in writing. Now that the Lacedæmonians undertooke this expedition, not for to be quit with the Samians, and to punish them, but to deliver them rather from the tyrant, and for to save them; I will beleeve no other testimonie but the Samians themselves. For they affirme, that there is among them now standing, a tombe or monument by them erected at the publicke charges of the citie, for the corps of *Archias* a citizen of *Sparta*, whose memoriall they doe honour, for that in the said service he fought valiantly, and lost his life: for which cause the posteritie defended from that man, doe yet unto this day, beare singular affection, and do all the pleasures they can unto the Samians, as *Herodotus* himselfe beareth witnesse. Furthermore, in his fifth booke he writeth, that *Clisithenes*, one of the most noble and principall personages of all *Athens*, perswaded the priestresse *Pythia*, to be a false propheteesse, in mooving the Lacedæmonians alwaies by her answers that she gave out, for to deliver the citie of *Athens* from the thirtie tyrants: and thus unto a most glorious peece of worke and right just, he adjoineth the impuration of so great an impietie, and a damnable device of falshood; and withall, becometh god *Apollo* of that prophesie which is so good and honest, yea and becometh *Themis*, who also as they say assisteth him in the oracle. He saith also, that *Isagoras* yielded his wife unto *Cleomenes*, for to use her at his pleasure, whensoever he came unto her: and then, as his ordinary maner is, intermingling some praises among blanes, because he would be the better beloved: This *Isagoras* (quoth he) the sonne of *Trifander*, was of a noble house; but I am not able to say of what antiquitie before-time his pedigree was; but onely that his kinsfolke and those of his blood, doe sacrifice unto *Jupiter*, surnamed *Curus*. Now I assure you, this our Historian is a proper and pleasant conceited fellow, to send away *Isagoras* thus to the Carians, as it were to ravens, in a mischief. And as for *Criseus*, he packeth him away not by a backe doore or postern, but directly by the broad & open gate, as far as unto *Phenice*; saying, that his first originall came long since from the Gephyrians: but what Gephyrians trow yee: not those in *Eubæa*, or in *Eretria*, as some doe thinke: but he saith plainly they be Phœnicians, and that he is so perswaded of them by heare-say. And not being able to deprive the Lacedæmonians of their glory, for delivering the city of *Athens* from the servitude of the thirtie tyrants, he goeth about to obliterate quite, or at leastwise in some sort to disgrace and dishonor that most noble act, with as foule a passion, and as villanous a vice: for hee saith, that they repented incontinently, as if they had not well done, by the induction of false and supposed oracles, thus to have chased out of their countrey the tyrants their friends, guests, and allies, who promised to deliver *Athens* into their hands, and to have yielded the city unto an unthankfull people; and that anon they sent for *Hippias*, as farre as to *Sigæum*, for to reduce him to *Athens*: but the Corinthians opposed themselves, and diverted them, whiles *Soficles* discoursed and shewed

how

how many miseries and calamities the citie of *Corinth* had endured whiles *Periander* & *Cypselus* held them under their tyrannicall rule: and yet of all those enormous outrages which *Periander* committed, they could not name any one more wicked and cruell, than that of the three hundred children which he sent away for to be gelded: Howbeit, this man dareth to say, that the *Corinthians* were mooved and provoked against the *Samians*, who had saved the said youtthes, and kept them from suffering such an indignity, and caried the remembrance thereof for revenge, as if they had done them some exceeding great injurie: so full is his malice and gall of inconstancie, of repugnance and contradiction in all his speeches, which ever and anon is ready to offer it selfe in all his narrations. After all this, comming to describe the taking of the citie *Sardis*, he diminished, deformeth, and discredith the exploit all that ever he can, being so armed with shamelesse audacitie, that he termeth those shippes which the *Athenians* set out, and sent to succor the king, and to plague the *Ionians*, who rebelled against him, the originall causes of all mischiefe, for that they assailed to set at liberty and deliver out of servitude, so many goodly and faire cities of the *Greeks*, held forcibly under the violent dominion of the barbarous nations. As touching the *Eretrians*, he maketh mention of them only by the way, & passeth in silence a most woorthy and glorious piece of service, which they performed at that time: for when all *Ionia* was now already in an uprore & hurburly, and the kings armada neere at hand, they put out their navie, and in the maine sea of *Pamphylia*, defeated in a navall battell the *Cyprians*: then returning backe, and leaving their navie in the rode before *Ephesus*, they went by land to lay siege unto the capital citie of *Sardis*, where they beleagured *Artaphernes* within a castle, into which he was fledde, intending thereby to raise the siege before the citie *Miletus*: which service they put in execution and performed; causing their enemies to remoove their campe, and dislodge from thence, in a woonderfull great feare and affright: but seeing a greater number of enemies to presse hard upon them, they returned. Many *Chroniclers* report the historie in this manner; and among the rest *Lysimachus Malloles*, in his chronicle of the *Eretrians*. And verily it would have becomed well, if for no other reason, yet after the taking and destruction of their citie, to have added this their act of valour and prowesse. Howbeit, this good writer, contrariwise faith, that being vanquished in the field, the *Barbarians* followed in chafe, and pursued them as farre as to their shippes: and yet *Choron* the *Lamplaccian*, maketh no mention thereof, but writeth thus, word for word: The *Athenians* (quoth he) put to sea with a fleet of twentie galleys, for to aid the *Ionians*, and made a voiage as farre as to *Sardis*, where they were masters of all, except the kings fortresse or wall; which done, they returned to *Miletus*. In the sixth booke, our *Herodotus*, after he had related thus much of the *Plataeans*, that they had yielded and committed themselves to the protection of the *Lacedæmonians*, who made remonstrance unto them, that they should doe farre better to range and side with the *Athenians* their neighbours, and able to defend them: he addeth moreover and faith afterwards, not by way of opinion and suspition, but as one who knew it was so indeed, that the *Lacedæmonians* thus advised and counselled them at that time, not for any good will and loving affection that they bare unto them, but because they were all very well appaied to see the *Athenians* to have their hands full, and to be matched with the *Bæotians*. If then *Herodotus* be not malicious, it cannot chuse, but that the *Lacedæmonians* were very cautelous, fraudulent, and spightfull; and the *Athenians* as blockish and senselesse, not to see how they were thus deluded and circumvented. The *Plataeans* likewise were thus posted from them, not for any love or honor entended unto them, but because they might be the occasion of war. Furthermore, he is convinced to have fallily devised, and colourably pretended the excuse of the full moone against the *Lacedæmonians*, which whiles they attended and staied for, he faith, they failed and went not in that journey of *Marathon*, to aid the *Athenians*: for not onely they began a thousand voiaiges, and fought as many battels in the beginning of the moneth and new of the moone, but also at this very battell of *Marathon*, which was fought the sixth day of the moneth *Boedromion*, that is to say, November, they missed very little, but they had arrived in due time: for they came soone enough to finde the dead bodies of those that were slaine in the field, and lying still in the place: and yet thus hath he written of the full moone. It was impossible for them to doe this out of hand, being as they were, not willing to breake the law; for that as yet it was but the ninth day of the moneth: and they made answer, that they might not set forth, unless the moone were at the full. And thus these men waited for the full moone. But you good fit transerre the full moone into the beginning of the halfe moone or second quarter, confounding

confounding the course of heaven, and the order of daies, yea, and shuffling every thing together. Over and besides, promising in the forefront and inscription of your historie, to write the deeds and affaires of the *Greekes*, you employ all your eloquence to magnifie and amplifie the acts of the *Barbarians*; and making semblance to be affectionate to the *Athenians*, yet for all that, you make no mention at all of that solemne pompe and procession of theirs at *Agra*, which they hold even at this day, in the honour of *Hecate*, or *Proserpina*, by way of thanksgiving for the victorie, the feast wherof they do celebrate. But this helpeth *Herodotus* verie much to meet with that impropagation and slander that went of him, namely, that he flattered the *Athenians* in his storie, for that he had received a great summe of money of them for that purpose: for if he had read this unto the *Athenians*, they would never have neglected nor let passe that wicked *Philippides*, who went to moove and sollicit the *Lacedæmonians* to be at that battell, from which himselfe came, and he especially, who as he faith himselfe, within two daies was in *Sparta*, after he had bene at *Athens*, if the *Athenians* after the winning of the field did not fend for the aide of their confederates and allies. But *Dysillus* an *Athenian*, none of the meanest *Chroniclers*, writeth, that he received of the *Athenians*, the summe of ten talents of silver, by vertue of an act that *Anthus* propounded.

Moreover, many are of opinion, that *Herodotus* in his narration of the battell of *Marathon*, himselfe marred the whole grace and honour of the exploit, by the number that he putteth downe of them who there were slaine: for he faith, that the *Athenians* made a vow to sacrifice unto *Proserpina* or *Diana* surnamed *Agrotera*, as many yeere-old goats as they slew of the *Barbarians*: but when after the discomfiture and overthrow, they saw that the number of the dead bodies was infinit, they made supplication to the goddesse for to be dispensed for their vow and promise, and to acquit them for five hundred every yeere to be killed in sacrifice for her. But to passe over this, let us see what followed after the battell. The *Barbarians* (quoth he) with the rest of their ships drawing backe and retiring into the open sea, and having taken a ship boord those slaves of *Eretria*, out of the lile where they had left them, doubled the point of *Sunium*, with a full purpose to prevent the *Athenians* before they could recover the citie. And the *Athenians* were of opinion, that they were advised thus to do by a secret complot betweene them and the *Alcmæonidæ* who had appointed and agreed with the *Persians* to give them a signall so soone as they were all embarked, by holding up aloft and shewing them a shield as farre off. And so they fetched a compass about the cape of *Sunium*. And here I am content that he should go cleere away with this, that he called those prisoners of *Eretria* by the name of slaves, who shewed as much courage and valour in this warre, yea, and as great a desire to win honour, as any *Greeks* whatsoever, although their vertue sped but ill, and was unworthily afflicted. And lesse account I make also of this, that he defameth the *Alcmæonidæ*, of whom were the greatest families and noblest persons of all the citie. But the worst of all is this, that the honour of this brave victorie is quite overthrowen, and the issue or end of so woorthy and renowned a piece of service is come just to nothing in a manner, neither seemeth it to have bene any such battell or so great an exploit, but onely a short scuffling or light skirmish with the *Barbarians* when they were landed, as evill willers, carpers and envious persons give out to deprave the service, if it be so, that after the battell, they fled not when they had cut the cables of their ships, permitting themselves to the winde, for to cary them as far as possibly might be frō *Attica*, but that there was a shield or target lifted up aloft in the aire as a signall unto them of treason, and that of purpose they made faile toward the city of *Athens*, in hope to surprize it; and having without any noife in great silence doubled the foresaid point of *Sunium*, and were discovered a float, hovering about the port *Phaleræ*, inso much as the principall and most honourable personages of the *Athenians*, being out of all hope to save the citie, betrayed it into their hands: for afterwards he ditchargeth and cleareth the *Alcmæonidæ*, and attributeth this treason unto others: And certeine it is (quoth he) that such a target or shield was shewed. And this he faith so confidently, as if himselfe had seene the thing. But impossible it is that it should be so, in case the *Athenians* won the victorie cleere: and say it had so bene, the *Barbarians* never could have perceived it, flying so as they did in great affright and danger, wounded also as they were, and chased both with sword and shot into their ships, who left the field every man, and fled from the land as fast as ever he could. But afterwards againe, when he maketh semblance to answer in the behalfe of the *Alcmæonidæ*, and to recture those crimes which himselfe broched, and charged upon them: I woonder (quoth he) and I can not beleeve the rumour of this imputation, that ever the *Alcmæonidæ*, by any compact



compact with the Barbarians, shewed them the signall of a shield, as willing that the Athenians should be in subjection to the Barbarians under *Hippias*. In thus doing, he putteth me in mind and remembrance of a certaine clause running in this manner: Take him you will; and having taken him, let him goe you will. Sembably, first you accuse, and anon you defend: write you do and frame acculatorie imputations against honourable persons, which afterwards you seeme to cancel, discrediting herein (no doubt) and distrusting your selfe: for you have heard your owne selfe to say, that the Alcmaeonidae set up a targuet for a signal to the Barbarians vanquished and flying away; but in relieving them againe and answering in their defence, you shew your selfe to be a slanderous sycophant: for if that be true which you write in this place, that the Alcmaeonidae were worse, or at leastwise, as badly affected to tyrants, as *Callias* the sonne of *Phenippus* and father of *Hippocleus*, where will you bestow and place that conspiracie of theirs against the common wealth, which you have written in your former books? saying, that they contracted alliance and affinitie in marriage with *Pisistratus*; by meanes whereof, they wrought his returne from exile to exercise tyrannie: neither would they ever have banished him againe, had it not bene that their daughter had complained and accused him, that he used her not according to law of marriage & of nature. Thus you see what confused variations, contradictions and repugnances there be in that imputation and suspition of the Alcmaeonidae: but in sounding out the praises of *Callias* the sonne of *Phenippus*, with whom he joineeth his sonne *Hippocleus*, who by the report of *Herodotus* himselfe, was in his time the richest man in all *Athenis*, he confesseth plainly, that for to insinuate himselfe into the favor of *Hippocleus*, and to flatter him, without any reason or cause in the world arising out of the matter of the story, he brought *Callias*. All the world knowes, that the Argives refused not to enter into that generall confederacy and association of the Greeks, requiring onely, that they might not be ever at the Lacedaemonians command, nor forced to follow them, who were the greatest enemies, & those who of all men living hated them most: when it would not otherwise be, he rendereth a most malicious and spitefull cause and reason thereof, writing thus: When they saw (quoth he) that the Greeks would needs comprise them in that league, knowing full well, that the Lacedaemonians would not impart unto them any prerogative to command, they seemed to demand the communion thereof, to the end that they might have some colourable occasion and excuse to remaine quiet and sit still: which he saith, that *Artaxerxes* long after, remembred unto the ambassadors of the Argives, 30 who came unto him at *Susa*, and gave this testimonie unto them, That he thought there was not a city in all *Greece* friended him more than *Argos*. But (soone after, as his accustomed manner is, seeming to retract all, and cleanly to cover the matter, he comes in with these words: Howbeit, as touching this point, I know nothing of certainty; but this I wot well, all men have their faults, and I doe not believe, that the Argives have caried themselves woorth of all others: but howsoever (quoth he) I am bound to say that which is commonly received, yet I beleve not all: and let this stand thorowout the whole course of mine historie. For this also is given out abroad, That they were the Argives who solicited and sent for the king of *Persia* to levie warre upon all *Greece*; because they were not able in armes to make head against the Lacedaemonians, and cared not what became of them, to avoid the present discontentment and griefe wherein they 40 were. And may not a man very well returne that upon himselfe, which he reporteth to be spoken by an Aethiopian, as touching the sweet odours and rich purple of the Persians? \* *Deceitfull are the Persian ornaments, deceitfull are their habiliments*. For even so a man may very well say of him: *Deceitfull are the \* phrases, deceitfull are the figures of Herodotus his speeches*;

\* *Grecis melius, dicitur de his  
rebus, quod  
deceitfull are the  
Persian ornaments,  
deceitfull are their  
habiliments.*

So intricate and tortuous,  
so winding quite thorough,  
As nothing found is therein found,  
but all turn'd round about.

And like as painters make their light colours more apparent and eminent, by the shadowes that they put about them; even so *Herodotus* by seeming to denie that which he affirmeth, doth en- 50 force and amplifie his calumniationes so much the more; and by ambiguities and doubtfull speeches, maketh suspitions the deeper. But if the Argives would not enter into the common league with all other Greeks, but held off and stood out upon a jealousie of soveraigne command, or emulation of vertue and valour against the Lacedaemonians; no man will say the contrary, but that they greatly dishonoured the memorie of their progenitor *Hercules*, and disgraced the nobilitie of their race. For better it had bene, and more becomming, for the Siphnians and

Cithnians,

Cithnians, the inhabitants of two little Isles, to have defended the libertie of *Greece*, than by striving thus with the Spartans, and contesting about the prerogative of command, to shift off and avoid so many combats and so honourable pieces of service. And if they were the Argives, who called the king of *Persia* into *Greece*, because their sword was not so sharpe as the Lacedaemonians was, and for that they could not make their part good with them; what is the reason, that when the said king was arrived in *Greece*, they shewed not themselves openly to band with the Medes and Persians? And if they were unwilling to be seene in the field and campe with the Barbarian king; why did they not, when they staid behinde at home, invade the territory of the Laconians? why entred they not againe upon the Thuriens countrey, or by some other meanes 10 prevented & impeached the Lacedaemonians? for in so doing, they had bene able greatly to have endamaged the Greeks, namely, by hindring them from coming into the field at *Plataea* with so puissant a power of armed footmen. But the Athenians verily in this service, he highly extolleth and setteth out with glorious titles, naming them, The saviours of *Greece*; which had bene well done of him and justly, if he had not intermingled with these praises, many blames and reprochfull termes. Howbeit now, when he saith, that the Lacedaemonians were abandoned of the other Greeks, and neverthelesse, thus forsaken and left alone, having undertaken many woorthie exploits, died honourably in the field, foreseeing that the Greeks favouring the Medes, complotted and combined with king *Xerxes*; is it not evident hereby, that he gave not out those goodly words directly to praise the Athenians, but rather, that he commended them, 20 to the end that he would condemne and defame all other Greeks? For who can now be angry and offended with him, for reviling and reproching in such vile and bitter termes the Thebans and Phocaeans continually as he doth, considering that he condemneth of treason (which never was, but as he guesseth himselfe might have fallen out) even those who were exposed to all perils of death for the liberties of *Greece*? And as for the Lacedaemonians themselves, he putteth adoubt into our heads, Whether they died manfully in fight, or rather yeelded? making slight arguments, God wot, and frivolous conjectures, to impair their honour, in comparison of others that fought at *Thermopylae*.

Moreover, in relating the overthrow and shipwracke which hapned to the king of *Persia* fleet, wherein a mighty and infinit masse of money and money worth was cast away: *Aminocles* 30 a Magnesian citizen (quoth he) and sonne of *Cretines*, was mightily enriched; for he met with infinit treasure aswell in coine as in plate both of silver and gold. But he could not passe over so much as this, and let it go, without some biting nip favouring of malice: For this man (quoth he) who otherwise before time was but poore and needy, by these windfalles and unexpected cheats became very wealthy: but there befell unto him also an unhappy accident, which troubled him and disgraced his other good fortune, for that he killed his owne sonne. For who seeth not, that he inserteth in his historie these golden words of wrecks, and of great treasure found floating or cast upon the sands by the tides of the sea, of very purpose, to make a fit roume and a convenient place, wherein he might bestow the murder committed by *Aminocles* upon the person of his owne sonne. And whereas *Aristophanes* the Boeotian wrote, that having demanded money of the Thebans, he could receive none of them; and that when he went about 40 to reason and dispute scholastically with the youth of the city in points of learning, the magistrates (such was their rusticitie and hatred of good letters) would not suffer him: other proofe and argument thereof he putteth downe none: but *Herodotus* gave testimonie with *Aristophanes*, and whilst those imputations wherewith he chargeth the Thebans, he putteth downe some falsely, others ignorantly, and some againe upon hatred, as one that had a quarrell against them: for he affirmeth, that the Thebans combined and sided with the Medians at the first upon meere necessity, wherein he saith true. And prophesying as it were of other Greeks, as if they minded to betray and forsake the Lacedaemonians, he commeth in afterwards with this shift, that this was not voluntarily and with their good liking, but upon constraint and necessity, be- 50 cause they were surprised city by city, one after another. But yet he alloweth not unto the Thebans the excuse of the same compulsion, albeit they had sent a band of five hundred men under the conduct of captain *Ammaeus*, for to keepe the streights of *Tempe*, and likewise unto the passe of *Thermopylae*, as many as king *Leonides* demanded, who onely together with the Thebians stucke to him and remained with him, when he was forsaken of all other, after they saw how he was environed round about on every side. But after that the Barbarous king, having gotten all the *Avonnes*, was entred upon their confines, and *Demaratus* the Spartan, being in right of

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mutuall hospitalitie friendly affected to *Apaginus* a chiefe upholder and principall pillar of the Oligarchie, or faction of some few, usurping principalltie, wrought so, as that he brought him first acquainted and afterwards into familiar friendship with the Barbarian king, whiles all other Greeks were embarked and at sea, and none scene upon the land to encounter the enemies. By this meanes, at the last driven they were to accept conditions of peace, and to grow into a composition with the Barbarians, finding themselves brought to so hard termes of necessitie: for neither had they sea at hand, nor a navy at command as the Athenians, neither dwelt they farre off from the heart of *Greece* in a most remote angle thereof, as did the Lacedæmonians, but were not above one daies journey and an halfe from the Medians roiall campe, and had already encountered in the streight passages with the kings power, assisted onely with the Spartans 10 and Thespians, where they had the worfe and were daited. And yet this our historiographer is so just and equall, that he saith, The Lacedæmonians seeing themselves forsaken and abandoned of all their allies, were faine to give care unto any composition whatsoever, & to accept adventure what was offered: and so being not able to abolish nor utterly blot out lo brave and so glorious an act, nor to deny, but that it was achieved; he goeth about to discredit and deface it with this vile imputation and suspition, writing thus: The allies then and the confederats being sent backe, returned into their countreys and obeyed the commandement of *Leonidas*: only the Thespians and Thebans remained still with the Lacedæmonians: and as for the Thebans, it was full against their willes, for that *Leonidas* kept them as hostages; but the Thespians were willing thereto, for they said, they would never forsake *Leonidas* nor his company. Sheweth he not ap- 20 apparently heerein, that he carrieth a spitefull and malicious minde particularly against the Thebans, whereby not onely he slandereth the city fallily and unjustly, but also careth not so much, as to make the imputation seeme probable, no nor to conceale at leastwise unto few men, that he might not be espied to have beene privie unto himselfe of contradictions: for having written a litle before, that *Leonidas* seeing his confederates and allies out of heart and altogether discouraged to hazard the fortune of the field, commanded them to depart: a litle after, cleane contrary he saith, that he kept the Thebans perforce with him and against their wil, whom by all likelihood he should have driven from him, if they had bene willing to stay, in case that he had them in jealousy and suspition, that they tooke part with the Medians: for seeing he would not have those about him who were cowardly affected, what boot was it to keepe among 30 his soldiers men suspected? For being as he was, a king of the Spartans, and captain general of all the Greeks, he had not bene in his right wits nor found in judgement, if he would have staid with him in hostage foure hundred men well armed, when his owne company were but three hundred in all, especially at such a time when as he saw himselfe hardly beset and beset with enemies, who pressed upon him at once, both before and behind. For how soever before time he had led them about with him as hostages, probable it was that in such an extremity they would either have had no regard of *Leonidas* and so departed from him, or else that *Leonidas* might have feared to be environed by them rather then by the Barbarians. Over and besides, had not king *Leonidas* bene ridiculous and worthy to be laughed at, to bid other Greeks to depart, as if by tarying they should soone after lose their lives: and to forbid the Thebans, to the 40 end that he might keepe them for the behalfe of other Greeces, he I say who was resolved anon to die in the field; for if he led the men about with him in trueth as hostages, or no better than slaves, he never should have kept them still with those who were at the point to perish and be slaine, but rather delivered them unto other Greeks who went from him. Now whereas there remaineth one cause yet, that a man may alledge, why he retained them still with him, for that peradventure they should all die with him, this good writer hath overthrowen that also, in that he writeth thus of the honorable mind & magnanimity of *Leonidas*, word for word in this wise: *Leonidas* (quoth he) casting and considering all these matters in his minde, & desiring that this glory might redound unto the Spartans alone, sent away his friendly allies every one into their 50 owne countries, therefore rather than because they were of different minds & opinions: for exceeding folly it had bene of his part, to keepe his enemies for to be perturbors of that glory, fro which he repelled his friends. It appeareth then by the effects, that *Leonidas* distrusted not the Thebans, nor thought amiss of them, but reputed them for his good and loiall friends: For he marched with his army into the city of *Thebes*, and at his request obtained that which to no other was ever granted, namely to be lodged all night and sleepe within the temple of *Hercules*, and the next morning related unto the Thebans, the vision which appeared unto him: For he

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law as he thought, all the greatest and most principall cities of *Greece* in a sea, troubled and disquieted with rough windes and violent tempests, wherein they stord and were tossed to and fro. But the city of *Thebes* surpassed all the rest, for mounted it was on high up to heaven, & afterwards suddenly the sight therof was lost, that it would no more be scene. And verily these things as a type resembled that which long time after befell unto that city. But *Herodotus* in writing of this conflict, burieth in silence the bravest act of *Leonidas* himselfe, saying thus much barely: They all lost their lives in the straights, about the top of a certaine hill. But it was far otherwise. For when they were advertised in the night that the enemies had invested them round about, they arose and marched directly to their very campe, yea and advanced so far forth as they came 10 within a litle of the kings roiall pavilion, with a full resolution there to kill him, and to leave their lives all about him. And verily downe they went withall before them, killing, slaying and putting to flight, as many as they met, even as farre as to his tent. But when they could not meet with *Xerxes*, seeking as they did for him in so vast and spacious a campe, as they wandered up and downe searching for him with much adoe, at the last hewed in peeces they were by the Barbarians, who on every side in great number came about them. And albeit we will write in the life of *Leonidas*, many other noble acts and worthy sayings of his, which *Herodotus* hath not once touched, yet it shall not be amisse to quote heere also by the way, some of them. Before that he and his noble troupe departed out of *Sparta* in this journey, there were exhibited solemne funerall games for his and their sakes, which their fathers and mothers stood to behold: 20 & *Leonidas* himselfe, when one said unto him, That he led forth very few with him to fight a battell: Yea but they are many enough (quoth he) to die there. His wife asked him when he tooke his leave of her, what he had else to say? No more (quoth he) turning unto her but this, that thou marry againe with some good man, and beare him good children. When he was within the vale or passe of *Thermopylae*, and there invironed, two there were in his company of his owne race and family, whom he desired to save: So he gave unto one of them a letter to carry whether he directed it, because he would send him away: but the party would not take it at his hands, saying in great cholar and indignation, I am come hither to fight like a warrior, and not to convey letters as a carrier. The other he commanded for to goe with credence, and a message from him unto the magistrates of *Sparta*: but he made answer not by word of mouth, but 30 by his deed: for he tooke up his shield in hand and went directly to his place, where he was appointed to fight. Would not any man have blamed another for leaving out these things? But this writer having taken the paines to collect and put in writing the bason and close stoole of *Amasis*, and how he brake winde over it; the comming in of certaine asses which a theefe did drive; the congiary or giving of certaine bottles of wine, and many other matters of such good stufte; can never be thought, to have omitted through negligence, nor by oversight and forgetfullnesse, so many worthy exploits, and notable sayings: but even of peevishnesse, malice and injustice, to some. And thus he saith, that the Thebans at first being with the Greeks, sought indeed, but it was by compulsion, because they were held there by force. For it should seeme forsooth, that not only *Xerxes*, but *Leonidas* also, had about him a company that followed 40 the campe with whips, to scourge those I trow, who lagged behinde, and these good fellows held the Thebans to it, and made them to fight against their willes: And thus he saith that they perforce perforce, who might have fled and gone their waies: and that willingly they tooke part with the Medes, whereas there was not one came in to succor them. And a litle after, he writeth, that when others made hast to gaine the hill, the Thebans being disbanded and divided asunder, both stretched forth their hands unto the Barbarians, and as they approached neere unto them, said that which was most true, namely, that they were Medians in heart, and so in token of homage and fealty, gave unto the king water and earth: that being kept by force they were compelled to come into this passe of *Thermopylae*, and could not doe withall, that their king was wounded, but were altogether innocent therof: By which allegations they went cleare away with 50 their matter: For they had the Thebans witnesses of these their words and reasons. Lo how this apologic and justification of theirs, had audience among those barbarous outries of so many thousand men, in those confused shouts and dissonant noises, where there was nothing but running and flying away of one side, chasing and pursuit of another: See how the witnesses were deposed, heard and examined. The Thebans also amid the throng and rout of those that were knocked downe and killed, and over those heapes of bodies which were troden under foot (for all was done in a very guller and narrow passage) pleaded no doubt very formally for the

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Thebans:

Thebans: for that a little before they having conquered by force of armes all Greece, chased them as far as to the city *Theſſie*, after they had vanquished them in battell, and slaine their leader and captaine *Lantamis*. For thus much passed even at that very time betweene the Thebans and the Theſſians: whereas otherwise there was not so much as civill love and humanity, that appeared by mutuall offices from one to the other. Besides, how is it possible that the Thebans were saved, by the testimony of the Theſſians? For the Barbarous Medes, as himselfe saith, partly killed outright such as came into their hands: and in part whiles their breath was yet in their bodies, by the commandement of *Xerxes*, set upon them a number of the kings markes, beginning first at the captaine himselfe *Leontides*. And yet neither was *Leontides* the generall of the Thebans at *Thermopylae*, but *Anaxander* as *Aristophanes* writeth out of the Annals, and 10 records in the arches of *Thebes*, as touching their soveraigne magistrates: and so *Nicaner* likewise the Colophonian hath put downe in his cronicle: neither was there ever any man before *Herodotus* who knew that *Xerxes* marked & branded in that maner any Theban: for this had bin an excellent plea in their defence against the foresaid calumny, and a very good meanes for this city to vaunt and boast of such markes given them, as if king *Xerxes* meant to punish and plague as his greatest and most mortall enemies, *Leonidas* and *Leontides*. For he caused the one to be scourged, and his body to be hanged up when he was dead; and the other to be pricked whiles he was alive. And this our Historiographer hath used this cruelty which they shewed unto *Leonidas* dead, for a manifest proofe that the Barbarous king hated *Leonidas* in his life time above all men in the world. And in avouching that the Thebans who sided with the 20 Medes at *Thermopylae* were thus branded & marked as slaves, and afterwards, being thus marked, fought egerly in the behalfe of the same Barbarians before *Platea*, me thinks he may well say as *Hippocles* the feat moriske dancer, unto whom, when at a feast he bestirred his legges, and hopped artificially about the tables, one said unto him, Thou dancest truly. *Hippocles* answered againe, *Hippocles* careth not greatly for the truth. In his eighth booke he writeth that the Greeks being affrighted like cowards, entered into a resolution for to flee from *Artemisium* into Greece: and that when those of *Euboea* besought them to tarry still awhile, untill such time as they might take order how to bestow their wives, children and familie, they were nothing moved at their priers, nor gave any care unto them, untill such time as *Themistocles* tooke a peece 30 of many of them, and parted the same betweene *Eurybiades* and *Adimantus* the Pretour or captaine of the Corinthians. And then they staid longer, and fought a navall battell with the Barbarians. And verily *Pindarus* the Poet, albeit he was not of any confederate city, but of that which was suspected and accused to hold of the Medians side, yet when he had occasion to make mention of the battell at *Artemisium*, brake forth into this exclamation:

*This is the place where Athens youth,  
Sometime as writers say,  
Did with their bond, of liberty  
the glorious ground worke lay.*

But *Herodotus* contrariwise, by whom some give out that Greece hath bene graced and adorned, writeth that the said victory was an act of corruption, bribery and mere theft, and that the 40 Greeks fought against their wils, as being bought and sold by their captaines, who tooke money therefore. Neither is here an end of his malice. For all men in maner doe acknowledge and confesse, that the Greeks having gotten the upper hand in sea fight upon this coast, yet abandoned the cape *Artemisium*, and yielded it to the Barbarians, upon the newes that they heard of the overthrow received at *Thermopylae*. For it had bene no boot nor to any purpose, for to have sitten still there, and kept the sea for the behoofe of Greece, considering that now the warre was hard at their dores within those straights, and *Xerxes*, master of all the Avenies. But *Herodotus* feigneth, that the Greeks, before they were advertised of *Leonidas* death, held a counsell and were in deliberation to flee: For these be his words: Being in great distresse (quoth he) and the Athenians especially, who had many of their ships, even the one halfe of their fleet shrewdly 50 brused and shaken, they were in consultation to take their flight into Greece. But let us permit him thus to name or to reproch rather this retreat of theirs before the battell: but he termed it before, a flight: and now at this present he calleth it a flight: and hereafter he will give it the name of flight, so bitterly is he bent to use this vile word, flight. But (quoth he) there came to the Barbarians presently after this, in a barke or light pinnace a man of *Ephra*, who advertised them, how the Greeks had quit the cape *Artemisium* and were fledde: which because they could

could not beleve, they kept the messenger in ward and safe custody, and thereupon put forth certaine swift soits in espiall to discover the truth. What say you *Herodotus*? What is it you write? That they fled as vanquished, whom their very enemies themselves after the battell could not beleve that they fled, as supposing them to have had the better hand a great deale? And deserveth this man to have credit given him, when he writeth of one perticular person, or of one city apart by it selfe, who in one bare word, spoileth all Greece of the victory? He overthroweth and demolisheth the very *Trophæe* and monument, that all Greece erected. He abolisheth those titles and inscriptions, which they set up in the honor of *Diana*, on the East side of *Artimissum*, calling all this but pride and vaine glory. And as for the Epigram, it ran to this effect.

*From Asia land, all sorts of nations fount  
When Athens youth, sometime in navall fights  
Had vanquished, and all these coasts about  
Disperst their fleets; and therewith put to flight  
And slaine the host of Medes: Loe here in sight  
What monuments to thee with due respect,  
Diana virgin pure, they did erect.*

He described not the order of the battels, and how the Greeks were ranged, neither hath he shewed what place every city of theirs held, during this terrible fight at sea: but in that retreat of their fleet, which he termeth a flight, he saith, that the Corinthians sailed foremost, and the A- 20 thenians in most: he should not then have thus troden under foot, and insulted too much over those Greeks, who tooke part with the Medes: he (I say) who by others is thought to be a Thurian borne, and reckoneth himselfe in the number of the Halicarnassians, and they verily being descended from the Dorians, come with their wives and children to make warre against the Greeks. But this man is so farre off from naming and alledging before the streights and necessities whereto those states were driven, who sided with the Medians, that he reporteth thus much of the Medians, how notwithstanding the Phocæans were their capitall enemies, yet they sent unto them aforehand, that they would spare their country, without doing any harme or damage unto it, if they might receive from them as a reward, fittie talents of silver. And this wrote he as touching the Phocæans in these very termes: The Phocæans (quoth he) were the 30 only men who in these quarters sided not with the Medians, for no other cause as I finde upon mature consideration, but in regard of the hatred which they bare against the Theſſians: for if the Theſſians had bene affected to the Greeks, I suppose the Phocæans would have turned to the Medes. And yet a little after, himselfe will say, that thirteene cities of the Phocæans were set on fire, and burnt to ashes by the Barbarian king, their countrey laid waste, the temple within the citie *Abes* consumed with fire, their men and women both put to the sword, as many as could not gaine the top of the mount *Parnassus*: Nevertheless he rangeth them in the number of those that most affectionately tooke part with the Barbarians, who indeed, chose rather to endure all extremities and miseries that warre may bring, than to abandon the defence and maintenance of the honour of Greece. And being not able to reprove the men for any deeds 40 committed, he busied his braines to devise false imputations, forging and framing with his pen divers surmises and suspicions against them, not willing that their intentions should be judged by their acts, if they had not bene of the same minde and affection with the Theſſians, as if they would have renounced the treason, because their countrey was already seized by others. If then, a man, who would goe about to excuse the Theſſians for siding with the Medes, should say, that they were not willing thereto, but for the hatred which they bare unto the Phocæans, seeng them adhere and allied to the Greeks, therefore they tooke the contrary side, and clave to the Medes, even against their will and judgement: might not he seeme to be an egregious flatterer, who thus in favour of others, searching honest pretences to colour and cover foule facts, perverteth the truth? Yes verily, as I thinke. How then can it otherwise be, but that he 50 shall be taken for a plainely cophant, who saith; that the Phocæans followed not the better for vertue, but because they knew the Theſſians were of a contrary minde and judgement? For he doeth not turne and fether this slander and calumny upon others, as his maner is else where to doe, saying, that he heard say, &c. but he affirmeth, that in conferring all things together, himselfe found no other occasion thereof. He ought then to have alledged withall, his preiudgments and proofes; whereby he was perswaded, that they who performe all actions semblable to the best, are yet in will and intention all one with the worst. For the occasion which

which he alledgeth, to wit, enmitie, is frivolous, and to be laughed at, because neither the enmitie that was betwene those of *Aegina* and the Athenians; nor that which the Chalcidians bare against the *Eretrians*; nor the Corinthians against the Megarians; was a barre to impeach them for joining together in the league of *Greece*, for the defence of common libertie: like as on the contrary side, the Macedonians most bitter and mortall enemies unto the Theffalians, and those who plagued them most, diverted them not from the confederacie and alliance with the Barbarians. For the publicke perill, covered and hidde their private quarrels: inso much as abandoning and banishing their passions, they gave their consent, either to honesty for vertue, or to profit for necessitie. And yet beside this necessitie, wherewith they found themselves overtaken, yea, and forced to submit themselves to the Medes, they returned againe to the Greeks side: and heereof *Leocrates* the Spartane, giveth direct testimonie in their behalfe. Yea and *Herodotus* himselfe being forced and compelled thereto, confesseth in the description of the affaires that passed at *Platea*, that the Phocians sided with the Greeks. And no marvel is it, if he be so rough and violent with such as have beene unfortunate; when as, even those who were present in the action, and hazarded their whole estate for the good of the common-wealth, he transposeth into the ranke of enemies and traitors. For the men of *Naxos* sent three galleies or shippes of warre to aide the Barbarians in their service: but one of the captaines of those vessels named *Democritus*, perswaded his other two fellowes, to turne, and range rather on the Greeks side. See how he can not for his life, praise, but he must withall dispraise: but looke when some particular person is commended, he must needs by and by condemne a whole citie, and nation: Witnesse heereof, among ancient writers, *Hellanicus*, and of our moderne authors, *Ephorus*: for the one faith, that the Naxians came to succour the Greekes with fixe galleies, and the other faith with five: yea and *Herodotus* himselfe is convinced to have feigned and falsified this: For the particular chroniclers of the Naxians write, that before time they had repulged *Megabates* the lieutenant of the kings, who with two hundred saile arrived at their Isle, & there ridde at anchor: afterwards drave away *Datis* another generall of his, who as he passed by, burnt their cities. And if it be so as *Herodotus* faith elsewhere, that they themselves destroyed their city, by setting it on fire, but the people saved themselves, by flying into the mountaines, had they good cause to send aid unto those, who were the cause of the ruin and destruction of their owne country, and not to joine with them who fought for the common libertie? But that it was not so much to praise *Democritus*, as to blame the Naxians, that he devised this lie, he sheweth evidently by this, that he concealeth and omitteth to speake of the valiant feats of armes, which at that time captain *Democritus* exploited, according as *Simonides* shewed by this Epigram.

*Democritus in third place gave  
the charge with all his might,  
What time as Greeks nere Salamis,  
with Medes at sea did fight,  
Five ships of enemies he tooke:  
a sixth there chane'd to be,  
One of the Greeks in Barbarous hands,  
and that recovered be.*

But why should any man be angry with him about the Naxians? For if their be any *Antipodes*, as some say there are, who dwell in the other Hemisphere and goe opposit unto us, I suppose that they also have heard of *Themistocles*, and the counsell that he gave unto the Greeks for to fight a navall battell before *Salamis*, who afterwards caused a temple to be built in the Isle of *Metite*, unto *Diana* the wise counsellor, after that the Barbarous king was discomfited. Now this kinde and gentle cronicler of ours, refusing as much as lieth in him to avow this exploit, and to transfer the glory thereof unto another, writeth expressly thus. When things stood upon these termes, as *Themistocles* went a boord into his owne gally, there was a citizen of *Athenis* named *Mnesiphelus*, who demanded of him what they had resolved upon in their councill? And when he heard that concluded it was to retire with their fleet unto *Isthmus* or the streights, there to fight a battell at sea even before *Peloponnesus*: I say unto you (quoth he) againe that if they remove the navy from *Salamis*, you shall never fight more upon the sea for any country of your owne: for every man will presently returne home to his owne city. And therefore if there be any device and meanes in the world, goe your waies and indevor to breake this resolution, and if it be possible deale so with *Eurybiades*, that he may change his minde and tarry here still: And a

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little

little after, when he had said that this advice pleased *Themistocles* wondrous much, & that without making any answer at all he went directly to *Eurybiades*, he writeth againe in these very termes: And sitting neere unto him, he relateth what counsell he had heard *Mnesiphilus* to give, taking it upon himselfe, and addeth more things besides. Thus see you not how in some sort he brings *Themistocles* unto an ill name and opinion of leaudnesse, in that he attributeth unto himselfe a counsell which was none of his owne, but the invention of *Mnesiphilus*? And afterwards deriding still the Greeks more and more, he faith that *Themistocles* was no such wise man, as to see what was good and expedient, but failed in his foresight, notwithstanding that for his prudence and cunning he carried the surname of *Ulysses*. Mary, lady *Artemisa* borne in the same city that *Herodotus* was, without the prompting or teaching of any person, but even of her own head, fortold *Xerxes* that the Greeks could not hold out long, nor make head against him, but would disband and disperse themselves, & every one fle home unto his owne city: Neither it is like (quoth she) if you march with your army by land unto *Peloponnesus*, that they will be quiet and sit still, and take no care to fight at sea for the Athenians: Whereas, Sir, if you make hast to give them a navall battell, I feare me greatly that if your armada receive any foile or damage, it wil greatly prejudice your land forces. But here *Herodotus* wanted nothing but his propheticall verses, to make *Artemisa* another *Sibylla*, prophesying of things to come so exactly. Well in regard of this advertisement *Xerxes* gave her commision to carry his children with her to the city of *Ephesus*: for he had forgotten belike, to bring any women with him from his roiall city of *Susa*, in case his children needed a convoy of women to conduct them. But I make no account of such lies as these which he hath devised against us: yet let us onely examine a little what slanders he hath raised upon others. He faith that the Athenians give out, how *Adimantus* the captaine of the Corinthians, when the enemies were at the point of giving the charge, and joining battell, in great feare and astonishment fled, not by shoving the ship backward at the poupe by little and little after a soft maner of retreat, nor yet making way of evasion and escape closely and with silence through his enemies; but hoising up and lpredding full saile, and turning the proes and beake heads about of all his vessels at once. And then there was a fregat or swift pinnace sent out after him, which overtook him about the coasts of *Salamis*, out of which one cried out unto him: What *Adimantus*, doe you fle indeed, and have you abandoned and betrayed the Greeks? And yet they have the better hand, according as they made their praieris unto the gods for to vanquish their enemies. Now this tregat, we must thinke verily came downe from heaven: for what need had he to use any such tragique engine, or fabricke to worke such feare, who every where else surpasseth all the Poets tragicall in the world, for lying and vanity. Well *Adimantus* beleeving the said voice, was reclaimed and returned againe to the armada, when all was done, and the businesse dispatched by others to his hands. Thus goes the bruit and speech among the Athenians. But the Corinthians confesse not so much, laying that they themselves were the formost who in the vaward gave the first onser and charged the enemies in this battell at sea: and on their side beare witnesse all the other Greeks. And thus dealeth this man in many other places: He soweth slanders here and there upon one or other, to the end that he may not misse but light upon some, tall it out as it will, who may appear most wicked. Like as in this place he speedeth very well in his purpose. For if his slander and accusation be beleeved, the Corinthians shall sustaine infamie: if discredited, the Athenians shall beare the dishonor: or if the Athenians have notlied upon the Corinthians, yet himselfe hath spared neither of them, but told a lie of them both. For proove hercof, *Thucydides* who bringeth in an ambassador of *Athenis*, to contest against a Corinthian at *Lacedamon*, and speake bravely of their owne worthy exploits against the Medes, and namely, of the navall battell of *Salamis*, chargeth upon the Corinthians no matter of treason nor cowardise in abandoning their colours: for there is no likelihood, that the Athenians would have reproched the city of *Corinth* in such termes, considering that they saw it engraven in the third place after the Lacedæmonians, and those inscriptions of spoiles which woom from the Barbarians, were consecrated to the gods. And at *Salamis*, they permitted them to interre and bury their dead neere to the citie side, as who were brave warriors, and had borne themselves most valiantly in that service, with an inscription in Elegick verses to this effect:

*Once (passenger) we dwelt in Corinth towne,  
Well watered with sea on either side:  
And now our bones thus lye of renowne,*

High

*Hight Salamis, within drie mould'orth hide:  
Phœnician ships we sunke, that here did ride:  
The Medes so stout we flew and Persians brave,  
That sacred Greece from bondage we might save.*

But their Cenotaph or imaginary tombe which was erected in *Isthmus*, carieth this Epitaph:  
*Loe heere we lie, who with our lives set free  
All Greece, neere brought to shamefull slaverye.*

Likewise over the offerings which *Diodorus* one of the captaines of the Corinthian gallies, caused to be set up in the temple of *Latona*, there was this superscription:

*From cruell Medes, these armes which hang in sight,  
The mariners of Theodoros won:  
And as memorials of their navall fight,  
To dame Latona offered them anon.*

*Adimantus* himselfe, whom *Herodotus* evermore doth revile and reproch, saying, That he alone of all the captaines, went away with a full purpose to flie from *Artemisium*, and would not stay untill the conflict: see what honour he had:

*Friend passenger, heere lies sir Adimant  
Entombed, by whose prowess valiant,  
All Greece is crown'd with freedome at this day,  
Which els had beene to thraldome brought for ay.*

For neither is it like that such honour should have beene done unto him after his death, if hee had beene a coward and a traitour; neither would he ever have dared to name one of his daughters *Nausimice*, that is to say, Victorie in battell at sea; another, *Acrothion*, which is as much, as the First fruits of spoiles won from enemies; and a third, *Alexibia*, that is to say, Aide against force: also to give unto his sonne the name of *Aristeus*, which signifieth a brave warrior: if he had not won some glory and reputation by worthy feats of armes. Moreover, it is not credible, I will not say, that *Herodotus*, but the meanest and most obscure Carian that is, was ignorant of that glorious and memorable praiſe which in those daies the Corinthian dames alone of all other Grecian wives made, That it might please the goddesse *Venus* to inspire their husbands with the love and desire to give battell unto the Barbarians. For this was a thing commonly known and divulged abroad, inſomuch as *Simonides* made an Epigram engraven over those their images of braſſe, which are set up in the temple of *Venus*, which by report was founded in times paſt by *Medea*, as some say, to this end, that the herselfe might cease to love her husband; but as others, that *Jason* her husband might give over the love of one *Thetis*. And the said Epigram goeth in this manner:

*These Ladies here, whose statues stand in place,  
Did whom priors to goddesse Venus make,  
In Grecks behalfe; that it might please her grace  
Them to incite, the warres to undertake.  
Dame Venus then for those good womens sake  
To Median archers expos'd not as a pray  
The Grecks, nor would their Citadels betray.*

Such matters as these, he should have written and made mention of, rather than inserted into his historie, how *Aminocles* killed his owne sonne. Over and besides, after he had satisfied himselfe to the ful with most impudent imputations which he charged upon *Themistocles*, accusing him, that he ceased not secretly to rob and spoile the Isles, without the knowledge of the other captaines joined in commiſſion with him; in the end, taketh from the Athenians the crowne of principall valiance, and setteth it upon the head of the Aeginets, writing thus: The Grecks having sent the first fruits of their spoiles and pillage unto the temple at *Delphos*, demanded of *Apollo* in generall, whether he had sufficient, and stood content with that portion of the bootie: so unto whom he answered, that of all other Grecks, he had received enough, & wherewith he was well pleased: but of the Aeginets not so; at whose hands he required the chiefe prife and honor of prowess, which they woon at the battell of *Salamis*. Thus you see he fattereth not upon the Scythians, the Persians or Aegyptians his lying tale, which he coggeth and deviseth, as *Aelope* doth upon crows, ravens and apes; but he useth the very person of god *Apollo Pythius*, for to disappoint and deprive the Athenians of the first place in honor, at the battell of *Salamis*; as also

*Themistocles*

*The mistocles* of the second, which was adjudged unto him at *Isthmus* or the streights of *Peloponnesus*; for that ech captaine there, attributed the highest degree of prowess to himselfe, and the next unto him: and thus the judgement heereof growing to no end and conclusion, by reason of the ambition of the said captaines, he saith, All the Grecks weighed anchor and departed, as not being willing to confere upon *Themistocles* the soveraigne honour of the victorie. And in his ninth and last booke, having nothing left to wreake his reene upon, and to discharge his malicious and spightfull stomacke, but onely the Lacedæmonians, and that excellent piece of service which they performed against the Barbarians before the city of *Platea*, he writeth, That the Lacedæmonians, who aforetime feared greatly, that the Athenians being sollicitated and perswaded by *Maronius*, would forsake all other Grecks: now that the Streights of *Isthmus* were mured up & their country safe enough, they tooke no further care of others, but left them at six and seven, feasting & making holiday at home, deluding the embassadors of the Athenians, and holding them off with delays, and not giving them their dispatch. And how is it then, that there went to *Platea* a thousand and five Spartans, having every one of them seven Ilotes about him, for the guard of his person? How is it (I say) that they taking upon them the adventure of so great a perill, vanquished and discomfited so many thousands of Barbarians? But hearken what a probable cause hee alledgeth: There was (quoth he) by chance, a man at *Sparta*, named *Chileus*, who came from *Tegæa* thither, and sojourned there, for that among the Ephori he had some friends, as betweene whom and him there was mutuall hospitalitie: He it was who perswaded them to bring their forces into the field, shewing unto them that the bulwarke and wall for the defence of *Peloponnesus* would serve in small stead or none, if the Athenians joined once with *Maronius*; and this was it that drew *Pausanias* forth with his power to *Platea*: so that if some particular businesse haply had kept *Chileus* at home still in *Tegæa*, *Greece* had never gotten the victorie. Againe, not knowing another time what to doe with the Athenians: one while he extollet their city on high, and another while he debaseth it as low, tossing it to and fro, saying, that being in question about the second place of honor with the Tegæates, they made mention of the Heracidae, alledging their valiant acts, which before time they had achieved against the Amazones: the sepulchres also of the Peloponnesians, who died under the very wals of the citie *Caumes*; and finally that they went downe to *Marathon* vaunting gloriously in words, and taking great joy that they had the conduct of the left wing or point of the battell. Also a little after, he putteth downe, that *Pausanias* & the Spartans willingly yielded the superiority of command to them, and desired them to take the charge of the right wing themselves, to the end they might confront the Persians, and give them the left; as if they had excused themselves by their disuse, in that they were wont to encounter with the Barbarians. And verily, albeit this is a meere mockerie, to say, that they were unwilling to deal with those enemies, who were not accustomed to fight with them: yet he saith moreover, that all the other Grecks, when their captaines ledde them into another place for to encampe in, so soone as ever their standers marched & advanced forward: The horsemen (quoth he) in generall fled, and would willingly have put themselves within the city *Platea*, but they fledde indeed as farre as to the temple of *Juno*. Wherein he accuseth all the Grecks together of disobedience, cowardise, and treason. Finally, he writeth that there were none but the Lacedæmonians and the Tegæates who charged the Barbarians; nor any besides the Athenians, who fought with the Thebans; depriving all other cities equally of their part in the glory of that so noble an exploit: for that there was not one of them who laid hand to worke, but sitting all still, or leaning upon their weapons hard by, abandoning and betraying in the meane time, without doing ought, those who fought for their safetie, untill that the Philiatians, and the Megarians, though long it were first, hearing that *Pausanias* had the upper hand, ranne in with more haste than good speed, and falling upon the cavallerie of the Thebans, where they were presently defaied and slaine, without any great adoe: But the Corinthians (quoth he) were not at this fray, but after the victorie, keeping above on the high ground among the mountaines, by that meanes met not with the Thebanes horsemen. For the cavallerie of the Thebanes, seeing the Barbarians to fly all in a rout, put themselves forth before them, to make them way, and by this means very affectionately afflicted them in their flight, and all in recompence and by way of thanksgiving, forsooth, (for so you must take it) for those marks which were given them in their faces, within the streight of *Thermopila*. But in what ranke and place of this battell the Corinthians were ranged, and how they did their devoir, and quit themselves against the Barbarians before *Platæa*.



see, you may know by that which *Simonides* writeth of them in these verses :

*Amid the host arranged good,  
and in the battell maine,  
Those who inhabit Ephyræ,  
waterd with many a vaine  
Of lively springs : Men who in seats  
of marriall armes excell :  
And joinct with them, they that in old  
for Glaucus citie dwell,  
Faire Corinth high : and theſe their deeds  
of prowesse to expresse,  
A ſtately gift of precious gold,  
did afterwards addreſſe,  
And conſecrate to gods above  
in heav'ns : and by the ſame  
Much amplified their owne renowne,  
and their forefathers fame.*

For this wrote he of them, not by way of a scholasticall exercise, as if he taught a schoole in *Corinth* : nor as one who of purpose made a song or balad in praise of the city, but as a chronicler penning the historie of these affaires in elegiack verses to that effect. But this writer here of ours, preventeth the conviction of a loud lie, lest he might be taken therewith, by those that should demand of him in this manner: How cometh it then to passe that there be so many sepulchres, tombes, graves, and monuments of the dead, upon which the *Plateans* even to this day doe solemnly celebrate the anniverſarie effuſions, to the ghosts and foules of those that are departed, in the presence of other Greeks assitant with them? And verily in mine opinion he seemeth yet more shamefully to charge these nations with the crime of treason, in these words following: And these sepulchres or places of burial which are scene about *Platea*, those I meane which their posteritie and successors, being ashamed of this foule fault, that their progeniours were not at this battell, or came too late, cast up, and raised on high, every man for his part in general, for the posteritie sake. As for *Herodotus* he is the onely man of all others who hath heard of this absence from the battell, which is reputed treason: But *Pausanias*, *Aristides*, the *Lacedæmonians* and the *Athenians*, never knew of those Greeks who made default, and would not be at this dangerous conflict: And yet the *Athenians* neither impeached the *Aeginetes* though they were their adversaries, that they were not comprised within the inscription, nor yet charged and convinced the *Corinthians* for flying from the battell at *Salamis*, considering that *Greece* beareth witnesse against them. And verily as *Herodotus* himselfe doth testifie, ten yeeres after this warre of the *Medes*, *Cleudes* a citizen of *Platea*, to gratifie and pleasure the *Aeginetes* as a friend, raised a great mount bearing their name, as if they had bene interred therein. What ailed then the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians*, or what moved them, being so jealous one of another about this glory as they were, that they had like to have gone together by the eares presently upon the exploit performed, for erecting of a *Tropæe* or monument of victory, not to deprive them of the price of honor, who upon cowardly feare were either away or else fled from the service, but to suffer their names to be written upon the *Tropæes*, *Colopes* and giantlike statues erected in memoriall of them, allowing them their part in the spoiles and pillage, yea and in the end causing this Epigram or superscription to be engraven upon a publicke alter?

*The Greeks in signe of noble victory,  
Which they sometimes won of the Persians host,  
And to retain the thankfull memory  
That they them drove away from Gretian coast,  
(So resolute they were or else all had bene lost)  
This common alter built to Jupiter  
Surnamed here upon Deliverer.*

How now *Herodotus*, was it *Cleudes*, or some other I pray you, who in flatterie of the Greeks, made this Epigram or Inscription? What need had they then to take such paines & trouble themselves in digging the ground in vain, & by casting up of earth raise such mounts & monuments for

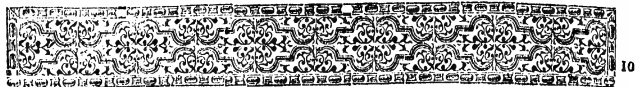
for the age to come, when as they might see their glory consecrated and immortalized in these most conspicuous and famous memorials, dedicated to the honor of the gods? And verily *Pausanias*, when as he intended, as men say to usurpe tyrannical government, in a certaine oblation which he offered in the temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, set this inscription;

*Paulanias the capitaine generall  
Of all the Greeks: when he had conquered  
The Medes in fight, for a memoriall  
This monument to Phœbeus offered.*

And albeit in some sort he communicated the glory of this execution with the Greeks, whose sovereigne capitaine he termed himselfe, yet the Greeks being not able to endure it, but utterly misliking him therefore, the *Lacedæmonians* above the rest sent their embassadors unto *Delphos*, and caused the said Epigram to be cut out with a chizzell, and in lieu thereof, the names of the cities, as good reason was, to be engraven: And yet what likelihood is there, that either the Greeks should take offence and discontentment for being left out in this inscription, in case they were culpable, and privy to themselves, that they were not with others at the battell? or the *Lacedæmonians* when they raced out and defaced the name of their generall and chiefe commander, cause to be written and engraven their names, who had forsaken and left them in the middelt of danger? For this were a manifest indignity, and most absurd, if when *Socharus Dipsius*, and all those that performed the best service in that journey, never grieved nor complained that the *Cythnians* and *Melians* had their names recorded in those *Tropæes*, *Herodotus* in attributing the honor of this battell unto three cities onely, should dash all others out, and not suffer their names to stand upon any *Tropæes* or consecrated places: For whereas there were foure battels given then unto the Barbarians, he saith, that the Greeks fled from the cape *Artemisium*: And at the passe or streights of *Thermopylae*, whilst their king and sovereigne capitaine exposed himselfe to the hazzard of his life, they kept themselves close at home and sat still, taking no thought for the matter, but solemnized their Olympicke games and Carnian feasts.

Moreover when he cometh to describe the battell at *Salamis*, he speaketh so much of *Artemisia*, that he spendeth not so many words againe, in all the narration of that navall battell, and the issue thereof. Finally as touching the journey of *Platea*, he saith that all other Greeks, sitting idly at their ease, knew nothing of the field fought, before all was done, according as *Pigres Arimifus* being pleasantly disposed to jest, writeth merily in verse, that there was a battell betwene frogs and mice, wherein they were agreed to keepe silence, & make no noise al the whiles they fought; to the end that no others might take any knowledge thereof: also that the *Lacedæmonians* were no better warriors nor more valiant than the Barbarians: but their hap was to defeat and vanquish them, because they were naked men and disarmed: For *Xerxes* himselfe being present in person, if they had not bene followed with whips & scourged forward, had never bene able to have made them fight with the Greeks; many in this journey of *Platea*, having changed their hearts and courages (for needs it must be so) they were nothing inferior in boldnesse of heart, strength of body, and resolution to the Greeks; but it was the apparell, which wanting armes upon it, hurt them so much & marred al, for being themselves lightly appointed and in maner naked, they had to deale with the *Lacedæmonians* that were heavily armed at all pieces. What honor then or great matter of glory could redound unto the Greeks out of these foure battels, in case it be so that the *Lacedæmonians* encountered naked and unarmed men? And for the other Greeks although they were in those parts present, yet if they knew not of the combat, untill the service was done to their hands: and if the tombs honored yeerely by the severall cities belonging to them, be emptie, and mockeries onely of monuments and sepulchres; and if the trevers and altars erected before the gods, be full of false titles and inscriptions; and *Herodotus* onely knew the truth; and all men in the world besides, who have heard of the Greeks, and were quite deceived by the honorable name and opinion that went of them for their singular prowesse and admirable vertue; what is their then to be thought or said of *Herodotus*? Surely that he is an excellent writer, and depainteth things to the life: he is a fine man; he hath an eloquent tongue: his discourses are full of grace, they are pleasant, beautifull, and artificiall: and as it was said of a Poet or Musician in telling his tale; how ever he hath pronounced his narration and history not with knowledge and learning, yet surely he hath done it elegantly, smoothly, and with an audible and cleare voice. And theſe I wis be the things that move delight and doe affect all that reade him. But like as among roses we must beware of the veni-

mous flies *Cantharides*: even so we ought to take heed of detractions and backbiting of his base penning likewise of things deserving great praise, which insinuate themselves and creepe under his smooth stile, polished phrase and figurative speeches: to the end, that ere we be aware we entertaine not, nor foster in our heads, false conceits and absurd opinions of the bravest men and noblest cities of *Greece*.



## OF MUSIQUE.

### A Dialogue.

*The persons therein discoursing:* **O** NESICRATES,  
**S**OTERICHS, **L**YSIAS.

This treatise, little or nothing at all concerneth the Musicke of many voices according and interlaced together, which is in use and request at this day; but rather apperteineth to the ancient fashion, which consisteth in the accord and consonance of song with the sense and measure of the letter, as also with the good grace of gesture: and by the stile and maner of writing, it seemeth not to be of *Plutarchs* doing.



He wife of that good man *Phocion*, was wont to say, that the jewels and ornaments wherein he joied, were those stratagemes and worthy feats of armes which her husband *Phocion* had achieved: but I for my part may well and truly avouch, that the ornaments not onely of my selfe in particular, but also of all my friends and kinsfolke in generall, is the diligence of my schoolemaster and his affection in teaching me good literature. For this we know full well, that the noblest exploits and bravest pieces of service performed by great generals and captaines in the field, can doe no more but onely save from present perill or imminent danger, some small ar-

mie, or some one citie, or haply at the most, one entire nation and countrey; but are not able to make either their souldiers, or citizens, or their countrey men, better in any respect: whereas on the other side, good erudition and learning, being the very substance indeed of felicitie, and the efficient cause of prudence and wisdom, is found to be good and profitable not onely to one family, city and nation, but generally to all mankind. By how much therefore the profit and commodity ensuing upon knowledge and good letters is greater than that which proceedeth from all stratagemes or martiall feats; by so much is the remembrance and relation thereof more worthy and commendable. Now it fortuned not long since, that our gentle friend *Onesicrates* invited unto a feast in his house, the second day of the Saturnall solemnities, certaine persons very expert and skillfull in Musicke, and among the rest, *Soterichus* of *Alexandria*, and *Lysias*, one of those who received a pension from him: and after the ordinary ceremonies and complements of such feasts were performed, he began to make a speech unto his company after this maner: My good friends (quoth he) I suppose, that it would not beleeve a feast or banquet, to search at this time what is the efficient cause of mans voice; for, a question it is, that would require better leisure and more sobrietie: but forasmuch as the best Grammarians define voice, to be the beating or percussion of the aire, perceptible unto the sense of hearing, and because

cause that yesterday we enquired and disputed as touching Grammar, and found it to be an art making profession and very meet, to frame and shape voices according to lines and letters, yea, and to lay them up in writing, as in the treasury and storehouse of memorie; let us now see what is the second science next to it, that is meet and agreeable to the voice: and this I take to be Musicke. For a devout and religious thing it is, yea, and a principall duty belonging unto men, for to sing the praises of the gods, who have bestowed upon them alone this gift of a distinct and articulate voice: which *Homer* also by his testimonie hath declared in these verses:

*Then all day long the Grecian youth  
in songs melodious*

*Befought god Phoebus of his grace,  
to be propitiou:*

*Phoebus I say, who from asfarre  
doth shoot his arrowes nie,*

*They chaunt and praise; who takes great joy,  
to heare such harmony.*

Go to therefore my masters, you that are professed Musicians, relate unto this good company here that are your friends, who was the first inventour of Musicke; what it is that time hath added unto it afterwards; who they were that became famous by the exercise and profession of this science; as also, to how many things and to what, is the said study and practise profitable.

Thus much as touching that which *Onesicrates* our master moved and propounded; whereupon *Lysias* inferred againe, and said: You demand a question, good *Onesicrates*, which hath already beene handled and discussed: for the most part of the Platonique Philosophers, and the best sort of the Peripateticks have employed themselves in the writing of the ancient Musicke, and of the corruption that in time crept into it. The best Grammarians also and most cunning Musicians, have taken great paines and travelled much in this argument; and yet there is no small discord and jarre among them, as harmonical otherwise as they be about these points. *Heraclides* in his *Breviary*, wherein he hath collected together all the excellent professors of Musicke, writeth that *Amphion* devised first the maner of singing to the Lute or Cithern, as also the Citharædian poësie; for being the sonne of *Aniope* and *Jupiter*, his father taught him that skill. And this may be proved true, by an olde evidence or record enrolled, and diligently kept in the city *Sicyone*, wherein he nameth certaine Priestresses in *Argos*, as also Poets and Musicians. In the same age, he saith, there lived *Linus* also of *Eubœa*, who composed certaine lamentable and dolefull ditties; *Anthes* likewise of *Anthedon* in *Boeotia*, who made hymnes; and *Pierius* borne in *Pieria*, who wrote poëmes upon the Muses: he maketh mention besides of *Philammon* a Delphian, who reduced into songs and canticles the nativity of *Latona*, *Diana* and *Apollo*; and he it was who instituted first the quires and dances about the temple of *Apollo* in *Delphos*. And as for *Thamyris* a Thracian borne, he reporteth, that of all men living in those daies, he had the sweetest brest, and sung most melodiously, inso much as if we may beleve Poets, hee challenged the Muses, & contended with them in singing. It is written moreover, that this *Thamyris* compiled in verse the warre of the Titans against the Gods; as also, that *Demodocus* of *Corcyra* was an ancient Musician, who ended a poeme of the destruction of *Troy*, and the marriage betweene *Venus* and *Vulcane*: Semblably, that *Pheemus* of *Ithaca* wrote in verse of the returne of those Greeks from *Troy*, who came home againe with *Agamemnon*. Furthermore, it is said, that the stile of those poemes above said, was not loose and in prose, without metrical numbers, but like unto that of *Stesichorus* and other old Poets and song-makers, who first made naked ditties in verse, and afterwards arraid them with Muscalle tunes and notes: for the same author reporteth, that *Terpander* a maker of songs with notes and measures to be sung unto the Lute or Cithern, according to each law and rule of the said measures, adorned both his owne verses and those of *Homer* also, with harmonical tunes, and sung them accordingly at the solemne games, wherein Musicians sing one against the other for the prize: he affirmeth likewise, that the same *Terpander* was the first who imposed names and termes to those tunes which are to be sung to the foresaid stringed instruments: and in imitation of *Terpander*, *Clonus* first composed songs and set tunes to the fluit and other winde instruments, as also the Proſodies and sonnets sung at the entrie of sacrifices, and that he was a Poet who made Elegiacke and Hexameter verses; also, that *Polyphemus* the Colophonian, who came after him, used likewise the same poemes. Now the Metrical lawes and songs in measures, called in Greeke *Nepai*, which these Po-

ets and Musicians used to the pipe, were termed (good *Oneferates*) in this sort, namely, *Apothetos*, *Elegi*, *Comarchios*, *Schanton*, *Cepion*, *Dios* and *Trimeles*: but in proceffe of time, were devised others beside, called *Polymnasia*. As for the Musickall lawes or tunes to be sung unto the stringed instrument, they were invented long time before those other belonging to pipes, by *Terpander*; for he beforetime named those of the stringed instruments, *Bæotius*, *Aælius*, *Trochæus*, *Oxys*, *Cæpion*, *Terpanædrius* and *Tetraædrius*. Furthermore, the said *Terpander* made certaine procesmes or voluntary songs to the Lute, in verse. Now, that the songs or ditties to be sung unto stringed instruments, were composed in olde time of Hexameter verses, *Timotheus* giveth us to understand; for mingling the first metrickall rules in his verses, he sung the *Dithyrambick* dirty to the end, that he might not seeme immediatly at the first, to breake the lawes of the ancient Musicke. This *Terpander* seemeth to have beene excellent in the art of playing upon the Lute and singing to it; for wee finde upon record in ancient tables written, that foure times together, one after another, he caried the prise away at the Pythian games: and no doubt, of great antiquitie he was. Certes, *Glaucus* the Italian writer, will have him to be more ancient than *Archilochus*; for so he writeth in a certaine treatise as touching the olde Poets and Musicians, saying, that he followed in the second place after those who instituted first songs unto the flute and other pipes. And *Alexander* in his Breviarye of the Poets and Musicians of *Phrygia*, recordeth *Olympus* to be the first man who brought into *Greece* the feat and skill of striking the strings of instruments, and besides, those that are called *Idæi Dactyli*. But *Hyagnis* was the first by his saying, who plaied upon pipes: after him, his sonne *Marsyas* and then *Olympus*: also, that *Terpander* imitated *Homer* in verses, and *Orpheus* in song: as for *Orpheus*, it should seeme, that he imitated none, considering that before him there was not one, but those Poets who made ditties and songs to pipes, wherewith the works of *Orpheus* have no resemblance at all. Touching this *Clonius* a composer of songs and tunes for the pipe, who lived somewhat after the time of *Terpander*, he was a Tegeæan borne, as the Arcadians say, or rather as the Bæotians give out, a Theban. After *Terpander* and *Clonius*, *Archilochus* is ranged in a third place, howsoever other Chroniclers write, that *Ardalus* the Troezenian ordeined the Musicke of pipes before *Clonius*, as also, that there was one *Polymnestus* a Poet the sonne of *Ateles* a Colophonian, who made those tunes and songs which carie the name of *Polymnestos* and *Polymneste*. True it is, that those who compiled the tables and records of Musicians, make mention that *Clonius* devised the two songs or tunes named *Apothetos* and *Schæmos*. And as for the above named *Polymnestus*, *Pindarus* and *Aleman* both song-makers, made mention of him; and they report besides, that olde *Philammon* of *Delphos* composed some of those songs and tunes to the Lute and Harpe, which be attributed unto *Terpander*. In summe, the song and musicke to the Lute and Harpe, devised by *Terpander*, continued very plaine and simple, unto the daies of *Phrynis*: for in olde time, it was not lawfull to sing voluntary, as now they do at their pleasure, to stringed instruments; nor to transference either harmonies or musickall numbers and measures: for according to every song and tune, they kept a proper and peculiar tension or stretching of the strings; which is the reason that they be called *Nysææ*, as one would say, Lawes, because it was not lawfull to transgresse in any of these songs or tunes, that severall kinde of tension & stretching the strings, which was usual and ordinary. For after that they had performed those songs which apperteyne to the pacifying of Gods wrath, they leapt immediatly to the Poetrie of *Homer* and of others, at their pleasure, which may evidently appeare, by the procesmes and voluntarie tunes of *Terpander*. And verily, about this time, according as *Cæpion* the scholar of *Terpander* reporteth, was first formed that manner of Lute or Cithern which was called *Asia*, for that the Lesbian Minstrels and Musicians, who bordered hard upon *Asia*, used such a forme: and it is said, that *Periclitus* was the last plaier upon such an instrument, who wan the prise at the Carnian games at *Lacedæmon*, of all those who were Lesbians borne: after whose death ever after, there failed in *Leibos*, that continuall succession of such Musicians. But some there be, who are greatly deceived, to thinke that *Hippanax* was of the same time with *Terpander*: and it seemeth that even *Periclitus* was more ancient than *Hippanax*.

Having thus declared the olde metrickall songs and tunes jointly together, of Musicians to stringed instruments and pipes, let us turne now to such as properly concerne those that pertain to plaiers upon pipes alone: for it is said, that the above-named *Olympus* being a plaier of the flute and other pipes, and came out of *Phrygia*, set a song to his instrument in the honor and praise of *Apollo*, and the same was called *Polycephalus*: and by report, this *Olympus* descended lineally

lineally from that first *Olympus* the scholar of *Marsyas*, who composed ditties, and set tunes for the worship of the gods: for this *Olympus* being the darling of *Marsyas*, and singularly loved of him, learned likewise of him to play upon the flute and other pipes, and by that means brought into *Greece* those harmonickall tunes and songs, which at this day the *Greeks* use at the solemne feasts of the gods. Others are of opinion, that the foresaid song or tune *Polycephalus*, is to be ascribed unto *Crates* a scholar of *Olympus*: but *Pratinas* writeth, that this song came from another *Olympus* of later time; and as for that other kinde of song or tune, named *Harmonia*, the first *Olympus*, discipule to *Marsyas*, by report, composed it. And some there be who holde, that *Marsyas* was named *Maffes*: others say no, and that he was called *Marsyas* onely, being the sonne of *Hyagnis*, who first devised the art of playing upon the flute. And that this *Olympus* was the author of the musicke or tune, named *Harmonia*, appeareth by the table or register of the ancient Poets, collected by *Glaucus*: and by the same, a man may also learne, that *Stesichorus* borne in *Himera*, proposed to himselfe to imitate, neither *Terpander*, nor *Antilochus*, ne yet *Thales*, but *Olympus*; using altogether the law of Musicke *Harmonia*, and that forme of measure which is according to *Dactylus*: and that, some say, ariseth from the loud musicke called *Orthia*, but others hold, that it was an invention of the Myfians, for that there were certaine ancient pipers of the Myfians. Moreover, there is another antique song or tune, called *Cradites*, according to which (as *Hippanax* saith) *Mimnermus* plaied: for at the beginning, the minstrels and plaiers of pipes, sung certaine Elegies, reduced into measures and metrickall lawes, which appeareth by the tables and registers, that testifie what Musicians they were, that contended at the games of prise, in the festivall Panathenacke solemnities. Moreover, there was one *Sacadas* of *Argos*, a Poet that made songs and elegies or ditties, reduced into measures, for to be sung: and reckoned hee is among the better sort of Poets, and as it appeareth upon record in those registers, hee wanne the best game three times at the Pythian solemnities. And *Pindarus* himselfe maketh mention of him. And whereas there be three kindes of tunes and measures in Musicke, according to *Polymnestus* and *Sacadas*, to wit, the Pygrian, Dorian, and the Lydian, they say, that in every one of them *Sacadas* made a certaine flexion or tune, called *Strophe*, and taught the Chorus to sing the first according to the Dorian tune; the second after the Phrygian measures; and the third, to the Lydian musicke: and that this manner of song was thereupon called *Trimeres*, by reason of the three changes or parts: Howbeit, in the tables and registers of the ancient Poets, which are to be seene at *Sicyone*; it is observed and noted, that it was *Clonius* who devised this melody or musicke *Trimeres*. Now the first manner of musicke, ordeined and instituted in the city of *Sparta*, by *Terpander*, was in such sort. The second was appointed as it is most generally received, by *Thales* the Gortynian, by *Xenodamus* the Cytherian, *Xenocritus* the Locrian, *Polymnestus* the Colophonian, and *Sacadas* the Argive; as the principall authors and directors: for as these were they who instituted first at *Lacedæmon* the naked daunces called *Gymnopedias*, so in *Aradia* they ordeined those that were termed *Apothetos*; and in *Argos* the *Endymatias*. As for *Thales*, *Xenodamus*, and *Xenocritus*, they were the Poets that composed the songs of victorie, named *Pæanes*: *Polymnestus*, of the Orthian 40 canticles; and *Sacadas* of the elegies. Others say, that *Xenodamus* was the Poet who invented the songs entituled *Hyporchemata*, at the found whereof, folke danced at the feasts of the gods: but he devised not the *Pæanes* aforesaid, as *Pratinas* did. And even at this day, there is a sonet extant of this very fame *Xenodamus*, which is evidently an *Hyporchema*; and this kind of poesie of *Pindarus* useth. Now that there is a difference betweene a *Pæan* and an *Hyporchema*, the works of *Pindarus* sufficiently do shew, for he hath written as wel the one as the other. *Polymnestus* also made songs and ditties to the flute: and in Orthian canticles, used measures and melody, according as our harmonickall Musicians give it out: As for us, we know not the truth, because our ancients have left nothing in writing thereof. There is some doubt also, whether *Thales* or *Camæ* were a Poet that made *Pæans*: For *Glaucus* in saying, that he was after *Archilochus*, writeth indeed, that he imitated his songs; but he extended them farther, and made them longer, inserting the measures *Maron* and *Creticus* into his melody, which *Archilochus* never get, neither *Terpander*: for it is said, that *Thales* learned this from *Olympus* his used, nor *Orpheus*, nor yet *Terpander*: for it is said, that *Thales* learned this from *Olympus* his playing and piping, and was reputed a good Poet. As touching *Xenocritus* of *Loeres* in *Italy*, it is not yet resolved and for certaine knowne, that he was a maker of *Pæanes*. Certes, it is confidently said, that he tooke for the subject matter and argument of his Poesie heroicke deeds, in so much as some receive his arguments *Dithyrambes*. *Glaucus* assureth us, that *Thales* was



pander and *Olympus*, and they that followed their sect; for default of skill and experience, cut off the multiplicitie of strings, and their varietie. Wittlesse heereof the Poems of *Terpander*, *Olympus*, and all their followers, and such as tooke their course: for being but simple, and having no more than three strings, yet are they more excellent than those which consist of manie strings, and be full of varietie; in such sort, as no man is able to imitate the maner of *Olympus*; and all those who use many strings and varietie, be farre short, and come behinde him. Now that our ancients in old time abstained from the third, in that Spondeaik kinde, not upon ignorance, they shew sufficiently in the use of striking the strings: for never would they have used the accord and consonance with Pare-hypate, if the use thereof had bene unknowne unto them: but certeine it is, that beauty of affection which is in the Spondeaik kinde, by the third, was it that led their sense to raise & exalt their note and song to Paranete: and the same reason also there is of Nete: For this verily they used to their stroke of the instrument, to wit, unto Paranete in discord, & unto Mese in accord. But in song they seemed not unto them, proper and fit for the Spondeaik kinde. And not onely in these, but also in Nete of the Tetrachord conjunct, all used so to doe: For in the very stoake of the strings, they disaccorded with Paranete, Paramese, and Lichanos, but in song, they were ashamed thereof, for the very affection that resulted thereupon. Moreover, it appeareth manifestly by the Phrygians, that this was not for any ignorance of *Olympus*, or his sectaries: for they used it not onely in fingring, and in the stroke of the strings, but also in singing at the solemne feasts of the great mother of the gods, *Cybele*, and in some other Phrygian solemnities. It appeareth also manifestly, by the Hypates, that it was not for ignorance that in the Dorian tunes they forbore this Tetrachord, for incontinently in other tunes they used it: so that it is evident that they did it wittingly but to avoide affection they tooke it out of the Dorique Musicke, honoring the beauty and honesty thereof: as we may observe some such like thing in tragicall Poets. For never yet to this very day, did the tragedy use Chromaticke musicke, nor rhyme: whereas the citherne or lute, which by many ages is more ancient than the tragedy used it even from the very beginning. And evident it is that Chroma is of greater antiquity than is Harmony. For we must account this antiquity, whereby the one is said to be more ancient than another, according to the use & practise of men, because in regard of the nature of the seke kinds one is not elder than another. If then some one would say, that *Aeschylus* or *Phrynicus* forbore to use Chromaticke Musicke upon ignorance, & for that they knew it not, were he not thinke you very absurd and much deceived? For the same man might as well say that *Panocrates* also was ignorant of this Chromaticke kind, because for the most part he forbore to use it: and yet in some places he used it. So that it was not for want of knowledge, but of set purpose, and upon judgement that he abstained from it. He imitated then, as he saith himselfe, the maner of *Pindarus* and *Simonides*, and in one word, that which the moderne Musicians call the ancient Musicke. The like reason there is of *Tyrtamus* the Mantinean, of *Andreas* the Corinthian, *Thrasylus* the Phliatian, and of many others whom we know upon good consideration to have abstained from the Chromaticke, from change and multiplicity of strings, yea and many other things interted which are in common use, namely rhymes, harmonies, ditties, songs, and interpretations. And not to goe far for proote hereof, *Telephanes* the Megarian was so great an enemy to flutes, sifes, and small pipes, that he would never abide the artificers and pipe-makers so much as to set them to the shawme and hautboies; and for this cause especially, he forbore to come unto the Pythicke or Apollonian games of prize. In summe, if a man will conjecture that if a thing be not used, it is long of ignorance, he might condemne of ignorance many of those who live in these daies; as for example the Dorioneans, because they despise the Antigenidian kinde of Musicke, for that they used it not. To the Antigenidians likewise they might impute ignorance of the Dorianian Musicke, for the same cause, as also the minstrels & harpers, as ignorant of the maner of *Timothus* his Musicke. For they have in maner all betaken themselves to patcheries and fallen to the Poëmes of *Polydum*. On the other side, if a man consider aright, and with experience make comparison betweene that which then was and that which now is, he shall finde that variety and diversity was in use and request even in those daies also. For the ancient Musicians used in their numbers and measure, their variety, much more diverse & different than now it is. So that we may boldly say that the varietie of rhymes, the difference also and diversity of strokes was then more variable. For men in these daies love skill and knowledge, but in former times they affected numbers and measures. So that it appeareth plainly that the ancients ab-

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stained from broken Musicke and song, not because they had no skill, but for that they had no will to approve thereof. And no mervell: for many fashions there be in the world and this our life, which are well enough knowne, though they be not practised: many strange they be by reason of disuse, which grew upon occasion that some thing was observed therein, not decent & seemly. But, that it was not for ignorance, nor want of experience, that *Plato* rejected other kinds of Musicke, but onely because they were not becoming such a common wealth of his, we will shew hereafter: and withall that he was expert and skillfull in harmony: For in that procreation of the soule which he describeth in the booke of *Timæus*, he declareth what study he had employed in other Mathematicall studies and in Musicke besides, writing after this maner: Thus in maner (quoth he) did God at the first: And after that, he filled the double and treble intervals, in cutting off one portion from thence, and putting it betweene both of them: in such sort as in everie intervall or distance, there were two moities. Certes, this Exordium or Proeme, is a sufficient proove of skill and experience in harmonie, according as wee will shew hereafter. Three sorts of primitive medieties there be, out of which all other be drawn, to wit, Arithmetically, Geometrically, and Harmonically. Arithmetically is that which surmounteth, and is surmounted in equall number: Geometrically, in even proportion: and Harmonically neither in reason and proportion nor in number. *Plato* therefore intending to declare harmonically, the harmony of the foure elements of the soule, and the cause why things so divers accorded together: in each intervall hath put downe two medieties of the soule, and that according to musical proportion. For in the accord Diapason in Musicke, two intervals there are betweene two extremities, whereof we will shew the proportion. For the accord Diapason consisteth in a double proportion: as for example, six and twelve, will make a double proportion in number: And this intervall, is from Hypate Meseon, unto Nete Diezeugmenon: Now six and twelve being the two extremities: Hypate Meseon containeth the number of six, and Nete Diezeugmenon that of twelve. It remaineth now, that we ought to take unto these the meane numbers betweene these two extremities; the extreames whereof will be found, the one in proportion Epitritus or sesquitercian, the other Hemiotus, or sesquialterall. And these be numbers eight and nine. For eight is sesquitercian to six and nine, sesquialterall. Thus much as touching one of the extreames. As for the other which is twelve, it is above nine in sesquitercian proportion, and above eight in sesquialterall. These two numbers then, being betweene six and twelve, and the intervall Diapason compounded and consisting of Diatessaron and Diapente, it appeareth that Mese shall have the number of eight, and Paramese, the number of nine: which done there will be the same habitude, from Hypate and Mese, that is from Paramese to Nete, of a disjoint Tetrachord. The same proportion is found also in numbers, for the same reason that is from six to eight, is from nine to twelve, and looke what reason there is betweene six and nine, the same is betweene eight and twelve. Now betweene eight and six the proportion is sesquitercian, as also betweene twelve and nine. But betweene nine and six, sesquialterall, like as betweene twelve and eight. Thus much may serve to shew that *Plato* was well studied and very expert in the Mathematicks.

Now that harmony is a venerable, worthy and divine thing, *Aristotle* the discipule of *Plato* testifieth in these words: Harmony (quoth he) is celestiall, of a beautifull and wonderfull nature and more than humane: which being of it selfe divided into foure, it hath two medieties, the one arithmetically, the other harmonically; and of the parts thereof the magnitudes and extremities are scene according to number and equality of measure: for accords in song are appropriat and fitted in two Tetrachords. These be the words of *Aristotle*: who said that the body of harmony is composed of parts dislike, and accordant verily one with the other, but yet the medieties of the same agree according to reason arithmetically: for that Nete according to Hypate, by double proportion maketh an accord and consonants of Diapason: For it hath as we pater, in proportion sesquialterall of nine unities. But of Mese, we say, that it hath eight unities: & the principal intervals of Musicke are composed of these: to wit, Diatessaron, which consisteth of a proportion sesquitercian, & of Diapente, which standeth upon a sesquialterall: and Diapason of a double: For to is preserved the proportion sesquioctave, which is according to the proportion Tonizus. Thus you see how the parts of harmony doe both surmount and also are surmounted of other parts, by the same excesse: and the medieties of medieties, as well according to expresse in numbers, as Geometrical puiffance. Thus *Aristotle* declareth them to

Hypate



have these and such like powers, namely that Nete surmounteth Mese by a third part, and that Hypate is semblably surmounted of Paramese: in such sort as these excesses, are of the kinde of Relatives, which have relation to another: for they surmount and be surmounted by the same parts. And therefore by the same proportion the two extreames of Mese and Paramese, doe surmount, and be surmounted, to wit sesquitercian and sesquialterall. And after this sort is the harmoniack excess. But the excess of Nete and Mese by arithmetically proportion, sheweth the exuperances in equall partie: and even so Paramese in proportion to Hypate: for Paramese surmounteth Mese in proportion sesquioctave: Like as againe Nete is a double proportion of Hypate: and Paramese of Hypate in proportion sesquialterall: and Mese sesquitercian in regard of Hypate. See then how harmony is composed according to *Aristotle* himselfe, of her parts and numbers. And so verily by him it is composed most naturally of a nature as well finite as infinite: both of even and also of odd, it selfe and all the parts thereof: for it selfe totally and whole is even, as being composed of foure parts or termes: the parts whereof and their proportions, be even, odd, and even not even. For Nete it hath even of twelve unities: Paramese odd of nine unities: Mese even of eight unities, and Hypate even not even of six unities. So that harmony thus composed both it selfe and the parts thereof one to the other, as well in excess as in proportions, the whole accordeth with the whole and the parts together. And that which more is, the very senses being inserted and ingrafted in our bodies by harmony, but principally those which are celestiall and divine, namely sight and hearing, which together with God give understanding and discourse of reason unto men with the voice and the light, doe represent harmony: yea and the other inferior senses which follow them, in as much as they be senses, are likewise composed by harmony: for all their effects they performe not without harmony, and howsoever they be under them and lesse noble, yet they yeeld not for all that: for even they entering into the body accompanied with the presence of a certaine divinity, together with the discourse of reason, obtaine a forcible and excellent nature. By these reasons evident it is that the ancient Greeks, made great account, and not without good cause, of being from their infancy well instructed and trained up in Musicke: for they were of opinion, that they ought to frame and temper the mindes of young folke unto vertue and honesty by the meanes of Musicke, as being right profitable to all honest things, and which wee should have in great recommendation, but especially and principally for the perillous hazzards of warre: In which case some used the Hautboies, as the Lacedæmonians, who chaunted the song called *Castorum*, to the said instruments, when they marched in ordinance of battell, for to charge their enemies. Others made their approach, for to encounter and give the first onset, with the noise of the *Lyra* that is to say, the harpe or such like stringed instruments. And this we finde to have bene the practise of the Candiotis for a long time, for to use this kinde of Musicke, when they set forth and advanced forward to the doubtfull dangers of battell. And some againe continue even to our time in the use of Trumpets sound. As for the Argives, they went to wrestle at the solemne games in their city called *Sthenia* with the sound of the Hautboies. And these games, were by report instituted at first in the honor and memory of their king *Danaus*: and afterwards againe were consecrated to the honor of *Jupiter* surnamed *Sthenius*. And verily even at this day, in the Pentathlian games of prize, the manner and custome is to play upon the Hautboies, and to sing a song thereto, although the same be not antique nor exquisite, nor such as was wont to be played and sung in times past as that Canticle composed sometime by *Hierax*, for this kinde of combat, and named it was *Eudrome*. Well though it be a faint and feeble manner of song, yet somewhat, such as it was, they used with the Hautboies. And in the times of greater antiquity it is said that the Greeks did not so much as know Theatricall Musicke, for that they employed all the skill & knowledge thereof in the service and worship of the gods, & in the institution and bringing up of youth, before any Theater was built in *Greece* by that people: but all the Musicke that yet was, they bestowed to the honor of the gods and their divine service in the temples, also in the praises of valiant and worthy men: So that it is very probable that these termes Theater afterwards, and *theatrum*, long before were derived of *theos*, that is to say, God. And verily in our daies, Musicke is grown to such an heighth of difference and diversity, that there is no mention made, nor memory remaining of any kinde of Musicke for youth to be taught, neither doth any man set his minde thereto, or make profession thereof: but looke whosoever are given to Musicke, betake them selves wholly to that of Theaters for their delight. But some man may haply say unto me: What good fir, thinke you that in old time they devised

no

no new Musicke and added nothing at all to the former: Yes I wis, I confesse they did adjoine thereto some new inventions, but it was with gravity and decency. For the historians who wrote of these matters, attributed unto *Terpander* the Dorian Nete, which before time they used not in their songs and tunes: And even so it is said that the Myxolidian tune was wholly by him devised to the rest: as also the note of the melody Orthien: and the song named Orthius, by the *Trochaus*, for founding the al'arme and to encourage unto battell.

And if it be true as *Pindarus* saith, *Terpander* was the inventour of those songs called *Scolia*, which were sung at feasts. *Archilochus* also adjoined those rhymes or Iambicke measures called *Trimetra*: the translation also and change into other number and measures of a different kinde, yea, and the manner how to touch and strike them. Moreover, unto him, as first inventour, are attributed the Epodes, Tetrameter, Iambicks, Procritique and Profodiacks; as also, the augmentation of the first, yea, and as some thinke, the Elegie it selfe: over and besides, the intention of Iambus unto Paean Epibatos, & of the Heroous augmented both unto the Profodiaque & also the Creticke. Furthermore, that of Iambicke notes, some be pronounced according to the stroke, others sung out. *Archilochus* was the man, by report, who shewed all this first, and afterwards, tragicall Poets used the same: likewise it is said, that *Crexus* receiving it from him, transported it to be used at the Bacchanall songs, called Dithyrambis. And he was the first also, by their saying, who devised the stroke after the song; for that beforetime they used to sing, and strike the strings together. Likewise unto *Polymnestus* is ascribed all that kinde of note or tune which now is called *Hypolydium*, and of him they say, that he first made the drawing out of the note longer, and the dissolution and ejection thereof much greater than before. Moreover, that *Olympus*, upon whom is fathered the invention of the Greeke musicke, that is tied to lawes and rules, was hee who first brought, by their saying, all the kinde of harmonie, and of rhymes or measures, the Profodiaque, wherein is contained the tune and song of *Mars*; also the *Chorios*, whereof there is great use in the solemnities of the great mother of the gods: yea, and some there be, who make *Olympus* the authour also of the measure *Bacchius*. And thus much concerning every one of the ancient tunes and songs. But *Lafus* the harmonian, having transferred the rhymes into the order of Dithyrambis, and followed the multiplicitie in voice of hautboies, in using many sounds and those diffused and dispersed to and fro, brought a great change into Musicke, which never was before. Semblably, *Melanippides* who came after him, contained not himselfe in that manner of Musicke which then was in use, no more than *Philoxenus* did & *Timothæus*: for he, whereas beforetime unto the daies of *Terpander* the Antifæan, the harpe had but seven strings, distinguished it into many more sounds and strings: yea, and the found of the pipe or hautboies, being simple and plaine before, was changed into a Musicke of more distinct varietie. For in olde time, unto the daies of *Melanippides* a Dithyrambicke Poet, the plaiers of the hautboies were wont to receive their salaries and wages at the hands of Poets, for that Poetrie you must thinke, bare the greatest stroke, and had the principal place in Musicke and acting of plaies, so as the Minstrels before said were but their ministers: but afterwards, this custome was corrupted; upon occasion whereof, *Pherecrates* the Comickall Poet bringeth in Musicke in forme and habit of a woman, with her bodie piteously scoured and mangled all over: and he deviseth besides, that Dame Justice demandeth of her the cause why, and how she became thus misused; unto whom Poëtic or Musicke maketh answer in this wise:

## MUSICKE.

I will gladly tell, since that we pleasure take  
 You for to heare, and I to answer make:  
 One of the first, who did me thus displesse  
 And worke my woe, was *Melanippides*;  
 He with twelve strings my bodie whipt so sore,  
 That soft it is, and looser than before.  
 Yes was this man unto me tolerable  
 And not to these my harmes now, comparable.  
 For one of *Athick* land, *Cynethias* he,  
 Shame come to him, and cursed may he be,  
 By making turnes and winding cranks so strange  
 In all his strophes, and shew without change

50

of

Of harmony, hath me perverted so,  
That where I am, unnoted I now do know.  
His Dithyrambs are framed in such guise,  
That left seeme right, in shield and target wise.  
And yet of him, one can not truly say,  
That cruelly he meant me for to slay.  
Phrynis it was who set to me a wrest  
(His owne device) that I could never rest:  
Where with he did me winde and writhe so hard,  
That I well nere for ever was quite marr'd.  
Out of five strings forsooth he would devise  
No fewer than twelve harmonies to rise:  
Well of this man I cannot most complaine,  
For what he mist, he soone repaire'd againe.  
Timotheus sweet Lady (out alas)  
Hath me undone: Timotheus it was,  
Most shamefully who wrought me all despite,  
He hath me torne, he hath me buried quite.

JUSTICE.

And who might this Timotheus be (deere hart)  
That was the cause of this thy wofull smart?

MUSIQUE.

I meane him of Miletus, Pythias  
Surname'd, his head and haire so ruddy was.  
This fellow brought upon me sorrows more  
Than all the rest whom I have nam'd before.  
A sort he of unpleasant quavers brings,  
And running points, when as he plaies or sings:  
He never meets me when I walke alone  
Upon the way, but me assailes alone.  
Off go my robes, and thus devested bare  
He teases me with twelve strings, and makes no spare.

Aristophanes also the Comical Poet maketh mention of *Philoxenus*, and saith, that he brought songs into the dances called Rounds: and in this manner he deviseth, that Musick should speake and complaine:

What with his Exharmonians,  
Niglaris and Hyperbolians,  
And such loud notes, I wot not what,  
He hath me stufte so full, as that  
My voice is brittle when I speake,  
Like a dish root that soone will breake.

Sensibly, other Comical Poets have blasoned and set out in their colours, our moderne Musicians, for their absurd curiositie, in hewing and cutting Musicke thus by peace-meale, and mincing it so small. But that this science is of great power and efficacie, as well to set strait and reforme, as to pervert, deprave and corrupt youth in their education and learning, *Aristoxenus* hath made very plaine and evident: for he saith, that of those who lived in his time, *Telesius* the Theban happened when he was yong, to be brought up and instructed in the most excellent kinde of Musicke, and to learne many notable ditties and songs; among which, those also of *Pindarus*, of *Dionysius* the Theban, of *Lamprus*, *Pratinas* and other Lyricall Poets, singular men in their facultie, and profession of playing cunningly upon the harpe and other stringed instruments. He had learned likewise to found the hautboies passing well, and was sufficiently exercised and practised in all other parts of good literature: but when he was once past the flower and middle of his age, he became so farre rivished and caried away with this Scenicall musick so full of varietie, that he despised that excellent musick and poesie wherein he was nourted, & all for to learne the ditties and tunes of *Philoxenus* and *Timotheus*, and principally such of them as had most varietie and noveltie: and when he betooke himselfe to compose ditties and set songs, making

making triall what he could do in both kinds, as well in that of *Pindarus* and this of *Philoxenus*, he was able to performe nothing well and to the purpose in that Musicke of *Philoxenus*: the reason whereof, was his excellent education from his infancie. If then a man be desirous to use musick well and judiciously, let him imitate the olde maner: and yet in the meane while furnish the same with other sciences, learne Philosophie, as a mistresse to guide and leade; for there is able to judge what kinde of measures is meet for musick, and profitable. For whereas three principal points and kinds there be, unto which all musick is universall divided, to wit, Diatonos, Chroma and Harmonie, he ought to be skilfull in Poetrie, which useth these severall kinds, who commeth to learne Musick; and withall, he must attaine to that sufficiencie, as to know how to expresse and couch in writing his poetical inventions. First and formost therefore he is to underfit and, that all musickall science is a certeine custome and usage, which shal not yet attained so farre as the knowledge to what end every thing is to be learned by him that is the scholar. Next to this it would be considered, that to this teaching and instruction, there be not yet adjoined presently the enumeration of the measures & maners of musick. But the most part learnerly and without discretion, that which seemeth good & is pleasant either to the learner or the teacher; as the Lacedaemonians in old time, the Mantineans likewise and the Pellenians: for these, making choise of one maner above the rest, or els of very few, which they tooke to be meet for the reformation and correction of maners, used no other musick but it: which more evidently may appeare, if a man will enquire and consider, what it is that every one of these kindes taketh for the subject matter to handle: for certaine it is, that the Harmonique skill containeth the knowledge of intervals, compositions, founds, notes and mutations of that kinde which is named *Hermomenon*, that is to say, well besitting and convenient: neither is it possible for it to proceed farther. So that, we must not require nor exact of her, that she should be able to discern whether a Poet hath well, properly and fully used (for example sake in musick) the Hyperdorian tune in his entrance; the Mixolydian and the Dorian at his going forth; and the Phrygian or Hypophrygian in the mids: for this pertaineth not at all to the subject matter of the Harmonique kinde, and hath need of many other things: for he knoweth not well the force of the proprietie. And if he be ignorant of the Chromaticke kinde and Enharmonian, he shall never attaine to have the perfect and absolute power of the proprietie, according to which, the affection of the measures that are made are seene: for this is the office and part of the artificer. And manifest it is, that the voice of the composition called *Systema*, is one thing; and the melody or song which is framed in the said composition, another: which to teach and whereof to treat, pertaineth not to the facultie of the Harmonique kinde. Thus much also we are to say as touching Rhythme; for no Rhythme will ever come to have in it the power of perfect proprietie: for that alwaies which is said to be proper, is in regard and reference to the affection; whereof we affirme the cause to be either composition or mixture, or els both together: like as with *Olympus*, the Enharmonian kinde is put in the Phrygian tune, and Pæon mixed with Epibatos: for this affection of the beginning hath it ingendred and brought forth in the song of *Mimerus*. For when the melody and rhytme or measure was artificially set to, & the number or rhytme alone cunningly transmuted, so as a Trocheus was put in stead of a Pæon. Hereof came the Harmonique kinde of *Olympus* to be composed. Yet nevertheless, when both the Enharmonique kinde and the Phrygian tune remaine, and beside these, the whole composition also, the affection received a great alteration: for that which is called Harmonie in the song of *Mimerus*, is farre different from the affection which is in common use and experience. If he then, who is expert and skilfull in Musick, had withall, the facultie to judge, certaine it is, that such an one would be a perfect workman, and a passing good master in Musick. For he who is skilfull in the Dorique musick, and knoweth not how to judge and discern the proprietie, he shall never know what he doth, nor be able to keepe so much as the affection, considering there is some doubt as touching the judgement of Dorian melodies and tunes, whether they appertaine to the subject matter of Harmonie or no? as some Dorians are of opinion. The like reason there is of all the Rhythmicke skill; for he who knoweth Pæon, shall not incontinently know the propriety of the use thereof, so farre as there is some doubt as concerning the making of Pæonik rhytmes, to wit, whether the Rhythmetique matter is able to judge with distinct knowledge of them? or whether as some say, it doe not extend so farre? Of necessitie therefore it followeth, that there must be two knowledges at the least in him, who would make distinction and be able to judge betwene that which is proper and that which is strange: the one of maners and affections,

fections, for which all composition is made; the other, of the parts and members of which the composition doth consist. Thus much therefore may suffice, to shew that neither the Harmonique, nor the Rhythmicke, nor any one of these faculties of Musicke, which is named particular, can be sufficient of it selfe alone to judge of the affection, or to discern of other qualities. Whereas therefore, Hermosmenian, which is as one would say, the decent and elegant temperature of voices and sounds, is divided into three kinds, which be equall in the magnitudes of compositions, in puissances of sounds, and likewise of Tetrachords; our ancients have treated but of one: for those who went before us, never considered, either of Chroma, or Diatonos, but onely of Enharmonios, and that onely in a magnitude of a composition, called Diapason: for of the Chroma they were at some variance and difference: but they all in manner did 10 accord to say, that there was no more but this Harmonie alone. And therefore he shall never understand that which pertaineth unto the treatise of Harmonie, who hath proceeded so farre as to this onely knowledge: but apparent it is that he ought to follow both other particular sciences, and also the totall body of Musicke; yea & the mixtions and compositions of the parts: for he that is onely Harmonically, is confined within one kinde and no more. To speake therefore generally and once for all, it behooveth that both outward sense and inward understanding concur to the judgement of the parts in Musicke: Neither is one to prevent & runne before another, as the senses doe, which are more forward and hastie than their fellows; nor to lagge behinde and follow after, as those senses doe which are slowe and heavy of motion. And yet 20 otherwhile in some senses it falleth out upon a naturall inaequalitie which they have, that both happen at once, to wit, they draw backe, and halt forward together: wee must therefore cut off these extremities from the sense, if we would have it runne jointly with the understanding: for necessarie it is, that there be alwaies three things at the least meet together in sense of hearing, to wit, the sound, the time, and the syllable or letter. And come to passe it will, that by the going of the sound, will be knowne the proportionable continuitie, called Hermosmenon; by the gate of time, the Rhythme, and by the passing and proceeding of the syllable or letter, the ditte: Now when they march altogether, there must needs be an incurion of the sense. This also is evident, that the sense not being able to distinguish and discern every one of these three things, and accompany them severally, impossible it is, that it should know or judge 30 that which is well or amisse, in each of them particularly. First and foremost therefore, we are to take knowledge of the coherence and continuation; for necessarie it is, that there should be in the facultie and power of judging, a certaine continuall order, for as much as good and bad be not determinately in such sounds, times, letters or syllables, severed one from the other, but in the continued suite and coherence of them, for there is a certaine mixture or parts which cannot be conjoined in usage. And thus much may suffice for the consequence. After this we are to consider, that men, sufficient otherwise, and skilfull masters in Musicke, are not by and by able to judge: for impossible it is to be a perfect Musician, and a judge withall, of those which seeme to be the parts of totall Musicke, as the science and skill of instruments; likewise of song, as also of the exercise of the senses, I mean that which tendeth to the intelligence & knowledge of the well proportioned Hermosmenon, and of Rhythme. Over and besides, of the 40 Rhythmicke and Harmonique treatise, and of the speculation, touching the stroke and the ditte, and what other soever there are besides. But what the causes should be, that it is not possible for one to be a Critick and able to judge, by means of these things by themselves, let us endeavour to search and know. First, by this supposall, That of those things which are proposed unto us for to be judged of, some be perfect, others imperfect: Perfect, for example, every Poeticall worke, that is either chaunted, or played upon the pipe, or sounded on the lute and stringed instrument; or else the interpretation or elocution of the said Poemes, which they call *epithymia*: as is the noise of the pipe, or of the voice, and such like: unperfect, as those which tend heereto, and are for them ordeined, as by the parts of that which is called interpretation. Secondly, by Poesie or fiction, whereof the case is alike; because a man may as well judge if hee 50 heare the minstrell play or sing, whether his pipes accord or no, and whether his dialect or dittie be cleere, or contrariwise obscure; for each of these is a part of the foresaid interpretation of pipes, not the end it selfe, but that which respecteth the end; for the affection of the interpretations shall be judged heerby, and by all such causes, whether they be well fitted & accommodate to the Poeme composed, which the agent hath taken in hand to treat of, to handle, to expresse and interpret. Semblable is the reason also of the affections and passions, which are signified

nified in the Poemes, by Poesie. Our ancients then, as those who made principall account of the affection, preferred and esteemed best that fashion of antique Musicke, which was grave, not curious nor much affected, For it is said that the Argives did set downe in times past a punishment for those who brake the lawes of Musicke, yea, and condemned him to pay a good fine, who first used more than seven strings, & who went about to bring in the use of the Mixolydian Musicke. But *Pythagoras* that grave and venerable personage, reprov'd all judgement of Musicke which is by the eare, for he said, that the intelligence and vertue thereof, was verie subtle & slender, and therefore he judged thereof, not by hearing, but by proportionall harmonie: and he thought it sufficient to proceed as farre as to Diapason, and there to stay the knowledge of Musicke: Whereas Musicians in these daies disesteeme and reject wholly that kinde 10 of Musicke which was in greatest reputation among our ancestors, for the gravitie thereof: insomuch as the most part of them make no reckoning of any apprehension of Euharmonian intervals and spaces. So idle and lazie they be, that they thinke and say, the harmonicall diesis giveth no appearance at all, nor representation of those things that fall under the sense of hearing; yea, and banish it quite out of their tunes and songs, counting those no better than prating, vaine, and toyish persons, who have either written or spoken thereof, or used that kinde: and for proove heerof, that they say true, they suppose they have found a doubty good argument and demonstration, drawn from their owne grosse stupiditie and senselesse sense, as it all that which their sense apprehended not, must needs incontinently have no subsistence at all in 20 nature, and be altogether unprofitable. And then moreover they hold, that there can no magnitude be apprehended by symphonie and consonance of voice, as the note, the halfe note, and other such intervals. Meane while they doe not perceive (such is their ignorance) that they may as well banish the third magnitude, the fifth, and the seventh; whereof the first consisteth of three, the second of five, and the third of seven Diesis: and generally they should reject and reprove all the intervals that be odde, as superfluous and good for nothing: inasmuch as none of them can be found by consent or symphonie. And these they may be, which the least Diesis doeth measure in odde number: whereupon it followeth necessarily, that no division of the Tetrachord, is profitable, but this onely, by which we may use all even intervals: and this verily were that of Syntonos, Diatonos, and Tonizian Chroma. But to give out, or to conceive 30 such things, were the part not of those onely who contradicted that which is apparent and evident, but also of such as went against themselves: for they use more than any other such partitions of Tetrachords, wherein all the intervals be either odde or else proportionable to those that be odde: for evermore they mollifie all the notes, called Lichani, and Paraneze: yea, and they let downe a litle, those very notes which are stedfast and firme, by I wot not what intervall, without al reason; and together with them, they let slacke also very absurdly, the Thirds and the Paraneze, & they suppose that the use of such compositions is most commendable, wherein the most part of the intervals, be without al reason & proportion, by letting downe not onely those sounds which naturally are woont to sit & be mooved, but also some of them which are innumerable: as appeareth manifestly to those who are sufficient and able to judge of such things, 40 To come now to the use of Musicke, how meet and seemely it is for a valiant man; gentle *Homer* hath given us very well to understand: for to proove unto us how commodious Musicke is in many respects, he feigned and devised *Achilles* to concoit his anger which he had conceived against *Agamemnon*, by the meanes of Musicke, which he had learned of that most prudent and wise *Chiron*: for thus he writeth:

*They found him then, within his tent,  
With sound of lute so shrill,  
His heart that was now discontent,  
To solace and so still:  
An instrument right faire in sight  
This was, and trimly wrought:  
The necke with silver richly dight,  
Which he himselfe had caught  
Out of the spoiles then lately won  
Of Thebes, that stately towne,  
And citie of Ecton,  
When it was rased downe:*

O o o o o

Heaven with

*Heere with I say, he pass'd his time,  
this was his hearts delight,  
He sung withall the praise in hymne  
of many a valiant knight.*

Note heereby and learne (quoth *Homer*) what use we ought to make of Musicke: for he sung unto the lute, the noble exploits of brave men, and the glorious acts of woorthies and demigods: a thing that full well befecmed *Achilles* the sonne of most righteous *Peleus*. Over and besides, *Homer* teaching us the proper and convenient time of using Musicke, found out an exercise, both profitable and pleasant for a man at leisure, and not occupied otherwise in affaires. For *Achilles* being a martiall man of action, yet for the anger that he had conceived against *Agamemnon*, had no hand in the perils and hazards of warre: *Homer* thought therefore that it became very well this heroicke and hardy knight, to whet his courage by these excellent songs, to the end that he might be provided and ready against that fallie and skirmish which soone after he undertooke: and this no doubt he performed very well, by calling to remembrance the doubty deeds and feats of armes achieved by others in times past. Such verily was the ancient Musicke, and for this purpose it served. For we doe heare that both *Hercules* made use of Musicke, and also *Achilles*, with many other valourous knights, whom *Chiron* that most sage and learned master and bringer up of youth taught, who was a teacher not of Musicke only, but of iustice beside and Physicke. In summe, a man of wisdom and sound judgement, will thus deeme, that good sciences are not to be blamed, if haply they be not well used, but impute all the fault unto them that abuse the same. And therefore if any one from his childhood, shall be well instructed and trained up in Musicke, and withall employ his labour and diligence therein, he will receive and approve that which is honest and commendable: blame also he will and reject the contrary: not in musicke only, but in all things else: and such a one will decline all dishonest and unworthy actions, and thus reaping from musicke the greatest and best contentment that can be, he may benefit exceeding much, as well himselfe as his whole country, using no word nor deed unseemely, but observing at all times and in every place, that which is befitting, decent, temperate and elegant. Moreover, that cities and states best governed by policie and good lawes, have alwaies had a speciall regard of generous and good musicke, many and sundry testimonies may be alledged: and namely, a man may very well cite to this purpose *Terpander*, who suppressed in times past, the great sedition and civill discord that was in *Lacedaemon*: *Thales* also the Candiot, who went as it is said, by the commandment and oracle of *Apollo*, to *Lacedaemon*, and there cured the citizens and delivered them from that great pestilence, which reigned in that citie, and all by the means of musicke, as writeth *Plutarchus*. *Homer* also himselfe saith, that the plague which afflicted the Greeks, was by musicke staid and appeased:

*Then all day long, the Grecian youth  
in songs melodious,  
Besought god Phoebus of his grace,  
to be propitious:  
Phoebus I say, who from a farr  
doth shoot his arrowes nie  
They chaunt anapraise, who takes great joy,  
to heare such harmonie.*

with these verses as with Corollarie, good master I will conclude this my discourse of Musicke, and the rather, because you first by the very same verses commended unto us the force and power of Musicke: for in very truth, the principall and most commendable worke thereof, is thanksgiving unto the gods, and the acknowledgement of their grace and favour: the second, and that which next followeth, is a sanctified heart, a pure, consonant and harmoniall estate of the soule. When *Soterichus* had said: Thus you have (quoth he) my good master heard us discourse of Musicke round about the boord as we sit. And verily *Soterichus* was highly admired for that which he had delivered: for he shewed evidently both by his voice and visage, how much he was affected unto Musicke, & what study he had employed thereto. Then my master: Over and above other things, this also I commend in you both, that you have kept your owne course and place, the one as well as the other. For *Lysias* hath furnished our feast with those things which are proper and meet for a Musician, who knoweth only to handle the lute or harpe

harpe, and hath no farther skill than manuell practise. *Soterichus* also hath taught us whatsoever concerneth both the profit and also the speculation thereof, yea and withall comprehendeth therein the power and use of Musicke, whereby he hath mended our fare and feasted us most sumptuously. And I suppose verily that both of them, have of purpose and that right willingly, left thus much unto me, as to draw Musicke unto feasts and banquets: neither will I condemne them of timidity, as if they were ashamed so to doe: For if in any part of mans life, eentes in such feasts and merry meetings it is right profitable. For according as good *Homer* saith:

*Both song and dance, delight afford,  
And things that well becometh the boord.*

Neither would I have any man to inferre heereupon, that *Homer* thought Musicke good for nothing else but to delight and content the company at a feast: considering there is in those verses couched and hidden a more deepe and profound meaning. For he brought Musicke to those times and places wherein it might profit and helpe men most, I meane the feasts and meetings of our ancients: and expedient it was to have her company there, for that she is able to diversify and temper the heat and strength of wine, according as our *Aristoxenus* also else where saith: Musicke (quoth he) is brought in thither, because that whereas wine is wont to pervert & overturne as well the bodies as the minds of those who take it immoderately, Musicke by that order, symmetry, and accord which is in it, reduceth them againe into a contrary temperature, and dulceth all. And therefore *Homer* reporteth that our ancients used Musicke as a remedy and helpe, at such a time. But that which is principall and maketh Musicke above all things most venerable, you have my good friend let passe and omitted. For *Pythagoras*, *Archibus*, *Plato*, and all the rest of the old Philosophers doe hold that the motion of the whole world, together with the revolution of the starres, is not performed without Musicke: For they teach that God framed all things by harmonie. But to prosecute this matter more at large, this time will not permit: and besides it is a very high point and most Musically to know in every thing how to keepe a meane and competent measure. This said, he sung an hymne, and after he had offered a libation of wine unto *Saturne*, and to all the gods his children, as also to the Muses, he gave his guests leave to depart



## OF THE FORTVNE OR VERTUE OF K. Alexander.

The Summarie.

**I**n this treatise and that which followeth, framed both in forme of a declamation, *Plutarch* magnifieth *Alexander*, a praise worthy prince for many good parts that were in him: wherein he sheweth also, that we ought to attribute unto vertue and not to fortune, those brave exploits which he performed. By fortune, he meaneth that course of the affaires in this world, whereby it falleth out many times that the wisest men are not alwaies most happy and best advanced. To prove therefore, that *Alexander* was endued with exquisite qualities for execution of those enterprises which by him were achieved after wordes and brought to an end, he compareth him in the beginning of this treatise, with the kings of *Persia* raised up to their greatnesse by fortune: and then sheweth, that *Alexander* being an excellent Philosopher, we ought not to wonder or be astonished if by his vertue he saw the end of many things which the most fortunate princes of the world durst never take in hand and begin. Now the better to set out the excellencie of this Philosophy of *Alexander*, he compareth his scholars with the disciples of *Plato* and

00000 2

Socrates:

Socrates: proving that those of this prince surpassed the others, as much as a good deed or benefit done to an infinit number of men surmounteth a good speech or instruction given to some particular persons; the most part of whom make no account thereof. He proceedeth forward and describeth the wisdom and sufficiency of Alexander in politicke government, which he amplifieth by the consideration of his amiable behaviour and lovely cariage toward those nations which by him were subdued: also by the recitall of some notable sayings of his: likewise by the love and affection which he carried unto wisdom, and men of knowledge. In briefe his acts; be evident proofes of his vertue, and in no wise of the temerity and rashness of fortune. But even in this very place, Plutarch hath broken off his treatise, leaving the end thereof defectuous: namely where he began to discourse of the contempts of death, and of the constant resolution of Alexander against the most churlish and boisterous assaults of fortune. 10

## OF THE FORTUNE OR vertue of K. Alexander.



These are the sayings and allegations of fortune, affirming and proving that Alexander was her owne peculiar peece of worke, and to be ascribed unto her alone. But we must gainesay her in the name and behaile of Philosophy, or rather of Alexander himselfe: who taketh it not well, but is highly displeased, that he should be thought to have received his empire at fortunes hand gratis, and as a meere gift and benefit which he had bought and purchased with shedding much of his owne blood, and receiving many a wound one upon another.

Who many restless nights did passe  
Without all sleepe full broad awake:  
And many a bloody day there was,  
Whiles he in field did skirmish make.

Whiles he fought against forces and armies invincible, against nations innumerable, rivers impassable, rocks inaccessible, and such as no shot of arrow could ever reach; accompanied alwaies with prudent counsell, constant patience, resolute valour, and staid temperance. And verily I am perswaded, that himselfe would fay unto fortune, challenging unto herselfe: he honoret of his haucie & worthy acts, in this manner: Come not heere either to deprave my vertue, or to deprive me of my due honor, in ascribing it unto thy selfe. Darius was indeed a peece of worke made by thee, whom of a base servitor, no better than a currier or lackey to a king, thou diddest advance and make the lord of the Persians. Sardapalus likewise was thy handy worke, upon whose head, when he was carding and spinning fine purple wooll among women, thou diddest set the imperiall diademe. As for me, I mounted up and ascended as farre as to Susa with victory after the battell at Arbela. The conquest of Cilicia made the way open for me to enter into Egypt: and the field that I won at the river Granicus; which I passed over going upon the dead bodies of Mithridates and Spitridates: lieutenants to the king of Persia, gave me entrance into Cilicia. Vaunt now and boast as much as thou wilt of those kings, who never were wounded in fight, nor lost one drop of their blood. These I say may well be counted fortunate and thy derelings, Oebus I meane & Ariaxerxes, whom immediately from the very day of their nativity, thou hast entailed in the roiall throne of Cyrus. But this body of mine carrieth the markes & tokens of fortune not favourable and gracious, but contrariwise adverse and opposit unto me. First in Ilium, I had my head broken with a great stone, and my necke bruted and crushed with a pestill. Afterwards in the journey and battell of Granicus, my head was cloven with a Barbarians cimeter. At the field fought neere Issus, my thigh was run through with a sword: before the city of Gaza, I was (shot through the ancle above my foot with one arrow, and into the shoulder with another, whereupon I was unhorsed, and falling heavy in mine armour out of my saddle, I lay there for dead upon the ground. Among the Maracadarts, my shin bone was cut in sunder with shot of quarels and arrowes. Besides many a knocke & wound which I gat among the Indians: and every where I met with hot service among them, untill I was shot quite through the shoulder. Another time as I fought against the Gandridæ I had the bone of my leg cut in twaine, with

with another (shot likewise in a skirmish with the Mallotæ, I caught an arrow in my brest and bosome, which went so farre and sticke so fast that it left the head behinde: and with the rap and knocke of an iron pestill my necke bone was crushed. And at what time as the skaling ladders reared against the wals brake, fortune enclosed and shut me up alone to fight and maintaine combat, not against noble concurrents and renowned enemies, but obscure and simple Barbarous soldiers, gracing and gratifying them thus farre forth, as that they went with in a little taking away my life: And had not Ptolemæ come betwene and covered me with his target; had not Limnæ in defence of me opposed his owne body and received many a thousand darts; and there lost his life in the place for me; had not I say the Macedonians by force of armes and resolute courage broken downe the wall and laid it along, certes that base village, that Barbarous buttrow of no name, had bene at this day the sepulcher of Alexander. Furthermore, all that journey and expedition of mine, what was it else but tempestuous stormes, exceeding heat and drought, rivers of an infinit depth, mountaines too exceeding high, as no bird could flie over them; monstrous beasts and so huge withall, as they were hideous and terrible to be seene, strange and savage fashions of life, revolts of disloyall states and governours, yea and afterwards their open treasons and rebellions? And as for that which went before his voiage: all Greece panting still and trembling for remembrance of the warres which they endured under his father Philip, now put up their head. The city of Athens now shaking off from their armour the dust of the battell at Charonea, began to rise againe and recover themselves after that overthrow. To it joined Thebes and put forth their helping hand. All Macedonia was suspected, and stood in doubtfull termes, as enclining to Amyntas and the children of Acropus. The Illyrians brake out into open warres and made hostile invasions. The Scythians hung in equall ballance uncertaine which side to take, expecting what their neighbours would doe, that began to stir and revolt. Besides the good gold of Persia which had found the way into the purses of orators and governors of every citie, made all Peloponnesus to rise in armes. The coffers of Philip his father were empty and had no treasure in them: but instead thereof they were indebted and paid interest as Onesicritus writeth for \* two hundred talents. In these great wants, in such poverty and so troubled a state, see a yong man newly come out of his infancie and childhood, durst hope and assuredly looke, for to be lord of Babylon and Susa: nay to speake more truly and in a word, he intended in his designements the conquest of the whole world; and that with a power onely of thirty thousand footmen, and foure thousand horse: for no greater forces brought he into the field as Aristobulus reporteth: or according asking Ptolemæ writeth, they were thirty thousand foot and five thousand men of armes: or as Amasimenus putteth it downe, his army amounted to forty thousand three hundred footmen and five thousand five hundred horsemen. Now all the glorious meanes and great provision for the maintenance and entertainment of this power more or lesse, which fortune had prepared for him, came to seventy talents: as Aristobulus hath set it downe in writing, or as Darius recordeth he was furnished with money and victuals to serve for thirty daies and no longer. How then was Alexander so inconsiderate, rash and void of counsell, as to enterprife warre with so small meanes, against so puissant an armie of the Persians? No I wis: for never was their capitaine, that went forth to warre better appointed and with greater and more sufficient helpes than he, to wit, magnanimity, prudence, temperance, & fortitude, wherewith Philosophy had furnished him, as with munition for his voiage: as being better provided for this enterprife against the Persians by that which he had learned of his master and teacher Aristotle, than by all the patrimonie and revenewes which his father Philip had left him: Well, to beleve those who write, that Alexander himselfe would otherwhiles say, that the Iliad and Odyssey of Homer accompanied him alwaies as his voiage provision to the warres, we may be easily induced, for the reverence and honor which we owe unto Homer: but if a man should say, that Homers Iliad and Odyssey, were unto him an easement of his travels, or an honest pastime and recreation at his leisure, and that the true munition and voiage provision indeed for the maintenance of his wars, were the discourses & precepts which he had learned out of Philosophy, and the treatises or commentaries as touching confidence & feareless resolution of prowesse, valour, magnanimity and temperance, we are ready to mocke and deride him: and why for because forthwith he hath written nothing of Syllogismes, of Axiomes, or of the elements and principles of Geometry; because he hath not used to walke in the schoole of Zeno, nor held positions and disputed of questions in the Academie: for these be the things whereby they measure and define Philosophy, who thinke that it consisteth in words and not in



deeds. And yet *Pythagoras* never writ ought, nor *Socrates*, nor *Arcesflaus*, no nor *Carnades*: who all, no doubt, were most renowned Philosophers: neither were they imploied and occupied in so great warres, in reducing Barbarous kings to civillity, or in founding and building great cities, among savage nations: neither travelled they through the world visiting lawlesse and cruell people, to teach them to live peaceably and in order, who had never heard of peace or of lawes: but these great and famous personages, for all the leisure and rest that they had from imployments and busie affaires, left all writing for Sophisters only. How came it then, that they were reputed Philosophers? Surely it arose either upon their sayings which they delivered, or the manner of life that they led, and the actions which they did, or else the doctrine which they taught. Let us now therefore judge of *Alexander* also accordingly, by the same: for it will be found and scene by the words which he said, the deeds that he wrought, and the lessons which he taught, that he was some great Philosopher: and in the first place, if you thinke good, consider (which at first sight may seeme most strange and wonderfull) what disciples *Alexander* had; and compare them with the scholars of *Plato* or of *Socrates*. These men taught those, who were of quick wit, and spake the same language that they did; and if they had nothing else, yet understood they at leastwise the Greeke tongue: howbeit for all this, many of their auditours and disciples there were whom they could never persuade to their rules and precepts: but such as *Critias*, *Alcibiades* and *Clesthon*, rejected and shoke off all their doctrine, as the bitte of a bridle, and turned another way. Whereas, if you marke and consider the discipline of *Alexander*, you shall finde, that he taught the Hyrcanians to contract marriage and live in wedlocke; the *Archians* to till the ground and follow husbandrie; the *Sogdians* he perswaded to nourish their aged fathers, and not to kill them; the *Persians* to reverence and honour their mothers, and not to marry them as they did before. O the admirable Philosophie of this prince! by means whereof, the *Indians* adore and worship the gods of *Greece*: the *Scythians* burie their dead and eate them not. We wonder at the powerfull and effectuell speech of *Carnades*, for that he knew how to make *Clitomachus*, named before *Asdrubal*, and a *Carthaginian* borne, to conforme himselfe to the Greeke fashions and language. Wee admire the emphaticall gift of *Zeno*, who was able to persuade *Diogenes* the *Babylonian*, to give himselfe to the studie of Philosophie. But while *Alexander* conquered *Asia*, and reduced it to civillitie, *Homer* was read ordinarily: the sonnes of the *Persians*, *Sustans*, and *Gedrosians*, chanted the tragedies of *Euripides* and *Sophocles*. As for *Socrates*, condemned hee was and put to death by the *Athenians*; at the fure of sycophants and promoters, who enforced against him, that he had brought into *Athens* new gods: whereas by the meanes of *Alexander*, the inhabitants of *Bactra* and the mountaine *Caucasus*, even at this present, adore the gods of *Greece*. *Plato* hath left in writing one forme of policie and government of common-wealth, but he could never persuade so much as one man to use and follow it, so harsh and austere it was found to be. But *Alexander* having founded above threecore and ten cities among the barbarous nations, and sowed throughout all *Asia*, the mysteries, sacrifices, and ceremonies of Divine service which were used in *Greece*, reclaimed them from their savage and brutish life. And verily, few there be among us, who read and peruse the lawes of *Plato*: whereas there be infinit thousands and millions of men, who have used, and doe at this day practise those of *Alexanders* ordering: and such nations were much more happy whom he conquered and subdued, than they that elaped his puillance. For these had never any person who eased and delivered them out of their miserable life, but the other were forced by the conquerour to lead a blessed life; in such sort, as that which *Themistocles* sometime said, when being banished out of *Athens*, and fled to the king of *Persia*, at whose hands having received rich gifts, and the donation besides of three cities which paid him yeerely tribute, one for bread, another for wine, and the third for his meat and other viands; he spake thus unto his sonnes: Oh, how had we bene undone, if we had not benee undone! The same may more justly be verified of those who were then subdued by *Alexander*: Never had they benee civilized, if by him they had not benee vanquished and brought under his subjection: there had benee no citie *Alexandria* built in *Egypt*, no *Selucia* in *Mesopotamia*; no *Prophthasia* in the *Sogdians* country; no *Bucephalia* among the *Indians*; neither should the mountaine *Caucasus* have had nere unto it the citie *Hellas*, inhabited and peopled; by the meanes of which cities, their rude bestiality being first staid and held under, by little and little was extinct, and by custome of the better, changed the woofe. To conclude therefore, if Philosophers stand most upon this point, and beare themselves aloft, that

that they are able to dulce and reforme rude manners, and not polished before by any doctrine. And if it be scene that *Alexander* hath altered and brought into order an infinite number of wilde nations, and beastly natures; good reason there is, that he should be esteemed an excellent Philosopher.

Moreover, that policie and forme of government so highly esteemed, which *Zeno* the first founder of the Stoicks first devised, tendeth to this one principall point, that we who are men, should not live divided by cities, towns & divers countries, separated by distinct laws, rights, & customs in severall, but thinke all men our fellow citizens, & of the same country: also that there ought to be but one kind of life, like as there is but one world, as if we were all of the same flocke under one herdman, feeding in a common pasture. *Zeno* hath set this downe in writing, as a very dreame & imaginarie Idea, of a common-wealth well governed by Philosophicall lawes; but *Alexander* hath put that in reall execution and practise, which the other had figured and drawn out in words: for he did not as his master *Aristotle* gave him counsell to doe: namely, to cary himselfe toward the *Greeks* as a father; and toward the *Barbarians* as a lord: likewise, to have regard and care of some, as of his friends and kinsfolke; but to make use of others, as if they were brute beasts or plants, and no better: for in so doing, he should have pestered his dominions and empire with banishments; which are evermore the secret seeds of warre, of factions and siftings most dangerous: but taking himselfe to be sent downe from heaven, as a common reformer, reconciler, and governour of the whole world; such as he could not draw to accord and agreement, by reason and speech, he compelled by force of armes, and so from every side reduced all into one; causing them to drinke round (as one would say) of one and the same cup of amitie and good fellowship, wherein he tempered and mixed together, their lives and manners, their marriages and fashions of life, commanding all men living to thinke the whole earth habitable, to be their country; his campe their citadell and castle of defence; all good men to be their kinsfolke and allies; all leude persons, strangers and aliens. He commanded them moreover, to distinguish *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, not by their mantle, round target, cimeter, turbans, or high crowned chaplets; but to marke and discern *Greece* by vertue; *Barbarie* by vice: in reputed all vertuous folke *Greeks*, and all vicious persons *Barbarians*: to thinke also their habiliments and apparell common, their tables common, their marriages besides and common, as being united all, by the mixture of bloud and communion of children. *Demetrius* verily the *Corinthian*, one of the friends that used to give intertainment to king *Philip*, when he saw *Alexander* in the citie of *Susa*, greatly rejoiced thereat, inso much as for very joy of heart, the teares ranne downe his cheeks, and he brake forth into these words: That the *Greeks*, before departed out of this life, were deprived of exceeding contentment, and heards delight; in that they had not scene *Alexander* sitting upon the regall throne of *Darius*. For mine owne part verily, I would not repute them very happy, for seeing such a sight as that, considering it is the gift of fortune, and as much as that befallerth ordinarily to meaner kings; but I assure you, much pleasure could I have taken, if I had beheld those goodly and faired espousals, when under the rooffe of one pavilion, seeled all over, and wrought with gold, he entertained at once, all at one common feast and table, a hundred *Persian* Brides, married to an hundred *Bridegrooms* of *Greece* and *Macedonie*: at which solemnitie himselfe being crowned with a chaplet of flowers, was the first that began to sing the nuptiall song *Hymeneus*, as a canicle of general amitie, when two of the greatest and most puissant nations of the world came to be joined in alliance together by marriage, being himselfe spouse unto one, but the maker of all their marriages, yea, and the common father and mediator to them all, being the means of that knot and conjunction. For willingly I would have said; O barbarous, senselesse and blockish *Xerxes*, that tookest so great paines, and all to no purpose, about making a bridge over *Hellepont*. For after this manner should wise kings and prudent princes, conjoine *Europe* and *Asia* together, not with wood and timber; not with boates and barges, nor with thole links and bonds which have neither life nor mutuall affection; but by lawfull love, by chaste and honest wedlocke, by communication also of children, to unite and associate two nations together. To this comely ornament *Alexander* had an eye, when he would not admit the habiliments and robes of the *Medes*, but the attire and apparell of the *Persians*, as being farre more sober, modest and decent than the other: for rejecting & casting aside that outlandish, unusefull pompeous and tragical excesse in the barbarous habit, to wit, the copped turbant *Tiara*, the side and superfluous purple mantell *Candys*, their wide breeches and slacke sloppes *Anaxyrides* he

he wore himselfe a certaine kinde of robe, composed partly of the Macedonian, and in part of the Persian habit, according as *Erastophenes* hath written. As a Philosopher he made use of things indifferent, neither good simply, nor ill: and as a gracious ruler and courteous king, he wanne the love and heart of those whom he had subdued, by gracing and honouring upon his owne person their apparell: to the end that they should continue fast unto him, and firme in loialtie; loving the Macedonians as their naturall lords, and not hating them, as tyrannizing enemies. For it would have bewraied a foolish minde, and withall disdainfull and proud, to have made great account of a selfe-coloured homely mantell, and withall, to have taken offence at a rich coate, embrodered all over with purple; or contrariwise, to have had this in admiration, and the other in contempt; like unto some infant or little childe, keeping still precisely to that apparell, which the custome of the country as a nurse or foster-mother hath once put on: whereas we see, that huntsmen who use to choose deere, are wont to clad themselves with the skinned and hides of those wilde beasts which they have taken; as for example, of staggas and hindes: fowlers also, that lie for to catch birds, cast upon themselves, gabardines, and coates of fetherworke, or beset with wings and fethers. Those who wear red clothes, beware how they come in the way of buls: and such as be clothed in white, are as careful not to be seene of elephants; for that these beasts fare as though they were wood and mad at the sight of such colours. Now if so great a king as *Alexander* was, minding to tame warlike nations, like unto wilde beasts, or to dulce and keepe them gentle, who were so fierce and untractable, used those robes and habilliments which were proper, usual, and familiar to them; and all to gaine their hearts by little and little, mollifying by that meanes the fiercenesse of their courage, pacifying their displeasure, and dulcing their grimmesse and austeritie: would any man blame or reprove, and not rather honour and admire his politike wisdom, in that with a little change and altering of his garments, he had the dexteritie and skill to gaine all *Asia*, and lead it as he would, making himselfe, thus by his armour, master and lord of their bodies; and by his apparell alluring and winning their hearts. And yet these men commend *Aristippus* the Philosopher, and disciple of *Socrates*, for that one while wearing a poore, thimne and thred-bare cloke, and another while putting on a rich mantell of tiffew wrought and died as *Aleius*, he knew how to keepe decorum, and decently to behave himselfe, as well in the one garment as the other: meane while, they blame and condemne *Alexander*, in that as he honored the habit of his owne country, so he disdained not the apparell of another, which he had conquered by armes, intending thereby to lay the ground-works & foundation of greater matters: for his desire and purpose was not to over-runne and waste *Asia*, as a captaine and ring-leader of a rabble of thieves and robbers would doe, nor to sacke and racke, harry and worrie it, as the prairie and booty of unexpected and unhoped for felicity: like as afterwards *Anniball* did by *Italy*; and before time, the Tricians delt by *Ionia*; and the Scythians by *Asia*, who made havocke and waste as they went: but as one, who meant to range all the nations upon earth, under the obedience of one and the same reason, and to reduce all men to the same policie, as citizens under government of a common-weale, therefore thus he composed and transformed himselfe in his raiment and habit. And if that great God, who sent the soule of *Alexander* from heaven to earth below, had not so suddenly called it away againe unto himselfe; peradventure there had bene but one law to rule and overlooke all men living, the whole world haply had bene governed by one and the same justice, as a common light to illustrate all places: whereas now, those parts of the earth, which never had a sight of *Alexander*, remaine in the shadow of darkness, as destitute of the very light of the sunne: and therefore the very first project of his expedition and voyage sheweth, that he caried the minde of a true Philosopher indeed, who aimed not at the gaining for himselfe daintie delights, and costly pleasures, but intended to procure and compasse an universall peace, concord, unitie and societie of all men living one with another.

In the second place consider we his words and sentences; for that in other kings and potentates also, their maners and intentions of their minde, are principally bewraied by their speeches. *Antigonus* the elder, when a certaine Sophister upon a time presented and pronounced unto him certaine commentaries and treatises which he had composed as touching justice: Good fellow (quoth he) thou art a foole, to come and preach unto one of justice, when thou seekest me bending mine ordinance against the cities of other princes, and battering their walls as I do. *Darius* also the tyrant was wont to say, that we should deceive children with dyes and cockall bones,

bones, but beguile men with othes: And upon the tombe of *Sardanapalus* was engraven this epitaph:

*What I did eat and drinke, I have:  
the sports also remaine  
Which lady Venus did vouchsafe,  
all else I count but vaine.*

Who can denie, but that by the last of those speeches and apophthegmes, sensuall lust and voluptuousnesse was authorized; by the second, Atheisme and impietie; and by the first, injustice and avarice? Now if you take away from the sayings of *Alexander* his roiall crowne and diademe, the addition of *Jupiter Ammon* whose sonne he was stiled to be, and the nobility of his birth, certes you would say they were the sage sentences of *Socrates*, *Plato* or *Pythagoras*. For we must not stand upon the brave titles and proud inscriptions which Poets have devised to be imprinted or engraven upon his pictures, images and statues, having an eie and regard not to shew the modestie, but to magnifie the puissance of *Alexander*: as for example;

*This image here that stands in brasse so bright,  
Of Alexander is the portraitt right:  
Up toward heaven he both his eies doth cast,  
And unto Jove seems thus to speake at last:  
Mine is the earth, by conquest I it hold:  
Thou Jupiter in heaven mayst be bold.*

And another:

*Of Jupiter that heavenly God of might,  
The sonne am I (Great Alexander might.)*

These were the glorious titles which glaving Poets I say, in flattery of his fortune fattered upon him. But if a man would recount the true apophthegmes indeed of *Alexander*, he may doe well to beginne first at those which he delivered in his childhood: for being in footmanship the swiftest of all other young lads of his age, when his familiar play-ferees and mates were in hand with him very earnestly to runne a course at the Olympian games for a prize, he demanded of them againe, whether he should meet with kings there for his concurrents in the race: and when they answered, No: Then were the match (quoth he) not equally nor indifferently made, wherein if I have the worste, a king shall be foiled; and if I gaine the victorie, I shall but conquer private persons. When his father *Philip* chanced in a battell against the Triballians to be runne thorow the thigh with a lance; and albeit, that he escaped danger of death, yet was much grieved and dismayed to limpe and halt thereupon as he did: Be of good cheere good father (quoth he) and go abroad hardly in the sight of the whole world, that at every step you tread and set forward, you may be put in minde of your valour and vertue. How say you now, proceed not these answers from a Philosophicall minde? and shew they not an heart, which being ravished with a divine instinct and ardent love of good and honest things, careth not for the defects of the bodie? for how greatly thinke you joyed and gloried he in the wounds that he received in his owne person, who in every one of them bare the testimony and memoriall of some nation subdued, some battell won, of some cities forced by assaile, or of some kings that yielded to his mercie? Certes, he never tooke care to cover and hide his scarres, but caried them about him, and shewed them where ever he went, as so many marks and tokens engraved, to testifie his vertue and prowess. And if at any time there grew some comparison, either by way of serious disputation in points of learning, or in table talk, as touching the verses of *Homer*, which of them were best: when some seemed to commend this verse, others that, he would evermore preferre this, above all other:

*αἰφύπνης, βασιλῆς τ' ἀγαθῆς, κρατερῆς τ' αἰσχροῦ.*  
*A prince right good and gracious,  
A knight withall most valourous.*

And making this account, that the praise which another had given to king *Agamemnon* before time, stood for a law unto himselfe; in so much, as he would say, that *Homer* in that one verse had recommended the vertue of *Agamemnon*, and prophesied the prowess of *Alexander*. And therefore, so often as he passed over the Streight of *Hellefont*, his maner was to goe and visit *Troy*, where he represented unto his owne minde, the woorthy feats of armes which those brave princes and noble worthies performed, who fought there. And when one of that country promised

mised to bestow upon him in free gift, if he would accept it, the harpe of *Paris*: I have no need (quoth he) of it, for I have already, that of *Achilles*: to the sound whereof he was wont for his recreation,

*The praises for to sing and chant,  
Of dowie knights and valiant;*

whereas this here of *Paris*, warbled a wanton and feminine harmony, to which he used to sing sonnets and balads of Love.

Now most certaine it is, that to love wisdom, and to have in esteeme, sages and learned persons is an infallible signe of a philosophicall spirit. And this was in *Alexander*, if ever in any other prince: for what kinnesse and affection he caried to his tuteur and master, *Aristotle*; also, that hee did as great honour unto *Anaxarchus* the skilfull Musician, as to no favourite and familiar friend the like; I have already shewed elsewhere. The first time that ever *Pyrho* the Elian talked and conferred with him, hee gave unto the man tenne thousand pieces of golde. unto *Xenocrates* one of *Platoes* disciples, he sent a present of fiftie talents. And as most historiographers doe report, he made *Oenipartus*, one of *Diogenes* his scholars, his admiral at sea. And himselfe meeting upon a time with *Diogenes* at *Corinth*, where he communed with him, he so woondered at his maner of life, and had his gravitie in such admiration, that many a time after, in speaking of him, he would say: Were I not *Alexander*, I would be *Diogenes*: which was as much to say, as thus: I could willingly employ my whole life and spend my time at my booke and in contemplation, but that I am determined to be a Philosopher in deed and action. He said not: If I were not a king, I could finde in mine heart to be *Diogenes*: nor, If I were not rich, and one that loved to go gay and in sumptuous robes, &c. For he never in his life preferred fortune before wisdom; nor the purple mantle of estate, or the roiall diademe, before a scrip and a poore threadbare Philosophers cloake; but simply this was his saying: Were I not *Alexander*, I would be *Diogenes*: that is to say, Had I not proposed to my selfe to joine together in mutual societie, Barbarous nations with the Greeks, and by travelling in voiage thorow the earth, to polish and make civill what savage people soever I find, searching from one end of the world to another, and visiting all the coasts of the sea, to joine *Macedonie* unto the Ocean, to sow as it were, *Greece* in all parts, and to spread thorowout all nations peace and justice, yet would I not sit still idle in delights, and take my pleasure, but imitate the simplicity and frugality of *Diogenes*. But now pardon me, I pray thee, *Diogenes*: I follow *Hercules*, I take the way of *Perseus*, I tread the trace of god *Bacchus*, my stocke-father and author of my race and progeny; I would gladly, that the Greeks might once more dance with victory among the Indians, and reduce into the memory and remembrance of those mountainers and savage nations who dwell beyond the mountaine *Caucasus*, the joyly feasts and merriments of the Bacchanales. And even there, by report, there be those who follow a certaine strict, austere, and naked profession of wisdom, called thereupon *Gymnosophists*, holy men, living according to their owne lawes, devoted altogether to a contemplative service of God, making lesse account of this life than *Diogenes* doth, and living more barely, as having no need at all of bagge and wallet; for, no provision make they of victuals, because the earth furnisheth them alwaies with that which is new and fresh to their hand: the rivers afford them drinke; the leaves falling from trees and the Greene grasse of the earth together, serve for their beds: by my meanes that they know *Diogenes*, and *Diogenes* them. I must also alter the stampe of the coine, and in stead of a Barbarian marke, signe it after the Greeke maner and according to their common wealth. Well, thus much of his words and sayings: come we now to his deeds. And doe they seeme to cary before them the blinde rashnesse and temerity of Fortune, and bare force of armes and violences of the hand? or rather, of the one side, great prowessse and justice; on the other side, much clemency and lenity, together with good order and rare prudence, of one managing all things by sober, discreet and considerate judgement? Certes, I am not able to say and discern in all his acts thus much, as to pronounce, That this was a deed of valour; that, of humanity; and another, of patience or continence: but every exploit of his, seemeth to have beene mingled and compounded of all vertues in one, to confirme the famous sentence and opinion of the Stoicks, That every act, a wife man doth effect by all vertues jointly together. True it is indeed, that in each action there is one vertue or other, eminent and predominant alwaies above others; but the same inciteth and directeth the rest to the same end: and even so we may see in the acts of *Alexander*, That as his martiall valour is humane, so his humanitie is valourous; his bounty is thrifflie, his liberality frugally;

frugally; his choler soone appeased, his heat quickly cold; his loves temperate, his pastimes not idle; and his travels not without their solace and recreation; who, evermore tempered feasts with warre, military expeditions with games, masks and sports; who, interlaced among his sieges of cities, warlike exploits and executions, festivall Bacchanales, wedding and nuptiall songs of *Hymenaeus*. Who was there ever greater enemy to those that doe wrong, or more mercifull and gracious to the afflicted? Who ever caried himselfe more heave to stiffe-necked and obstinate persons; and more friendly againe, to humble suppliants? And heere in this place it comes into my minde, for to alledge and cite the saying of king *Porus*, who being brought prisoner before king *Alexander*, and demanded by him, in what maner he wished that he should use him: Roially (quoth he) *Diogenes*. And when *Alexander* replied againe, and asked what he had els to say: Nothing, quoth *Porus*; for in that one word [Roially] is comprised all. And even so me thinks, that in all the actions of *Alexander*, a man may use this for a reffrein or furburden, All Philosophically. For this in deed containeth all. He was enamoured of *Roxane* the daughter of *Oxiathres*, by occasion that he saw her to dance with a good grace among other captive ladies: howbeit, he would not force her, nor offer any violence to her dishonour; but elpoused her for his wife: wherein hee did as a Philosopher. When he saw his enemy *Darius* lying dead, with many an arrow and dart sticking in his body, he neither sacrificed to the gods, nor founded the triumph for joy, that so long a war by his death was come to an end; but taking the mantle from his owne shoulders, cast it over the dead corps, as if he would thereby have covered and hidden the wofull destiny of a king. And this also was done like a Philosopher. He received one day a letter of secrets from his owne mother, which whiles he perused, it chanced that *Hephestion* also sitting at that time by him, read it simply together with him, and thought nothing, *Alexander* debarred him not; onely he tooke the signet from his owne finger, let it to his mouth, sealing as it were his silence, by the faith that he owed unto a friend. See how herein he shewed the part of a Philosopher: for if these be not Philosophicall acts; I know not what els be. *Socrates* was well enough content, that faire *Alcibiades* should lie with him; but *Alexander*, when *Philoxenus* his lieutenant generall over the sea coasts of *Asia*, wrote unto him, that there was a yong boy within his government in *Ionia*, for sweet favour and beauty incomparable, demanding of him by his letters to know his pleasure, whether he should send the said youth unto him, he wrote sharply unto him, in this wise: What hast thou known by me, most leaud and wicked varlet as thou art, that thou shouldest presume thus to allure and entice me with such pleasures? *Xenocrates* we have in admiration, for turning backe a present of fifty talents, which *Alexander* sent unto him; and shall we not wonder as well at the giver? shall we not thinke, that he made as small account of money, who gave so liberally, as he who refused it? *Xenocrates* had no need of riches, professing as he did Philosophy; but *Alexander* had use therefore, even in regard of Philosophy, because he might exercise his liberality in bestowing the same so bountifully upon such persons. We honour the remembrance of those, who have left behinde them testimonies of their contempt of death: and how often thinke you, hath *Alexander* delivered as much, when he saw the darts and arrowes flying so thicke about his eares; and himselfe pressed hard upon by the violence of enemies? We are perswaded verily, that there is in all men whatsoever, some light of sound judgement, for that nature herselfe frameth them to discern that which is good and honest: but a difference there is betweene the common sort and Philosophers, for that Philosophers excell the rest in this, that their judgements be more firme, settled and resolute in dangers than others; whereas the vulgar sort are not armed and fortified beforehand with such deepe impressions and resolutions as these:

*The best presage by augury and bird flight,  
Is, in defence of country for to fight.*

Again:

*This full account all men must make,  
By death one day their end to take.*

But the occurrences and occasions of perils presented unto them, doe breake their discourse of reason, and the imaginations of dangers imminent, doe drive out all counsell and considerate judgement. For feare doth not only mask and astonish the memory, as *Thucydides* saith, but also driveth out every good intention, all motions and endeavors of well doing: whereas Philosophy bindeth them fast with cords round about, that they cannot stirre.

The end of  
this treatise  
is lost.

OF



# OF THE FORTVNE OR VERTUE OF K. Alexander.

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## The second Oration.

### The Summarie.

**L**utarch doth prosecute in this declamation, the argument and discourse begun in the former: the some whereof is this, that the vertue of Alexander surmounted his fortune, which was alwaies in maner contrary unto him. But before that he entere into this matter he opposeth unto the sufficiency and singular parts of this prince, the base demeanour and brutish villany of certain other kings and potentates, adjoining over and besides thus much, that at his exercises and imployments, are proofes every one of his haughty courage and magnanimity. Then discourseth he particularly, in what account and reputation good workemen were with Alexander, and what his selfe conceit was of his owne workes in comparison of theirs. Afterwards he commeth to shew, that if Alexander be considered from his very first beginning to his last end, he will be found, to be the very handy worke of valour and fortitude. In proceeding forward, he saith, that fortune received more honor by Alexander than he by her. The which is verified by considering the state of his armie, after his death. Upon this, he entere into a common place of mans greatnesse, which serveth to cleere and illustrate the former points and matters handled. And by the consideration of the evill carriage and government of many other princes, as by a foile, he giveth a most beautifull lustre unto the vertues of Alexander, which he deciphereth in particular. Thus done, he answereth those, who object that fortune raised Alexander to that greatnesse. And give the mightier force and weight to the reasons by him produced, he disputeth against fortune her selfe: wherein he examineth his severall exploits, wherein as vertue is evidently scene to accompany and assist, so fortune to oppose her selfe and resist him. And this doth he particularize at large. After this digression, he commeth againe to his precedent matter, and bringeth out new proofes of the vertue and magnanimity of this mighty Monarch, even from his youth unto his dying day, comparing him as a Paragon, with the wisest Sages, and most valiant warriors both of Persia and of Greece.

Shewing also that he surpassed them all, in cominency, liberality, piety, prudence, justice, beneficence and valour. For the last point, he relateth the great jeopardy wherein

Alexander was plunged one time among the rest, out of which, vertue caused him to retire safe as it were, in despite of fortune: which is the very conclusion of this treatise, confirming the principall intention of our author, which is to proove that the fore-

said grandeur of Alexander ought not to be ascribed unto fortune, but to vertue.

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O F

# THE FORTUNE OR vertue of K. Alexander.

## The second Oration.



**W**e forgot yesterday (as it should seeme) among other matters to say, that the age wherein Alexander lived was in this respect happy, for that it brought forth many excellent arts, and as many great and singular wits: or rather it may be said, that this was not so much the good fortune of Alexander, as of those cunning artificians and rare spirits, to have for their witness & spectator such a personage, who both knew best how to judge truly of good workmanship, and also was most able to reward the same as liberally. And verily to this purpose reported it is, that sometime after, in the age ensuing, when

Archestratus a fine headed Poet and a pleasant, lived in great want and penury, for that no man made any reckoning of him to his desert, there came one unto him and said: Had it bene thy hap Archestratus to have lived in the daies of Alexander, he would for every verse of thine have bestowed upon thee either Cyprus or Phoenice. Certes for mine owne part thus I conceive of it, that the artificers and workemen living in that age, became so famous and excellent not so much under Alexander and by Alexander. For it is the good temperature of the weather and subtilty of the ambient aire, that causeth abundance and plenty of fruits: but the gracious countenance, the favor, honor, bounty and humanity of a prince, is it that provoketh and stirreth up good arts, yea and advanceth excellent wits: whereas contrariwise all the same languisheth, decayeth, is extinguished and perissheth cleane by the envie, avarice, spary pinching, and peevish frowardnesse of rulers and those in authority. And heere I must call to minde the report that goeth of Dionysius the tyrant, who hearing one day a famous minstrell playing pailing well upon the lute and as sweet singing thereto, said openly, that he would bestow upon him for a reward a talent of silver. The morrow after comes this musician to call for the money according to promise: unto whom Dionysius made this answer: Sirrha (quoth he) yesterday as I tooke contentment by thee so long as I heard thee play and sing, so I am sure I did thee a pleasure againe in the hope of this promise: thou wert paid therefore presently for the delight which thou gavest me, by the joy that thou receivedst from me: goe thy waies therefore, thou hast thy reward already. Alexander, the tyrant of Persia, (whom indeed I should call by this addition onely [tyrant] and not steine and contaminate to good a name as Alexander, by stiling therewith so wicked a wretch:) this tyrant I say, whiles he beheld one day an excellent plaier acting in a tragedy, was so much moved with a certaine tickling delight comming upon him, that his heart began to relent even upon a tender commiseration and pitie: whereupon he suddenly left the theater, made haste away, & went faster than an ordinary pace untill he was out of sight, saying withall, that it was a great indignity for him to be scene for to weepe and shed teares, in compassion of the miseries and calamities of queene Hecuba or lady Polyxena, who every day caused so many citizens and subjects throats to be cut. This monstrous tyrant was so mischievously bent, that he went within a litle of punishing that excellent actour most grievously, because he had mollified his hard heart and made it melt like a peece of iron in the furnace. Archelus king of Macedonia seemed to be not very free of gift, whereupon Timotheus the musician singing to the harpe, would enviously glance at him, and iterate this pretty scoffe as the foot of his song:

*Thou earth's brad mettall, silver bright,*

*Thou \* praise sir, as your whole delight.*

But Archelaus met with him, extempore againe, and replied not unwittily, in this wise,

*And thou as faine would'st silver have,*

*And dost as shamelessly it \* crave.*

Alex a king of the Scythians, having taken prisoner in warre, that famous minstrell Ismenias, commanded him to found upon his flute or pipe, whiles he sat at dinner. Now when all the company besides wondered at this excellent musick, and applauded him for his good playing, he

\* dicitur,

\* dicitur

Pppp

he

he himselfe sware a great oth, that he tooke more pleasure to heare his horse neigh, so unmusical were his cares and so farre removed from the Mules : so much also was his minde set upon the stable and manger, fitter indeed to heare asses bray than horses neigh. What honour then or advancement may a cunning artisan, or so absolute a master in musick hope for at the hands of such kings? Certes no more than from those who would seeme themselves to be skilful, yea and dare contend with professors in the sufficiency of their arte : and therefore upon envie or malice seeke to overthrow and deprave those that indeed be excellent artists. Such an one was *Dionysius* above named (whom heere I must bring in againe) who caused the Poet *Philoxenus* to be cast into the prison or dungeon called *Latomie*, that is to say, the Quarries, because when *Dionysius* had put into his hands a tragedy of his owne making, commanding him to review it and correct the same, he dashed it out and interlined it all from the beginning to the end. And even *Philip* altho king of *Macedonie* for that late it was ere he gave his minde to musick, was in this behalfe unlike himselfe and not answerable to his greatnesse otherwise. Howbeit upon an opinion that he had of his owne skill that way, he would needs (as the report goes) enter into disputation with a professed musician and plaier of instruments, and argue about the strokes and stops, points and notes and such like terms, yea and seeme forthwith to controule him in his owne art ; whereat the minstrell smiling pleasantly upon him : God forbid sir (quoth he) that you a king, should ever be so unfortunate and at so low an eb, as to have more skill in these matters than I. But *Alexander* knowing full well what things he should be a spectator and auditour of, as also what he ought himselfe to practise and execute with his owne hand, studied continually to be expert and accomplished in feates of armes, endeavouring, as the Poet *Aeschylus* saith,

*Most manfully his standing good to make :*

*And terribly to force his foes to quake.*

And this indeed was the hereditarie art which he received by succession from his auncestors the *Acacidæ*, and *Hercules* : as for other sciences, he honored them in other men, without any emulation at all for their profession : and as he highly commended any excellency or grace therein, so for no pleasure & delight that he tooke thereby, was he easily surprized with any affection for to follow the same. In his time there flourished two noble Tragedians above the rest *Thesphalus* and *Athenodorus* ; who when they contended one against another for the prise, who could act the better, the kings of *Cyprus* defraied the charges belonging to this solemne spectacle, so and pageant ; but the principall and most renowned captaines, were judges to decide the quarrell. In the end, when *Athenodorus* was declared victour ; *Alexander* who stood better affected to *Thesphalus* : I would I had (quoth he) lost the one halfe of my kingdome, so I had not seeme *Thesphalus* take the foile : howbeit, he neither expostulated with the umpiers, nor complained of their judgement ; for howsoever he thought that himselfe ought in other respects to outgoe all, yet he was to yeeld and give place to justice. Among Comedians in those daies, there was one *Lycan* a Scarphean : this actour in playing his part before him in a comedie, had interlarded handfomly a verse, wherein he seemed cleanly to crave some reward : *Alexander* laughed at the conceit of the fellow, and gave him ten tallents. Many excellent harpers there were, and plaiers of the lute, and one *Aristonius* among others, who in a certaine battell running in to rescue and succour him, fought manfully, and there was slaine, and fell dead at his foot : *Alexander* heereupon caused his statue to be made in bras, and to be set up in the temple of *Apollo Pythius* holding a lute in the one hand, and a lance in the other. In so doing he not onely honored the man, but also Musick, as being an art which breedeth animosity in mens hearts, filling those with a certaine ravishment of spirit and couragious heart to fight valiantly, who are naturally framed and bred up to action : for even himselfe one day, when *Antigenides* sounded the battell with his flute, and singing thereto a militarie song, called *Harmation*, was thereat so much moved, and set in such an heat by his warlike tune, that he started out of the place where he sat, and caught up the armes that hung up thereby, ready to brandish them and to fight, bearing witness thereby to the Spartans, chaunting thus :

*Sweetly to play on Lute and Harpe ;*

*To sing thereto as pleasantly :*

*Be seerneth those that love at sharpe,*

*To fight it out right valiantly.*

There lived also in the time of *Alexander*, *Apelles* the Painter, and *Lyfippus* the Imager : the former of these two, painted *Alexander* holding a thunderbolt in his hand, but so exquisitely

to the life, and so like unto himselfe, that it was a common saying ; Of two *Alexanders*, the one, king *Philips* sonne, was invincible ; the other of *Apelles* drawing, was inimitable. As for *Lyfippus*, when he had cast the first image of *Alexander*, with his face up toward heaven, expressing thereby the very countenance of *Alexander*, who was wont so to looke, and withall, to turne his necke somewhat at one side ; there comes me one and fetcheth over it this epigram, alluding very prettily to the said portraiture :

*This image beere that stands in bras all bright,*

*The portraict is of Alexander, right :*

*Up toward heaven, he both his eyes doth cast,*

*And unto Jove, seemes thus to speake at last :*

*Thou Jupiter in heav'n maist well be bold :*

*Mine is the earth, by conquest I it hold.*

And therefore *Alexander* gave commandment, that no other brasse founder, should cast his image, but only *Lyfippus* : for he alone it was (as it should seeme) that had the feat to represent his naturall disposition in bras, and to expresse his vertue answerable to the lineaments and proportion of his shape. As for others, howsoever they might be thought to resemble the bending of his necke, the cheerefull cast & amiable volubility of his quicke eye ; yet could they never observe and keepe that virilitie of visage and lion-like looke of his. In the ranke of other rare workmen, may be ranged a famous Architect, named *Strafarates*, who would not seeme to busie himselfe in making any thing, that was either gallant & pleasant, or delectable and gracious to the eye ; but intended some great matter, and such a piece of worke, and of that argument, as would require no lesse then the riches and treasure of a king to furnish and set forth. This fellow comes up to *Alexander*, being in the high countries and provinces of his dominion, where before him he found fault with all his images, as well painted, and engraven, as cast and pourtrayed any way ; saying, they were the hand-works of base minded and mechanical artificers : But I (quoth he) if it may please your majestie, know how, and doe intend to found and establish the similitude of your roiall person, in a matter that is living and immortal, grounded upon eternall roots, the weight and ponderositie whereof is immovable, and can not be shaken : For the mountaine *Athos* (quoth he) in *Thracia*, whereas it is greatest, and riseth to a most conspicuous height ; where the broad plaines and high tops are proportionate to it selfe every waie ; having in it, members, lims, joints, distances, and intervals, resembling for all the world, the forme of mans body, may be wrought and framed so, as it would serve verie well both to be called, and to be indeed, the statue of *Alexander*, and worthy his Greatnesse : the foote and base whereof, shall touch the sea ; in one of the hands comprehending and holding a great citie peopled and inhabited by an infinit number of men : and in the right, a running river, with a perpetuall current, which it powreth as it were out of a great pot into the sea : as for all these petty images and puppets made of gold, bras, and ivory, these wodden tables with pictures, away with them all, as little paltrey portraicts, which may be bought and sold, these stollen and melted, defaced and marred. *Alexander* having heard the man speake, highly praised him, as admiring his haucie minde, his bold courage, the conceit of his extraordinary invention : Good fellow (quoth he) let *Athos* alone, and permit it to stand a Gods name, in the place where it doth, and never alter the forme of it : it sufficeth that it is the monument of the outrageous pride, insolent vanitie and folly of one king already : and as for me, the mountaine *Caucasus*, the hilles *Emodi*, the river *Tanais*, and the Caspian sea, shall be the images and statues to represent my acts. But let the case I pray you, that such a piece of worke had bene made & finished as this great architecte talked of : is there any man thinke you, seeing it in that forme, disposition, and fashion, that would thinke it grew fo by chance & adventure? No I warrant you. What say we now to his image called *Ceramophorus*, that is to say, the thunder-bolt-bearer? what say we to another named *Antiphon*, that is to say, leaning upon a lance? Can not the greatnesse & majestie of such a statue be performed by fortune, without the artificial hand of man, howsoever it conferre and allow thereto great store of gold, bras, and all manner of rich & precious matter : and shall we thinke it then possible, that a great personage, may rather the greatest that ever the world saw, was made & perfected by fortune without vertue? and that it was fortune onely who made for him that provision of armes, of money, of men, cities, and hostes : all which things, bring perill to those that know not how to use them well ; and neither honour and credit, nor puillance, but rather argue their feeblenesse and impuillance. *Antiphon*



*Antisthenes* said, very well and truly, that we should wish unto our enemies all the good things in the world, save onely valour and fortitude: for by that meanes they be not theirs who are in present possession of them, but become theirs who are the conquerors. And th is is the reason men say, that nature hath set upon the head of an Hart for his defence, the most heartlesse and cowardly beast that is, woonderfull hornes for bignesse, and most dangerous by reason of their sharpe and branching knagges: teaching us by this example, that bodily strength and armour, serveth them in no stead, who have not the courage and resolution to stand their ground and fight it out. And even thus we see, that fortune many times by heaping upon heartlesse cowards, and widele fooles, a great estate of riches and dominion; which they know not how to weld, and wherewith they discredit themselves, doeth honour and grace vertue, as upon which onely dependeth all the puissance, all the worship, glory, and reputation of men: for if as *Epicharmus* saith,

*The minde it is that seeth cleare:*

*And 't is the minde that eke doeth heare.*

then all the rest are blinde and deafe, which be void of reason: for the senses seeme verilie to have their proper and peculiar functions. Now, that the minde is all in all, that the minde is available in all things, that the minde dispolet every thing in good order, that it is the minde which conquereth, which ruleth & reigneth over all; & whatsoever beside, blind, deafe, & without life, do hinder, depreffe, and dishonor the possessors thereof, if vertue be away, may be proved and exemplified by the experience and coule of wordly affaires: for by the same puissance and command, *Semiramis* being but a woman, rigged and manned armadoes at sea, leaved and armed maine batels of land forces, built *Babylon*, scoured and conquered all the coast of the red sea, subdued and brought to her obedience the Arabians and Aethiopians: whereas *Sardanapalus*, a man borne, far within house at home, carding and spinning purple, tumbling and lying along, waltzing among a forth of concubines: and when he was dead, they made for him a statue in stone, dauncing by himselfe alone after the Barbarian fashion, and knocking (as it were) with his fingers over his head, like an antique, with this epigram set over it:

*Eat, drinke, the wanton lecher play,*

*For nothing els is ought, if I say.*

*Crates* the Philosopher seeing upon a time within the temple of *Apollo Pythius* at *Delphi*, the image of *Phryne* the curtisan, thinned all in golde, cried out: Behold heere stands the triumphant Trophæe, over the loofe and lascivious life of the Greeks. But whofoever beholdeth the life or sepulture, whether you will (for in mine opinion there is no difference) of *Sardanapalus*, he may well and truly say to the Trophæe of fortunes goods. What then? shall we suffer fortune after *Sardanapalus* to meddle with *Alexander*, and to challenge unto herselfe any part of his mightnesse and puissance? That were no reason at all: for what gave she ever unto him more than other kings have received at her hands? whether it were armour, horses, weapons, monie, soldiers, and a guard about their persons? Well, let her by these meanes make *Aridanus* great if she can; let her magnifie (*Hay*) by these meanes *Amasis*, *Ochus*, *Ourses*, *Tigranes* the Armenian, and *Nicomedes* the Bithynian: of whom the one, to wit, *Tigranes*, slung downe his crowne and diadem at the feet of *Pompeius*, and shamefully lost his kingdome, as a pray or efcheat fallen into his enemies hand: the other, namely *Nicomedes*, having shaven his head, and wearing a cap upon it, declared himselfe thereby, to be an enfranchised vassall of the Romans? What? Say we then, that fortune maketh men cowards, fearefull, and base minded? Surely, it were no reason to impute cowardise upon infortunitie, no more than to attribute valour and wisdom to prosperitie. But well and truly may one say, that fortune herselfe was great, in regard of her lord and master *Alexander*: for in him she was glorious, invincible and magnanimous; not proud nor insolent, but full of clemencie and humanitie: no sooner was the breath out of his body, but presently her power, that is to say, his armie and forces, as *Teofthenes* said wandering up and downe stragling and running upon it selfe, resembled that 50 same *Cyclops Polyphemus*, who after his eie was out of his head, went groping all about, putting forth his hands before him, but not knowing where to lay them: For even the greatnesse of her puissance, after he was once dead, went to and fro, wandering it wist not where, and stumbling ever and anon, wanting a directour and governour, as in time of Anarchie, when there is no sovereign ruler knownen: or rather it might be compared unto dead bodies when the life is newly departed out of them. For like as the parts are not knit together, nor hold one to another any

any longer, but fall away one from the other, and loosely withdraw themselves apart: even so the armie of *Alexander* after it had loofed and forgone him, did no more but sprunt, part, struggle and strive for life, tosse and tumble to and fro, under the *Perdiccas*, the *Meleagers*, the *Selucii*, the *Antegoni*, and I wot not whom, like unto some small vial spirits, yet remaining hot and beating within the arteries heere and there disorderly, and now and then like intermitting pulses, untill such time as at the last it grew to putrefaction and corruption in maner of a dead carcase, and engendred wormes crawling within it: I meane such base kings, degenerate rulers & captaines who had no generositi nor heart in them. Certes, *Alexander* himselfe in his lifetime rebuking *Hephestion* when he quarelled with *Craterus*, wanted him & tooke him up in this wise: What power 10 hast thou of thy selfe? what couldest thou do, and where wouldest thou be, if a man should take *Alexander* from thee? Semblably, I will not sticke to say thus unto the fortune of that time: What is thy greatnesse? what is thy glory? where is thy puissance? where is thine invincible power, if one should bereave thee of *Alexander*? That is as much to say, as if one should deprive thine armes & weapons, of skill and experience to use them; thy riches, of liberality; thy sumptuosity and magnificence, of temperance; thy fights & combats, of resolute valor; thy victories and superiorities, of mildenesse and lenity. Make any other great if thou canst, who bestoweth not his goods bountifully, who in the forefront of the battell hazzardeth not his owne person first before his armie, who honoreth not nor regardeth his friends, who taketh no pite of his enemies captive, who is not in his pleasures continent, in his occasions & affaires vigilant, in his 20 victories soone pacified and easie to be compounded with, and last of all, who in his prosperity and good successe is not kind and courteous. How can a man possibly be great, what power and authority fo ever he have, if he be foolish, vicious, & wicked withal: for in one word, take vertue from a man otherwise fortunate, he is every way meane and of base account; meane in his gifts & donations, by reason of nigardise; meane in his travels, in regard of his cowardise and tender- 30 nes; meane in the sight of the gods, because of his superstition; meane among good men, for his envie; meane with valiant warriors, in respect of his timorousnesse; and meane in the conceit of honest women, considering his dissolute voluptuousnesse. For like as unskillfull workemen who fet little statues upon great bales and large pedestals, shew thereby the smallnesse of their statues so much the more: even so when fortune raiseth up a man of base minde into high 30 place and to an estate wherein he is to be seene of the whole world, she discovereth his wants, she discrediteth and dishonoreth him the rather, waving and shaking every way through his leviite. So that, by this we must confesse, that greatnesse lieth not in the bare possession, but in the well using of good things: For many times it falleth out that very infants even from their cradle, inherit the realmes and seignories of their fathers; like as *Charillus* did, whom *Lycorgus* his uncle broght in his swadling bands into the common hall *Phiditium*, where the lords of *Sparta* were wont to dine together, set him in the roiall throne, and in the stead of himselfe, declared and proclaimed him king of *Lacedæmon*. Now was not this babe for all this, great: but he rather might be accounted a great person, who rending unto the new borne infant his fathers honor due unto him, would not intervert and derive it upon himselfe, and so defraud his 40 nephew thereof. As for *Aridanus*, who could make him a great man, whom differing indeed nothing from a babe, *Meleager* swaddled indeed and enwrapped onely within a purple robe and roiall mantell of estate, and so entialed him in the throne of *Alexander*: wherein he did very well, to give the world to understand within a few daies after, how men reigne by vertue; and how by fortune: for he subrogated in the place of a true prince that managed the empire indeed, a very counterfeit plaier and actor of a kings part; or to speake more truly, he brought a mute and dumbe diademe to walke through the world for a time, as it were upon a stage. The comicall \* Poet said:

*A very woman may well a burden beare,*

*If first a man upon her doe is reare.*

50 But a man may contrariwise say, that a silly woman or a yong child may take up, yea and charge upon the shoulders of another, a seignory, a realme, a great estate and empire, as *Bagoas* the Eunuch tooke and laid upon *Ourses* and *Darius* the kingdome of the Persians. Mary when as one hath taken upon him a mighty power and dominion, so beare, to weld & manage the same, and not under the weight and heavy load of affaires belonging thereto, to be overwhelmed, brused, or wrestled away: that is the act of a man endued with vertue understanding and courage, such an one as *Alexander* was: howsoever some there be who reproch him that he loved wine to

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well

\* Aristoph.

well and would be drunke. But this great gift he had, that in his important affaires he was sober, neither was he drunke and overseene, nor ever forgot himselfe and grew to any outrage, for all the puiffance, authority and liberty that he had: whereof others when they had some part and little taft, could not hold and containe themselves: For

No sooner are their purfes stuf  
With coine: or they to honor brought,  
But they anon with pride are puff,  
And soone bewray that they be naught:  
They kicke, they winke, they fling and prance,  
No one may stand safely in their way,  
If fortune once their house advance  
Some unexpected power to sway.

*Clytus* for having sunke three or foure galleies of the Greeks, nere the Isle *Amorgus*, would needs be filed with the name of *Neptune*, and a three tined mace caried before him. *Demetrius*, upon whom fortune had bestowed a little skirt or lapper (as it were) which he tare from *Alexander*'s dominion, was well content to heare himselfe called *Jupiter Karuadans*, that is to say, the vawter. Cities sent unto him not embassadors, but *Theores*, forsooth, that is to say, especiall persons deputed for to consult with the gods: and his answers to them, must be termed (I would not else) Oracles. And *Lysimachus* who held the coasts of *Thracia*, which was but the border or edge of *Alexander*'s kingdom, grew to that heigh of surly pride & intollerable arrogancy, that he would breake out into these words: Now the Bizantines come to doe homage unto me, seeing how I reach and touch the skie with my lance. At which speech of his, *Pasfides* standing by, could not forbear, but say unto the company: Let us be gone my masters, with all speed, lest this man bore an hole in heaven with the point of his lance. But what should we speake more of these persons? who might be allowed in some sort to cary an haughty minde and beare their heads aloft, in regard of *Alexander*, whose souldiers they were? seeing that *Clearchus* the tyrant of *Heraclea*, caried upon his scepter as his device, the resemblance of lightning, and one of his sonnes he named *Zeus*, that is to say, a thunderbolt. And *Dennis* the younger, called himselfe the sonne of *Apollon*, in a certaine Epigram to this effect:

Doris the Nymph, by Phœbus did conceive,  
And from them both my birth I do derive.

And in truth, *Dennis*, the elder, the naturall father of this man, who put to death ten thousand of his owne citizens and subjects (if not more) who for very envie betraied his owne brother into the hands of his enemies; who had not the patience to stay for his owne mothers death, an aged woman, and who by the course of nature would have died within few daies after, but snothered and stopped her breath; who also himselfe wrote in a tragedy of his owne making,

For why? know this, that lordly tyranny  
The mother is of wrong and villany.

yet forsooth, of three daughters which he had, named one *Arete*, that is to say, Vertue; another, *Sophrosyne*, that is to say, Temperance; and a third, *Dicaeosyne*, that is to say, Justice. Some there were, who needs would be surnamed *Euergetas*, that is to say, Benefactors; others, *Soteres*, that is to say, Saviours. Some called themselves *Callinici*, that is to say, Victorious; others, *Megalis*, that is to say, Great. And yet as glorious additions as they caried in their stiles, who is able to expresse in words, their marriages following thicke one in the necke of another, spending the long day continually, like a sort of stallions among a number of women; as if they had beene a stud of so many mares; their unkind abusing of faire boies, their violent rapes and enforcements of yong damocels, their drumming and tabouring with a sort of effeminate & womanlike wantons, their dice playing in the day time, their piping and founding the flute in open Theaters, their nights spent in suppers, and whole daies in long dinners? But *Alexander* gat up, and sat to his dinner by the breake of day, and went not to supper before it was late in the evening; he dranke and made good cheere when he had first sacrificed to the gods; he played at dice with *Midias*, one time, whiles he had a fever upon him; his pastimes and recreations were, to rattell and march upon the way, and withall, to learne how to shoot an arrow, how to launce a dart, how to mount a chariot nimbly, and dismount againe with facility. *Roxane* he elpoused and wedded, onely for pure love, and to content his fancy and affection; but *Statira* the daughter of *Darius* he tooke to wife upon pollicy, because the state of his kingdome and affaires required such

such a match; for expedient it was, thus to mix and unite two nations together. As for other ladies and women of *Persia*, he went as farre beyond them in chastity and continence, as he did the Persian men in valour and fortitude; for he never would so much as see one of them against her will; and those whom he saw, he lesse regarded than such as he never let eie upon: and whereas otherwise to all persons he was courteous and popular, to such onely as were faire and beautifull he shewed himselfe strange, and used them in some sort proudly. As touching the wife of *Darius*, a lady of surpassing beauty, he would not endure so much as one word that tended to the praise thereof; yet when she was dead, he performed her funerals with so sumptuous and princelike obsequies, he mourned and bewailed her death so piteously, that as his kindeesse in that behalfe made the world mistrust and suspect his chastity, so his bountifull courtesie incurred the obloquy and imputation of injustice. And verily, *Darius* was at the first mooved to conceive jealousie and a sinister opinion of him that way, considering he had the woman in his hands, and was besides, a gallant and yong prince: for he also was one of them, who were persuaded that *Alexander* held the tenure of his mighty dominion and monarchy, by the goodnesse and favour of Fortune; but after he knew the truth once, upon diligent search and inquisition by all circumstances into the thing: Well (quoth he) the Persians itate I perceive is not utterly overthrowen, neither will any man repare us plaine cowards and effeminate persons, for being vanquished by such an enemy: for mine owne part, my first wish and principall prier unto the gods is, that they would vouchsafe me fortunate successe, and at the last, an happy victory of this warre, to the end that I may surmount *Alexander* in beneficence; for an earnest desire I have and an emulation, to shew my selfe more milde and gracious toward him, than he is to me ward: but if all be gone with me and my house, then, O *Jupiter*, the protectour of the Persians, and ye other tutelars gods and patrons of kings and kingdomes, suffer not any other but him, to be enthroned in the roiall seat of *Cyrus*. Certes, this was a very adoption of *Alexander*, that passed in the presence and by the testimony of the gods. See what victories are achieved by vertue.

Ascribe now (if you will) unto Fortune, the journey of *Arbela*, the battell fought in *Cilicia*, and all other such like exploits performed by force of armes: let it be, that the fortune it was of warre which shooke the city of *Tyrrus*, and made it quake before him, and opened *Aegypt* unto him; grant, that by the helpe of Fortune *Halicarnassus* fell to the ground, and *Miletus* was forced and won; that *Mazæus* abandoned the river *Euphrates*, and left it disurnished of garisons; and that all the plaines about *Babylon* were overflut with dead bodies: yet it was not Fortune that made him temperant, neither was he continent by the meanes of Fortune; Fortune it was not, that kept and preserved his soule as within a fortresse inexpugnable, so as neither pleasures could it surprize and captivate, nor lusts and fleshly desires wound or touch. And these were the very meanes whereby he vanquished and put to flight the person of *Darius* himselfe. All the rest were, the discomfiture of his great barbe-horses, the overthrow and losse of his armour, skirmishes, battels, murders, executions, massacres and flights of his men. But the great foile and defaiture indeed, most confessed, and against which least exception can be taken, was that wherein *Darius* himselfe was overthrowen; namely, when as he yielded unto the vertue of *Alexander*, to his magnanimity, fortitude and justice, admiring that heart of his, invincible of pleasure, unconquered by travels, and in gratuities and liberality immatchable. For in shields and speeres, in pikes and targuets, in shouts and alarmes, in giving the charge and in buckling together with the clattering of armour, right hardie and undaunted, as well as he, were *Tarrius* the sonne of *Dinomenes*, *Antigones* of *Pellen*, and *Philotas* the sonne of *Parmeno*: but against tickling pleasures, against the attractive allurements of women, against flattering silver and golde, they were no better, nor had more rule of themselves than slaves and captives. For *Tarrius* at what time as *Alexander* undertooke to pay all the debts of the Macedonians, and to make satisfaction unto all those who had lent them any money, falsly belied himselfe, saying, he was indebted; and withall suborned and brought forth a certaine usurer, to the verie table where this discharge was made, who tooke it upon him, that he was a creditor of his. And afterwards when *Tarrius* was detected and convicted hereof, he had made himselfe away for very shame and compunction of heart, but that *Alexander* being advertised thereof, pardoned his fault, yea and permitted him also to keepe the silver still, that he had disbursed for his counterfet debt; calling to minde, how at what time as his father *Philip* laid siege to the citie *Perinthus*, the said *Tarrius* in a skirmish was shot into the eie, and would not suffer the fame to be dressed, nor the shaft to be plucked

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such a match; for expedient it was, thus to mix and unite two nations together. As for other ladies and women of *Persia*, he went as farre beyond them in chastity and continence, as he did the Persian men in valour and fortitude; for he never would so much as see one of them against her will; and those whom he saw, he lesse regarded than such as he never set eie upon: and whereas otherwise to all persons he was courteous and popular, to such onely as were faire and beautifull he shewed himselfe strange, and used them in some sort proudly. As touching the wife of *Darius*, a lady of surpassing beauty, he would not endure so much as one word that tended to the praise thereof; yet when she was dead, he performed her funerals with so sumptuous and princelike obsequies, he mourned and bewailed her death so piteously, that as his kindeuee in that behalfe made the world mistrust and suspect his chastity, so his bountifull courtesie incurred the obloquy and imputation of injustice. And verily, *Darius* was at the first mooved to conceive jealousy and a sinister opinion of him that way, considering he had the woman in his hands, and was besides, a gallant and yong prince: for he also was one of them, who were perswaded that *Alexander* held the tenure of his mighty dominion and monarchy, by the goodnesse and favour of Fortune; but after he knewe the truth once, upon diligent search and inquisition by all circumstances into the thing: VVell (quoth he) the Persians itate I perceive is not utterly overthrowen, neither will any man repute us plaine cowards and effeminate persons, for being vanquished by such an enemy: for mine owne part, my first wish and principall priar unto the gods is, that they would vouchsafe me fortunate successe, and at the last, an happy victory of this warre, to the end that I may surmount *Alexander* in beneficence; for an earnest desire I have and an emulation, to shew my selfe more milde and gracious toward him, than he is to me ward: but if all be gone with me and my house, then, O *Jupiter*, the protectour of the Persians, and ye other tutelare gods and patrons of kings and kingdomes, suffer not any other but him, to be enthroned in the roiall seat of *Cyrus*. Certes, this was a very adoption of *Alexander*, that passed in the presence and by the testimony of the gods. See what victories are achieved by vertue.

Ascribe now (if you will) unto Fortune, the journey of *Arbela*, the battell fought in *Cilicia*, and all other such like exploits performed by force of armes: let it be, that the fortune it was of warre which shooke the city of *Tyrrus*, and made it quake before him, and opened *Aegypt* unto him; grant, that by the helpe of Fortune *Halicarnassus* fell to the ground, and *Miletus* was forced and won; that *Mazæus* abandoned the river *Euphrates*, and left it disurnished of garisons; and that all the plaines about *Babylon* were oversifted with dead bodies: yet it was not Fortune that made him temperant, neither was he continent by the meanes of Fortune; Fortune it was not, that kept and preserved his soule as within a fortresse inexpugnable, so as neither pleasures could it surprize and captivate, nor lusts and fleshly desires wound or touch. And these were the very meanes whereby he vanquished and put to flight the person of *Darius* himselfe. All the rest were, the discomfiture of his great barbe-horses, the overthrow and losse of his armour, skirmishes, battells, murders, executions, massacres and flights of his men. But the great foile and defeatire indeed, most confessed, and against which least exception can be taken, was that wherein *Darius* himselfe was overthrowen; namely, when as he yielded unto the vertue of *Alexander* to his magnanimity, fortitude and justice, admiring that heart of his, invincible of pleasure, unconquered by travels, and in gratuities and liberality immatchable. For in shields and speeres, in pikes and targuets, in shouts and alarms, in giving the charge and in buckling together with the clattering of armour, right hardie and undaunted, as well as he, were *Tarrius* the sonne of *Dionomenes*, *Antigones* of *Pellen*, and *Philotas* the sonne of *Parmenio*: but against tickling pleasures, against the attractive allurements of women, against flattering silver and golde, they were no betters, nor had more rule of themselves than slaves and captives. For *Tarrius* at what time as *Alexander* undertooke to pay all the debts of the Macedonians, and to make satisfaction unto all those who had lent them any money, falsely belied himselfe, saying, he was indebted, and withall suborned and brought forth a certaine usurer, to the verie table where this discharge was made, who tooke it upon him, that he was a creditor of his. And afterwards when *Tarrius* was detected and convicted hereof, he had made himselfe away for very shame and compunction of heart, but that *Alexander* being advertised thereof, pardoned his fault, yea and permitted him also to keepe the silver still, that he had disbursed for his counterfeiter debt; calling to minde, how at what time as his father *Philip* laid siege to the cite *Perinthus*, the said *Tarrius* in a skirmish was shot into the eie, and would not suffer the same to be dressed, nor the thrust to be plucked

plucked forth, before the enemies were put to flight. *Antigenes* causing himselfe to be enrolled, and his name registred among others who were sent backe againe from the campe into *Acadonia*, by occasion of sicknesse or maime, whereby they were not serviceable: being found afterwards to aile nothing, but to counterfet sicknesse, who otherwife was a good souldior, and carried the marks of many a scarre in his body to be seene, offended *Alexander* heereby; and when the king demanded the reason, why he had so done; he confessed by and by, that he was in love with a yong woman named *Teleppa*, whom he purposed to follow and accompanie, being minded to goe to the sea-coast, for that he could not find in his heart to be far from her. Then *Alexander* asked him, to whom the wench appertained, & who was to be dealt with, for to make her free: *Antigenes* answered, she was her owne woman, & of free condition: Why then (quoth *Alexander*) let us perswade her to tary stil by faire promises & good gifts; for in no wise force her we may. So easie was he to pardon and beare with love, in any other rather than in himselfe. The first cause of the infortunate fall of *Philotas* the sonne of *Parmenio*, was in some sort his owne intemperance: for there was a yong woman borne in the citie of *Pella*, named *Antigona*, who in the faggage of the citie of *Damascus*, was taken prisoner among other captives, and indeed had bene thither brought before by *Antiochus*, who surprisid her at sea, as she failed from the coast of *Asserdomes*, toward the Isle *Samotrace*: faire she was, & well favored to see to; and so far had she entangled *Philotas* with her love, after he came once to be acquainted with her, that being a man otherwife as hard as iron, and Steele to the very backe, she had so mollified and made him pliable, that in the mids of his pleasures, poore man he, he was not master of himselfe and his owne heart, but lying open unto the woman, revealed many secrets unto her, and let fall foolish words in her hearing: For what had that *Philip* beene (would he sometimes say) but for *Parmenio*; and what were this *Alexander* heere, without *Philotas*? what would become of his high addition, *Jupiter Ammonius*, where were those dragons of his, if we were not well pleased with him? *Antigona* told these speeches unto another woman one of her familiar friends; and she reported them againe to *Craterus*: *Craterus* brought *Antigona* herselfe secretly unto *Alexander*: and verily *Alexander* touched not her body, but abstained from her: howbeit, by her meanes, founding *Philotas*, & comming within him, he discovered fully what he was: yet in seven yeeres space and more, he never either at any feast where he dranke wine liberally, & was thought otherwhiles to be drunke, made he shew of this suspition conceived of him, or in his anger, being of nature hottie and cholericke; or to his friend *Hephestion*, unto whom he was wont to disclose all, and make partaker otherwife of his secrets: for one day by report, having opened a letter of secrets, sent from his owne mother, as he read it to himselfe, *Hephestion* held his head close to, and read it gently together with him; neither had he the heart to forbid him: onely after he had suffred him to read it through, he tooke the signet from his owne finger, set it to his mouth, as it were to seale up his lips, that he should say nothing. But if a man should goe about to rehearse at large all the notable examples, whereby it might be proved that this prince used the greatnesse of his power exceeding well, and as most woorthily became a kings; his strength and voice would faile him: for say, that by the goodnesse and favour of Fortune he became great: yet greater he is, in that he used his fortune aright, and wisely as he should: 40 and the more that a man extolleth his good fortune, the more doeth he amplify that vertue of his, for which he was woorthy of such fortune.

But now it is high time that I should proceed to the beginning of his growth, and the first entry of his mightie power: wherein I consider and looke every way about me, what act of fortune is therein, whereby men should suppose and mainteine, that *Alexander* arose to such greatesse? How now? Tell me I beseech you for the love of God, placed he him in the regal throne of *Cyprus*, without drawing a sword, without striking one stroke, without bloodshed, without wounds, without a field fought, or expedition of armes made? by the neighing (forth) of an horse, as sometime she did by that first *Darius*, the sonne of *Histaspes*? or was it some kinde husband wonne by the flattering perswasion of his wife, that crowned him king; 50 like as the same *Darius* made *Xerxes* king, induced by his wife *Atossa*; or haply the roiall diademe came of it selfe to his very gates, as it came unto *Parysatis*, by the meanes of *Bagoas* the eunuch; who did no more for it, but change and put off his lackies mandilion, put himselfe presently into the roiall robe, and set upon his head the pointed turbant, named *Cydrus*: or all on a sudden, beyond all expectation, by the fortunate fall of a lot, and the meere benefit of fortune, he became the monarch of the whole earth; like as at *Athenes* their officers *Themothetes*, and

and Archontes are created by lotterie. But would you know how men come to be kings by the meanes of Fortune? This one example will tell you. The race of the *Heraclides*, descending lineally from *Heraclides*, out of which they were wont at *Argos* from time to time to elect their kings, chaunced to faile, and be utterly extinct: whereupon, when they had sent out to the oracle of *Apollo*, for to demand and enquire what to do in this case; this answer was made, That an eagle should direct them what was to be done. Some few daies after, an eagle was seene soaring aloft in the aire, and at length to settle upon the house of one named *Aegon*: and thus was *Aegon* declared for their king. Will you have another? He who reigned for the time in the citie 10 of *Paphos*, was found to be wicked, unjust, violent, and a great oppressour of his people: whereupon *Alexander* deposed him from his regall state and dignitie; and when he had so done, sought for another to rule in his stead, out of the house & familie of the *Cinyradae*, which was thought in manner to be worne out, and utterly extinct: howbeit, advertised hee was; that there remained of that race no more but one obscure and poore man, of whom there was no reckoning in the world nide; and he dwelt in a certaine garden unregarded, where he lived in verie meane estate. Presently he sent forth to seeke for this man: they who were put in commission heere- 20 about, found him there indeed, watering certaine beds of leeks, and such like worts and pot-herbs: The man was woonderfully troubled and affrighted to see these souldiers come toward him; and especially when they saide that he must come and speake with *Alexander* the king: thus he was brought unto him, in a simple thin linnen wastcoat, and presently proclaimed king of *Paphos*, received the purple roiall robe, and was reckoned in the number of those who are called the kings Minions: and his name was *Alynomus*. Lo how Fortune makes men kings, onely by altering their robes, by potmutation of their names, and changing their copies a little, all on a sudden, quickly in a trice, with great facilitie, beyond all hope, and without any expectation at all. Come now unto *Alexander*, what great matter did he ever attaine unto without his desert? what hapned unto him without the sweat of his browes, nay without the effusion of his blood? what had he *gratia*, that he paid not for? what got he, that did not cost him paines and travell? Drunke he hath of rivers steined and coloured with blood; passed he hath over them upon bridges made of dead bodies; for very hunger he hath bene glad to eat of grasse and greene herbes, the first hee could finde growing; he hath with much digging and 30 searching, discovered nations buried under deepe snow, and cities lying in caves within the ground: failed he hath upon seas, warring and fighting against him: and traveling over the dry lands of the *Gedrosians* and *Arachosians*, he saw trees and plants growing within the sea, before any upon the land. Now if a man might be allowed to addresse his speech unto Fortune, as unto some person in the defence of *Alexander*, might not one say unto her? When and where was it, that thou ever madest way for the affaires of *Alexander*? what fortresse wanne he through thy favour, without the losse of blood? what citie or towne didst thou cause to be yeelded unto him without a garrison? or what army, without their weapons? where found he ever through thy grace any kings sluggish and slothfull; any captaine carelesse and negligent; any 40 warder or porter of the gates drowsie and sleepey? nay, he never met with river that had farre passable, Winter that was tolerable, or Summer that was not painfull and inkesome. Goethy waies, goe, to *Antiochus* the sonne of *Seleucus*; to *Artaxerxes* the brother of *Cyrus*; to *Plotomachus Philadelphus*. These were they, whom their fathers in their life time declared heires apparent, yea, and crowned them kings: these wonne fields and battels, for which never eie shed teare: these kept holiday continually: these celebrated festivall solemnities daily in theaters, with all manner of pompes and goodly fights: every one of these reigned in all prosperitie, untill they were very aged: whereas *Alexander* (if there were nothing else) lo how his body is wounded and pitcoully mangled, from the crowne of his head, to the sole of his foot, gashed heere, thrust in there, drie beaten, brused and broken with all manner of hostile weapons,

With lance and speare, with sword most keene,

With stones that bigge an adamastie beene.

50 At the river *Granicus*, his armor or morion was cleft with a curtelace, as farre as to the haire of his head: before the towne of *Gaza* he was shot into the shoulder with a dart: in the Maragandians countrey his shin was wounded with a javelin, in so much as the greater bone thereof was so broken and shattered, that it came out at the wound: in *Hircania* he gat a knocke with a great stone behinde in his necke, which thooke his head so, as that his eie-sight was dimmed thereby, so as for certaine daies, he was afraid that he should have bene starke blinde for ever: in a skir-  
mish

with the Afficans, his ancle was wounded with an Indian dart: at what time when he saw it to bleed, he turned unto his flatterers and parasites, and shewing them the place, smiled and said: This is very bloud indeed,

*And not thus humour, say all what you will,  
Which from the gods most blessed doth desill.*

At the battell of Issus his thigh was pierced with a sword, even by king *Darius* himselfe, as *Chares* writeth, who came to close with him at hand fight. And *Alexander* himselfe writing simply and the plaine truth to *Antipater*, I my selfe also caught a stab with a short sword in my thigh, but thanked be God (quoth he) I had no great hurt thereby: either at the present or afterwards, Fighting against the Mallians he was wounded with a dart two cubits long, that being driven through his cuirace entred in at his brest and came out againe at his necke, according as *Aristobulus* hath left in writing. Having passed over the river *Tanis* for to march against the Scythians, when he had defeated them in battell, he followed the chase and pursued them on horsebacke for a hundred and fifty stadia, notwithstanding all the while he was troubled with a sore laske or flux of the belly. Now truly fortune, much beholden is *Alexander* unto thee for advancing his estate: Is this thy making of him great, by suffering him thus to be pierced through on every side? Here is a faire upholding of him indeed to lay open thus all the parts of his bodie: cleane contrary to that which *Minerva* did unto *Menelaus*, who with her hand turned aside all the shot of the enemies, and made them light upon his armour where it was most sure and of the best proofe, to wit, upon his cuirace, his bawdricke or belt, or upon his helmet; and by that meanes brake the force of the stroke before it could come to the bare bodie, so as all the harme it could do, was but a little to rafe the skin and let out some final shew and a few drops of blood: but thou contrariwise, hast exposed his naked and unarmed parts and those most dangerous to be wounded, causing the shot to enter so farre as to goe through the very bone, environing and hemming in his body round, besetting his eies and feet, impeaching him for chasing his enemies, diverting the traine of his victories, and overturning all his hopes. Certes I am of this opinion, that there never was king who had fortune more adverse & a shrewder stepdame than he; although he hath bene curst, envious and spitefull enough to many besides: for whereas the hath fallen upon others violently like a thunderbolt or shot of lightning, whom she hath cut off and distroied right out at once; her malice and hatred unto *Alexander* hath bene cankred obdurate and implacable even as it was before him unto *Hercules*. For what Typhons or monstrous Giants of prodigious stature hath he not raised up as concurrents to fight with him? What enemies hath not she fortified and furnished against him with infinit store of armes, with deepe rivers, with preupt and craggy rocks, or with extraordinary strength of most savage beasts? Now if the courage of *Alexander* had not bene undaunted, and the same arising from exceeding great vertue, firmly grounded and settled thereupon to encounter fortune, how could it otherwise have bene, but the same should have failed and given over, as being wearied and toiled out with setting for many battels in array, arming his soldiers so daily, laying seige for many times unto cities and townes, chasing and pursuing his enemies so often, checked with so many revolts and rebellions, crossed so commonly with infinit treasons, conspiracies and insurrections of nations; troubled with such a sort of stiffe necked kings who shooke off the yoke of allegiance? and in one word, whiles he conquered *Bactra*, *Macedonia* and the Sogdians, among faithlesse and trecherous nations who waited alwaies to spie some opportunity and occasion to do him a displeasure, & who like to the serpent *Hydra*, as fast as one head was cut off, put forth another, and so continually raised fresh and new warres? I shall seeme to tell you one thing very strange and incredible, howbeit most true: Fortune it was and nothing but fortune by whose maligne and crosse aspect, he went very neere of losing that opinion that went of him, namely, that he was the sonne of *Jupiter Ammon*. For what man was there ever extract and descended from the seed of the gods, who exploited more laborious, more difficult and dangerous combates? unlesse it were *Hercules* againe the sonne of *Jupiter*? And yet one outrageous and violent man there was who set him a worke, enjoining him to take fell lions, to hunt wilde bores, to chase away ravenous fowles, to the end that he should have no time to be employed in greater affaires whiles he visited the world, namely, in punishing such as *Anteus*, and in repressing the ordinary murders which that tyrant *Bastis* and such like committed upon the persons of guests and travellers. But it was no other thing than vertue alone that commanded *Alexander* to enterprize and exploit such a peece of worke as becomed so great a king and one derived from

from a divine race: the end whereof was not a masse of gold to be caried along after him upon ten thousand camels backs, nor the superfluous delights of *Media*, nor sumptuous and delicate tables, nor faire and beautifull ladies, nor the good and pleasant wines of *Calydonia*, nor the dainty fish of *Hyrcania* out of the *Caspian* sea: but to reduce the whole world to be governed in one and the same order, to be obedient to one empire, and to be ruled by the same maner of life. And verily this desire was inbred in him, this was nourished and grew up with him from his very infancie. There came embassadors upon a time from the king of *Persia* to his father *Philip*, who at the same time was not in the country but gone forth: *Alexander* gave them honorable intertainment very courteously as became his fathers sonne: but this especially was observed in him, that he did not aske them childish questions as other boies did, to wit, about golden vines trailed from one tree to another, nor of the pendant gardens at *Babylon* hanging above in the aire, ne yet what robes and sumptuous habiliments their king did weare? but all his talke and conference with them was concerning matters most important for the state of an empire: inquisitive he was, what forces and power of men the king of *Persia* could bring out into the field and maintaine; in what ward of the battell the king himselfe was arranged when he fought a field: much like unto that *Ulysses* in *Homer*, who demanded of *Dolon* (as touching *Hector*)

*His martiall armes, where doth he lay?*

*His horses, tell me, where stand they?*

Which be the readiest and shortest waies for those who would travel from the coasts of the Mediterranean sea up into the high countries: in so much as these strangers, the embassadors wondered exceedingly and said: Now surely this child is the \* great king, and ours the rich. No sooner was his father *Philip* departed this life, but presently his heart served him to passe over the Straights of *Helle* spout, and being already fed with his hopes, and forward in the preparation and provision of his voiage, he made what speed he could to set foot in *Asia*. But see hee how fortune crossed his designs: she averted him quite and drew him backe againe, raising a thousand troubles and busie occasions to stay & hinder his intended course. First she caused those barbarous nations bordering and adjoining upon him, to rise up in armes, and thereby held him occupied in the warres against the Illyrians and Triballians: by the meanes whereof he was haled away as farre as to *Scythia* and the nations inhabiting along the river *Danubie*, who diverted him cleane from his affaires intended in the high provinces of *Asia*. Howbeit having overrunne these countries and dispatched all difficulties with great perils and most dangerous battels, he set in hand againe with his former enterprize, and made haste to his passage & voiage a second time. But lo, even there also fortune excited the city of *Thebes* against him, and laid the warre of the Greeks in his way to stop his expedition, driving him to extreame streights and to a very hard exigent, by fire and sword to be revenged of a people that were his owne countrymen, and of the same kined and nation, the issue whereof was most grievous and lamentable. Having exploited this, he crossed the seas at the last, furnished with provision of money and victuals as *Phylarchus* writeth: to serve for thirty daies and no longer, or as *Aristobulus* reporteth having onely seventy talents of silver to defray the whole charges of the voiage. For of his owne demaine and possessions at home, as also of the crowne revenues, he had bestowed the most part upon his friends and followers: onely *Perdiccas* would receive nothing at his hands, but when he made offer to give him his part with the rest, demanded thus of him: But what reserve dost thou reserve, *Alexander*? VVho answered, My hopes. Why then (quoth he) I will take part thereof: for it is not reason that we should receive your goods, but wait for the pillage of *Darius*. And what were those hopes of *Alexander*, upon which he passed over into *Asia*? Surely not a power measured by the strong wals of many rich & populous cities, not fleets of ships sailing through the mountaines, not whips and fetters, testifying the folly and madnesse of barbarous princes; who thought thereby to punish and chastise the raging sea. But for external meanes without himselfe, a resolution of prowesse in a small power of armed men well trusted and compact together, an emulation to excell one another among young men of the same age, a competition and strife for vertue and glory in those that were his minions about him: But the great hopes indeed and most assured were in his owne person, to wit, his devout religion to Godward, his trusty confidence and affiance that he had in his friends, frugality, continence, bounty, contempt of death, magnanimity and resolution, humanity, courtly, affable intertainment, a simple nature; plaine without plaits, not fained and counterfeit, constancie in his counsell, celerity in his execution, soveraignty and priority in honor, and a resolute purpose to accomplish any

\* For the king of Persia was called the great king.



any honest duty and office. For Homer did not well and decently, to compose and frame the beautifull personage of *Agamemnon*, as the patternne of a per fect prince out of three images, after this maner,

*For eyes and head, much like he was in fight  
To Jove, who takes in lightning such delight:  
God Mars in waist and loines resembled he:  
In brest compar'd to Neptune he may be.*

But the nature of *Alexander* (in case that God who made or created him, formed and con-  
pounded it of many vertues) may we not well and truly say, that he ended with the courageous  
spirit of *Cyrus*, the sober temperance of *Ageſtlaus*, the quick wit and pregnant conceit of *The-  
mistocles*, the approved skill and experience of *Philip*, the valourous boldnesse of *Braſidas*, the  
rare eloquence and ſufficiencie of *Pericles* in State matters and politicke government? For to  
ſpeake of thoſe in ancient times, more continent he was and chaſt, than *Agamemnon*, who pre-  
ferred a captive concubine before his owne elcouſed and lawfull wife: as for *Alexander*, he ab-  
ſteined from thoſe women whom he tooke priſoners in warre, and would not touch one of them  
before he had wedded her: more magnanimous than *Achilles*, who for a little money yielded  
the dead corps of *Hector* to be ranſomed; whereas *Alexander* deſtroyed great ſummes in the  
funerals and interring of *Darius* bodie. Again, *Achilles* ſtooke of his friends, for the appealing  
of his choler, gifts and preſents after a mercenary maner: but *Alexander* enriched his very en-  
emies, when he had gotten the victorie. More religious he was than *Dionysius*, a man who was  
evermore ready to fight againſt the gods: whereas he, thought that all victory & happy ſucceſſe  
came by the grace and favour of the gods. Deerer he was to his neere kinſfolke and friends, and  
more entirely beloved than *Ulyſſes*, whoſe mother died for ſorrow and griefe of heart: whereas  
when *Alexander* died, his very enemies mother, for kinde affection and good will died with him  
for company. In ſumme, if it was by the indulgence of Fortune, that *Solon* eſtabliſhed the com-  
mon-wealth of *Athens* ſo well at home, that *Miltiades* conducted the armies ſo happily abroad;  
if it was by the benefit and favour of fortune, that *Arifides* was ſo juſt: then farewell vertue for  
ever; then is there no worke at all effected by her; but only it is a vaine name and ſpeech that  
goeth other, paſſing with ſome ſhew of glorie and reputation thorow the life of man; ſeined  
and deviſed by theſe prating Sophiſters, cunning Law-givers and Statiſts. Now if every one  
of theſe perſons, and ſuch like, was poore or rich, feeble or ſtrong, ſoule or faire, of long life or  
ſhort, by the meanes of fortune; againe, in caſe of them ſhewed himſelfe a great captaine  
in the field, a great politician or wiſe law-giver, a great governour and ruler in the city and com-  
mon-wealth, by their vertue and the direction of reaſon within them; then conſider (I pray  
you) what *Alexander* was in compariſon of them all: *Solon* intituled at *Athens*, a general cutting  
off and cancelling of all debts, which he called *Severities*, which is as much to ſay, as a diſ-  
charge of burdens; but *Alexander* out of his owne purſe paid all debts in the name of debtors,  
due unto their creditors. *Pericles* having impoſed a tax and tribute upon the Greeks; with the  
money raiſed by that levie, beautified the citadell or caſtle of *Athens* with temples and chapels;  
whereas *Alexander* ſent of the pillage and treaſure which he gat from the Barbarians, to the  
number of tenne thouſand talents into *Greece*, with commandement to build therewith ſacred  
temples to the honour of the gods. *Braſidas* was a great name and reputation of valour among  
the Greeks, for that he paſſed from one end to another thorow his enemies campe, pitched al-  
ong the ſea ſide before the towne *Marthon*: but that wonderfull leape that *Alexander* made in-  
to a towne of the *Oxydrakes*, which to them that heare it, is incredible, and to as many as ſaw  
it, was moſt fearefull; namely, at what time as he caſt himſelfe from the bailements of the  
walles among his enemies, ready to receive him with pikes, with javelins, with darts and naked  
ſwords; whereto may a man compare, but unto a very flaſh of lightning breaking violently out  
of a cloud, and being carried with the winde lighteth upon the ground, reſembling a ſpirit or  
apparition reſplendent all about with flaming and burning armours? in ſomuch as: at the firſt  
fight, men that ſaw it were ſo affrighted, as they ran backward and fled: but after that they beheld  
it was but one man ſetting upon many, then they came againe, and made head againſt him.  
Heere Fortune ſhewed (no doubt) many plaine and evident proofs of her ſpeciall good will to  
*Alexander*; namely, firſt when he put him into an ignoble, baſe and barbarous towne, and there  
incloſed him ſure enough within the walles thereof; then, after that thoſe without made haſte  
to reſcue him, and reared their ſcaling ladders againſt the walles for to get over and come unto  
him.

him, the caused them all to breake & fall in pieces, whereby the overthrow and cast them downe who were climbed halfe way up: againe, of those three onely whose hap it was to mount up to the top before the ladders brake, and who flang themselves desperately downe, and stood about the king, to guard his person, the fell upon one immediately and killed him in the place, before he could do his master any service: a second, overwhelmed with a cloud of arrowes and darts, was so neere death, that he could do no more, but onely see and feeble. All this while, the Macedonians without, ranne to the walles with a great noise and outcry, but all in vaine, for arillerie they had none, nor any ordinance or engins of battery; onely they laied at the walles with their naked swordes and bare hands: and so earnest they were to get in, that they would have made  
10 way with their very teeth, if it had beene possible. Meane while, this fortunate prince, upon whom Fortune attended at an inch, ready now to accompany and defend him, you may be sure, as at all times els, was taken and caught as a wilde beast within toiles, abandoned and left alone, without aide and succour, not wis to win the city of *Susa* or of *Babylon*, nor to conquer the province of *Bactra*, nor to seize upon that mighty body of king *Porus*: for of great and renowned attempts, although the end alwaies prove not happy, yet there can redound no infamy. But to say a truth, Fortune was on his behalfe so spitefull and envious, but on the other side, so good and gracious to the Barbarians, so adverse I say she was to *Alexander*, that the went about as much as lay in her, to make him not onely lose his life and body, but also to forfeit his honour and glory: for if he had bene left lying dead along the river *Euphrates*, or *Hyaspes*, it had bene  
20 no great desaire and indignitie: neither had it bene so dishonorable unto him, when he came to joine with *Darius* hand to hand, if he had bene massacred among a number of great horses, with the swordes, glawes, & battle-axes of the Persians fighting for the empire: no, nor when he was mounted upon the wals of *Babylon*, if he had taken the soile and bene put by his great hope of forcing the city: for in that sort, lost *Pelopidas* and *Eparminondas* their lives; and their death was rather an act of vertue, than an accident of infortunie, whiles they gave the attempt to execute so great exploits, and to gaine so worthy a prise. But as touching fortune, which now we examine and consider; what piece of worke effected she? In a Barbarous countrey farre removed, on the further side of a river, within the walles of a base village in comparison, to shut up and enclose the king and soveraigne lord of the earth, that he might perish there shamefully, by  
30 the hands & rude weapons of a multitude of Barbarous rascals, who should knocke him downe with clubs and staves, and pelt him with whatsoever came next hand; for wounded he was in the head with a bill that clove his helmet quite thorow, and with a mighty arrow which one discharged out of a bow, his brest-place was pierced quite thorow, whereof the steile that was without his bodie weighed him downe heavily: but the yron head which flucke fast in the bones about one of his paps, was foure fingers broad and five long. And to make up the full measure of all mischiefe, whiles he defended himselfe right manfully before, and when the fellow who had throt the foresaid arrow adventured to approach him with his sword, to dispatch him outright with a dead thrust, him he got within, and with his dagger gave him such a stabbe, as he laied him along and killed him out of hand: but see the malice of Fortune, there runnes me forth out of a  
40 milhouse or backhouse thereby, another villaine with a pistle, and coming behinde him, gave him such a soule upon the very necke bone, that he was astonished therewith, and there lay along in a swoone, having lost his sight and other senses for a time. But vertue it was that assisted him, which gave both unto himselfe a good heart, and also unto his friends strength, resolution and diligence to succour him: for *Linnæus*, *Ptolemæus*, and *Leonnatus*, with as many besides, as either had clambred over the walles or broken thorow, came in and put themselves betwene him and his enemies: they with their valour were to him in stead of a wall and rampier; they for mere affection and love unto their king, exposed their bodies, their forces and their lives betwene him, unto all dangers whatsoever. For it is not by fortune, that there be men who voluntarily present themselves to present death; but it is for the love of vertue; like as bees having  
50 dunke (as it were) the amatorious potion of naturall love and affection, are alwaies about their king, and flie close unto him. Now say there had bene one there without the danger of shot, to have seened this sight at his pleasure, would not he have said, that he had beheld a notable combat of fortune against vertue? wherein the Barbarians by the helpe of fortune prevailed above her desert; and the Greeks by means of vertue resisted above their power: and if the former get the better hand, it would be thought the worke of fortune and of some malicious and envious spirit; but if these become superior, vertue, fortune, faith and friendship should cary away the honour



*The selfe same parents they both had,  
one native soile them bred,  
But Jupiter the elder was,  
and had the wiser head.*

whereby he affirmeth, that the preeminence and rule of *Jupiter*, being the elder, was more venerable, sacred and fuller of majestie, for his knowledge and wisdom. And of this opinion I assure you am I, that the beatitude and felicitie of eternall life, which *Jupiter* enioieth, consisteth herein, that he is ignorant of nothing that is done: as also, that immortalitie if it be depouled of the knowledge and intelligence of all things that be, and are done, is not life indeed, but bare time. And therefore we may very well say, that the desire of deitie and divinity is all one with the love of truth, and especially of that truth which concerneth the nature of the gods; the study wherof, and the searching after such science, is as it were a profession and entrance into religion, yea, and a worke more holy than is the vow or obligation of all the chastity & purity in the world, or than the cloister or sanctuarie of any temple whatsoever: right acceptable. So is this \*goddesse whom you serve, considering that she is most wise, & full of knowledge, according as the very derivation of her name doth imply, that skill & cunning apperteineth unto her more than to any other: for *Isis* is a meere Greeke word; like as *Typhon* also the very adversary and enemy opposite unto this goddesse, as one puffed up and swollen by his ignorance and error, dissipating, defacing, and blotting out the sacred word and doctrine, which this goddesse collecteth, composeth, and delivereth unto those who are initiated and professed in this divine religion, by a continuall precise observance of a sober and holy life, in abstaining from many meats, in depriving themselves of all fleshly pleasures, for to repress lust and intemperance; and in being acquainted long before to abide and endure within temples and churches, hard and painfull services performed unto the gods: of all which abstinences, paines, and sufferances, the end is the knowledge of that first prince and lord, who is apprehended onely by intelligence and understanding, whom the goddesse exhorteth to search and seeke after, as conversing and companying with her. And verily, the name of her temple, doth manifestly promise an intelligence or knowledge of that which is, for *Ison* it is called, which is as much to say, as \* *εἰσόν* *to be in*, for that, if we enter into that sacred place and holy religion of this goddesse, with reason and devotion, as we ought to doe, we shall attaine to the understanding of all things whatsoever. Moreover, many have written, that she is the daughter of *Mercurius*, others of *Prometheus*, of which twaine, the one is reputed the author of wisdom and providence, and the other, namely *Mercurius*, the inventor of Grammar and Musick. And hereupon it is, that in the city *Hermopolis*, they call the former of the Muses, both *Isis* and also *Justice*; as being wisdom herselfe, (according as hath elsewhere beene said) and shewing divine things to them who are justly surnamed *Hierophori*, and *Hierosoli*, that is to say, religious, and wearing the habits of holinesse and religion. And these be they that cary in their minde, and keepe enclosed as within a box or casket, the holy doctrine of the gods, pure and clesned from all superstition and affected curiositie: who also of that opinion which is held of the gods, declare some things which are obscure & darke, others also which be cleere and lightsome; like as be those, which are reported as touching their holy and religious habit. And therefore whereas the religious priests of *Isis*, after they be dead, are thus clad with these holy habiliments; it is a marke and signe witnessing unto us, that this sacred doctrine is with them, and that they be departed out of this world into another, and carie nothing with them but it: for neither to wear a long beard, nor to put on a frize rugg and course gabardine (dame *Clea*) makes a Philosopher; no more doth the surplice and linnen vestment or shaven, an Isiaque priest. But he indeed is a priest of *Isis*, who after he hath scene and received by law and custome, those things which are shewed and practised in the religious ceremonies about these gods, searcheth and diligently enquireth, by the means of this holy doctrine, and discourse of reason, into the truth of the said ceremonies. For very few there be who among them, who understand and know the cause of this ceremony, which is of all other the smallest, and yet most commonly observed; namely, why the Isiaque priests have their heads, and wear no haire upon them; as also, wherefore they goe in vestments of Line? And some of them there be, who care not at all for any knowledge of such matters: yet others say, they forbore to put on any garments of wooll, like as they doe to eat the flesh of those sheepe which carie the said wooll, upon a reverence they beare unto them: semblably, that they cause their heads to be shaven in token of dole and sorrow: like-

wife

wife that they weare surplices and vestments of linnen, in regard of the colour that the flower of line or flaxe beareth, which resembleth properly that celestiall azure skie, that environeth the whole world. But to say a trueth, there is but one cause indeed of all: for lawfull it is, not for a man who is pure and cleane, to touch any thing (as *Plato* saith) which is impure and un-cleane. Now it is well knownen, that all the superfluities and excrements of our food and nourishment, be foule and impure, and of such be engendered and grow, wooll, haire, shagge and nailes: and therefore a meere ridiculous mockerie it were, if when in their expiatorie sanctifications and divine services, they cast off their haire, being shaven and made smooth all their bodies over, they should then be clad and arrayed with the superfluous excrements of beasts: for 10 we must thinke that *Hesiodus* the Poet when he writeth thus,

*At feasts of gods and sacred merriment,  
Take heed with knife, thy nailes thou do not pare,  
To cut I say, that dry dead excrement,  
From lively flesh of fingers five, beware.*

teacheth us, that we ought first to be clesned and purified, then to solemnise festivall holidays, and not at the very time of celebration and performance of holie rites and divine service, to use such clesning and ridding away of superfluous excrements. Now the herbe Line groweth out of the earth which is immortal, bringeth forth a frute good to be eaten, and furnisheth us wherewith to make a simple, plaine, and slender vestment, which sitteth light upon his backe 20 that weareth it, is meet for all seasons of the yeece; and of all others, (as men say) least breedeth lice or vermine; whereof I am to discourse else where. Now these Isiaque priests so much abhorre the nature and generation of all superfluities and excrements, that they not onely refuse to eate most part of pulse, and of flesh meats, mutton and porke, for that sheepe and swine breed much excrement, but also upon their daies of sanctification and expiatorie solemnities, they will not allow any salt to be eaten with their viands; among many other reasons, because it whereth the appetite, and giveth an edge to our stomacke, provoking us to eate and drinke more liberally: for to say as *Aristagoras* did, That salt was by them reputed uncleane, because when it is congealed and grown hard, many little animals or living creatures, which were caught within it, die withall, is a very foolerie. Furthermore, it is said, that the Aegyptian 30 priests have a certeine pit or well apart, out of which they water their bull or beefe Apis: and be very precise in any wise not to let him drinke of *Nilus*, not for that they thinke the water of that river uncleane, in regard of the crocodiles which are in it, as some be of opinion (for contrariwise, there is nothing so much honored among the Aegyptians as the river *Nilus*) but it seemeth that the water of *Nilus* doth fatten exceeding much, and breed flesh over fast, and they would not in any case that their Apis should be fat, or themselves grosse and corpulent: but that their foules might be clothed with light, nimble, and delicate bodies; so as the divine part in them should not be oppressed or weighed downe, by the force and ponderositie of that which is mortall. In *Heliopolis*, which is the citie of the Sunne, those who serve and minister unto their god, never bring wine into the temple, as thinking it not convenient in the day time to drinke 40 in the sight of their lord and king: otherwise the priests drinke thereof, but sparily: and besides many purgations and expiations they have, wherein they abstaine wholly from wine; and during those daies, they give themselves wholly to their studies and meditations, learning and tearing holy things: even their very kings are not allowed to drinke wine their fill, but are stinted to the gage of a certeine measure, according as it is prescribed in their holy writings, and those kings also were priests, as *Hecataeus* writeth. And they began to drinke it after the daies of king *Pjammetichus*; for before his time they dranke it not at all, neither made they libaments thereof 50 of unto their gods, supposing it not acceptable unto them; for they tooke it to be the verie bloud of those giants which in times past warred against the gods; of whom after they were slaine, when their bloud was mixed with the earth, the vine tree sprang: and this is the cause, say they, why those who be drunke, lose the use of their wit & reason, as being full of the bloud of their progenitors. Now that the Aegyptian priests both hold and affirme thus much, *Endoxus* hath delivered in the second booke of his Geographic. As concerning fishes of the sea, they doe not every one of them abstaine from all indifferently; but some forbore one kind, & some another: as for example, the Oxyrynches will eate of none that is taken with an hook; for adoring as they doe, a fish named Oxyrynchos, they are in doubt and feare lest the hook should be uncleane, if haply the said fish swallowed it downe with the baite. The Sienites will

not

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\* Importing the knowledge of that which is.

not touch the fish. *Phagus*, for it should seeme that it is found, what time as *Nilus* begins to flow; and therefore the laid fish by his appearing, signifieth the rising and inundation of *Nilus*, whereof they be exceeding joious, holding him for a certaine and sure benefeger. But the priests abstaine from all fishes ingenerall: and whereas upon the ninth daie of the first moneth, all other inhabitants of *Aegypt*, feede upon a certaine broiled or roasted fish before their dores; the priests in no wise talke thereof; many they burne fishes before the gates of their houses; and two reasons they have: the one holy, fine and fubtile, which I will deliver hereafter: as that which accordeth and agreeth very well to the sacred discourses: as touching *Osiris* and *Typhon*: the other plaine; vulgar and common: represented by the fish, which is none of the viands that be necessary, rare and exquisite, according as *Flower* beareth witness, when he brings to not in the Phicacians delicate men & loving to feed daintily, nor the Ithacians, Ilanders, to eat fish at their feasts: no nor the mates and fellow travellers with *Ulysses*, during the time of their long navigation and voyage by sea, before they were brought to extreame necessity. To be briefe, the very fea it selfe they thinke to be produced a part by fire, without the bounds & limits of nature, as being no portion nor element of the world, but a strange excrement, a corrupt superfluity and unkinde maladie: For nothing absurd and against reason, nothing fabulous and superstitious, (as some untruly thinke) was inferred or served as a sacred signe in their ceremonies, but they were all markes grounded upon causes and reasons morall, and the same profitable for this life, or else not without some historical or naturall elegancy. As for example, that which is said of the opinion; for that *Diclys* the foster father of *Isis*, fell into the river of *Nilus*, and was there drowned, as he was reaching at onions and could not come by them, it is a more fable and carieth no sence or probability in the world: but the truth is this, the priests of *Isis* hate the onion and avoid it as a thing abominable, because they have observed, that it never groweth nor thrive well to any biggesse but in the decrease and waine of the Moone: Neither is it meet and fit for those who would lead an holy and sanctified life, or for such as celebrate sollemne feasts and holidays, because it provoketh thirst in the former; and in the other causeth reares, if they feed thereupon. And for the same reason they take the sow to be a prophane and unclean beast, for that ordinarily she goeth a brimming and admitteth the bore, when the Moone is past the full: and looke how many drinke of her milke, they breake out into a kinde of leprosie or drie scurfe all over their bodies. As touching the tale which they inferre, who once 30 in their lives doe sacrifice a sow when the Moone is in the full, and then eat her flesh: namely that *Typhon* hunting and chafing the wilde swine at the full of the Moone, chanced to light upon an aike or coffin of wood, wherein was the body of *Osiris* which he dismembred and threw away by peece meale, all men admit not thereof, supposing that it is a fable as many others be, misheard and misunderstood. But this for certaine is held, that our ancients in old time so much hated and abhorred all excessive delicacy, superfluous and costly delights and voluptuous pleasures, that they laid within the temple of the city of *Thebes* in *Aegypt* there stood a square colunne or pillar, wherein were engraven certaine curses and execrations against their king *Minis*, who was the first that turned and averted the Aegyptians quite from their simple and frugal manner of life, without mony, without sumptuous fare & chargeable delights. It is said also 40 that *Techmatis* the father of *Bocchorus*, in an expedition or journey against the Arabians, when it chaunced that his cartages were far behind and came not in due time to the place where he incamped, was content to make his supper of whatsoever he could get, & so to take up with a very small and simple pittance, yea and after supper to lie upon a coustie and homely pallet, where he slept all night very soundly and never awoke: whereupon, he ever after loved sobriety of life & frugality, & cursed the foresaid king *Minis*: which malediction of his being by the priests of that time approved, he caused to be engraven upon the pillar above said. Now their kings were created either out of the order of their priests, or else out of the degree of knights and warriors; for that the one estate was honored and accounted noble for valour, the other for wisdom and knowledge. And looke whomsoever they chose from out of the order of knighthood, presently 50 after his election he was admitted unto the collidge of priests, and unto him were disclosed and communicated the secrets of their Philosophy, which under the vail of fables and darke speeches conched and covered many mysteries, through which the light of the truth in some sort though dimly appeare. And this themselves seeme to signifie and give us to understand, by setting up ordinarily before the porches and gates of their temples, certaine Sphinges: meaning thereby, that all their Theologie containeth under enigmaticall and covert words, the secrets



ving alwaies diligently the accustomed rites ordained for the sacred service of the gods, and beleeving firmly, that you can not performe any sacrifice or liturgy more pleasing unto them, than to study for to have a sound and true opinion of them: by this meanes you shall avoid superstition, which is as great a sinne as impietie and Atheisme. Now the fable of *Isis* and *Osiris*, is as briefly as may be, by cutting off many superfluous matters that serve to no purpose, delivered in this wise: It is said, that dame *Rhea*, at what time as *Saturne* lay secretly with her, was espoused by the Sunne, who cursed her; and among other maledictions, praied that she might not be delivered, nor bring forth child, neither in any moneth nor yeere: but *Mercurie* being inamoured of this goddesse, companied likewise with her; and afterwards, as he plaied at dice with the Moone and won from her the seventieth part of every one of her illuminations, which being all put together, make five entire daies, he added the same unto the three hundred and threescore daies of the yeere; and those odde daies the Aegyptians do call at this present, the daies of the Epact, celebrating and solemnizing them as the birthdaies of their gods: for that when the full time of *Rhea* was expired, upon the first day of them was *Osiris* borne; at whose birth a voice was heard, That the lord of the whole world now came into light: and some say, that a certaine woman named *Pamyle*, as she went to fetch water for the temple of *Jupiter* in the city of *Thebes*, heard this voice, commanding her to proclaime aloud, That the Great King and Benefactor *Osiris* was now borne: also, for that *Saturne* committed this babe *Osiris* into her hands for to be nourished, therefore in honour of her there was a festivall day solemnized, named thereupon *Pamylia*, much like unto that which is named *Phallopheoria*, unto *Priapus*. On the second day she was delivered of *Aroneris*, who is *Apollo*, whom some likewise call the elder *Orus*. Upon the third day she brought forth *Typhon*, but he came not at the just time nor at the right place, but brake thorow his mothers side, and issued forth at the wound. On the fourth day was *Isis* borne, in a watery place called *Panhydra*. And the fifth day she was delivered of \* *Nephthe*, who of some is named also *Telente* and *Venna*; others call her *Nice*. Now it is said, that the conceived *Osiris* and *Aroneris* by the Sunne, *Isis* by *Mercurie*, *Typhon* and *Nephthe* by *Saturne*, which is the cause that the kings reputed the third of these intercalary daies to be defausterous and difmall, dispatched no affaires thereupon, neither did they cherish themselves by meat and drinke or otherwise, untill night: that *Nephthe* was honoured by *Typhon*; that *Isis* and *Osiris* were in love in their mothers bellie before they were borne, and lay together secretly and by stealth; and some give out, that by this meanes *Aroneris* was begotten and borne, who by the Aegyptians is called *Orus* the elder, and by the Greeks, *Apollo*. Well, during the time that *Osiris* reigned king in *Aegypt*, immediately he brought the Aegyptians from their needy, poore and savage kinde of life, by teaching them how to sow and plant their grounds, by establishing good lawes among them, and by shewing how they should worship and serve God. Afterwards, he travelled thorowout the world, reducing the whole earth to civility, by force of armes least of all, but winning and gaining the most nations by effectual remonitances & sweet persuasion couched in songs, and with all manner of Musicke: whereupon the Greeks were of opinion, that he and *Bacchus* were both one. Furthermore, the tale goes, that in the absence of *Osiris*, *Typhon* stirred not, nor made any commotion, for that *Isis* gave good order to the contrary, and was of sufficient power to prevent and withstand all innovations; but when he was returned, *Typhon* conspired a conspiracy against him, having drawn into his confederacy seventy two accomplices, besides a certaine queene of *Aethiopia*, who likewise combined with him, and her name was *Afo*. Now when he had secretly taken the just measure and proportion of *Osiris* body, he caused a coffer or hutch to be made of the same length, and that most curiously and artificially wrought and set out to the eie, he tooke order, that it should be brought into the hall, where he made a great feast unto the whole company. Every man tooke great pleasure with admiration, to behold such a singular exquisite piece of work; and *Typhon* in a meriment, stood up and promised that he would bestow it upon him, whose body was meet & fit for it: hereupon, all the company one after another assaied whose body would fit it; but it was not found proportionate nor of a just size to any of all the rest: at length, *Osiris* gat up into it, and laied him there along; with that, the conspirators ran to it, and let downe the lidde and cover thereof upon him, and partly with nailes, and partly with melted lead which they powred aloft, they made it sure enough; and when they had so done, caried it forth to the river side, and let it downe into the sea, at the verie mouth of *Nilus* named *Taniticus*; which is the reason, that the said mouth is even to this day odious and execrable among the Aegyptians, inasmuch as they call it *Catapheston*, that is to say,

say, Abominable, or to be spit at. Over and besides, it is said, that this fell out to be done upon the seventeenth day of the moneth named *Athy*, during which moneth, the Sunne enueth in to the signe *Scorpius*; and in the eight and twentieth yeere of *Osiris* reigne: howbeit, others affirme, that he lived in deed, but reigned not so long. Now the first that had an inckling and intelligence of this hainous act, were the Panes and Satyres inhabiting about *Chennis*, who began to whisper one unto another, & to talke thereof; which is the reason, that all sudden tumults and troubles of the multitude and common people, be called Panique affrights. Moreover, it followeth on in the tale, that *Isis* being advertised hereof, immediately cut off one of the tresses of her haire, and put on mourning weeds in that place which now is called the city *Coptus*, in remembrance thereof; howsoever others say, that this word *Coptus*, betokeneth Privation, for that *Isis* in Greeke, signifieth as much as to deprive. In this dolefull habit she wandred up and downe in great perplexity to heare tidings of *Osiris*, and whomsoever she met withall, she asked not to enquire of them; and she missed not so much as little children playing together, but asked them, whether they had seene any such coffer: at length, the light of those children who had seene it indeed, and they directed her to the mouth of the river *Nilus*, where the complices and associats of *Typhon* had let the said vessell into the sea. And ever since that time, the Aegyptians are of opinion, that young children have the gift of revealing secrets, and they take all their words which they passe in play and sport, as omens and presages, but especially within the temples, what matter soever it be that they prattle of. Moreover, when *Isis* understood that *Osiris* fell in love with her sister *Nephthe*, thinking she was *Isis* and so carnally companied with her, and withall, found a good token thereof, to wit, a chaplet or garland of Mellot which he had left with *Nephthe*, she went for to seeke her babe (for presently upon the birth of the infant, for feare of *Typhon* he hid it) and when with much adoe and with great paines taken, *Isis* had found it, by the meanes of certaine hounds which brought her to the place where he was, she reared and brought it up, in such sort, as when he came to some bignesse, he became her guide and squire, named *Anubis*, who also is said to keepe the gods, like as dogs guard men. After this, she heard newes of the foresaid coffer, and namely, that the waves of the sea had by rides cast it upon the coast of *Byblus*, where, by a billow of water it was gently brought close to the foot of a shrubbe or plant called \* *Erice*: now this *Erice* or *Tamarix* in a small time grew to faire, and spread forth so large and big branches withall, that it \* compassed, enclosed and covered the said coffer all over, so as it could not be seene. The king of *Byblus* wondring to see this plant so big, caused the branches to be lopped off, that covered the foresaid coffin not seene, and of the trunk or body thereof, made a pillar to sustaine the rooofe of his house: whereof *Isis* by report being advertised by a certaine divine spirit or winde of flying fame, came to *Byblus*, where she sat her downe by a certaine fountaine, all heave and in distresse, pitiouly weeping to herselfe; neither spake she a word unto any creature, onely the Queenes waiting maids and women that came by, she saluted and made much of, plaiting and broiding the tresses of their haire most exquisitely, and casting from her into them a marvellous sweet and pleasant sent illuving from her body, whiles she dressed them. The queene perceiving her women thus curiously and trimly set out, had an earnest desire to see this stranger, as well for that she yielded such an odiferous smell from her body, as because she was so skillfull in dressing their heads: so she sent for the woman, and being grown into some familiar acquaintance with her, made her the nurse and governeesse of her young sonne: now the kings name himselfe was *Alexander*, and the queenes, *Astarte*, or rather *Sais*, or as some will have it, *Chemanus*, which is as much as to say in the Greeke tongue, as *Athenas*. And the speech goes, that *Isis* suckled and nourished this infant, by putting her finger in stead of the breast-head or nipple, into the mouth thereof; also, that in the night season she burnt all away that was mortall of his body: and in the end, was herselfe metamorphized and turned into a swallow, flying, and lamenting after a moaning manner about the pillar aforelaid, untill such time as the queene observing this, and crying out when she saw the body of her child on a light fire, bereaved it of immortality. Then *Isis* being discovered to be a goddesse, craved the pillar of wood: which she cut downe with facility, and tooke from underneath the trunk of the *Tamarix* or *Erice*, which she anointed with perfumed oile, and enwrapped within a linnen cloth, and gave it to the kings for to be kept: whereof it cometh, that the Byblians even at this day reverence this piece of wood, which lieth consecrate within the temple of *Isis*. Furthermore, it is said, that in the end she \* light upon the coffer, over which she wept and lamented so much, that the youngest of the kings sonnes died for very pity of her; but

\* Or Nephthe.

\* Erice.

\* Or some such shrub.

\* Some translate this, as if the tree were included within the trunk of the plant.

\* memore.



but the herselfe accompanied with the eldest of them, together with the coffer, embarked, took  
sea & departed. But when the river *Pachrus* turned the wind somewhat roughly, about the dawn-  
ing of the day, *Isis* was so much displeased and angry, that she dried it quite. And so foone as she  
came unto a solitary place, where she was by herselfe alone, she opened the coffer, where finding  
the corps of *Osiris*, she laid her face close to his, embraced it and wept. Herewith came the child  
suddenly behinde and espied what she was doing: whom when she perceived, she looked backe, ca-  
sting an untoward eie, and beheld him with such an angry aspect, that the poore infant not able  
to endure so terrible a looke, died upon it. Some say it was not so; but that he fell into the sea,  
in maner aforesaid, and was honored for the goddesse sake, and that he is the same whom the  
Aegyptians chaunt at their feasts, under the name of *Maneros*. But others give out, that this  
child was named *Palestinus*, and that the city *Pelusium* was built in remembrance of him by the  
goddesse *Isis* and so tooke the name after him; and how this *Maneros* whom they to celebrate  
in their songs, was the first inventour of musicke. Howbeit others there are againe, who affirme,  
that this was the name of no person, but a kinde of dialect or language, proper and agreeable  
unto those who drinke and banquet together, as if a man should say, In good houre and happily  
may this or that come. For the Aegyptians were wont ordinarily to use this terme *Maneros*  
in such a sence: like as no doubt the drie skeletons or dead corps of a man which they used to ca-  
rie about and shew in a bierre or coffin at the table, was not the representation or memoriall of  
this accident which befell unto *Osiris*, as some doe imagine, but served as an admonition to put  
the guests in minde to be merry and take their pleasure and joy in those things that were pre-  
sent; for that soone after they should be like unto it. This I say was the reason that it was brought  
in at their feasts and mery meetings. Furthermore when *Isis* was gone to see her sonne *Horus*  
who was fostered and brought up in the city *Busiris*, and had laid the foresaid coffer with *Osiris*  
body out of the way, *Typhon* fortunated as he hunted in a cleere moone-shine night to meet with  
it, and taking knowledge of the body, cut it into foureteene peeces and flung them here and  
there one from another: which when *Isis* understood, she searched for them in a boote or punt  
made of papyr reed, all over the moores and marshes: whereof it comes that the Crocodiles  
never hurt those who saile or row in vessels made of that plant, whether it be that they are afraid  
of it, or reverence it for this goddesse sake I know not. And thus you may know the reason, why  
there be found many sepulchres of *Osiris* in the country of *Aegypt*, for ever as the found any  
peece of him, she caused a tombe to be made for it: others say no: but that she made many im-  
ages of him, which she left in every city, as if he had bestowed among them his very body  
indeed: to the end that in many places he might be honored: and that if happily *Typhon* when  
he sought for the true sepulcher of *Osiris* (having vanquished and overcome *Horus*) many of  
them being reported and shewed, he might not know which was it, and so give over seeking far-  
ther. Over and besides, the report goes, that *Isis* found all other parts of *Osiris* body but onely  
his privy member, for that it was immediately cast into a river and the fishes named *Lepidotus*,  
*Phagrus* and *Oxyrynchus* devoured it: for which cause *Isis* detesteth them above all other fishes:  
but in sted of that natural part, she made a counterfet one, called *Phallus*, which she consecrated:  
and in the honor thereof the Aegyptians hold a solemne feast. After all this it followeth in the  
fable, that *Osiris* being returned out of the infernall parts, appeared unto *Horus*, for to exercise,  
instruct and traine him against the battell: of whom he demanded what he thought to be the  
most beautiful thing in the world: who answered, To be revenged of the wrong and injury  
which had bene done to a mans parents. Secondly, what beast he thought most profitable to  
goe into the field withall: unto whom *Horus* should make answer, The horse: whereas *Osiris*  
marvelled, and asked him why he named the horse and not the lion rather: Because (quoth *Ho-  
rus*) the lion serveth him in good sted, who stands upon his owne guard and defense onely and  
hath need of aid: but the horse is good to defeat the enemy quite, to follow him in chace and  
take him prisoner. When *Osiris* heard him say so, he tooke great pleasure and contentment  
heerein, judging heereby that his sonne was sufficiently appointed and prepared to give battell  
unto his enemies. And verily it is said that among many that daily revolted from *Typhon* and  
sided with *Horus*, even the very concubine of *Typhon* named *Thueris* was one, who came to him:  
and when a certaine \* serpent followed after and pursued her, the same was cut in peeces by the  
guard about *Horus*: in remembrance whereof, at this very day they bring forth a certaine cord,  
which likewise they chop in peeces. Well, they say the battell continued many daies: but in  
the end *Horus* had the victory: As also that *Isis* having *Typhon* prisoner fast bound in her hands, killed

\* Ophi.

killed him not: but loosed him and let him goe: which *Horus* not able to endure with patience,  
laid violent hands upon his mother, and plucked from her head the roiall ornament that she  
had thereon: in sted whereof, *Mercury* set one a morion made in maner of a coves head. Then  
*Typhon* called *Horus* judicially into question, charging him that he was a bastard; but by the  
helpe of *Mercury* who pleaded his cause, he was judged by the gods, legitimate: who also in two  
other battels vanquished *Typhon*. And more than all this, the tale saith, that *Isis* after death, was  
with child by *Osiris*, by whom she had *Heliotimus* and *Harpoerates* who wanted his nether parts.  
Thus you see what be in maner all the principall points of this fable, setting aside and excepting  
those which are most execrable, to wit, the dismembing of *Horus* and the beheading of *Isis*.  
Now, that, if any there be who hold and affirme such fables as these touching the blessed and  
immortal nature, whereby especially we conceived in our minde the deity, to be true and that  
such things were really done or hapned so indeed,

We ought to speake upon their face

And curse such monthes with all disgrace.

as *Aeschylus* saith, I need not say unto you, for that you hate and detest those enough already  
of your selfe, who conceive so barbarous and absurd opinions of the gods. And yet you see ve-  
rie well, that these be not narrations like unto old wives tales, or vaine and foolish fictions,  
which Poets or other idle writers devise out of their owne fingers ends, after the maner of spi-  
ders, which of themselves without any precedent, & subject matter, spin their threds, weave  
and stretch out their webbes: for evident it is that they conteine some difficulties and the me-  
morials of certaine accidents. And like as the Mathematicians say, that the rainbow is a repre-  
sentation of the Sunne, and the same distinguished by sundry colours, by the refraction of our  
eie-sight against a cloud: even so this fable, is an apparence of some doctrine or learning, which  
doeth reflect and send backe our understanding, to the consideration of some other truth;  
much after the maner of sacrifices, wherein there is mingled a kinde of lamentable dole, and  
sorrowfull heaviness. Semblably, the making and disposition of temples, which in some pla-  
ces have faire open Isles and pleasant allies open over head: and in other, darke caves vaults,  
and shrouds under the earth, resembling properly caves, sepulchers, or charnell vaults, where-  
in they put the bodies of the dead; especially the opinion of the Osirians: for albeit the bodie  
of *Osiris*, be said to be in many places, yet they name haply *Abydos* the towne, or *Memphis* a lit-  
tle citie, where they affirme that his true body lieth, in such fort, as the greatest and welthiest  
persons in *Aegypt* usually doe ordeine and take order, that their bodies be interred in *Abydos*,  
to the end they may lie in the same sepulchre with *Osiris*: and at *Memphis* was kept the beeste  
*Apis*, which is the image and figure of his soule, and they will have his body also to be there.  
Some likewise there be, who interpret the name of this towne, as if it should signifie the haven  
and harbour of good men: others, that it betokeneth the tombe of *Osiris*: and there is before  
the gate of the citie, a little Isle, which to all others is inaccessible, and admitteth no entrance,  
inasmuch, as neither fowles of the aire will there light, nor fishes of the sea approach thither:  
onely at one certaine time, the priests may come in, and there they offer sacrifices, and present  
oblations to the dead; where also they crowne and adorne with flowers the monument of one  
*Mediphthe*, which is overlshadowed and covered with a certaine plant, greater and taller than  
any olive tree. *Eudoxus* writeth, that how many sepulchres soever there be in *Aegypt* wherein  
the corps of *Osiris* should lie, yet it is in the citie *Busiris*; for that it was the countrey and place  
of his nativitie: so that now there is no need to speake of *Taphosiris*, for that the very name it  
selfe saith enough, signifying as it doeth, the sepulchre of *Osiris*. Well, I approve the cutting  
of the wood, and renting of the linnen, the effusions also and funerals libaments there per-  
formed, because there be many mysteries mingled among. And so the priests of *Aegypt* affirme,  
that the bodies not of these gods onely, but also of all others, who have bene engendered, and  
are not incorruptible, remaine among them where they honoured and revered; but their  
soules became starres, and shine in heaven: and as for that of *Isis*, it is the same which the  
Greekes call *Cyon*, that is to say, the dogge-starre, but the Aegyptians *Sathis*: that of *Orus* is  
*Orion*, and that of *Typhon*, the Beare. But whereas all other cities and states in *Aegypt* contri-  
bute a certaine tribute imposed upon them, for to portray, draw and paint such beasts as are  
honored among them, those onely who inhabit the countrey *Thebaïs*, of all others give no-  
thing thereto, being of opinion, that no mortall thing, subject to death, can be a god: as for  
him alone, whom they call *Emph*, as he was never borne, so shall he never die. Whereas there-  
fore

fore many such things as these, be reported and shewed in *Aegypt*, they who thinke, that all is no more but to perpetuate and eternize the memorie of marvelous deeds and strange accidents of some princes, kings, or tyrants, who for their excellent vertue & mighty puissance, have adjoined to their owne glory, the authoritie of deitie, unto whom, a while after, there befell calamities; use heerein a very cleanly shift, and expedite evasion, transferring handfomly from the gods unto men, all sinister infamie that is in these fable, and helpe themselves by the testimonies which they finde and read in histories: for the *Aegyptians* write, that *Mercurie* was but small of stature, and slender limmed: that *Typhon* was of a ruddy colour; *Orus* white; *Osiris* of a blackish hew, as who indeed were naturally men. Moreover, they call *Osiris*, capitaine or generall, *Canobus* pilot or governor of a ship, after whose name they have named a starre: and as for to the shippe which the *Greeks* name *Argo*, they hold that it was the very resemblance of *Osiris* ship, which for the honour of him, being numbered among the starres, is so situate in heaven, as that it mooveth and keepeth his course not farre from that of *Orion*, and the *Cyon* or dogge-starre; of which twaine, the one is consecrate unto *Horus*, the other to *Isis*. But I feare me, that this were to flurre and remoove those sacred things which are not to be touched and medled withall, and as much as to fight against, not continuance of time onely and antiquitie, as *Simonides* saith, but also the religion of many sorts of people and nations, who are long since possessed with a devotion toward these gods: I doubt (I say) left in so doing they faile not to transfer to great names as these out of heaven to earth, and so goe very neere and misse but a little to overthrow and abolishe that honour and belief, which is ingenerate and imprinted in the hearts of all men, even from their very first nativitie: which were even to set the gates wide open for a multitude of miscreants and Atheists, who would bring all divinity to humanity, and deitie to mans nature; yea and to give a manifest overture and libertie for all the impostures and juggling cuts of *Eumenius* the Messenian, who having himselfe coined and devised the originals of fables, grounded upon no probability nor subject matter, but even against the course of reason and nature, spread and scattered abroad throughout the world all impietic, transmuting and changing all those whom we repute as gods, into the names of admirals, capitaines generall, and kings, who had lived in times past, according as they stand upon record, by his saying, written in golden letters, within the citie \* *Panchon*, (which never *Græcian* nor *Barbarian* save himselfe saw) as having failed unto the countreies of the *Panchonians* and *Triphylians*; nation so forsooth that neither are, nor ever were in this world. And yet verily, a great name there goeth among the *Assyrians*, of the woorthy and renowned acts of *Semiramis*; as also in *Aegypt* of *Sesostrius*. As for the *Phrygians*, even at this day they terme noble exploits and admirable enterprises, by the name *Manica*, of one of their ancient kings, whom they called *Manis*, who in his time was a most prudent and valiant prince, and whom others named *Mafdes*. *Cyrus* led the *Persians*, and *Alexander* the *Macedonians*, with conquest still and victory, from one end of the world in manner to another: and yet for all these brave acts, no otherwise renowned they are, nor remembered, but onely for puissant and good kings: and say, there were haply some of them who upon an overweening and high conceit of themselves, helped forward with youth, and want of experience, as *Plato* saith, and whose mindes were puffed up and inflamed with pride and vain-glory, tooke upon them the surnames of gods, and had temples founded in their names, yet this glory of theirs lasted but a while, and soon after being condemned by the posterity, of vanitie, and arrogancie together, with impietic and injustice,

*Were quickly gone, like smoke which mounting hie,  
Into the aire, doth vanish by and by.*

and now as fugitive slaves that may be brought backe againe where ever they be found, they are haled and pulled away from their temples and altars, and nothing remaineth for them but their tombs & sepulchers: and therefore that old king *Antigonus*, when a certaine Poet named *Hermodotus*, in his verses called him the sonne of the Sun, yea, & a god, Well quoth he, my groomer that daily voideth my clofe stoole, knowes no such matter by me. *Lysippus* also the Imager did very well to reprove *Apelles* the painter, for that, when he drew the picture of *Alexander*, hee portraied him with lightning in his hand; whereas *Lysippus* put in his hand a lance, the glory and renowne whereof, as due and proper unto him, yea, and befitting his person indeed, no time nor age should ever be able to abolishe. In which regard, I hold better with them who thinke that the things which be written of *Typhon*, *Osiris*, and *Isis*, were no accidents or passions incident to gods or to men; but rather to some great *Dæmons*: of which kinde were *Pythagoras*, *Plato*,

*Plato*, *Xenocrates*, and *Chrysippus*, following heerein the opinions of the ancient Theologians, who hold, that they were farre stronger than men, and that in puissance they much surmounted our nature: but that divinitie which they had, was not pure and simple; but they were compounded of a nature corporall and spirituall, capable of pleasure, of griefe, and other passions and affections, which accompanying these mutations, trouble some more, others lesse. For in these *Dæmons*, there is like, as also among men, a diversitie and difference of vice and of vertue. For the acts of *Giants* and *Titans*, so much chaunted in every Greeke song, the abominable deeds likewise and practises of one *Saturne*, the resistance also of *Pytho* against *Apollo*, the founds of *Bacchus*, and the wanderings of *Ceres*, differ in no respect from the accidents of *Osiris* and *Typhon*, and of all other such like fabulous tales, which every man may heare as much as he list: as also whatsoever lying covered and hidden under the vaile of mystical sacrifices and ceremonies, is kept close not uttered nor shewed to the vulgar people, is of the same sort. And according hereto, we may heare *Homer* how he calleth good men, and such as excell others diversly, one while *θεοειδης*, that is to say, like unto the gods; otherwhile, *ανθρωπος*, that is to say, comparable to the gods: sometimes *δειν* *αυτο γυμν* *εργασιας*, that is to say, having their wildome and counsell from the gods. But the denomination or addition drawn from the *Dæmons*, he useth commonly as well to the good as the bad; indifferent to valiant persons and to cowards: to a timorous and fearefull soldior thus:

*Δαίμονες γαβύ ἐνδὲ, τῶ δειδωκόσιν ἄνθρωποι,  
ἀππειλῶ.*

*Dæmonian, approach thou neare:*

*The Greeks why dost thou so much feare?*

On the other side, of an hardy soldior:

*αὐτὸν ὅτι δὴ τὸ τίμησθαι ἔκαστον, δαίμονι τῶν,*

*When he the charge in field the fourth time gave,*

*Like to some Demon he did himselfe behave.*

And againe, in the woofe sense,

*Δαίμονος, πῦρ τὸ ἱελαῖος, Παναῖος τὸ μῦθος, &c.*

*\* Dæmonian, what is that great offence,*

*Which Priam and his sonnes committed have*

*Against thee, for to make thy just pretence,*

*In wrathfull rearmes upon them thus to rave,*

*And them no grace and mercy so vouchsafe,*

*Nor rest, untill thou see'st the stately towne,*

*Of Ilium destroyed and raised downe?*

Giving us heereby thus much to understand, that the *Dæmons* have a mixt nature, and a will or affection which is not equall, nor alwaies alike. And heereupon it is, that *Plato* verily attributeth unto the Olympian and celestiall gods, all that which is dexterous and odde: but unto the *Dæmons*, whatsoever is sinister and even. And *Xenocrates* holdeth, that those daies which are unlucky and distill, those festivall solemnities likewise, which have any beatings or knocking and thumping of breasts, or fasting, or otherwise any cursed speeches and filthy words, are not meet for the honour & worship either of gods or of good *Dæmons*: but he suppoeth that there be in the aire about us, certaine natures great & puissant; howbeit, shrewd, malicious and unfociable, which take some pleasure in such matters: and when they have obtained and gotten so much to be done for their sake, they goe about no farther mischief, nor wait any shrewdeturnes: whereas contrariwise, both *Hesiodus* calleth the pure and holy *Dæmons*, such also as be the good angels and keepers of men,

*Givers of wealth and opulence, as whom  
This regal gift and honour doth become.*

And *Plato* also termeth this kinde of *Dæmons* or angels *Mercuriall*, that is to say, expositours or interpretours, and ministeriall, having a middle nature betwene gods and men, who as mediators, present the prayers and petitions of men heere unto the gods in heaven, and from thence transmit and convey unto us upon earth, the oracles and revelations of hidden and future things, as also their donations of goods and riches. As for *Empedocles*, he saith, that these *Dæmons* or fiends, are punished and tormented for their finnes and offences which they have committed, as may appeere by these his verses:

Rrrrr

Fff

\* *Os, Panchon.*

\* *Os, Panchon.*

\* That is to say, wicked or cruel Jupiter, so *Μητις*.

For why? the power of aire and skie,  
did to the sea them chase:  
The sea them cast up, of the earth,  
even to the outward face:  
The earth them sends unto the beames,  
of never-tired Sunne,  
The Sunne to aire, whence first they came,  
doth fling them downe anon:  
Thus possesto and fro, twist seas  
beneath, and heav'n above,  
From one they to another passe:  
not one yet doth them love.

untill such time as being thus in this purgatory chastised and clemented, they recover againe that place estate and degree which is meet for them and according to their nature. These things and such like for all the world they say, are reported of *Typhon*, who upon envy and malice committed many outrages; and having thus made a trouble and confusion in all things, filled sea and land with wofull calamities and miseries, but was punished for it in the end. For *Isis* the wife and sister of *Osiris* in revenge, plagued him in extinguishing and repressing his fury and rage: and yet neglected not the travels and paines of her owne which she endured, her tugging also and wandering to and fro, nor many other acts of great wisdom and prowess suffered so to be buried in silence and oblivion: but inserting the same among the most holy ceremonies of sacrifices, as examples, images, memorials and resemblances of the accidents hapning in those times, she consecrated an ensignement, instruction and consolation of piety and devout religion to godward, as well for men as women afflicted with miseries. By reason whereof she and her husband *Osiris* of good Daemons were transmuted for their vertue into gods, like as afterwards were *Hercules* and *Bacchus*, who in regard thereof, and not without reason, have honours decreed for them both of gods and also of Daemons intermingled together, as those who in all places were puissant, but most powerfull both upon and also under the earth. For they say that *Sarapis* is nothing else but *Pluto*, and *Isis* the same that *Proserpina*, as *Archemachus* of *Euboea* and *Heraclitus* of *Pontus* testifie and he thinketh that the oracle in the city *Canobus*, is that of father *Diu* or *Pluto*. King *Ptolemæus* surnamed *Soter* that is to say, saviour, caused that huge statue or colosse of *Pluto* which was in the city *Sinope*, to be taken from thence, not knowing, nor having scene before of what forme and shape it was, but only that as he dreamed he thought that he saw *Serapis*, commanding him withall speed possible to transport him into *Alexandria*. Now the king not knowing where this statue was, nor where to finde it, in this doubtful perplexity related his vision aforesaid unto his friends about him, and chanced to meet with one *Sophism* a great traveller and a man who had bene in many places, and he said that in the city of *Sinope* he had scene such a statue as the king described unto them. Whereupon *Ptolemæus* sent *Soteles* and *Dionysius*, who in long time, and with great travell, and not without the especiall grace of the divine providence, stole away the said colosse and brought it with them: Now when it was cometo *Alexandria*, and there scene, *Timotheus* the great Cosmographer and Antiquary, and *Manethon* of the province *Sebennitis*, guessed it by all conjectures to be the image of *Pluto*, and namely by *Cerberus* the hel-dog and the dragon about him, perswading the king that it could be the image of no other god but of *Serapis*. For it came not from thence with that name; but being brought into *Alexandria*, it tooke the name *Serapis*, by which the Aegyptians doe name *Pluto*. And yet *Heraclitus* verily the Naturalist faith, that *Hades* and *Dionysius*, that is to say, *Pluto* and *Bacchus*, be the same. And in truth when they are disposed to play the foolles and be mad, they are caried away to this opinion. For they who suppose that *Hades*, that is to say, *Pluto*, is said to be the body and as it were the sepulcher of the soule, as if it seemed to be foolish and drunken all the while she is within it, me thinkes they doe allegorize but very baldly. And better it were yet to bring *Osiris* and *Bacchus* together, yea and to reconcile *Sarapis* unto *Osiris*, in saying that after he hath changed his nature, he became to have this denomination. And therefore this name *Sarapis* is common to all, as they know very well who are professed in the sacred religion of *Osiris*. For we ought not to give eare and credit to the bookes and writings of the Phrygians, wherein we finde, that there was one *Charpos* the daughter of *Hercules*, and that of *Janus* a sonne of *Hercules* was engendred *Typhon*: neither yet to make

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make account of *Phylarchus* who writeth, that *Bacchus* was the first, who from the Indians drave two beeces, whereof the one was named *Apis*, and the other *Osiris*: That *Sarapis* is the proper name of him who ruleth and embelisheth the universall world, and is derived of the word *Sairein*, which some say, signifieth as much as to beautifie and adorne. For these be absurd toies delivered by *Phylarchus*: but more monstrous and senselesse are their absurdities who write, that *Sarapis* is no god, but that it is the coffin or sepulcher of *Apis* that is so called: as also that there be certain two leaved brassen gates in *Memphis*, bearing the names of *Lethæ* & *Cocytus*, that is to say, oblivion and wailing, which being set open when they interre and bury *Apis*, in the opening make a great sound and rude noise: which is the cause that we lay hand upon every copper or 10 brassen vessell when it resoundeth so, to stay the noise thereof. Yet is their more apparence of truth and reason in their opinion, who hold that it was derived of these verbes *αἰεῖν*, and *οἰεῖν*, which signifieth to move, as being that which moveth the whole frame of the world. The priests for the most part hold, that *Sarapis* is a word compounded of *Osiris* and *Apis* together, giving this exposition withall and teaching us, that we ought to beleve *Apis* to be an elegant image of the soule of *Osiris*. For mine owne part, if *Sarapis* be an Aegyptian name, I suppose rather that it betokeneth joy and mirth: And I ground my conjecture upon this, that the Aegyptians ordinarily call the feast of joy and gladnesse termed among the Athenians *Charmosyna*, by the name of *Sairei*. For *Plato* himselfe saith, that *Hades* which signifieth *Pluto*, being the sonne of *Aidos*, that is to say, of shamefastnesse and reverence, is a milde and gracious god to 20 those who are toward him. And very true it is, that in the Aegyptians language, many other proper names are significant and carry their reason with them: as namely that infernall place under the earth, into which they imagine the soules of the dead doe descend after they be departed, they call *Amenthes*, which terme is as much to say, as taking and giving; but whether this word be one of those, which in old time came out of *Greece* and were transpotted thither, we will consider and discusse better hereafter: Now for this present let us prosecute that which remaineth of this opinion now in hand. For *Osiris* and *Isis* of good Daemons were translated into the number of the gods: And as for the puissance of *Typhon* oppressed and quelled, howbeit panting as yet at the last gaspe and striving as it were with the pangs of death, they have certain ceremonies and sacrifices, to pacify and appease. Other feasts also there be againe on the 30 contrary side wherein they insult over him, debate and defame him what they can: In so much as men of a ruddy colour they deride & make of them a laughing stocke. And as for the inhabitants of *Coptos*, they use at a certaine feast to throw an asse headlong downe from the pitch of an high rocke, because *Typhon* was ruddy and of a red asses colour. The Busritants and Lycopolites forbore to sound any trumpets, because they resemble the braying of an asse: and generally they take an asse to be an unclean beast and demonically, for the resemblance in hiew that it hath with him: and when they make certaine cakes in their sacrifices of the moneths, *Payni* and *Phaophi*, they worke them in paistry with the print upon them of an asse bound. Also in their solemne sacrifice to the Sun, they command as many as will be there to worship that god, 40 not to weare any brooches or jewels of gold about their bodies, nor to give any meat or provender unto an asse what need soever he have thereof. It seemeth also, that the Pythagoreans themselves were of opinion, that *Typhon* was some fiend or demonically power: for they say that *Typhon* was borne in the even number of six and fity: againe, that the triangular number or figure, is the puissance of *Pluto*, *Bacchus* and *Mars*: of the quadrangle, is the power of *Rhea*, *Venus*, *Ceres*, *Vesta*, and *Juno*: that of twelve angles belongeth to the might of *Jupiter*: but that of fity six angles is the force of *Typhon*, as *Eudoxus* hath left in writing. But the Aegyptians supposing that *Typhon* was of a reddish colour, doe kill for sacrifice unto him, kine and oxen of the same colour, observing withall so precisely, that if they have but one haire blacke or white, they be not sacrificeable: for they thinke such sacrifices not acceptable, but contrariwise displeasing unto the gods, imagining they be the bodies which have received the soules of leaud and wicked 50 persons, transformed into other creatures. And therefore after they have cursed the head of such a sacrifice, they cut it off and cast it into the river, at least waies in old time: but now they give it unto strangers. But the ox which they meane to sacrifice indeed, the priests called *Sphragiste*, that is to say, the sealers, come & make it with their seale, which as *Cassor* writeth, was the image of a man kneeling, with his hands drawn backe and bound behinde him, and having a sword set to his throat: Semblably they use the name of an asse also, as hath bene said, for his uncivill rudenesse and insolency, no lesse than in regard of his colour, wherein he resemblith

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Typhon;

*Typhon*; and therefore the Egyptians gave unto *Ochus* a king of the Persians, whom they hated above all others as most curled and abominable, the surname of asse: whereof *Ochus* being advertised and saying withall, This asse shall devour your ox; caused presently their beefe *Asse* to be killed and sacrificed, as *Dion* hath left in writing. As for those who say, that *Typhon* after he had lost the field, fled six daies journey upon an asse backe, and having by this means escaped, begat two sonnes, *Hieroglymus* and *Judau*; evident it is herein that they would draw the story of the Jewes into this fable. And thus much of the allegorick conjectures which this tale doth afford. But now from another head, let us (of those who are able to discourse somewhat Philosophically and with reason) consider first and formost such as deale most simply in this behalfe. And these be they that say, like as the Greeks allegorize that *Saturne* is time, *Juno* the aire, and the generation of *Vulcan*, is the transmutation of aire into fire; even so they give out that by *Osiris* the Egyptians meane *Nilus*, which lieth and keepeth company with *Isis*, that is to say, the earth: That *Typhon* is the sea, into which *Nilus* falling loseth himselfe, and is dispatched here and there, unlesse it be that portion thereof, which the earth receiveth and whereby it is made fertill. And upon the river *Nilus* there is a sacred lamentation, even from the daies of *Saturne*: wherein there is lamenting, how *Nilus* springing and growing on the left hand, decaith and is lost on the right: For the Egyptians doe thinke, that the east parts where the day appeareth, be the forefront and face of the world, that the North part is the right hand & the South part the left. This *Nilus* therefore, arising on the left hand, and lost in the sea on the right hand, is said truly to have his birth and generation in the left side, but his death and corruption in the right. And this is the reason why the priests of *Aegypt* have the sea in abomination, and terme salt the some and froth of *Typhon*. And among those things which are interdicted and forbidden this is one, that no salt be used at the boord: by reason whereof they never salute any pilots or sailors, for that they keepe ordinarily in the sea, and get their living by it. This also is one of the principall causes, why they abhorre fishes; in such sort as when they would describe hatred, they draw or portray a fish: like as in the porch before the temple of *Minerva* within the city *Sai*, there was portrayed and engraven, an infant, an old man; after them a falcon or some such hawke, and close thereto a fish, and last of all a river-horse: which Hieroglyphicks, doe symbolize and signifie thus much in effect. O all yea that come into the world and goe out of it: God hateth shamelesse injustice. For by the hawke they understand God, by the fish hatred, and by the river-horse impudent violence and vilany, because it is said that he killeth his father, and after that, forceth his owne mother and covereth her. And fensibably it should seeme, that the saying of the Pythagoreans, who give out that the sea is a reare of *Saturne*, under covert words doe meane, that it is impure and uncleane. Thus have I bene willing by the way to alledge thus much, although it be without the traine of our fable, because they fall within the compasse of a vulgar and common received history. But to returne to our matter: the priests as many as be of the wiser and more learned sort, understand by *Osiris*, not onely the river *Nilus*, and by *Typhon* the sea: but also by the former, they signifie in one word and simply, all vertue and power that produceth moisture and water, taking it to be the materiall cause of generation, and the nature generative of feed: and by *Typhon* they represent all desiccative vertue, all heat of fire & drinnesse, as the very thing that is fully opposite and adverse to humidity: and hereupon it is, that they hold *Typhon* to be red of haire and of skin yellow: and by the same reason they willingly would not encounter or meet upon the way men of that hew, no nor delight to speake unto such. Contrariwise they feigne *Osiris* to be of a blacke colour, because all water, causeth the earth, clothes and cloudes to appeare blacke with which it is mingled. Also the moisture, that is in young folke maketh their haire blacke; but grised hoarinesse, which seemeth to be a pale yellow, cometh by reason of scicity unto those who be past their flower, and now in their declining age: also the Spring time is Greene, fresh, pleasant, and generative: but the latter season of Autumne, for want of moisture, is an enemy to plants, and breedeth diseases in man and beast.

To speake also of that ox or beefe named *Mnevis*, which is kept and nourished in *Heliopolis* at the common charges of the city, consecrated unto *Osiris*, and which some say, was the fire of *Apis*; blacke he is of haire, and honored in a second degree after *Apis*. Moreover, the whole land of *Aegypt* is of all others exceeding blacke, such a blacke I meane, as that is of the cle, which they call *Chemia*, and they liken it to the heart; for hote and moist it is, and enclineth to the left and South parts of the earth, like as the heart lieth most to the left side of a man. They

assume

affirme also, that the Sunne and Moone are not mounted upon chariots, but within barges or boates continually do moove and saile as it were round about the world; giving us thereby covertly to understand, that they be bred and nourished by moisture. Furthermore, they thinke, that *Homer* (like as *Thales* also) being taught out of the Egyptians learning, doth hold and set downe this position, That water is the element and principle that engendereth all things: for they say, that *Osiris* is the Ocean, and *Isis*, *Typhis*, as one would say, the nourfe that suckleth and feedeth the whole world. For the Greeks call the ejaculation or casting forth of naturall feed, *Arctia*, like as the conjunction of male and female *Sexus*; likewise *Uter*, which in Greeke signifieth a son, is derived of the word *Uter*, that is to say, water, and *Uter* betokeneth also to raine. Moreover, *Bacchus* they surname *Hyes*, as one would say, the lord and ruler of the moist nature; and he is no other than *Osiris*. Furthermore, whereas we pronounce his name *Osiris*, *Hellanicus* putteth it downe *Hyfiris*, saying, that he heard the very priests themselves of *Aegypt* to pronounce it so. And thus verily calleth he the said god in every place, not without good shew of reason, having regard unto his nature and invention. But that *Osiris* is the same god that *Bacchus*, who should in all reason better know than your selfe (*ô Cles*) considering that in the city of *Delphi* you are the mistresse and lady Prioresse as it were of the religious Thyans, and from your infancy have bene a votary and Nun consecrated by your father and mother to the service of *Osiris*. But if in regard of others, we must alledge testimonies, let us not meddle with their hidden secrets; howbeit, that which the priests do in publicke when the inter *Apis*, having brought his corps in a boat or punt, differeth not at all from the ceremonies of *Bacchus*: for, clad they be in stags skinner, they cary javelins in their hands, they keepe a loud crying, and shaking of their bodies very unquietly, much after the maner of those who are transported with the fanaticall and sacred fancy of *Bacchus*. And what reason els should there be, that many nations of *Greece* portray the statue of *Bacchus* with a bulles head? and the dames among the Elians in their praier and invocations do call vnto him, beseeching this god to come unto them with his bulles foot? yea, and the Argives commonly surname *Bacchus*, *Bugenes*, which is as much to say, as the sonne of a Cow, or engendered by a bull: and that which more is, they invoke and call upon him out of the water with found of trumpets, casting into a deepe gulf, a lambe, as to the Portier, under the name of *Pylaeochori*. Their trumpets they hide within their javelins, called *Thyrri*, according as *Socrates* hath written in his books of sacred ceremonies. Moreover, the *Titanical* acts, and that whole, entier and sacred night, accord with that which is reported as touching the dismembred of *Osiris*, and the resurrection or renovation of his life: in like manner, those matters which concerne his buriall. For the Egyptians shew in many places the sepulchres of *Osiris*: and the Delphians thinke, they have the bones and reliques of *Bacchus* among them, intred and bestowed neere unto the oracle: and his religious priests celebrate unto him a secret sacrifice within the temple of *Apollo*, when the Thyades who are the Priestesses begin to chaunt the sonnet *Licmies*. Now that the Greeks are of opinion, that *Bacchus* is the lord and governour, not of wine liquor onely, but also of every other nature which is moist and liquid, the testimony of *Pindarus* is sufficient, when he saith thus: *Bacchus*

\* One of the surnames of Bacchus.

Taking the charge of trees that grow,  
Doth cause them for to bud and blow:  
The verdure fresh and beauty pure  
Of lovely fruits he doth procure.

And therefore it is, that those who serve and worship *Osiris* are streightly forbidden and charged, not to destroy any fruitfull tree, nor to stop the head of any fountaine. And not onely the river *Nilus*, but all water and moisture whatsoever in generally, they call the effluence of *Osiris*: by reason whereof, before their sacrifices they cary alwaies in procession a pot or pitcher of water, in honour of the said god.

They describe also a king and the Southern or meridional climat of the world, by a figtree leafe, which fig leafe signifieth the imbibition and motion of all things: and besides, it seemeth naturally to resemble the member of generation. Also, when they solemnize the feast called *Pamyrsia*, which as before hath bene said, was instituted in the honour of *Priapus*, they shew and cary about in procession an image or statue, the genital member whereof, is thrice as bigge as the ordinary: for this god of theirs is the beginning of all things; and every such principle, by generation multiplieth it selfe. Now, we are wont moreover to say, Thrice, for many times; to wit, a finite number for an infinite; as when we use the word, *Trisagios*, that is to say, Thrice

happy,

happy, for most happy; and Three bonds, for infinite; unless peradventure this ternary or threefold number was expressly and properly chosen by our ancients. For the nature of moisture being the principle that engendred all things, from the beginning hath engendred these three elements or primitive bodies, Earth, Aire and Fire. For that branch which is set unto the fable, to wit, that *Typhon* flung the genital member of *Osiris* into the river, that *Isis* could not finde it, but caused one to be made to resemble it; and when she was provided thereof, ordeined that it should be honoured and caried in a solempne pompe; tendeth to this, for to teach us, that the generative and productive vertue of god, had moisture at the first for the matter, and by the meanes of the said humidity, was mixed with those things that were apt for generation. Another branch there is yet, growing to this fable, namely, that one *Appis* brother to the Sunne, warred against *Jupiter*; that *Osiris* aided *Jupiter* and helped him to defeat his enemy; in regard of which merit he adopted him for his sonne, and named him *Diomysus*, that is to say, *Bacchus*. Now the Mythology of this fable, as it evidently appeareth, accordeth covertly, with the truth of Nature: for the Aegyptians call the winde, *Jupiter*, unto which nothing is more contrary, than siccity and that which is fire: and that is not the Sunne, although some confanguinity it hath unto it: but moisture comming to extinguish the extremity of that drinnesse, fortifieth and augmenteth those vapors, which nourish the wind and keepe it in force. Moreover, the Greeks consecrate the Ivie unto *Bacchus*, and the same is named among the Aegyptians, *Chenosis*, which word, (as they say) signifieth in the Aegyptian tongue, the plant of *Osiris*: at leastwise *Ariston* who enrolled a colonic of the Athenians, affirmeth that he light upon an epistle of *Anaxarchus*, wherein he found as much; as also, that *Bacchus* was the sonne of a water nymph, *Naxos*. Other Aegyptians also there be, who hold, that *Bacchus* was the sonne of *Isis*, and that he was not called *Osiris*, but *Asaphes*, in the letter *Alpha*, which word signifieth prowesse or valour. And thus much giveth *Hermes* to understand, in his first booke of Aegyptian acts; where he saith also, that *Osiris* by interpretation, is as much, as \*flour or mightie. Heere I beare to alledge *Atanasius*, who referreth and ascribeth unto *Epaphus*, *Bacchus*, *Osiris*, and *Sarapis*. I overpasse *Anticlistides* likewise, who affirmeth, that *Isis* was the daughter of *Prometheus*, and married unto *Bacchus*. For the very particular properties that we have said were in their feasts and sacrifices, yeld a more cleere evidence and prooffe, than any allegations of witnesse whatsoever. Also they hold, that among the starrs, the dogge or *Sirius* was consecrate unto *Isis*, the which starre draweth the water. And they honour the lion, with whose heads and having the mouth gaping and wide open, they adorne the doores and gates of their temples, for that the river *Nilus* riseth

So soone as in the circle Zodiacke,

The Sunne and Leo signe, encounter make.

And as they both hold and affirme, *Nilus* to be the effluence of *Osiris*; even so they are of opinion, that the body of *Isis* is the earth or land of *Aegypt*; and yet not all of it, but so much as *Nilus* overfloweth, and by commixtion maketh fertile and fruitfull: of which conjunction, they say, that *Orus* was engendred, which is nothing else but the temperature and disposition of the aire, nourishing and maintaining all things. They say also, that this *Orus* was nourished within the mores neere unto the citie *Buto*, by the goddesse *Latona*; for that the earth being well drenched and watered, bringeth forth and nourisheth vapors, which overcome, extinguish, and repress (nothing so much) great siccity and drinnesse. Furthermore, they call the marches and borders of the land, the confines also of the coasts which touch the sea, *Nephtys*: and this is the reason why they name *Nephtys*, *Telenta*, that is to say, small or last; and say that she was married unto *Typhon*. And when *Nilus* breaketh out and overrunneth his banks so, as he approacheth these borders, they call the unlawfull conjunction or adultery of *Osiris* with *Nephtys*, the which is knownen by certaine plants growing there, among which is the Melilot: by the seed whereof, saith the tale, when it was shedde and left behinde, began *Typhon* to perceive the wrong that was done unto him in his marriage. And heereupon they say, that *Orus* was the legitime sonne of *Isis*, but *Anubis* was borne by *Nephtys* in bastardie. And verily in the succession of kings they record *Nephtys* married unto *Typhon*, to have beene at first barren. Now if this be not meant of a woman, but of a goddesse, they understand under these enigmaticall speeches, a land altogether barren and unfruitfull, by reason of hardnesse and stiffe soliditie. The lying in wait of *Typhon* to surpris *Osiris*, his usurped rule and tyranny, is nothing else but the force of drinnesse, which was very mightie, which dissipated also and spent all that humidity

ditie that both engendred and also encrease *Nilus* to that height. As for that queene of *Aethiopia*, who came to aid & assist him, the brokeneth the Southerly winds coming from *Aethiopia*: for when these have the upper hand of the Etesian winds, which blow from the North, and drive the clouds into *Aethiopia*, and so hinders those showers and gluts of raine which power out of the clouds, and make the river *Nilus* to swell: then *Typhon* that is to say, drought, is said to winne the better, and to burne up all; and so having gotten the matter cleane of *Nilus*, who by reason of his weaknesse and feeblenesse, is drivning and forced to retire a contrary way, he chafeth him, poore and low into the sea. For whereas the fable saith, that *Osiris* was thus fast within an arke or coffer, there is no other thing signified thereby; but this departure backe of the water, and the hiding thereof within the sea: which is the cause also, that they say *Osiris* went out of sight in the moneth *Athy*, and was no more seene; at what tyme as when all the Etesian winds are laid and given over to blow, *Nilus* returneth into his chanel, leaving the land discovered and bare. And now by this time as the night groweth longer, the darknesse encrease, like as the force of the light doth diminish and is impaired: and then the priests among many other ceremonies, testifying their sadnesse and heave cheere, bring forth and shew a beefe with golden hornes, whom they cover all over with a fine vail of blacke silke, thereby to represent the heavy dole and mourning of the goddesse for *Osiris*: (for thus they thinke, that the said beefe is the image of *Osiris*: and the vestment of blacke afore said, testifying the earth, doth signifie *Isis*) and this shew exhibit they foure daies together; to wit, from the seventh unto the tenth following: And why? Foure things there be for which they make demonstration of griefe & sorrow: the first is the river *Nilus*, for that he seemeth to retire and faile: the second are the North-windes, which now are hushed and still, by reason of the Southern winds, that gaine the masteire over them: the third is the day, for that now it waxeth shorter than the night: and last of all, the discovering and nakednesse of the earth, together with the develling of trees, which at the very same time begin to shed and lose their leaves. After this, upon the nineteenth day at night, they goe downe to the sea side, and then the priests reveled in their sacred Stoles and habits, carie forth with them, a consecrated chest, wherein there is a vessell of gold, into which they take and powre fresh and potable water; and with that, all those who are present set up a note and shout, as if they had found *Osiris* againe: then they take a piece of fatty and fertile earth, and together with the water, knead and worke it into a paste, mixing therewith most precious odors, perfumes and spices, whereof they make a little image in forme of the Moone croissant, which they decke with robes and adorne, shewing thereby evidently that they take these gods to be the substance of water and earth.

Thus when *Isis* had recovered *Osiris*, nourished *Orus*, and brought him up to some growth, so that he now became strengthened & fortified by exhalations, vapors, mists and clouds, *Typhon* verily was vanquished, howbeit, not finally, for that the goddesse, which is the ladie of the earth; would not permit & suffer, that the power or nature which is contrary unto moisture, should be utterly abolished: onely she did slacken and let downe the vehement force thereof, willing that this combat and strife should still continue; because the world would not have beene entirc and perfect, if the nature of fire had beene once extinct & gone. And if this goe not currant among them, there is no reason and probability, that any one should project this assertion also, namely, that *Typhon* in times past overcame one part of *Osiris*: for that in olde time, *Aegypt* was sea: whereupon it is, that even at this day, within the mines wherein men dig for mettals, yea, and among the mountaines, there is found great store of sea fish. Likewise, all the fountaines, welles and pits (and those are many in number) carry a brackish, saltish and bitter water, as if some remnant or residue of the olde sea were reserved, which ranne thither. But in proceesse of time, *Orus* subdued *Typhon*, that is to say, when the seasonable raine came, which tempered the excessive heat, *Nilus* expelled and drave forth the sea, discovered the champion ground, and filled it continually more and more by new deluges and inundations, that laied somewhat still unto it. And hereof, the daily experience is presented to our eyes; for we perceive even at this day, that the overflows and rising of the river, bringing new mud, and adding fresh earth still by little and little, the sea giveth place and retirith: and as the deepe in it is filled more and more, so the superfluouses riseth higher, by the continuall shelves that the Nile calls up; by which meane, the sea runneth backward: yea, the very Isle *Pharos*, which *Homer* knew by his daies to lie farre within the sea even a daies sailing from the continent & firme land of *Aegypt*, is now a very part thereof: not for that it is removed and approached neerer and neerer to the land; but because the sea

which



which was betwene, gave place unto the river that continually made new earth with the mudd that it brought, and so maintained and augmented the maine land. But these things resemble very neere, the Theologicall interpretations that the Stoicks give out: for they holde, that the generative and nutritive Spirit, is *Bacchus*; but that which striketh and divideth, is *Hercules*; that which receiveth, is *Ammon*; that which entrencheth and pierceth into the earth, is *Ceres*; and *Proserpina*; and that which doth penetrate farther and passe thorow the sea, is *Neptune*. Others, who mingle among naturall causes and reasons, some drawn from the Mathematicks, and principally from Astrology, thinke that *Typhon* is the Solare circle or sphere of the Sunne; and that *Osiris* is that of the Moone; inasmuch as the Moone hath a generative and vegetable light, multiplying that sweet and comfortable moisture which is so meet for the generation of living creatures, of trees and plants: but the Sunne having in it a pure fiery flame indeed without any mixture or rebatement at all, heateth and drieth that which the earth bringeth forth, yea, and whatsoever is verdant and in the flower; inasmuch, as by his inflammation he causeth the greater part of the earth to be wholly desert and inhabitable, and many times subdueth the very Moone. And therefore the Aegyptians evermore name *Typhon*, *Seth*, which is as much to say, as ruling lordly, and oppressing with violence. And after their fabulous manner they say, that *Hercules* fitting as it were upon the Sunne, goeth about the world with him; and *Mercurius* likewise with the Moone: by reason whereof, the works and effects of the Moone resemble those acts which are performed by eloquence and wisdom: but those of the Sunne are compared to such as are exploited by force and puissance. And the Stoicks say, that the Sunne is lighted and set on fire by the Sea, and therewith nourished: but they be the fountaines and lakes which send up unto the Moone a milde, sweet and delicate vapour. The Aegyptians saie, that the death of *Osiris* happened on the seventeenth day of the moneth, on which day, better than upon any other, he is judged to be at the full: and this is the reason why the Pythagoreans call this day, *The obscuration*, and of all other numbers they most abhorre and detest it: for whereas sixteene is a number quadrangular or foure-square, and eightene longer one way than another; which numbers only of those that be plaine, happen for to have the ambient unities, that environ them equal to the spaces contained and comprehended within them; seventene, which falleth betwene, separateth and disjoineeth the one from the other, and being cut into unequal intervals, distrusteth the proportion sesquioctave. And some there be who say, that *Osiris* lived, others that he reigned, eight and twenty yeeres: for so many lights there be of the Moone, and so many daies doth she turne about her owne circle: and therefore in those ceremonies which they call *The sepulture of Osiris*, they cut a piece of wood, and make a certaine coffin or case in manner of the Moone croissant, for that as she approacheth neerer to the Sunne, she becommeth pointed and cornered, untill in the end she come to nothing, and is no more scene. And as for the dismembred of *Osiris* into foureteeen pieces, they signifie unto us under the covert vail of these words, The daies wherein the said planet is in the wane, and decreaseth even unto the change, when she is renewed againe. And that day on which she first appeareth, by passing by and escaping the raies of the Sunne, they call an imperfect good: for *Osiris* is a doer of good: and this name signifieth many things, but principally an active and beneficiall power, as they say: and as for the other name *Omphis*, *Hermas* saith, that it betokeneth as much as a benefactor. Also, they are of opinion, that the risings and inundations of the river *Nilus*, answer in proportion to the course of the Moone; for the greatest heigh that it groweth unto in the countrey *Elephantine*, is eight and twenty cubits; for so many illuminations there be, or daies, in every revolution of the Moone: and the lowest gage about *Atendes* and *Xois*, fixe cubits, which answereth to the first quarter: but the meane betwene, about the city *Memphis*, when it is just at the full, cometh to foureteeen cubits, correspondent to the full Moone. They holde moreover, *Apis* to be the lively image of *Osiris*, and that he is ingendred and bred at what time as the generative light descendeth from the Moone and toucheth the Cow desirous of the male: and therefore *Apis* resembleth the formes of the Moone, having many white spots obscured and darkened with the shadowes of blacke. And this is the reason, why they solemnize a feast in the new Moone of the moneth *Phamenoth*, which they call *The ingresse or entrance of Osiris* to the Moone; and this is the beginning of the Spring season: and thus they put the power of *Osiris* in the Moone. They say also, that *Isis* (which is no other thing but generation) lieth with him; and so they name the Moone, Mother of the world; saying, that she is a double nature, male and female: female, in that she doth conceive and is replenished by the Sunne: and male, in this regard, that she

she sendeth forth and sprinkleth in the aire, the seeds and principles of generation: for that the drie distemperature and corruption of *Typhon* is not alwaies superior, but often times vanquished by generation, and howsoever tied it be and bound, yet it riseth fresh againe, and fighteth against *Orus*, who is nothing els but the terrestriall world, which is not altogether free from corruption, nor yet exempt from generation. Others there be, who would have all this fiction covertly to represent no other thing but the eclipses: for the Moone is eclipsed, when she is at the full directly opposite to the Sunne, and cometh to fall upon the shadow of the earth: like as they say, *Osiris* was put into the chest or coffer above said. On the other side, she seemeth to hide and darken the light of the Sunne, upon certaine thirtieth daies, but yet doth not wholly abolish the Sunne, no more than *Isis* doth kill *Typhon*: but when *Nephthys* bringeth forth *Anubis*, *Isis* putteth herselfe in place: for *Nephthys* is that which is under the earth and unscene; but *Isis*, that which is above, and appeareth unto us: and the circle named *Horizon*, which is common to them both, and parteth the two hemispheres, is named *Anubis*, and in forme resembleth a dogge: for why? a dogge seeth awell by night as by day: so that it should seeme, that *Anubis* among the Aegyptians hath the like power that *Proserpina* among the Greeks, being both terrestriall and coelestiall. Others there be, who thinke, that *Anubis* is *Saturne*, and because he is conceived with all things, and bringeth them forth, which in Greeke the word *γενναι* signifieth, therefore he is surnamed *Kuon*, that is to say, A dogge. So that there is some hidden and mystical secret in it, that causeth some, even still to reverence and adore A dogge: for the time was, when more worship was done unto it in *Aegypt*, than to any other beast; but after that *Cambyses* had killed *Apis* cut him in pieces, and flung the same heere and there, no other creature would come neerer to taste thereof, save the dogge only; whereupon he lost that prerogative and preeminence to be more honoured than other beasts. Others there are, who would have the shadow of the earth, which causeth the Moone to be eclipsed when she entrencheth into it, to be named *Typhon*. And therefore me thinks, it were not amisse to say, that in particular there is not any one of these expositions and interpretations perfect by it selfe and right, but all of them together cary some good construction: for it is neither drought alone, nor winde, nor sea, yet darkness; but all that is noisome and hurtfull whatsoever, and which hath a speciall part to hurt and destroy, is called *Typhon*. Neither must we put the principles of the whole world into bodies that have no life and soule, as *Democritus* and *Epicurus* doe: nor yet set downe for the workman and framer of the first matter, a certaine reason and providence, without quality (as do the Stoicks:) such a thing as hath a subsistence before and above all, and commandeth all: for impossible it is, that one sole cause, good or bad, should be the beginning of all things together; for God is not the cause of any evill, and the coagmentation of the world bendeth contrary waies, like as the composition of a lute or bow, as *Heraclitus* saith, and according to *Empiricus*,

*No things can be by themselves good or bad:*

*That things do well, a mixture must be had.*

And therefore this opinion so very auncient, is descended from Theologians and Law-givers unto Poets and Philosophers, the certaine author and beginning whereof, is not yet known: howbeit, so firmly grounded in the persuasion and beliefe of men, that hard it is to suppress or abolish the same; so commonly divulged not onely in conferences, disputations, and ordinary speeches abroad, but also in the sacrifices and divine ceremonies of gods service, in many places, as well among the Barbarians as Greeks, to wit, that neither this world steth and wavereth at adventure, without the government of providence and reason, nor reason only it is that guideth, directeth, and holdeth it (as it were) with certaine helmes or bits of obedience, but manie things there be confused and mixed, good and bad together: or to speake more plainly, there is nothing heere beneath that nature produceth and bringeth forth, which of it selfe is pure and simple: neither is there one drawer of two tunnes, to disperse and distribute abroad the affaires of this world, like as a taverne or vintner doeth his wines or other liquors, brewing and tempering one with another. But this life is conducted by two principles and powers, adverse one unto another; for the one leadeth us to the right hand directly, the other contrariwise turneth us aside and putteth us backe: and so this life is mixt, and the verie world it selfe, if not all throughout, yet at leastwise, this beneath about the earth, and under the Moone, is unequal, variable, and subject to all mutations that possibly may be. For if nothing there is, that can be without a precedent cause, and that which of it selfe is good can never minister cause of evill; necessarie it is, that nature hath some peculiar cause and beginning by it selfe,

selfe, of good as well as of bad. And of this opinion are the most part of the ancients, and those of the wisest sort. For some thinke there be two gods as it were of a contrary mystery & profession; the one, author of all good things, and the other of bad. Others there be who call the better of them god; and the other Dæmon, that is to say, diuell, as *Zoroastres* the Magician did, who by report, was five thousand yeeres before the warre of *Troy*. This *Zoroastres* (I say) named the good god *Oromazes*, and the other *Arimanius*. Moreover, he gave out, that the one resembled light, more than any sensible thing else whatsoever: the other darknesse and ignorance: also that there is one in the middes betweene them, named *Mithres*: (and heereupon it is, that the Persians call an intercessor or mediator, *Mithres*.) He teacheth us also to sacrifice unto the one of them, for petition of good things, and for thanksgiving: but to the other, for to divert and turne away sinister and evill accidents. To which purpose they used to stampe in a mortar a certaine herbe which they call *Omoni*, calling upon *Pluto* and the darknesse: then temper they it with the blood of a wolfe which they have killed in sacrifice: this done, they carie it away, and throw it into a darke corner, where the Sunne never shineth. For this conceit they have, that of herbes and plants, some appertaine unto the good god, and others to the evill dæmon or diuell. Sensibly, of living creatures, dogs, birds, and land urchins, belong to their good god: but those of the water, to the evill fiend. And for this cause they repute those very happy, who can kill the greatest number of them. Howbeit these Sages and wise men report many fabulous things of the gods: as for example, that *Oromazes* is engendered of the clearest and purest light, and *Arimanius* of deepe darknesse: also that they warre one upon another. And the former of these created sixe other gods, the first of Benevolence; the second of Verity; the third of good discipline and publike Law; and of the rest behinde, one of Wisedome, another of Riches; and the sixth, which also is the last, the maker of joy for good and honest deeds. But the \*later produceth as many other in number, concurrents as it were and of adverse operation to the former above named. Afterwards when *Oromazes* had augmented and amplified himselfe three times, he remooved as farre from the Sunne, as the Sunne is distant from the earth, adorning and embellishing the heaven with starres: and one starre above the rest he ordeined to be the guide, mistresse, and overseer of them all, to wit, *Sirius*, that is to say, the Dogge-starre. Then, after he had made foure and twentie other gods, he enclosed them all with in an egge. But the other, brought forth by *Arimanius*, who were also in equall number, never ceased untill they had pierced and made a hole into the said smooth and polished egge: and so affected that, evill things became mingled pell-mell with good. But there will a time come predestined fatally, when this *Arimanius* who brings into the world plague and famine, shall of necessity be rooted out and utterly destroyed for ever, even by them; and the earth shall become plaine, even, and uniforme: neither shall there be any other but one life, and one common-wealth of men, all happy and speaking one and the same language. *Theopompus* also writeth, that according to the wife *Magi*, these two gods must for three thousand yeeres, conquer one after another, and for three thousand yeeres be conquered againe by turnes; and then for the space of another three thousand yeeres, levie mutuall warres, and fight battels one against the other, whiles the one shall subvert and overthrow that which the other hath set up: untill the end *Pluto* shall faint, give over, and perish: then shall men be all in happy estate, they shall need no more food, nor cast any shadow from them; and that god who hath wrought and effected all this, shall repose himselfe, and rest in quiet, not long (I say) for a god, but a moderate time as one would say for a man taking his sleepe and rest. And thus much as touching the fable devised by the *Magi*. But the Chaldeans affirme that of the gods, whom they call Planets or wandering starres, two there be that are beneficiall and doers of good; two againe mischievous and workers of evill; and three which are of a meane nature and common. As for the opinion of the Greeks, concerning this point, there is no man I suppose ignorant thereof: namely, that there be two portions or parts of the world, the one good, allotted unto *Jupiter Olympius*, that is to say, Celestiall; another bad, appertaining to *Pluto* infernall. They fable moreover, and feigne, that the goddess *Harmonia*, that is to say, Accord, was engendered of whom, the one is cruell, grim, and quarrellous; the other milde, lovely, and generative. Now consider the Philosophers themselves, how they agree heerein: For *Heraclitus* directly and diversly nameth warre, the Father, King, and Lord of all the world; saying, that *Homer* when he wisheth and praicheth,

Both out of heaven and earth so banish warre,

That

That god and men, no more might be at jarre.

wilt not how (ere he was aware) he cursed the generation and production of all things, which indeed have their essence and being by the fight and antipathie in nature. He was ignorant that the Sunne would not passe the bounds and limits appointed unto him; for otherwise the furies and cursed tongues which are the minitresses and coadjutresses of justice would finde him out. As for *Empedocles*, he saith, that the beginning and principle which worketh good, is love and amity, yea, and otherwhiles is called Harmonie by *Mercops*: but the cause of evill,

Malice, hatred, enkindred fight,  
Quarrell, debate, and bloody fight.

- 10 Come now to the Pythagoreans, they demonstrate and specifye the same by many names: for they call the good principle, One, finite, permanent or quiet, straight or direct, odde, quadrat or square, right and lightsome: but the bad, twaine, infinite, moving, crooked, even, longer one way than another, unequall, left and darke, as if these were the fountaines of generation. *Anaxagoras* calleth them the minde or understanding and infinity. *Aristotle* termeth the one forme, the other privation. And *Plato* under darke and covert termes hiding his opinion, in many places calleth the former of these two contrary principles, *The Same*, and the later, *The other*. But in the bookes of his lawes, which he wrote when he was now well slept in yeeres, he giveth them no more any obscure and ambiguous names, neither describeth he them symbolically and by enigmaticall and intricate names, but in proper and plaine termes, he saith, that this worke is not moved and managed by one sole cause, but haply by many, or at leastwise no fewer than twaine: whereof the one is the creatour and worker of good, the other opposit unto it and operative of contrary effects. He leaveth also and alloweth a third cause betweene, which is neither without soule nor reasonlesse ne yet unmoovable of it selfe, as some thinke, but adjacent and adherent to the other twaine, howbeit enclining alwaies to the better, as having a desire and appetite thereto, which it pursueth and followeth, as that which heereafter we will deliver shall shew more manifestly, which treatise shall reconcile the Aegyptian Theologie with the Greeks Philosophy, and reduce them to a very good concordance: for that the generation, composition, and constitution of this world is mingled of contrary powers, howbeit the same not of equal force: for the better is predominant: but impossible it is that the evill should inter-
- 30 ly perish and be abolished, so deeply is it imprinted in the body & so far inbred in the soule of the universall world, in opposition alwaies to the better, and to warre against it. Now then, in the soule, reason and understanding, which is the guide, and mistresse of all the best things, is *Osiris*. Also in the earth, in the windes, in water, skie and the starres, that which is well ordeined, staid, disposed and digested in good sort, by temperate seasons and revolutions, the same is called the deluxion of *Osiris*, and the very apparent image of him: Contrariwise, the passionate, violent, unreasonable, brutish, rash and foolish part of the soule, is *Typhon*: Semblably in the bodily nature, that which is extraordinarily adventitious, unholsome & diseased, as for example, the troubled aire and tempestuous indispositions of the weather, the obscuration or eclipse of the Sunne, the defect of the Moone and her occultation, be as it were the excursions, deviations
- 40 out of course, and disparations: and all of them be *Typhons*; as the very interpretation of the Aegyptian word signifieth no lesse: for *Typhon*, they name *Seth*, which is as much to say, as violent and oppressing after a lordly manner. It importeth also many times reversion, & otherwhiles an insultation or supplantation. Moreover some there be who say, that one of *Typhons* familiar friends was named *Beban*. But *Manethos* affirmeth, that *Typhon* himselfe was called *Beban*, which word by interpretation is as much as cohibition, restraint or impeachment, as if the puillance and power of *Typhon* were to stay and withstand the affaires that are in good way of proceeding, and tend as they should doe, to a good end. And heereupon it is that of tame beasts they dedicate and attribute unto him, the most grosse and indocible of all others, namely an asse: but of wilde beasts the most cruell and savage of all others, as the crocodiles and river
- 50 horses. As for the asse, we have spoken before of him. In the city of *Mercury*, named *Hermopolis*, they shew unto us the image of *Typhon*, purtraied under the forme of a river-horse, upon whom sitteth an hauke, fighting with a serpent. By the foresaid horse they represent *Typhon*: and by the hauke, the power and authority which *Typhon* having gotten by force, maketh no care oftentimes, both to be troubled and also to trouble others by his malice. And therefore when they solemnize a sacrifice, the seventh day of the moneth *Tybi*, which they call the coming of *Isis* out of *Phanicia*, they devise upon their halowed cakes for sacrifice, a river-horse, as if he were

\* That is to say, *Arimanius*.

were tied and bound. In the city of *Apollo* the maner and custome confirmed by law was, that every one must eat of a crocodile : and upon a certaine day they have a solemne chase and hunting of them, when they kill as many of them as they can, and then cast them all before the temple : and they say, that *Typhon* being become a crocodile hath escaped from *Orus* : attributing all dangerous wicked beaſts, all hurtfull plants and violent paſſions unto *Typhon*, as if they were his workes, his parts or motions. Contrariwise they putray and depaint unto us *Ofiris*, by a ſepter and an eie upon it : meaning by the eie foresight and providence, by the ſepter authority and puiſſance : like as *Homer* nameth *Jupiter* who is the prince, lord and ruler of all the world, *Hypatos*, that is, ſovereigne, and *Meſſor*, that is, foreſeeing : giving us to underſtand, by ſovereigne, his ſupreme power, by foreſeeing his prudence and wildome. They repreſent *Ofiris* alſo 10 ſo many times by an hauke, for that he hath a wonderfull cleere and quicke ſight, her flight alſo is as ſwift, and ſhe is wont naturally to ſuſtaine her ſelfe with very little food. And more than that (by report) when the ſlieht over dead bodies unburied, he caſteth mould and earth upon their eies. And looke whenſoever the ſlieht downe to the river for to drinke the ſetteth up her ſethers ſtraight upright, but when ſhe hath drunke ſhe laieth them plaine and even againe, by which it appeareth that ſafe ſhe is and hath eſcaped the crocodile : For if the crocodile ſeiſe upon her and catch her up, her pennace abideth ſtiſſe and upright as before. But generally throughout whereſoever the image of *Ofiris* is exhibited in the forme of a man, they putray him with the naturall member of generation ſtiſſe and ſtraight, prefiguring thereby the generative and nutritive vertue. The habitall alſo, wherewith they clad his images is bright, ſhining like fire : For they repute the \* *Sunne* to be a body repreſenting the power of goodneſſe, 20 as being the viſible matter of a ſpiritual and intellectuall ſubſtance. And therefore their opinion deſerveth to be rejected who attribute unto *Typhon* the ſphere of the *Sunne*, conſidering that unto him properly appertained nothing that is reſplendent, healthfull and comfortable, no diſpoſition, no generation or motion which is ordered with meaſure or digeſted by reaſon : But if either in the aire or upon the earth there be any unreaſonable diſpoſition of windes, of weather, or water, it hapneth when the primitive cauſe of a diſordinate and indeterminate power cometh to extinguiſh the kinde vapours and exhalations. Moreover in the ſacred hymnes of *Ofiris*, they invoke and call upon him who lieth at repoſe hidden within the armes of the *Sunne*. Alſo upon the thirtieth day of the moneth *Epphi*, they ſolemnize the feaſt of the nativity 30 or birth of *Orus* eies : at what time as the *Sunne* and *Moone* be in the ſame direct line : as being perſwaded that not onely the *Moone* but the *Sunne* alſo is the eie and light of *Horus* : Likewise upon the twenty eight day of the moneth *Phaopi* they celebrate another feaſt of the *Sunnes* balons or ſlaves, and that is after the Aequinox in Autumne, giving covertly thereby to underſtand that the *Sunne* hath need of an appuy or ſupporter to reſt upon and to ſtrengthen him, becauſe his heat beſinnes then to decay and languish ſenſibly, his light alſo to diminiſh and decline obliquely from us. Moreover about the ſolstice or middle of winter, they carry about his temple ſeven times a cow : and this proceſſion is called the ſeeking of *Ofiris*, or the revolution of the *Sunne*, as if the goddeſſe then deſired the waters of winter : And ſo many times they doe it, for that the courſe of the *Sunne*, from the Winter ſolstice unto the Summer ſolstice 40 is performed in the ſeventh moneth. It is ſaid moreover, that \* *Horus* the ſonne of *Isis* was the firſt who ſacrificed unto the *Sun*, the fourteenth day of the moneth, according as it is written in a certaine booke as touching the nativity of *Horus* : howſoever every day they offer incenſe and ſweet odors to the *Sunne* three times : Firſt at the *Sunne* riſing, Roſin : ſecondly about noone, Myrrh : and thirdly at the *Sunne* ſetting, a certaine compoſition named Kiphi. The myſticall meaning of which perfumes and odors I will hereafter declare : but they are perſwaded that in all this they worſhip and honor the *Sunne*. But what need is there to gather and collect a number of ſuch matters as theſe ? ſeeing there be ſome who openly maintaine that *Ofiris* is the *Sunne*, and that the Greeks call him *Sirus*, but the article which the Aegyptians put before, to wit, [O] is the cauſe that ſo much is not evidently perceived : as alſo that *Isis* is 50 nothing elſe but the *Moone* : and of her images thoſe that have hornes upon them, ſignifie no other thing but the *Moone* croiſſant : but ſuch as are covered and clad in blacke, be token thoſe daies wherein ſhe is hidden or darkened, namely, when ſhe runneth after the *Sunne* : which is the reaſon that in love matters they invoke the *Moone*. And *Endoxus* himſelfe ſaith, that *Isis* is the preſident over amatorious folke. And verily in all theſe ceremonies there is ſome probability and likelihood of truth. But to ſay that *Typhon* is the *Sunne*, is ſo abſurd, that we ought

ought not ſo much as give care to thoſe who affirme ſo. But returne we now to our former matter. For *Isis* is the feminine part of nature, apt to receive all generation, upon which occaſion called ſhe is by *Plato*, the nurſe and *Pandebes*, that is to ſay, capable of all : yea and the common ſort name her *Myrionymus*, which is as much to ſay, as having an infinite number of names, for that ſhe receiveth all formes and ſhapes, according as it pleaſeth that firſt reaſon to convert and turne her. Moreover, there is imprinted in her naturally, a love of the firſt and principall eſſence, which is nothing elſe but the ſovereigne good, and it ſhe deſireth, ſecketh, and purſueth after. Contrariwise, ſhe ſlieht and repelleth from her, any part and portion that proceedeth from ill. And howſoever ſhe be the ſubject matter, and meet place apt to receive as 10 well the one as the other, yet of it ſelfe, enclined ſhe is alwaies rather to the better, and applieth herſelfe to engender the ſame, yea, and to diſſeminate and ſowe the deſluxions and ſimilitudes thereof, wherein ſhe taketh pleaſure and reioiceth, when ſhe hath conceived and is great therewith, ready to be delivered. For this is a representation and deſcription of the ſubſtance engendered in matter, and nothing elſe but an imitation of that which is. And therefore you may ſee it is not beſides the purpoſe, that they imagine and deviſe the ſoule of *Ofiris* to be eternall and immortall : but as for the body, that *Typhon* many times doth teare, mangle, and aboliſh it, that it cannot be ſcene : and that *Isis* goeth up and downe, wandring heere and there, gathering together the diſmembred pieces thereof, for that which is good and ſpiritual, by conſequence is not any waies ſubject to change and alteration : but that which is ſenſible and materiall, doth 20 yeeld from it ſelfe certaine images, admitting withall and receiving ſundry proportions, formes, and ſimilitudes, like as the prints and ſtamps of ſcales ſet upon waxe, doe not continue and remaine alwaies, but are ſubject to change, alteration, diſorder and trouble, and this ſame was chaſed from the ſuperior region, and ſent downe hither, where it fighteth againſt *Horus* whom *Isis* engendered ſenſible, as being the very image of the ſpiritual and intellectuall world. And heereupon it is, that *Typhon* is ſaid to accuſe him of baſtardie, as being nothing pure and ſincere, like unto his father, to wit, reaſon, and underſtanding ; which of it ſelfe is ſimple, and not medled with any paſſion : but in the matter adulterate and degenerate, by the reaſon that it is corporall. Howbeit, in the end the victorie is on *Mercuries* ſide, for hee is the diſcourſe of reaſon, which teſtiſtieth unto us, and ſheweth, that nature hath produced this world materiall 30 metamorphozed to the ſpiritual forme : for the nativity of *Apollo*, engendered betwene *Isis* & *Ofiris*, whiles the gods were yet in the belly of *Rhea*, ſymbolizeth ſuch much, that before the world was evidently brought to light and fully accompliſhed, the matter of reaſon, being found naturally of it ſelfe rude and unperfect, brought forth the firſt generation : for which cauſe they ſay, that god being as yet lame, was borne and begotten in darkeneſſe, whom they call the elder *Horus*. For the world yet it was not, but an image onely and deſigne of the world, and a bare fantaſie of that which ſhould be. But this *Horus* heere is determinate, definit and perfect, who killeth not *Typhon* right out, but taketh from him his force and puiſſance that he can doe little or nothing. And heereupon it is, that (by report) in the citie *Coptus*, the image of *Horus* holdeth in one hand the generall member of *Typhon* : and they ſable beſides, that *Mercurie* having bereft him of his ſinewes, made thereof ſtrings for his harpe, and ſo uſed them. Heereby 40 they teach, that reaſon framing the whole world, ſet it in tune, and brought it to accord, framing it of thoſe parts which before were at jarre and diſcord : howbeit remooved not, nor aboliſhed altogether the pernicious and hurtfull nature, but accompliſhed the vertue thereof. And therefore it is, that it being feeble and weak, wrought alſo (as it were) and intermingled or inteliſed with thoſe parts and members which be ſubject to paſſions and mutations, cauſeth earthquakes and tremblings, exceſſive heates, and extreame drineſſe, with extraordinary windes in the aire, beſides thunder, lightning and fire tempeſts. It impoſſoneth moreover the waters and windes, infecting them with peſtilence, reaching up and bearing the head aloft, as farre as to the *Moone*, obſcuring and darkning many times even that which is by nature cleane 50 and ſhining. And thus the Aegyptians do both thinke and ſay, that *Typhon* ſometime ſtrooke the eie of *Horus*, and another while plucked it out of his head and devoured it, and then afterwards delivered it againe unto the *Sunne*. By the ſtriking aforeſaid, they meane anigmatically the wane or decreaſe of the *Moone* monthly : by the totall privation of the eie, they underſtand her eclipſe and defect of light : which the *Sunne* doth remedy by reillumination of her ſtreight waies, as ſoone as ſhe is gotten paſt the ſhade of the earth. But the principall and more divine nature is compoſed and conſiſteth of three things, to wit, of an intellectuall nature, of

matter, and a compound of them both, which we call the world. Now, that intellectuall part, *Plato* nameth *Idea*, the patterne also of the father: as for matter, he termeth it another, nurse, a foundation also and a plot or place for generation: and that which is produced of both, he is wont to call the issue and thing procreated. And a man may very well conjecture, that the Egyptians compared the nature of the whole world, especially to this, as the fairest triangle of all other. And *Plato* in his books of policy or common wealth, seemeth also to have used the same, when he composeth and describeth his nuptial figure: which triangle is of this sort: that the side which maketh the right angle, is of three, the basis of foure, and the third line called *Hypotenusa* of five, equivalent in power to the other two that comprehend it: so that the line which directly falleth plumb upon the base, must answer proportionably to the male; the base to the female, and the *Hypotenusa* to the issue of them both. And verily, *Osiris* representeth the beginning and principle: *Isis* that which receiveth; and *Horus* the compound of both. For the number of three is the first odde and perfect: the quaternarie is the first square or quadrate number, composed of the first even number, which is two; and five resembbeth partly the father, and in part the mother, as consisting both of two and three. And it should seeme also that the very name *Idea*, which is the universall world, was derived of *Idea* that is to say, five, and so in Greeke *πεντα*, in old time signified as much as to number: and that which more is, five being multiplied in it selfe, maketh a quadrat number, to wit, twentie five, which is just as many letters as the Egyptians have in their alphabet, and so many yeeres *Apis* also lived. And as for *Horus*, they used to call him *Kuimin*, which is as much to say, as seene, for that this word is sensible and visible. *Isis* likewise is sometime called Mouth, otherwhiles *Athyri* or *Methyer*. And by the first of these names, they signifie a Mother: by the second, the faire house of *Horus*, like as *Plato* termeth it to be the place capable of generation: the third is compounded of Full and the cause: for Matter is full of the world, as being married and keeping companie with the first principle, which is good, pure, and beautifully adorned. It should seeme haply also, that the Poet *Hesiodus*, when he saith, that all things at the first, were Chaos, Earth, Tartarus and Love, grounded upon no other principles than those, which are signified by these names, meaning by the Earth *Isis*; by Love *Osiris*; and by Tartarus *Typhon*; as we have made demonstration. For by *Chaos* it seemes that he would understand some place & receptacle of the world. Moreover, in some sort these matters require the fable of *Plato*, which in his booke entituled *Symposium*, *Socrates* inferred, namely, wherein he setteth downe the generation of Love: saying that *Penia*, that is to say, povertie, desirous to have children, went and lay with *Porus*, that is to say, riches, and slept with him, by whom she conceived with childe, and brought forth Love; who naturally is long and variable; and begotten of a father who is good, wife, and al-sufficient; and of a mother who is poore, needy, and for want, desirous of another, and evermore seeking and following after it. For the foresaid *Porus*, is no other, but the first thing amiable, desirable, perfect and sufficient. As for *Penia*, it is matter, which of it selfe is evermore bare and needy, wanting that which is good, whereby at length she is conceived with childe, after whom she hath a longing desire, and evermore ready to receive somewhat of him. Now *Horus* engendred betweene them (which is the world) is not eternall, nor impassible, nor incorruptible, but being evermore in generation, he endevoreth by vicissitude of mutations, and by periodical passion, to continue alwaies young, as if he should never die and perish. But of such fables as these we must make use, not as of reasons altogether really subsisting: but so, as we take out of each of them, that which is meet and convenient to our purpose. When as therefore we say Matter, we are not to rely upon the opinions of some Philosophers, and to thinke it for to be a bodie without soule, without qualitie, continuing in it selfe idle, and without all action whatsoever: for we call oile the matter of a perfume or ornament; and gold the matter of an image or statue, which notwithstanding is not voide of all similitude: and even so we say, that the very soule and understanding of a man, is the matter of vertue and of science, which we give unto reason, for to bring into order, and adorne. And some there were, who affirmed the minde or understanding to be the proper place of formes, and as it were, the expresse mould of intelligible things: like as there be Naturalists who hold, that the seed of a woman hath not the power of a principle serving to the generation of man, but standeth in stead of matter and nourishment onely: according unto whom, we also being grounded heerein, are to thinke that this goddesse having the fruition of the first and chiefe god, and conversing with him continually, for the love of those good things & vertues which are in him, is nothing adverse unto him, but loveth him

him as her true spouse and lawfull husband: and like as we say, that an honest wife who enioieth ordinarily the company of her husband, loveth him neverthelesse, but hath still a minde unto him; even so giveth not the over to be enamoured upon him, although she be continually where he is, and replenished with his principall and most sincere parts. But when and where as *Typhon* in the end thrusteth himselfe betweene, and setteth upon the extreme parts, then and there the seemeth to be sadde and heavy, and thereupon is laid to mourne and lament, yea and to seeke up certeine reliques and pieces of *Osiris*, and ever as she can finde any, she receiveth and arraich them with all diligence, and as they are ready to perish and corrupt, she carefully tendeth and keepeth them close, like as againe she produceth and bringeth forth other things to light of her selfe. For the reasons, the *Idea*, and the influences of God which are in heaven and among the starres, doe there continue and remaine; but those which be diffaminate among the sensible and passible bodies, in the earth and in the sea, diffused in the plants and living creatures, the same dying and being buried, doe many times revive and rise againe fresh by the meanes of generations. And heereupon the fable faith thus much more, that *Typhon* cohabiteth and lieth with *Nephthys*, and that *Osiris* also by stealth and secretly, keepeth company with her: for the corruptive and destroying power, doeth principally possesse the extreme parts of that matter which they name *Nephthys* and death: and the generative & preserving vertue, conferreth into it little seed, & the same weak and feeble, as being marred and destroyed by *Typhon*: unless it be so much as *Isis* gathereth up & saveth, which she also nourisheth & maintaineth. But in one word, & to speake more generally, he is still better, as *Plato* & *Aristotle* are of opinion: for the naturall puissance to engender & to preserve, moveth toward him as to a subsistence and being: whereas that force of killing & destroying moveth behind, toward non subsistence: which is the reason, that they call the one *Isis*, that is to say, a motion animate and wife; as if the word were derived of *εἶς*, which signifieth to move by a certeine science and reason, for a barbarous word it is not. But like as the generall name of all gods and goddeses, to wit, *Theos*, is derived of *θεω*, that is to say, of visible, and *θεω* is derived of *τρέω*, that is to say, of running; even so, both we and also the Egyptians have called this goddesse *Isis*, and *Isis*, of intelligence and motion together. Semblably *Plato* saith, that in old time, when they said *Isis*, they meant *Osiris*, that is to say, sacred; like as *Noësis* also and *Phronesis*, *quasi νοεσις*, that is to say, the stirring and motion of the understanding, being caried and going forward: and they imposed this word *θεωσις* to those who have found out and discovered goodnesse and vertue: but contrariwise, have by reprochfull names noted such things as impeach hinder and stay the course of natural things, binding them so, as they can not go forward, to wit, *αἰδω*, vice, *αἰδω*, indigence, *δουλος*, cowardise, and *αἰδω*, griefe, as if they kept them from *εἶς*, or *εἶς*, that is to say, free progresse and proceeding forward. As for *Osiris*, a word it is composed of *οὐρανός* and *εἶς*, that is to say, holy and sacred; for he is the common reason or *Idea*, of things above in heaven, and beneath: of which, our ancients were wont to call the one fort, *εἶς*, that is to say, sacred; and the other, *οὐρανός*, that is to say, holy. The reason also which sheweth celestiall things, and such as move upward, is called *Anubis*, and otherwhiles *Hermanubis*; as if the one name were meet for those above, and the other for them beneath: whereupon they sacrificed unto the former a white cocke, and to the other a yellow or of fasson colour; for that they thought those things above, pure, simple and thining; but those beneath, mixed of a medley colour. Neither are we to marvell, that these termes are disfigured to the fashion of Greeke words; for an infinit number of more there be, which have bene transported out of *Greece* with those men who departed from thence in exile, and there remaine untill this day as strangers without their native countrey: whereof some there be which cause Poetry to be slandered, for calling them into use, as if it spake barbarously, namely, by those who terme such Poeticall and obscure words, *Glosses*. But in the books of *Herimenes* or *Mercurius*, so called, there is written by report, thus much concerning sacred names, namely, that the power ordeined over the circular motion and revolution of the Sunne, the Egyptians call *Horus*, and the Greeks *Apollon*: that which is over the wind, some name *Osiris*, others *Sarapis*, & some againe in the Egyptian language *Sothi*, which signifieth as much as conception or to be with childe: and thereupon it is, that by a little deflexion of the name, in the Greeke tongue that Canticular or Dogge itare is called *Κουρ*, which is thought appropriate unto *Isis*. Well I wote, that we are not to strive as touching names, yet would I rather give place unto the Egyptians about the name *Sarapis* than *Osiris*; for this is a meere Greeke word, whereas the other is a stranger: but as well the one as the other signifieth the same power of Divinity. And heereunto accordeth

the Aegyptian languages; for many times they terme *Isis* by the name of *Minerva*, which in their tongue signifieth as much, as I am come of my selfe. And *Typhon*, as we have already said, is named *Seth*, *Babon* and *Smy*, which words betoken all, a violent stay and impeachment, a contrariety and a diversion or turning aside another way. Moreover, they call the loadstone or Sederitis, the bone of *Horus*; like as iron, the bone of *Typhon*, as *Manethos* is mine author: for as the iron seemeth otherwhiles to follow the said loadstone, and suffereth it selfe to be drawn by it, and many times for it againe, returneth backe and is repelled to the contrary: even so, the good and comfortable motion of the world endued with reason, by perswasive speeches doeth convert, draw into it, and mollifie that hardnesse of *Typhon*: but otherwhiles againe, the same returneth backe into it selfe, and is hidden in the depth of penurie and impossibility. Over and besides, *Eudoxus* saith, that the Aegyptians devise of *Jupiter* this fiction, that both his legs being so grown together in one, that he could not goe at all, for very shame he kept in a desert wilderness: but *Isis*, by cutting and dividing the same parts of his body, brought him to his sound and upright going againe. Which fable giveth us covertly thus to understand, that the understanding and reason of God in it selfe going invisibly, and after an unscene manner, proceedeth to generation by the means of motion. And verily, that brazen Timbrel which they founde and rung at the sacrifices of *Isis*, named *Sistrum*, sheweth evidently, that all things ought <sup>to move</sup>, that is to say, to bestirre and shake, and never cease moving, but to be awakened and raised, as if otherwise they were drowlie, lay asleepe and languished: for it is said, that they turne backe and repulse *Typhon* with their Timbrels aforesaid, meaning thereby, that whereas corruption doth bind and stay nature, generation againe unbindeth and setteth it a worke by the means of motion. Now the said *Sistrum* being in the upper part round, the curvature and *Abiss* thereof comprehendeth foure things that are stirred and mooved: for that part of the world which is subject to generation and corruption, is comprehended under the sphere of the Moone, within which all things move and alter by the means of the foure elements, Fire, Earth, Water and Aire, upon the *Abiss* or rundle of the *Sistrum* toward the toppe, they engrave the forme of a cat with a mans face; but beneath, under those things which are shaken, one while they engrave the visage of *Isis*, another while of *Nephthys*; signifying by these two faces, nativity and death: for these be the motions and mutations of the elements. By the cat, they understand the Moone, for the variety of the skin, for the operation and worke in the night season, and for the fruitfulness of this creature: for it is said, that at first she beareth one kidling, at the second time two, the third time three, then foure, afterwards five, and so to seven; so that in all she brings forth 28, which are the daies of every Moone. And howsoever this may seeme fabulous, yet for certaine it is true, that the appuls or sights of these cats are full and large when the Moone is at full; but contrariwise, draw in and become smaller as the Moone is in the wane. As for the visage of a man, which they attribute unto the cat, they represent thereby the witty subtilty and reason about the mutations of the Moone. But to knit up all this matter in few words, reason would, that wee should thinke neither the Sunne nor the water, neither earth nor heaven to be *Isis* or *Osiris*; no more than exceeding drouth, extreame heat, fire and sea, is *Typhon*: but simply, whatsoever in such things is out of measure & extraordinary either in excessse or defect, we ought to attribute it unto *Typhon*: contrariwise, all that is well disposed, ordered, good and profitable, we must believe it to be the worke verily of *Isis*, but the image, example and reason of *Osiris*: which if we honour and adore in this sort, we shall not sinne or do amisse: and that which more is, we shall remoove and stay the unbelieve and doubtfull scrupulosity of *Eudoxus*, who asked the reason, why *Ceres* had no charge and superintendence over Love matters, but all that care lay upon *Isis*, and why *Bacchus* could neither make the river *Nilus* to swell and overflow, nor governe and rule the dead: for if we should alledge one general and common reason for all, we deeme these gods to have bene ordeined for the portion and dispensation of good things, and whatsoever in nature is good and beautifull, it is by the grace and means of these deities: whiles the one yieldeth the first principles, and the other receiveth and distributeth the same: by which means we shall be able to satisfie the multitude, and meet with those mechanickall and odious fellows; whether they delight in the change & variety of the aire, according to the seasons of the yere, or in the procreation of fruits, or in feednesse and tillings, appropriating and applying thereto what hath bene delivered of these gods; wherein they take pleasure, saying, that *Osiris* is interred, when the seed is covered in the ground; that he reviveth and riseth againe to light, when it becometh to spurt. And hereupon it is said, that *Isis* when she perceiveth herselfe to be concei-

\* *Manethos*,  
some reade,  
*Manethos*,  
that is to say,  
philosoph.

ved and with childe, hangeth about her necke a preservative the sixth day of the moneth *Phaophi*, and is delivered of *Harpoocrates* about the Solstice of Winter, being as yet imperfect, and come to no maturity in the prime of the first flowers and buds: which is the reason that they offer unto her the first fruits of Lentils new sprung, and solemnize the feast and holidays of her childbirth and lying in after the Aquinox of the Spring: for when the vulgar sort heare this, they rest therein, take contentment, and beleve it straightwaies, drawing a probability for beleefe, out of ordinary things which are daily ready at hand. And verily, here in there is no inconvenience, if first and formost they make these gods common, and not proper and peculiar unto the Aegyptians, neither comprise *Nilus* only and the land which *Nilus* watereth, under these names, nor in naming their Meeres, Lakes and Lotes, and the nativity of their gods, deprive all other men of those great gods, among whom there is neither *Nilus*, nor *Butus*, nor *Memphis*; yet nevertheless acknowledge and have in reverence the goddesse *Isis* and other gods about her, of whom they have learned not long since to name some with the Aegyptian appellations: but time out of minde they knew their vertue and power, in regard whereof they have honoured and adored them. Secondly, which is a faire greater matter, to the end they should take heed and be affraid, lest ere they be aware, they dissolve and dissipate these divine powers in rivers, winds, plowing, plowing and other passions and alterations of the earth; as they do, who holde, that *Bacchus* is wine, *Vulcan* the flame of fire, and *Proserpina* (as *Clement* has said in one place) the spirit that bloweth and pierceth thorow the fruits of the earth. A Poet there was, who writing of reapers and mowers, said:

*What time young men their hands to Ceres put,  
And her with books and fishes by piecemeale cut.*

And in no respect differ they from those, who thinke the sailes, cables, cordage and anchor, are the pilot; or that the thred and yarne, the warpe and woole, be the weaver; or that the goblet and potion cup, the Pistane or the Mede and honied water, is the Physician. But verily in so doing, they imprint absurd and blasphemous opinions of the gods, tending to Atheisme and impiety, attributing the names of gods unto natures and things senselesse, livelesse and corruptible, which of necessity men use as the need them, and can not chuse but marre and destroy the same. For we must in no wise thinke, that these very things be gods; for nothing can be a god which hath no soule, and is subject to man and under his hand: but thereby we know, that they be gods who give us them to use, and for to be perdurable and sufficient: not these in one place, and those in another, neither Barbarians nor Greeks, neither Meridionall nor Septentrionall; but like as the Sunne and Moone, the heaven, earth and sea, are common unto all, but yet in divers places called by sundry names: even so of one and the same intelligence that ordereth the whole world, of the same providence which dispenseth and governeth all, of the ministeriall powers subordinate over all, sundry honors and appellations according to the diversity of lawes have bene appointed. And the priests and religious, professed in such ceremonies, use mysteries and sacraments, some obscure, others more plaine and evident, to traine our understanding to the knowledge of the Deity: howbeit, not without perill and danger; for that some missing the right way, are fallen into superstition; and others avoiding superstition as it were a bogge or quagmire, have run before they could take heed, upon the rocke of impiety. And therefore, it becometh us in this case especially to be inducted by the direction of Philosophy, which may guide us in these holy contemplations, that we may worthily and religiously thinke of every thing said and done; to the end, that it befall not unto us as unto *Theodorus*, who said, that the doctrine which he rendered and reached out with the right hand, some of his scholars received and tooke with the left; even so, by taking in a wrong sense and otherwise than is meet and convenient, that which the lawes have ordeined touching feasts and sacrifices, we grossly offend. For, that all things ought to have a reference unto reason, a man may see and know by themselves: for celebrating a feast unto *Mercurie* the nineteenth day of the first moneth, they eat hony and figges, saying withall, this *Mot, Sweet is the truth*. As to that Phylactery or preservative, which they saie *Isis* to weare when she is with childe, by interpretation it signifieth, A true voice. As for *Harpoocrates*, we must not imagine him to be some young god, and not come to ripe yeeres, nor yet a man: but that he is the superintendant and reformer of mens language as touching the gods, being yet new, imperfect, and not distinct nor articulate; which is the reason, that he holdeth a scale-ring before his mouth, as a signe and marke of taciturnity and silence. Also in the moneth *Mesori*, they present unto him certaine kinds of Pulse,

Still 3

saying



saying withall, The tongue is Fortune: The tongue is Dæmon. Now of all plants which *Aegypt* bringeth forth, they consecrate the Peach tree unto him especially, because the fruit resembleth an heart, and the leafe a tongue: For of all those things which naturally are in man, there is nothing more divine than the tongue and speech, as touching the gods principally, neither in any thing cometh he neerer unto beatitude: and therefore I advise and require every man who repaired hither and cometh downe to this Oracle, to entertaine holy thoughts in his heart, and to utter seemly words with his tongue, whereas the common sort of people in their publicke feasts and solemne processions doe many ridiculous things, notwithstanding they proclaime and pronounce formally by the voice of the Crier and Bedil in the beginning of such solemnities, to keepe silence or speake none but good words: and yet afterwards they cease not but to give out most blasphemous speeches and to thinke as basely of the gods. How then shall men behave and demean themselves in those heavy and mournfull sacrifices from whence all mirth, and laughter is banished: if it be not lawfull either to omit any thing of the accustomed and usuall ceremonies, or to confound and mingle the opinions of the gods with absurd and false suspitions? The Greeks doe many semblable things unto the Aegyptians even in manner at the very same time: For at *Athens* in the feast called *Thesophoria* to the honor of *Ceres*, the women doe fast, sitting upon the ground: And the *Beotians* make a rising and remooving of the houses of *Achæa*, naming this feast *εσπερα*, that is to say, odious: as if *Ceres* were in heaviness and sorrow for the descent of her daughter *Proserpina* into hell: and this is that month wherein the starres called *Pleiades* appeare, and when the husbandmen begin to sow, which the Aegyptians name *Atthy*, the Athenians *Pyæpseion*, and the *Beotians* *Dumatrios*, as one would say *Cerealis*. And *Thesopompus* writeth, that the people inhabiting westward, doe both thinke and also call the Winter *Saturne*, the Summer *Venus*, and the Spring *Proserpina*: and that of *Saturne* and *Venus* all things be engendered. The Phrygians also imagining that God slepeeth all Winter, and lieth awake in Summer; thereupon celebrate in the one season, the feast of lying in bed and sleeping; in the other of expedition or waking, and that with much drinking & belly chere. But the Paphlagonians say, that he is bound and kept in ward as a prisoner during Winter, & in the Spring enlarged againe and set at liberty when he beginneth to stir and move. Now the very time giveth us occasion to suspect, that the heavy countenance & austeritie which they thew, is because the fruits of the earth be the hidden: which fruits our ancients in times past never thought to be gods, but the profitable and necessary gifts of the gods, availing much to live civilly, and not after a savage and beastly manner. But at what time of the yeere as they saw the fruits from the trees to fall and faile at once; and those which themselves had sown, with much adoe, by little and little opening and cleaving the earth with their owne hands and so covering and hilling the same, without any assured hope what would betide thereupon, and whether the same would come to any prooffe and perfection or no, they did many things like unto those that commit dead bodies to the earth, and mourne therefore. Moreover, like as we say, that he who buieth the bookes of *Plato*, buieth *Plato*: and who is the actor of *Alexandres* comedies, is said to act and play *Alexander*: Semblably, they did not spare and forbore to give the names of the celestiall gods unto their gifts and inventions, honouring the same with all reverence, for the use and need they had of them. But they who come after taking this grossely and foolishly, and upon ignorance unskillfully returning upon the gods the accidents of their fruits; not onely called their preface and fruition, the nativity of the gods; and their absence or want of them, the death and departure of the gods; but also beleev'd so much and were perswaded fully so: In such wise, as they have filled themselves with many absurd, leaud and confused opinions of the said gods. And yet verily, the error and absurdity of their opinions they had evidently before their eyes presented by *Xenophanes* the Colophonian, or other Philosophers after him, who admonished the Aegyptians, that if they repaire to them gods, they should not lament for them: and if they mournd, they should not take them for gods: as also that it was a ridiculous mockery, in their lamentations to pray unto them for to produce new fruits and bring them unto perfection for them, to the end that they might be consumed againe, & lamented for. But the case stands not so: for they bewaile the fruits that are gone and spent, but they pray unto the gods the authors and givers thereof, that they would vouchsafe to bestow upon them new, and make them grow in supply of those which were perished & lost. Right well therefore was it said of the Philosophers, that those who have not learned to heare and take words aright, receive also and use the things themselves amisse:

as

as for example, the Greeks who were not taught nor accustomed to call the statues of brasse and stone or painted images, the statues and images made to the honor of the gods, but the gods themselves: and afterwards were so bolde, as to say, that *Lachares* despoiled and stripped *Minerva* out of her clothes, and that *Dionysius* the tyrant polled *Apollo* who had a peruke or bush of golden haire; also that *Jupiter Capitolinus* during the civill warres was burnt and consumed with fire. And thus they see not, how in so doing they draw & admit false and erroneous opinions which follow upon such manner of speeches. And herein the Aegyptians of all other nations, have faulted most, about the beasts which they honor & worship. For the Greeks verily in this point both beleve and also speake well, saying that the dove is a bird sacred unto *Venus*, the dragon to *Minerva*, the raven or crow to *Apollo*, and the dog to *Diana*, according to that which *Euripides* said;

*The goddesse Diana shining by night,  
In a dogs portraict will take much delight.*

But the Aegyptians, at least wise the common sort of them, worshipping and honoring these very beasts as if they were gods themselves, have not onely pestered with laughter and ridiculous mockery their Leiturgie and divine service, (for ignorance and folly in this case is the least fault) but also there is crept into the midst of men a strong opinion, which hath both farre posseed the simple and weaker sort, as that it bringeth them to more superstition. And as for such as be of more quicke and witty capacity, and who besides are more audacious, those it driveth headlong into beastly cogitations and Atheistall discourses: And therefore I hold it not amisse, curiously and by the way to annexe hereto such things as carry some probability and likelihood with them. For to say, that the gods for feare of *Typhon* were turned into these creatures, as if they thought to hide themselves within the bodies of the blacke storkes called *Hides*, of dogges and haukes, passeth all the monstrous woonders and fixions of tales that can be devised. Likewise to hold, that the soules of those who are departed, so many as remaine still in being, are regenerate againe onely in the bodies of these beasts, is as absurd and incredible as the other. And as for those who will seeme to render a civill and politicke reason hereof; some give out that *Osiris* in a great expedition or voiage of his, having divided his armie into many parts (such as in Greeke are called *ταγματα* and *μικτα*, that is to say, bands and companies) he gave unto every of them for their severall ensignes the portraictures and images of beasts: and each band afterwards honored their owne & had in reverence as some holy and sacred thing. Others affirme, that the kings who succeeded after *Osiris*, for to terrify their enemies went forth to battell, carrying before them, the heads of such beasts made in gold and silver, vpon their armes. Some there be againe, who alledge, that there was one of these their subtle and fine headed kings, who knowing that the Aegyptians of their owne nature were lightly disposed, ready to revolt and given to change and innovations, also that by reason of their great multitude, their power was hardly to be restrained and in manner invincible, in case they joined together in counsell and drew jointly in one common line, therefore he sowed among them a perpetuall superstition, which gave occasion of dissention and enmity among them that never could be appeased: For when he had given commandement unto them, for to have in reverence those beasts which naturally disagreed and warred together, even such as were ready to eat and devour one another, whiles every one endeavored alwaies to succor and maintaine their owne, and were moved to anger if any wrong or displeasure were done to those which they affected; they fell together themselves by the eares ere they were aware and killed one another, for the enmity and quarrell which was betwene those beasts whom they adored, and so fostered mutuall and mortall hatred. For even at this day, of all the Aegyptians the Lycopolitans onely, eat mutten, because the wolfe whom they adore as a god is enemy unto sleepe. And verily in this our age, the Oxyrinchites, because the \*Cynopolites, that is to say, the inhabitants of the city *Cynopolis*, \* Who wor- eat the fish named *Oxyrinchos*, that is to say, with the sharpe becke, whensoever they can entrap ship the dog, do or catch a dogge, make no more adoe but kill him for a sacrifice and eat him when they have done. Vpon which occasion having levied warre one against the other, and done much mischief reciprocally, after they had bene well chastised and plagued by the Romans, they grew to attonement and composition. And for as much as many of them doe say, that the soule of *Typhon*, departed into these beasts, it seemeth that this fiction importeth thus much, that every brutish and beastly nature, cometh and proceedeth from some evill dæmon, and therefore to pacifie him that he doe no mischief, they worship and adore these beasts. And if paraven-

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ture there happen any great drowght or contagious heat which causeth pestilent maladies or other unusuall and extraordinary calamities, the priests bring forth some of those beasts which they serue and honor in the darke night, without any noise in great silence, menasing them at the first and putting them in fright. Now if the plague or calamity continue still, they kill and sacrifice them, thinking this to be a punishment and chastisement of the said evilly daemon, or else some great expiation for notable finnes and transgressions. For in the city verily of *Jaditha*, as *Manethos* maketh report, the manner is to burne men alive, whom they called *Typhon*; whose ashes when they had boyled through a ramise, they scattered abroad, untill they were reduced to nothing: But this was done openly at a certaine time in those daies which are called *Cynades* or *Canicular*. Many the immolation of these beasts, which they accounted sacred, was performed secretly and not at a certaine time or upon perfixed daies, but according to the occurrences of those accidents which happened. And therefore the common people neither knew nor saw ought, but when they solemnize their obsequies and funerals for them, in the presence of all the people they shew some of the other beasts and throw them together into the sepulcher, supposing thereby to vex and gall *Typhon*, and to repress the joy that he hath in doing mischief. For it seemeth that *Apis* with some other few beasts was consecrated to *Osiris*: howsoever they attribute many more unto him. And if this be true, I suppose it importeth that which we seeke and search all this while, as touching those which are confessed by all, and have common honors; as the foresaid storke *Ibis*, the hawke and the *Babian* or *Cyncephalus*, yea and *Apis* himselfe, for so they call the goat in the city *Mendes*. Now their remaineth the utility and symbolization hereof: considering that some participate of the one, but the most part of both. For as touching the goat, the sheepe and the *Ichneumon*, certaine it is, they honor them for the use and profit they receive by them: like as the inhabitants of *Lemnos* honor the birds called *Corydalis*, because they finde out the locusts nests and quash their egges. The *Thessalians* also have the storkes in great account, because whereas their country is given to breed a number of serpents, the said storkes when they come, kill them up all. By reason whereof they made an edict, with an intimation, that whosoever killed a storke should be banished his country. The serpent *Apis* also, the wezill and the fie called the bettill, they reverence, because they observe in them I wot not what little slender images (like as in drops of water we perceive the resemblance of the Sunne) of the divine power. For many there be even yet, who both thinke and say, that the male wezill engendred with the female by her care, and that she bringeth forth her yoong at the mouth: which symbolizeth as they say, and representeth the making and generation of speech. As for the beetils, they hold, that throughout all their kinde there is no female, but all the males doe blow or cast their seed into a certaine globus or round matter in forme of bals which they drive from them and roll to and fro contrary waies, like as the Sunne, when he moveth himselfe from the west to the east, seemeth to turne about the heaven cleane contrary. The *Apis* also they compare to the planet of the Sunne, because he doth never age and wax old, but mooveth in all facility, readinesse and celerity without the meanes of any instruments of motion. Neither is the crocodile set so much by among them, without some probable cause: For they say that in some respect he is the very image representing god: as being the onely creature in the world which hath no tongue: for as much as divine speech needeth neither voice nor tongue:

*But through the paths of Justice walks  
with still and silent pace:  
Directing right all mortall things,  
in their due time and place.*

And of all beasts living within the water, the crocodile onely (as men say) hath over his eies a certaine thinne filme or transparent webbe to cover them, which cometh downe from his forehead in such sort, as that he can see and not be seene: wherein he is conformable and like unto the soveraigne of all the gods. Moreover looke in what place the female is discharged of her spawne, there is the utmost marke and limit of the rising and inundation of *Nylus*: for being not able to lay their egges in the water, and affraid withall to sit far off, they have a most perfect and exquisite foresight of that which will be; insomuch as they make use of the rivers approach when they lay: and whilst they sit and cove, their egges be preserved drie, and are never drenched with the water. A hundred egges they lay, in so many daies they hatch, and as many yecres live they, which are longest lived: And this is the first and principall number

that

that they use who treat of celestiall matters. Moreover, as touching those beasts which are honored for both causes, we have spoken before of the dogge: but the *Ibis* or blacke storke, besides that it killeth those serpents whose pricke and sting is deadly, the was the first that taught us the use of that evacuation or cleansing the body by clistre, which is so ordinarie in Physicke: for perceived the is to purge, cleanse, and mundifie her selfe in that sort: whereupon the most religious priests, and those who are of greatest experience, when they would be purified, take for their holy water to sprinckle themselves with, the very same out of which the *Ibis* drinketh, for she never drinks of empoisoned and infected water, neither will she come neere unto it. Moreover, with her two legges standing at large one from the other, and her bill together, she maketh an absolute triangle with three even sides, besides, the varietie and speckled mixture of her plume, consisting of white feathers and blacke, representeth the Moone when she is past the full. Now we must not marvell at the *Aegyptians*, for pleasing and contenting themselves in such slight representations and similitudes, for even the *Greeks* themselves as well in their pictures as other images of the gods, melted and wrought to any mould, used many times such resemblances: for one statue in *Creta* they had of *Jupiter* without eares, because it is not meant for him who is lord & governour of all, to have any instruction by the hearing of others. Unto the image of *Pallas*, *Phidias* the Imager set a dragon; like as to that of *Venus* in the city of *Elys* a Tortoise: giving us by this to understand, that maidens had need of guidance and good custodie, and that married woman ought to keepe the house and be silent. The three-forked mace of *Neptune*, signifieth the third place, which the sea and element of water holdeth, under heaven and aire; for which cause they called the sea *Amphitrite*, and the petie sea gods *Tritons*. Also the *Pythagoreans* have highly honored the numbers and figures Geometrical, by the gods names: for the triangle with three equal sides, they called *Pallas*, borne out of *Jupiter*'s braine, and *Trigonia*, for that it is equally divided with three right lines, from three angles drawn by the plumb. One or unitie they named *Apollo*,  
As well for his perswasive grace;  
as plaine simplicitie,  
That doeth appeere in youthfull face,  
and this is unitie.

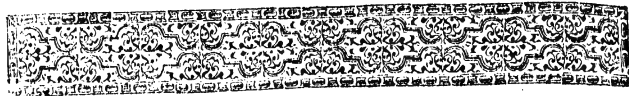
Two, they termed Contention and Boldnesse: and three Justice. For whereas to offend and be offended, to doe and to suffer wrong, come the one by excessse, and the other by defect, just remaineth equally betweene in the middes. That famous quaternarie of theirs, named *Tetractys*, which consisteth of foure nines, and amounteth to thirtie fixe, was their greatest oth, to rise in every mans mouth, & they called it the World, as being accomplished of the first foure even numbers, and the first foure odde, compounded into one together. If then the most excellent and best renowned Philosophers, perceiving in things which have neither body nor soule, some type and figure of deitie, have not thought it good to neglect or despise any thing herein, or passe it over without due honour, I suppose we ought much lesse so to doe in those properties and qualities which are in natures sensitive, having life, and being capable of passions and affections, according to their inclinations and conditions. And therefore we must not content our selves and rest in the worshipping of these and such like beasts, but by them adore the divinitie that shineth in them, as in most cleere and bright mirrors, according to nature, reputed them alwaies as the instrument and artificiall workmanship of God, who ruleth and governeth the universall world: neither ought we to thinke, that any thing void of life, and destitute of sense, can be more woorthy or excellent than that which is endued with life and senses; no not although a man hung never so much gold or a number of rich emeralds about it: for it is neither colours nor figures, nor polished bodies, that deitie doeth inhabit in: but whatsoever doeth not participate life, nor is by nature capable thereof, is of a more bale and abject condition than the very dead. But that nature which liveth and seeth, which also in it selfe hath the beginning of motion and knowledge of that which is proper and meet, as also of that which is strange unto it, the same (I say) hath drawn some influence and portion of that wise providence, whereby the universall world is governed, as *Heracitus* saith. And therefore the deitie is no lesse represented in such natures, than in works made of brasse and stone, which are likewise subject to corruption and alteration, but over and besides, they are naturally voide of all sense and understanding. Thus much of that opinion, as touching the worthip of beasts, which I approve for best.

Moreover

Moreover the habilliments of *Isis* be of different tinctures and colours: for her whole power consisteth and is employed in matter which receiveth all formes, and becometh all manner of things, to wit, light, darknesse, day, night, fire, water, life, death, beginning and end. But the robes of *Osiris*, have neither shade nor varietie, but are of one simple colour, even that which is lightsome and bright. For the first & primitive cause is simple; the principle or beginning, is without all mixture, as being spiritual & intelligible. Whereupon it is that they make shew but once for all of his habilliments, which when they have done they lay them up againe and bestow them safe and keepe them so straightly, that no man may see or handle them: whereas contrariwise they use those of *Isis* many times: For that sensible things be in usage, and seeing they are ready and ever in hand, and be subject evermore to alternative alterations, therefore they be laid abroad and displayed, for to be seene often. But the intelligence of that which is spiritual and intellectuall, pure, simple, and holy, shining as a flash of lightning, offereth it selfe unto the soule but once, for to be touched and seene. And therefore *Plato* and *Aristotle* call this part of Philosophie *Transcendens*, for that those who discourse of reason, have passed beyond all matters subject to mingled & variable opinions, leape at length to the contemplation of this first principle, which is simple, and not materiall: and after they have in some sort attained to the pure and sincere truth of it, they suppose that their Philosophy as now accomplished is come to small perfection. And that which the priests in these daies are very precise and wary to shew, keeping it hidden and secret with great care and diligence, allowing not so much as a sight thereof secretly & by the way also that this god reigneth & ruleth over the dead, and is no other than he whom the Greeks name *Hades* and *Pluto*: the common people not understanding how this is true, are much troubled; thinking it very strange that the holy & sacred *Osiris* should dwell within or under the earth, where their bodies lie who are thought to be come unto their finall end. But he verily is most farre removed from the earth, without staine or pollution, pure and void of all substance or matter, that may admit death or any corruption whatsoever. Howbeit the soules of men, so long as they be heere beneath clad within bodies and passions, can have no participation of God, unlesse it be so much onely as they may attaine unto the intelligence of, by the study of Philosophy, and the same is but in manner of a darke dreame. But when they shall be delivered from these bonds, and passe into this holy place, where there is no passion, nor possible forme: then, the same god is their conductour and king: then they cleave unto him, as much as possible they can: him they contemplate and behold without fatietie: desiring that beautie, which it is not possible for men to utter and expresse: whereof according to the old tales, *Isis* was alwaies enamoured: and having pursued after it untill she enjoined the same, she afterwards became replenished with all goodnesse and beautie that heere may be engendered. And thus much may suffice for that sense and interpretation which is most becomming the gods. Now it we must besides speake as I promised before, of the incense and odors which are burnt every day: let a man consider first in his minde and take this with him, that the Egyptians were men evermore most studious in those matters which made for the health of their bodies, but principally in this regard, they had in recommendation those that concerned the ceremonies of divine service in their sanctifications and in their ordinary life, and conversation; wherein they have no lesse regard unto holiness than to holinesse: For they thinke it neither lawfull nor becomming to serve that essence which is altogether pure, every way found and unpolluted, either with bodies or soules corrupt with inward forces and subject to secret maladies. Seeing then, that the aire, which we most commonly use, and within which we alwaies converse, is not evermore alike disposed nor in the same temperature: but in the night is thickened and made grosse, whereby it compresseth and draweth the body into a kind of sadnesse and pensivenesse, as if it were overcast with darke mists and waighed downe: so soone as ever they be up in a morning, they burne incense by kindling *Rosin*, for to cleanse and purifie the aire by this rarefaction and subtilization, awaking as it were and raising by this meanes, the inbred spirits of our bodies which were languishing and drowie: for that in this odor there is a forcible vertue which vehemently striketh upon the senses. Again, about noone, perceiving that the Sunne draweth forcibly out of the earth by his heat, great quantity of strong vapours, which be intermingled with the aire, then they burne myrrh: For the heat of this aromaticall gum and odor is such, as that it dissipeth & dispatcheth whatsoever is grosse, thicke and muddy in the aire. And verily in the time of pestilence Physicians thinke to remedy the same by making great fires, being of this opinion, that the flame doth sublimate and rarefie the aire: which

which it effecteth no doubt the better in case they burne sweet wood, as of the Cypresse trees, of Juniper, or \* Pitch tree. And heereupon reported it is that the Physician *Acrion*, when there reigned a grievous plague at *Athens*, was a great name and reputation, by causing good fires to be made about the sicke persons: For he saved many by that meanes. And *Aristotle* writeth that the sweet scents and good smells of perfumes, ointments, flowers and fragrant meadows, serve no lesse for health than for delight and pleasure. For that by their heat and mildenesse they gently dissolve and open the substance of the braine, which naturally is cold and as it were congealed. Again, if it be so that the Egyptians call myrrh, in their language *Bal*, which if a man interpret signifieth as much as the discussing and chasing away of idle talke and ravings this also may serve for a testimonie to confirme that which we say. As for that composition among them named *Cyphi*, it is a confection or mixture receiving sixteene ingredients. For there enter into it, hony, wine, raisins, cyperous, rosin, myrrh, aspalathus & fesseli. Moreover, the sweet rush *Schanos*, Bitumen, Mosse, and the docke: Besides two sorts of the juniper berries, the greater & the lesse, Cardamomum and Calamus. All these speeches are compounded together not at a venture and as it cometh into their heads: but there be read certaine sacred writings unto the Apothecaries and Perfumers, all the while that they mix them. As for this number, although it be quadrate, and made of a square, and onely of the numbers equal, maketh the space contained within equal to his circumference, we are not to thinke that this is any way materiall to the vertue thereof: but most of the simples that goe to this composition being aromaticall, cast a pleasant breath from them and yeeld a delectable and holisome vapour, by which the aire is altered: and withall, the body being mooved with this evaporation, is gently prepared to repose, and taketh an attractive temperature of sleepe, in letting slacke and unbinding the bonds of cares, wearinesse and sorrowes incident in the day time, and that without the helpe of surfer and drunkenesse: polishing and smoothing the imaginative part of the braine which receiveth dreames in manner of a mirror, causing the same to be pure and neat, as much or rather more, than the sound of harpe, lute, viole, or any other instruments of musicke; which the Pythagoreans used for to procure sleepe, enchanting by that device, and dulcing the unreasonable part of the soule which is subject to passions. For sweet odors, as they doe many times excite and stirre up the sense when it is dull and beginneth to faile: so contrariwise they make the same as often drowie and heavy, yea and bring it to quietnesse, whiles those aromaticall smells by reason of their smoothnesse are spread and diffused in the bodie: According as some Physicians say, that sleepe is engendered in us, when the vapour of the food which we have received, creepeth gently along the noble parts and principall bowels, and as it toucheth them, causeth a kinde of tickling which lullet them asleepe. This *Cyphi* they use in drinke, as a composition to season their cups and as an ointment besides: for they hold, that being taken in drinke, it scowereth the guttes within and maketh the belly laxative: and being applied outwardly as a liniment, it mollifieth the bodie. Over and above all this, *Rosin* is the worke of the Sunne: but Myrrh they gather by the Moone light, out of those plants from which it doth deffill: But of those simples whereof *Cyphi* is compounded, some there be which love the night better, as many I meane as be nourished by cold windes, shadows, dewes, and moisture: For the brightness and light of the day is one and simple: and *Pindarus* saith that the Sunne is seene through the pure and solitarie aire: whereas the aire of the night is a compound and mixture of many lights and powers, as if there were a confluence of many seeds from every starre running into one. By good right therefore they burne these simple perfumes in the day as those which are engendered by the vertue of the Sunne: but this being mingled of all sorts and of divers qualities, they set on fire about the evening, and beginning of the night.





# OF THE ORACLES THAT HAVE CEASED TO GIVE ANSWERE.

The Summarie.



**H**is spirit of error hath endeavored alwaies and assailed the best he can, to maintaine his power and dominion in the world, having after the revolt and fall of Adam bene furnished with instruments of all sorts, to tyrannize over his slaves. In which number we are to range the oracles and predictions of certaine idoles erected in many places by his instigation; by means whereof, this sworne enemy to the glory of the true God, hath much prevailed. But when it pleased our heavenly father to give us his sonne for to be our Saviour, who descending from heaven to earth, sooke upon him our humane nature, wherein he sustained the paine and punishment due for our sinnes, to deliver us out of hell, and by vertue of his merits, to give us entrance into the kingdom of heaven, the truth of his grace being published and made knownen in the world by the preaching of the Apostles and their faithful successeurs; the Diuill and his angels, who had in many parts and places of the world abused and deceived poore idolaters, were forced to acknowledge their Sovereigne, and to keepe silence, and suffer him to speake unto those whom he meant to call unto salvation or els to make them unexcusable, if they refused to heare his voice. This cessation of the Oracles put the priests and sacrificers of the the Paimins to great trouble and wonderfull perplexitie, in the time of the Romane Emperours: whiles some imputed the cause to this, others to that. But our author in this Treatise discouerseth upon this question, shewing thereby, how great and lamentable is the blindness of mans reason and wisdom, when it thinketh to attaine unto the secrets of God. For all the speeches of the Philosophers, whom he bringeth in here as interlocutors, are mere tales and fables devised for the nonce, which every Christian man of any meane judgement will at the first sight condemne. Yet thus much good there is in this discourse, that the Epicureans are here taxed and condemned in sundry passages. As touching the contents of this conference, the occasion thereof ariseth from the speech of Demetrius and Cleombrotus, who were come unto the Temple of Apollo: for the one of them having rehearsed a wonder as touching the Temple of Jupiter Ammon, mooveth thereby a further desire of disputation: but before they enter into it, they continue still: the former speech, of the course and motion of the Sunne. Afterwards, they come to the maine point, namely, Why all the Oracles of Greece (excepting that onely of Lebadaia) ceased? To which demand, Planetusdes a Cynique Philosopher answereth, That the wickednesse of men is the cause thereof. Ammonius another wife attributeth all unto the warres which had consumed the Pilgrims that used to resort unto the said Oracles. Lamprias propoeth his opinion, and Cleombrotus inferring another of his, fall into a discourse and common place as touching Demons, whom he verily raungeth betwene gods and men, disputing of their nature, according to the Philosophie of the Greeks. Then he proveth, that these Demons have the charge of Oracles, but by reason that they departed out of one countrey into another, or died, these Oracles gave over. To this purpose he telleth a notable tale as touching the death of the great Pan, concluding thus, that seeing Demons be mortall, we ought not to wonder at the cessation of Oracles. After this, Ammonius consureth the Epicureans, who holde, That there be no Demons. And upon the confirmation of the former positions, they enter together into the examination of the opinions of the Epicureans and Platonists concerning the number of the worlds, to wit, whether they be many or infinit? growing to this resolution after long dispute, that there be many, and namely, to the number of five. Which done, Demetrius reviving the principall question, mooveth also a new one, Why the Demons have this power to speake by Oracles? Unto which there be many and divers answers made, which determine all in one Treatise according to the Platonists Philosophie, of the principall, efficient and finall cause, of those things that are effected by reason, and particularly of divinations and predictions:

predictions: for which, he maketh to concurre, the Earth, the Sunne, Exhalations, Demons, and the Soule of man. Now all the intention and drift of Plutarch groweth to this point, that the earth being incited and moved by a naturall vertue, and that which is proper unto it, and in no wise divine and perdurable, hath brought forth certaine powers of divination: that these inspirations breaching and arising out of the earth, have touched the under standings of men with such efficacy, as that they have caused them to foresee future things as farre off and long ere they hapned; yea, and have addressed and framed them to give answers both in verse and prose. Item, that like as there be certaine grounds and lands more fertile one than the other, or producing some particular things according to the divers and peculiar proprietie of each: there be also certaine places and traicts of the world endued with this temperature, which both ingender and also incite these Enthusiasticke and divining spirits. Furthermore, that this puissance is meere divine indeed, howbeit, not per se, eternall, unmoveable, nor that which is for ever perdurable: but by proceffe and succession of time, doth diminish and decay by little and little, untill at length through age it consume to nothing. Semblably, that this great number of spirits are not engendered incessantly, neither proceed they forward or retire backe continually; but this vertue of the earth moveth of it selfe in certaine revolutions, and by that means is enshaded and puffed up: and after that in time it hath gathered abundance of new vapours, it filleth the caves and holes so full untill they discharge & send them up againe. Whereupon it cometh to passe, that the exhalations stirred in the said caves, and desirous to issue forth, after that they have bene beaten backe againe, violently assaile the foundations, and stirre the temples built upon them in such sort, as being shaken as it were by earthquakes, more or lesse in one place than another, according to the acervures and passages made for the exhalation, they finde issue through the treighths, brake forth with forcible violence, and so produce these Oracles. In summe, the intention and minde of Plutarch is to prove, that the beginning, progresse and end of these Oracles proceed all from naturall causes, to wit, the exhalations of the earth. Wherein he is fully and grossly deceived, considering that such Oracles in Greece have bene inspired by the diuill, who hath kept an open shop there of imposture, deceits, and the most horrible seducements that can be devised. For mine owne part, I impute this whole discourse of Plutarch unto the ignorance of the true God, the very mother of this dispright, which bringeth forth this present treatise, saved by the Pagans, for to darken the resplendent light of that great King of the world and his truth: which hath dissembled and brought to nothing all the subtill devices of Saran, who triumphed over all Greece by the means of his Oracles. Thus after large discourses upon these matters, Plutarch concludeth the whole disputation: the conclusion whereof he enricheth with an accident that befel unto the Prophetesse of Delphi; where a man may evidently see the imposture and fraud of diuels and of malicious spirits: and those be the Demons which Plutarch would designe, and their horrible tyranny over men destitute of Gods grace.

## OF THE ORACLES THAT have ceased to give answers.



**H**ere goeth a tale, my friend Terentius Priscus, that in times past certaine Eagles, or els Swannes, flying from the utmost ends of the earth opposit one unto the other, toward the mids thereof encountered & met together at the very place where the temple of Apollo Pythius was built, even that which is called Omphalos, that is to say, the Navill. And that afterwards, Epimenides the Phaeitian being desirous to know whether this fable was true, fought unto the Oracle for to be resolved: but having received from the god a doubtfull and uncerteine answer; by reason thereof, made these verses:

Now sure in mids of land or sea,  
there is no Navill such;  
Or if there be, the gods it know:  
men must not see so much.

And verily the god Apollo chastised and punished him well enough, for being so curious as to search into the truth or proofe of an olde received tale, as if it had bene some antique picture. But true it is, that in our daies, a little before the solemnity of the Pythique games, which were

Tttt

held

\* That is to  
lay, England.

held during the magistracy of *Callistratus*, there were two devout & holy personages, who coming from the contrary ends of the earth, met together in the city of *Delphi*: the one was *Demetrius* the Grammarian, who came from as farre as \* *Britaine*, minding to returne unto *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, the city of his nativity; and the other, *Cleombrotus* the Lacedæmonian, who had travelled and wandered long time in *Aegypt* within the Troglodytique province, and failed a good way up into the Red sea, not for any traffique or negotiation of merchandize, but onely as a traveller that desired to see the world and to learne new fashions abroad. For having wherewith sufficiently to mainteine himselfe, and not caring to gather more than might serve his owne turne, he employed that time which he had, this waies, and gathered together a certeine history, as the subject, matter and ground of that Philosophy, which propofed for the end thereof (as he himselfe said) Theologie. This man having not long before bene at the temple and Oracle of *Jupiter Ammon*, made semblance as if he woondered not much at any thing that he saw there; only he reported unto us a strange thing, worth the observation, and better to be considered of, which he learned of the Priests there, as touching the burning lampe that never goeth out: for by their saying, every yeere it spendeth lesse oile than other. Whereby they gather certainly (quoth he) the inequality of the yeeres, whereby the latter is evermore shorter than the former: for great probability there is, that seeing lesse oile is consumed, the time also is in proportion so much lesse. Now when all the company there present made a woonder heereat, *Demetrius* among the rest made a very jest of it, and said it was a meere mockery to search into the knowledge of matters so high, by such slight and small presumptions: for this was not, as *Alcæus* said, to paint a lion by measure of his claw or paw, but to move and alter heaven, and earth, and all the world, by the conjecture onely of a weeke and lampe; yea, and to overthrow at once all the Mathematicall sciences. It is neither to nor fo, good sir, quoth *Cleombrotus*; for neither the one nor the other will trouble these men. For first, they will never yeeld and give place unto the Mathematicians in the certitude of their proofs; for looner may the Mathematicians misreckon the time, and misse in their calculation and accounts, in such long motions and revolutions so farre remote and distant, than they faile in the measure of the oile which they observe continually and marke most precisely, in regard of that which they see so strange and against all discourse of reason. Again, not to grant and allow (o *Demetrius*) that petie things may many times serve for signes and arguments of great and important matters, would hinder and prejudice many arts, considering that it is as much as to take away the proofs from many demonstrations, conclusions and predictions. And verily, even you that are Grammarians, will seeme to verifie and avow one point which is not of the least consequence: namely, that those heroique princes and VVorthies, who were at the Trojane warre, used to have their haire, and keepe their skin smooth with the rasour; because forsooth in reading of *Homer* you meet with some place where he maketh mention barely of the rasour. Semblably, that in those daies men used to put forth their money upon usury, for that in one passage the said Poet writeth thus:

Whereas my debt is neither new nor small:

But as daies come and goe, it grows withall.

Meaning by the verbe *αὐξάνει*, that his debt did grow unto him by the interest for use. Furthermore, because ever and anon the same *Homer* attributeth unto the night, the epithet *βαρὴ*, which signifieth Quicke and sharpe; you Grammarians are much affected to this word, saying: He understandeth thereby, that the shadow of the earth being round, groweth point-wife or sharp at the end, in manner of a cone or pyramis. And what is he, who standing upon this point, that small things may not be the proofes and signes of greater matters; will approve this argument in Physicke: namely, that when there is a multitude of spiders seene, it doeth prognosticate a pestilent Summer: or in the Spring season, when the leaves of the olive tree resemble the crows-feet? VVho (I say) will ever abide to take the measure of the Sunnes body, by clepsydras or water-dials, with a gallon or pinte of water; or that a tyle-formed tablet, making a sharpe angle by the plumb, enclining upon a plaine superficies, should shew the just measure of the elevation of pole from the Horizon, which alwaies is to be seene in our Hemisphere? Lo, what the priests and prophets in those parts may alledge and say. And therefore we ought to produce some other reasons against them, in case we would mainteine the course of the Sunne to be constant and unvariable, as we hold here in these countries. And not of the Sunne onely, (cried out with a loud voice *Ammonius* the Philosopher, who was then in place) but also of the whole heaven, which by this reckoning commeth in question. For if it be granted, that the

yeeres

yeeres decrease: the race of the Sunne which he runneth betweene the one Tropique and the other, must of necessity be cut shorter, and that it taketh not up so great a part of the Horizon, as the Mathematicians set downe; but that it becommeth shorter, and lesse according as the Southern or Meridionall parts be contracted, and gather alwaies toward the Septentrionall and Northerne. Whereupon it will ensue that our Summer will be shorter, and the temperature of the aire by consequence colder; by reason that the Sunne turneth more inwardly, and descenbeth greater paralelles, or equidistant circles, than those be about the Tropicks, at the longest and shortest daies of the yeere. Moreover, this would follow heereupon, that the Gnomons in the dials at *Syene* in *Aegypt*, will be no more shadowlesse at the Summer Tropique or Solstice: and many of the fixed starres will runne under one another; some also of them will be forced for want of roome to runne one upon another, and be huddled pell-mell together. And if they shall say, that when other starres hold their owne, and keepe their ordinary courses, the Sunne onely observeth no order in his motions, they cannot alledge any cause that should so much as hasten his motion alone among so many others as there be, but they shall trouble and disquiet most of those things which are seene evidently above: and namely, those generally which happen unto the Moone in regard of the Sunne. So that we shall have no need of those, who observe the measures of oile, for to proove the diversitie of the yeeres; because the eclipses both of the Moone and Sun will sufficiently shew if there be any at all, for that the Sun shall many times meet with the Moone, and the Moone reciprocally fall as often within the shadow of the earth: so as we shall need no more to display and discover the vanity and fallshipe of this reason. Yea, but I my selfe (quoth *Cleombrotus*) have seene the said measure of oile, for they thewed many of them unto me; and that of this present yeere when I was with them, appeared to be much lesse than those in yeeres past. So that *Ammonius* made answer in this wise: And how is it that other men who adore the inextinguible fires, who keepe and preserve the same religiously for the space of an infinit number of yeeres, one after another, could not as well perceive and observe so much? And say that a man should admit this report of yours to be true, as touching the measures of the oile: were it not much better to ascribe the cause thereof unto some coldnesse or moisture of the aire; or rather contrariwise to some drinck and heat, by reason whereof, the fire in the lampe being enfeeblled is not able to spend so much nutriment, and therefore hath no need thereof? For I have heard it many times affirmed by some: That in Winter the fire burneth much better, as being more stronger & more fortified, by reason that the heat thereof is drawn in, more united and driven closer by the exterior colde: whereas great heats and droughts doe weaken the strength thereof, so as it becommeth faint, loose, and rawe without any great vehemencie and vigour; nay, if a man kinde it against the Sunne-shine, the operation of it is lesse, hardly catcheth it hold of the wood or fawell, and more slowly consumeth it the same. But most of all, a man may lay the cause upon the oile it selfe; for it goeth not against reason to say, that in old time the oile was of lesse nutriment, and stood more upon the waterish substance than now it doth, as pressed out of olives which grew upon young trees: but afterwards being better concocted, and riper in the fruit, coming of plants more perfect and fully grown in the same quantity, was more effectually, and able longer to nourish and mainteine the fire. Thus you see how a man may save and save that supposition of the Ammonian priests, although it seeme very strange and wonderfully extravagant. After that *Ammonius* had finished his speech: Nay rather (quoth I) *Cleombrotus*, I beseech you tell us somewhat of the oracle: for there hath gone a great name, time out of minde of the deity resident there; but now it seemeth that the reputation thereof is cleane gone. And when *Cleombrotus* made no answer heereunto, but held downe his head, and cast his eyes upon the ground: There is no neede (quoth *Demetrius*) to demand or make any question of the oracles there, when as we see the oracles in these parts to faile, or rather indeed (all save one or two) brought to nothing. This rather would be enquired into, what the cause should be, that generally they

all doe cease? For to what purpose should we speake of others, considering that *Boetia* it selfe, which heerebefore in old time resounded and rung againe with oracles; now is quite voide of them, as if the springs and fountaines were dried up, and a great ficcitie and drought of oracles had come over the whole land? For there is not at this day, goe throughout all *Boetia*, (unlesse it be onely in *Lebadia*) one place where a man may, would he never to faine, draw any divination, what need forever he hath of any oracle: for all other parts are either mute, or altogether desolate and forlorne. And yet in the time of the Medes warre, the oracle of *Ptoles Apollo*

Terr 2

was



was in great request, and that of *Amphiarus* was in no lesse reputation; for both the one and the other was sought unto. And in that of *Ptoles Apollo* when the priest or prophet who served in the oracle, used the Aetolian language, and made answer unto those who were sent thither from the Barbarians, inasmuch as none of the assistants understood one word: This Enthusiasm or divine inspiration, covertly gave thereby thus much to understand, that these oracles pertained nothing unto the Barbarians, neither were they permitted to have the ordinary Greeke language at their command. As for that of *Amphiarus*, the servant who was thither sent, falling a sleepe within the sanctuary, thought as he dreamed, that he saw and heard the minister of the god, as if with his word and voice he seemed at the first to drive him out, and command him to depart forth of the temple, saying, that his god was not there; but afterwards to thrust him away with both his hands: but in the end, seeing that he staid still, tooke up a great stone, and therewith smot him upon the head. And verily all this answered just to that which afterwards befell, and was a very prediction and denunciation of a future accident: for *Mardonius* was vanquished not by the king himselfe, but by the Tutor and lieutenant of the king of Lacedaemon, who at that time had the conduct and command of the Grecks armie; yea and with a stone felled to the ground, according as the Lydian servant aforesaid imagined in his sleepe that he was smitten with a stone. There flourished likewise about the same time the Oracle of *Tegyra*, where the report goeth that the god *Apollo* himselfe was borne: and verily two rivers there are that runne neere one to the other, whereof the one some at this day call *Phanix*, that is to say, the date tree; the other *Elas*, that is to say, the olive tree. At this Oracle, during the time of the Medes warre, when the prophet *Echecrates* there served, god *Apollo* answered by his mouth, that the Grecks should have the honour of the victory in this warre, and continue superior. Also in the time of the Peloponnesiaque warre, when the Delians were driven out of their Island, there was brought unto them an answer from the Oracle at *Delphi*; by vertue whereof, commanded they were, to search and seeke out the place where *Apollo* was borne, and there to performe certaine sacrifices: whereat, when they marvelled, and in great perplexity demanded againe, whether *Apollo* were borne any where else, but among them? the propheticke *Pythia* added moreover & said: That a crow should tell them the place. Whereupon these deputies who were sent unto the Oracle, in their returne homeward chanced to passe through the city *Charonea*, where they heard their hostesse in whose house they lodged, talking with some passengers and guests (who were going to *Tegyra*) as touching the Oracle; and when they departed and tooke their leave, they saluted her, and had her farewell in these termes: Adieu dame *Cornice*, for that was the womans name, which signifieth as much as Crow. By this meanes they understood the meaning of the foresaid Oracle or answer of *Pythia*: and so when they had sacrificed at *Tegyra*, not long after they were restored and returned into their native country. Moreover, there were other apparitions besides of Oracles, more fresh and later, than those which we have alledged; but now they are altogether ceased: so that it were not amisse, considering that we are met neere unto *Apollo Pythius*, for to enquire into the cause of this so great change & alteration. As we thus communed & talked together, we were now by this time gone out of the temple, so farre as to the very gates of the Gnidian hall: and when we were entered into it, we found those friends of ours sitting there within, whom we desired to meet withall, and who attended our coming. Now when all the rest were at leisure, and had nothing else to doe (being at such a time of the day) but either to anoint their bodies, or else looke upon the champions and wrestlers, who there exercised themselves; *Demetrius* after a smiling manner began and said:

*What? were I best to tell some lie,  
Or make report of truth shall I?*

It seemeth as farre as I can perceive, that you have in hand no matter of great consequence: for I saw you sitting at your ease, and it appeared by your cheerefull and pleasant looks, that you have no busie thoughts hammering in your heads. True it is indeed (quoth *Heraclius* the Megarian:) for we are not in serious argument & disputation about the verbe *βελτίον*, whether in the Future tense it should lose one of the two Lamdaes: neither reason we about these two comparatives *πείσι* and *βέλτερον* (that is to say, Worfe and better) of what Positives they should come: nor of what Primitives these two Superlatives *πείσιον* & *βέλτιστον* (that is to say, Worst and best) be derived? For these questions & such like, are those that make men knit and bend their brows: but of all other matters we may reason and Philosophize well enough and quietly, without making any

any furrowes in our foreheads, and looking with an austere and sower countenance for the matter upon the companie present with us. Why then (quoth *Demetrius*) admit and receive us into your societie, and together with us, entertaine the question also, which erewhile was moved among us, being as it is, meet for this place, and in regard of god *Apollo*, pertinent unto us all as many as we be: but I beseech you of all loves, let us have no frowning nor knitting of browses whiles we reason upon the point. Now when we were set intermingled one with another, and that *Demetrius* had propounded the foresaid question, immediately *Didymus* the Cynique Philosopher, surnamed *Planetiades*, started up, and stood upon his feete; and after he had stamped with his staffe twice or thrice upon the floore, cried out in this manner: O God! Come you hither with this question indeed, as if it were a matter so hard to be decided, and had need of some long and deepe inquisition? for a great marvel I no doubt it is, if seeing so much sinne and wickednesse is spread over the face of the whole world at this day, not onely shame and just indignation or Nemesis (according as *Hesiodus* prophesied before) have abandoned mans life; but also the providence of God being dislodged and carrying away with it all the Oracles that be, is cleane departed and gone for ever? But contrariwise I will put forth unto you another matter to be debated of: namely, how it comes to passe, that they have not rather already given over every one? and why *Hercules* is not come againe, or some other of the gods, and hath not long since plucked up and carried away the three-footed table and all, being so full ordinarily of shamefull, villanous and impious demands, proposed there daily to *Apollo*? whiles some preferre matters unto him as a Sophister, to trie what he can say; others aske him concerning treasure hidden; some againe would be resolved of succession in heritages, and of incestuous and unlawfull marriages? Inasmuch as now *Pythagoras* is manifestly convinced of error and lesing, who said, that men were then best, and excelled in goodnesse, when they presented themselves before the gods: for such things as it would well beseme to hide and conceale in the presence onely of some ancient personage (I meane the foule maladies and passions of the foule) the same they discover and lay abroad naked before *Apollo*. And as he would have gone forward still, and prosecuted this theme, both *Heraclius* plucked him by the cloke, and I also (who of all the company was most familiar & inward with him) Peace (quoth I) my good friend *Planetiades*, and cease to provoke *Apollo* against you: for a cholerick and restless god he is, and not milde and gracious; but according as *Pindarus* laid very well:

*Misdeem'd he is, and thought amisse: To be  
Most kinde to men, and full of lenitie.*

And were he either the Sunne, or the lord and father of the Sunne, or a substance beyond all visible natures, it is not like and probable, that he would disdain to speake any more unto men at this day living, of whose generation, nativity, nourishment, being, and understanding, he is the cause and author: neither is it credible, that the divine providence, which is a good, kinde, and tender mother, produceth and preserveth all things for our use, should shew herselfe to be malicious, in this matter onely of divination and prophesie; and upon an old grudge and rancor, to bereave us of that which at first she gave us, as if forsooth even then when Oracles were rise in all parts of the world, there was not in so mightie a multitude of men, the greater number of wicked. And therefore make *Pythick* truce (as they say) for the while with vice and wickednesse, which you are ever wont to chastice and rebuke in all your speeches, and come and sit downe heere by us againe, that together with us you may leache out some other cause of this generall eclipse and cessation of Oracles, which now is in question: but withall remember that you keepe this god *Apollo* propitious, and move him not to wrath and displeasure.

But these words of mine wrought to with *Planetiades*, that without any word replying, out of the doores he went his waies. Now when the company sat still for a pretty while in great silence, *Ammonius* at length directing his speech to me: I beseech you (quoth he) *Lamprias*, take better heed unto that which we doe, and looke more neerely into the matter of this our disputation, to the end that we cleere not the god altogether, and make him to be no cause at all that the Oracles doe cease. For he who attributeth this cessation unto any other cause than the will and ordinance of God, giveth us occasion to suspect him also, that he thinketh they never were nor be at this present by his disposition, but rather by some other meanes: for no other cause and puissance there is, more noble, more mighty, or more excellent, which might be able to destroy and abolish divination, if it were the worke of God. And as touching the discourse that *Planetiades* made, it please me never a whit: neither can I approve thereof, as well for

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other causes, as for that he admitteth a certaine inequality and inconstance in the god. For one while he maketh him to deserve and abhorre vice, and another while to allow and accept thereof: much like unto some king or tyrant rather, who at one gate driveth out wicked persons, and receiving them in at another doth negotiate with them. But seeing it is so, that the greatest worke which can be, sufficient in it selfe, nothing superfluous, but fully accomplished every way is most becoming the dignity and majesty of the gods, let this principle be supposed and laied for a ground, and then a man in mine opinion may very well say, that of this generall defect and common scarcity of men, which civill seditions and warres before time have brought generally into the world, *Greece* hath felt the greatest part: inasmuch as at this very day, hardly is all *Greece* able to make three thousand men for the warres, which are no more in number than one city in times past (to wit, *Megara*) set forth and sent to the battell of *Platas*: and therefore, whereas the god *Apollo* in this our age hath left many oracles, which in ancient time were much frequented, if one should inferre hereupon and say, that this argueth no other thing but that *Greece* is now much depopulated & dispeopled, in comparison of that which it was in old time, I would like well of his invention; and furnish him sufficiently with matter to discourse upon. For what would it boot, and what good would come of it, if there were now an Oracle at *Tegyra* as sometime there was, or about *Proum*? whereas all the day long a man shall peradventure meet with one, and that is all, keeping and feeding cattell there. And verily it is found written in histories, that this very place of the Oracle where now we are, which of all others in *Greece* is for antiquity right ancient, and for reputation most noble and renowned, was in times past for a great while desert and unfrequented; nay unaccessable altogether, in regard of a most venomous and dangerous beast, even a dragon which haunted it. But those who write this, doe not collect hereupon the cessation of the Oracle aright, but argue cleane contrary: for it was the solitude and infrequency of the place that brought the dragon thither, rather than the dragon that caused the said desert solitariness. But afterwards when it pleased God, that *Greece* was fortified againe and replenished with many cities, and this place well peopled and frequented, they used two Prophetesses, who one after the other in their course descended into the cave and there sat; yea and a third there was besides chosen, as a suffragane or assistant to sit by them and helpe if need were: but now there is but one Prophetesse in all, and yet we complain not; for the onely is sufficient for all comers that have any occasion to use the Oracle. And therefore we are in no wise to blame or accuse the god: for that divination and spirit of prophesie which remaineth there at this day, is sufficient for all, and sendeth all suiters away well contented, as having their full dispatch and answer for whatsoever they demand. Like as therefore *Agamemnon* in *Homer* had nine Heraults or Criers about him, and yet hardly with them could he containe and keepe in order the assembly of the Greeks being so frequent as then it was; but now within these few daies you shall see heere the voice of one man alone able to resound over the whole Theater, and to reach unto all the people their contained: even so, we must thinke, that this divination and spirit of prophesie in those daies used many organs and voices to speake unto the people, being a greater multitude than now there be. And therefore we should on the other side rather wonder, if God would suffer to run in vaine like waste water, this propheticall divination: or to resound againe, like as the desert rockes in the wide fields and mountaines ring with the resonance and echoes of heard-mens hollaing, and beasts bellowing. When *Ammonius* had thus said, and I held my peace, *Cleombrotus* addressing his speech unto me: And grant you indeed (quoth he) thus much, that it is the god *Apollo*, who is the author and overthrower also of these Oracles? Not so, answered I, for I maintaine and hold, that God was never the cause of abolishing any Oracle or divination whatsoever: but contrariwise, like as where he produceth and prepareth many other things for one use and behoofe, nature bringeth in the corruption and utter privation of some; or to say more truly, matter being it selfe privation, or subject thereto, avoideth many times and dissolveth that which a more excellent cause hath composed: even so I suppose there be some other causes, which darken and abolish the verue of divination, considering that God bestoweth upon men many faire & goodly gifts, but nothing perdurable & immortall: in such sort as the very workes of the gods do die, but not themselves, according as *Sophocles* saith. And verily the Philosophers and naturalists, who are well exercised in the knowledge of nature and the primitive matter, ought indeed to search into the substance, property and puissance of Oracles, but to reserve the originall and principall cause for God, as very meet and requisite it is that it should so be. For very foolish and childish it is that

the god himselfe, like unto those spirits speaking within the bellies of possessed folkes, such as in old time they called *Eugastimichi*, and *Euryclees*, and be now termed *Pythons*, entered into the bodies of Prophets, spake by their mouthes, and used their tongues and voices as organs and instruments of speech: for he that thus intermedleth God among the occasions and necessities of men, maketh no spare as he ought of his majesty, neither careth he that respect as is meet, to the preservation of the dignity and greatness of his power and vertue. Then *Cleombrotus*: You say very well and truly (quoth he:) but for as much as it is a difficult matter to comprise and define in what maner, and how farre forth, and to what point we ought to employ this divine providence: in my conceit, they who are of this minde, that simply God is cause of nothing at all in the world, and they againe, that make him wholly the author of all things; hold not a meane and indifferent course, but both of them misse the very point of decent mediocrity. Certes as they say passing well, who hold that *Plato* having invented and devised that element or subject, upon which grow and be engendered qualities, the which one while is called the primitive matter, and otherwhile nature, delivered Philosophers from many great difficulties: even so methinks, they who ordained a certaine kinde by themselves of *Dæmons* betweene god and men, have alsoiled many more doubts and greater ambiguities by finding out that bond and linke (as it were) which joineeth us and them together in society: Were it the opinion that came from the ancient Magi and Zoroastries, or rather a Thracian doctrine delivered by *Orpheus*; or els an Aegyptian or Phrygian tradition, as we may conjecture by seeing the same critics both in the one countrey and the other: wherein, among other holy and divine ceremonies, it seemeth there were certaine dolefull ceremonies of mourning and sorrow intermingled, favouring of mortality. And verily of the Greeks, *Homer* hath used these two names indifferently, terming the Gods *Dæmons*, and the *Dæmons* likewise Gods. But *Hesiodus* was the first who purely & distinctly hath set downe four kinds of reasonable natures, to wit, the Gods: then the *Dæmons*, and those many in number and all good: the Heroes and Men; and the *Dæmi*-gods are ranged in the number of those Heroicke worthies. But others hold, that there is a transmutation aswell of bodies as soules: and like as we may observe, that of earth is ingendered water, of water aire, and of aire fire, whiles the nature of the substance still mounteth on high: even so the better soules are changed, first from men to Heroes or *Dæmi*-gods, and afterwards from them to *Dæmons*, and of *Dæmons* some few after long time, being well refined and purified by vertue, came to participate the divination of the gods. Yet unto some it befalleth, that being not able to holde and conteine, they suffer themselves to slide and fall into mortall bodies againe, where they lead an obscure and darke life, like unto a smoaky vapour. As for *Hesiodus*, he thinketh verily, that even the *Dæmons* also, after certaine revolutions of time, shall die: for speaking in the person of one of their Nymphs called *Xarades*, covertly and under anigmatical termes he designeth their time, in this wise:

*Nine\* ages of men\* in their flower, doth live  
The\* railing Crow: fower times the Stags surmount  
The life of Crows: to Ravens doth nature give  
At threefold age of Stags, by true account:  
One Phoenix lives as long as Ravens nine:  
But you faire Nymphs, as the daughters verily  
Of mighty Jove and of nature divine,  
The Phoenix yeeres ten fold do multiply.*

But they that understand not well, what the Poet meaneth by this word *yeeres*, make the totall sum of this time to amount unto an exceeding great number of yeeres. For in truth it is but one yeere and no more. And so by that reckning, the whole arithem in all to nine thousand seven hundred and twenty yeeres just; which is the very life of the *Dæmons*. And many Mathematicians there be, by whose computation it is lesse. But more than so *Pindarus* would not have it, when he saith, that the Nymphs age is limited equal to trees; whereupon they be named *Hæmædrades*, as one would say, living and dying with Okes. As he was about to say more, *Demetrius* interrupted his speech, and taking the words out of his mouth: How is it possible, quoth he, o *Cleombrotus*, that you should make good and mainteine, that the Poet called the age of man, a yeere onely and no more? for it is not the space either of his flower and best time, nor of his olde age, according as some reade it in *Hesiodus*: for as one reads *ἡλικίαν*, that is say, flourishing; so, another readeth *γῆρας*, that is to say, aged. Now they that would have it to be

\* ἡλικία.  
\* γῆρας.  
\* ἀρκητύς,  
or εἰς τὴν γῆν.

ἡλικίαν.

*Heaven*, put downe for the age of man, thirty yeeres, according to the opinion of *Heraclitus*, which is the very time that a father hath begotten a sonne able to beget another of his owne: but such as follow the reading that hath *Pythagoras* attribute unto the age of man an hundred and eight yeeres, saying that foure and fifty is the just moiety or one halfe of a mans life: which number is composed of an unitie; the two first plaines, two squares, and two cubiques: which numbers *Plato* also tooke to the procreation of the soule which he describeth. But it seemeth verily, that *Hesiodus* by these words covertly did signifie that generall conflagration of the world; at what time, it is very probable, that the Nymphs together with all humors and liquid matters shall perishe:

*Those Nymphs I meane, which many a tree and plant  
In forests faire and goodly groves do haunt,  
Or neere to springs and river streames are seen,  
Or keepe about the medowes gay and greene.*

10

Then *Cleombrotus*: I have heard many (quoth he) talke hereof, and I perceive very well how this conflagration which the Stoicks have devised, as it hath crept into the Poems of *Heraclitus* and *Orpheus*, and so perverted their verses: so it hath seized upon and caught hold of *Hesiodus*, and given a perverse interpretation of him as well as of others. But neither can I endure to admit this consummation and end of the world, which they talke of, nor any such impossible matters; and namely, those speeches as touching the life of the Crow and the Stag or Hinde, which yeeres, if they were summed together, would grow to an excessive number. Moreover, a yeere containing 10 in it the beginning and the end of all things which the seasons thereof doe produce, and the earth bring forth, may in mine opinion not impertinently be called *Pyra*, that is to say, the age of men: for even you selves confesse, that *Hesiodus* in one passage called mans life *Pyra*. How say you, is it not so? Then *Demetrius* avowed as much. This also (quoth *Cleombrotus*) is as certaine, that both the measure, and also the things which be measured, are called by one and the same names: as it appeareth by *Corymbus*, *Chenix*, *Amphora* and *Medimnus*. Like as therefore we name unitie, a number, which in deed of all numbers is the least measure and beginning onely of them: (semblably, *Hesiodus* termed Yeere the age of man, for that with it principally we measure his age, and so communicate that word with the thing that it measurith: as for those numbers which they make, there is no singularity at all or matter of importance in them as touching 30 the renowned numbers indeed. But the number of 9720 hath a speciall ground and beginning, as being composed of the foure first numbers arising in order from one and the same, added together or multiplied by foure, every way arise to fortie. Now if \* these be reduced into triangles five times, they make the just summe of the number before named. But as touching these matters, what need I to contend with *Demetrius*? for whether there be meant thereby a longer time or a shorter, a certaine or uncerteine, wherein *Hesiodus* would have the soule of a Daemon to change, or the life of a Demi god or Heros to end, it killeth not; for he prooveth nevertheless that which he would, and that by the evidence of most ancient and wise witnesses, that there be certaine natures neuter and meane (as it were) situate in the confines betweene gods and men, and the same subject to mortall passions, and apt to receive necessarie changes and mutations: 40 on which natures according to the traditions & examples of our forefathers, meet it is that we call Daemons, and honour them accordingly. And to this purpose, *Xenocrates* one of the familiar friends of *Plato*, was wont to bring in the demonstration and example of triangles, which agreed very well to the present matter in hand: for that triangle which had \* three sides and angles equall, he compared unto the nature divine and immortal; that which had \* all sides unequal, unto the humane and mortall nature; and that which had \* two equal and one unequal, unto the nature of the Daemons: for the first is every way equal, the second on every side unequal, and the last in some sort equal and in other unequal; like unto the nature of the Daemons, having humane passions and affections, yet withall, the divine power of some god. But nature herselfe hath propoed unto us sensible figures and similitudes visible above; of gods v 50 verily the Sunne and other starres; but of mortall men, sudden lights and flashes in the night, blazing comets, and shooting of starres: for unto such *Euripides* compared them, when he said:

*Who was ere while and lately in the flower,  
Of his fresh youth, at sudden in an hour,  
Become extinct (as starre which seems to fall  
From skie) and into aire seem breath and all.*

Now

Now for a mixt body, representing the nature of Daemons or Angels, there is the Moone: which they seeing to be subject to growing and decreasing, yea and to perishing altogether, and departing out of sight, thought to accord very well, and to be sortable unto the mutability of the Daemons kinde. For which cause, some have called her a terrestriall starre: others an Olympian or celestially earth; and there be againe who have named her *The heritage and possession of Proserpina*, both heavenly and earthly. Like as therefore, if one tooke the aire out of the world, and remooved it from betweene the Moone and the earth, he should dissolve the continuation, coherence and composition of the whole universall frame, by leaving a void and empty place in the middes, without any bond to joine and linke the extremes together: 10 even so, they who admit not the nation and kind of the Daemons, abolish all communication, convers and conference betweene gods and men, considering they take away that nature which serveth as a hanchman, interpreter, and minister betweene both, as *Plato* said: or rather they would drive us to confound and huddle together, yea and to jumble all in one, if we came to intermingle the divine nature and deity among humane passions and actions, and so plucke it out of heaven, for to make it intermeddle in the negocies and affaires of men; like as they saie, the wives of *Thesalia* draw downe the Moone from heaven. Which devise & fiction hath taken roote, and is believed among women, by reason that *Aglaonice*, the daughter of *Agetor* (by report) being a wife dame, and well scene in Astrologie, made semblance and periwaded the vulgar sort; that in every eclipse of the Moone, she used alwaies some charmes and enchant- 20 ments; by vertue whereof, she fetched the Moone out of heaven. As for us, give we no care and credit unto them, who say, there be some Oracles and divinations without a deity, or that the gods regard not sacrifices, divine services, and other sacred ceremonies, exhibited unto them: neither on the other side let us beleeve, that God is present to intermeddle or employ himselfe in person, but betaking and referring that charge unto the ministers of the gods, as it is meet and just; like as if they were deputies, officers, and secretaries: let us constantly hold, that those be the Daemons which are their elpses and escouts, going too and fro throughout all parts, some to oversee and direct the sacrifices, and sacred rites and ceremonies performed to the gods: others to chastise and punish the enormous and outrageous offences and wrongs committed by men: and others there are besides, of whom the Poet *Hesiodus* speaketh most re- 30 verently, saying:

*Pure, holy, and sincere they be,  
The Donors of good things:  
This honour is allotted them,  
Beeseming noble kings.*

Giving us by the way thus much to understand, that to doe good and be beneficiall is a roiall office and function: for a difference there is, and sundry degrees there be in the gifts and virtues of Daemons, like as among men. For in some of them there remaine still certaine small reliques (and the same verie feeble and scarce sensible) of that passionate and sensitive part of the soule which is not reasonable, even as a very excrement and superfluitie left behind of the rest: 40 but in others againe, there abideth a great deale, and the same hardly to be extinguished, whereof we may feel lively the works and evident tokens in many places, disseminate in some sacrifices, feasts and ceremonies celebrated unto them; yea, and in the tales reported by them. Howbeit, as touching the mysteries and sacred services (by which & through which a man may more cleerely perceive than by any other means whatsoever, the true nature of the gods) I will not speake a word: let them lie close and hidden still for me, as *Herodotus* saith. But as for certaine festivall solemnities and sacrifices, which are held as dismall, unfortunate and heavy daies; when sometimes they use to eat raw flesh, and tear humane bodies piece-meale; or other- while to fast and knocke their breasts; and in many places utter most filthy and beastly words during the sacrifices:

*Wagging their heads in frantike wise,  
With strange all- armes and bidoous cries.*

I will never beleeve that this is done for any of the gods: but will say rather, it is to avert the ire and appease the furie of some maligne divels. Neither carieth it any likelihood and probability, that ever any god would require men to be sacrificed unto them, as they were in old time: or stand well pleased with any such sacrifices. Neither was it for nought that kings and great captaines gave their owne children thus to be slaine; yea, and with their owne hands killed them for sacrifice:

sacrifice: but we are to belevee that it was to turne away and divert the rankor and wrath of some perverse spirits and malicious fiends, or to satisfie such hurtfull divels; yea, and to fulfill the violent, furious and tyrannicall lusts of some, who either could not, or would not enjoy them with their bodies, or by their bodies. But like as *Hercules* besieged the city of *Oechalia*, for a virgins sake who was within: even so these powerfull and outrageous fiends, demanding some humane soule clad and compassed within a body, to be given unto them, and yet not able to fulfill their lust by the body, bring pestilence, famine, dearth, and sterility of the ground upon cities, raise wars and civill dissensions, untill such time as they come to have and enjoy that which they loved: and some doe cleane contrary; as it was my hap to observe in *Candie*, (where I abode a long time) how they celebrated a certaine monstrous feast, in which they made shew of a headlesse mans image, saying it was *Molus*, the father of *Meriones*: for having forced or deflowered a Nymph, he was afterwards found without an head. Moreover, what ravishment, soever, what wandering voiajes, what occultations, flights, banishments, ministeries and services of the gods be reported and sung in fables or hymnes, certes they be all of them no passions and accidents that befell to gods indeed, but to some Dæmons, whose fortunes were recorded in memoriall of their vertue & puissance: neither meant the Poet *Aeschylus* (a god) when he said:

*Apollo chaist, who now is fled,  
And out of heaven banished;*

Nor *Admetus* in *Sophocles*:

*My chaunting cocke that crows so shrill,  
Hath raised him and brought to mill.*

Also the Divines and Theologians of *Delphi*, are in a great error, and farre from the truth, who thinke, that sometimes in this place, there was a combat betwene *Apollo* and a dragon, about the hold and possession of this Oracle. They are to blame also, who suffer Poets and Oratours, striving one against another in their Theatres, to act or relate such matters; as if of purpose and expressly they contradicted and condemned those things which themselves performe in their most sacred solemnities. Heereat, when *Philippus* wondered much (for the Historiographer of that name was present in this companie) & demanded withall, what divine rites and ceremonies they might be, which were contradicted and testified against by these who contended in the Theaters? Many even thole (quoth *Cleombrotus*) which concerne this very Oracle of *Delphi*, and by which this citie not long since hath admitted and received into the sacred profession of holy mysteries, all the Greeks without *Thermopylae*, and excluded those that dwell as farre as the vale of *Tempe*. For the tabernacle or cottage heere of boughes (which is erected and set up every ninth yeere, within the court-yard of this temple) is not a representation of the dragons cave or denne, but rather of some tyrants or kings house: as also the assault or surprize thereof in great silence, by the way called *Dolonia*. Likewise, that a little after they bring thither a boy who hath both father and mother living, with torches light burning: and when they have set the said tabernacle or tent on fire, and overthrowne the table, runne away as hard as they can through the dores of the temple, and never looke behinde them. And finally, the wanderings of this boy in divers places, and his servile ministeries, together with the expiatory sacrifices and ceremonies about *Tempe*, move suspicion that there should be represented thereby some notorious outrage, and audacious fact perpetrated there in old time. For it were a meere mockery (my friend *Philippus*) to say, that *Apollo* for killing the dragon, fled as farre as to the unmoilt coasts and marches of *Greece*, for to be purified and affoiled: also, that he offered thereon certaine expiatory libations and effusions, and performed all such duties and services which men doe, when they would appease the wrath and indignation of such Dæmons and curst fiends, whom we call *Alaisteras* and *Palammas*, as one would say, The revengers of such enormities and crimes as could not be forgotten, and those who bare still in minde some old sinnes, and pursued the same. As for that tale, which I my selfe of late have heard as touching this sight and banishment, it is wonderfull strange and prodigious: but if it containe some truth among, we must not thinke, that it was a small and ordinary matter that befell in those daies about the said Oracle. But for feare I might be thought as *Empedocles* sometimes said:

*To stich the heads of sundry tales together,  
And goe in divers pathes I know not whether:*

Suffer me I beseech you to make a convenient end heere of my light discourses. For now are wee just come so farre, as we may also be bold after many others to affirme and pronounce, that

that seeing the Dæmons ordained for the prefidence and superintendence of prophesies and Oracles doe faile, of necessity these Oracles also and divinations must cease with them; and when they be fled and gone, or change their residence, it cannot chuse but the former places must loose their prophetical power and verue: also, that when after long time they be returned thither, the said places will begin againe to speake and sound, like unto instruments of musike; namely, if they be present who have the skill to handle and use them accordingly. After that *Cleombrotus* had thus discoursed: There is not (quoth *Heracleon*) any one of this companie that is a prophane miscreant and infidell, not professed in our religion, or who holdeth any opinions as touching the gods, discordant from us. Howbeit, let us take heed our selves & *Philippus*, 10 lest ere we be aware, we doe not in our discourse & disputation put downe some erroneous suppositions and such as may make great ground-worke of impiety. You say very well (quoth *Philippus*) but what point is it of all those that *Cleombrotus* hath put downe, that is so offensive and scandalizeth you most? Then *Heracleon*: That they be not gods indeed who are the presidents of Oracles (because we ought to belevee of them, that they be exempt from all terrestrial affaires) but that they be Dæmons rather, or the angels and miniters of the gods; in my conceit is no bad nor impertinent supposall: but all at once & abruptly, by occasion of *Empedocles* his verses, to attribute unto these Dæmons crimes, plagues, calamities, transgressions, inquietudes and errors lent from the gods above, and in the end to make them for to die, as mortall men; this I take to be somewhat to presumptuously spoken, and to smell of barbarous audacity. Then *Cleombrotus* asked *Philippus*, who this young man was, and from whence he came? And when he had heard his name and his country, he answered in this wise: We are not ignorant our selves (ô *Heracleon*) that we are fallen into a speech favoring somewhat of absurdity: but a man cannot possibly discourse of great matters, without he lay as great foundations at the beginning, for to proceed unto probability and prove his opinion. And as for your selfe, you are not aware, how you overthrow even that which you grant: for confesse you doe, that there be Dæmons; but when you will needs maintaine that they be neither lewd nor mortall, you cannot make it good that they be at all. For wherein I pray you doe they differ from gods, in case they be in substance incorruptible, and in vertue impassible, or not subject to sinne? Heereupon *Heracleon*, when he had mused with himselfe not saying a word, and studied what answer to 30 make, *Cleombrotus* went on and said: It is not *Empedocles* alone who hath given out there were evil Dæmons, but *Plato* also himselfe, *Xenocratus* also and *Chrysippus*; yea and *Democritus* when he wished and prayed that he might meet with lucky images, both knew and gave us (no doubt) thereby to understand, that he thought there were others of them crooked and threwd, and such as were badly affected and had evil intentions. But as touching the death of such, and how they are mortall, I have heard it reported by a man who was no fool nor a vaine lying person: and that was *Epitherses* the father of *Aemilianus* the oratour, whom some of you (I dare well say) have heard to plead & declaine. This *Epitherses* was my fellow-citizen and had bene my schoolemaster in grammar, and this narration he related: That minding upon a time to make a voiage by sea into *Italy*, he was embarked in a ship fraught with much marchandize 40 and having many passengers beside aboard. Now when it drew toward the evening, they happened (as he said) to be calmed about the Isles *Echinades*; by occasion whereof their ship bulled with the tides untill at length it was brought neere unto the Islands *Paxa*, whiles most of the passengers were awake, and many of them still drinking after supper: but then, all on a sudden there was heard a voice from one of the Islands of *Paxa*, calling aloud unto one *Thamus*; inso-much as there was not one of all our company but he wondered thereat. Now this *Thamus* was a Pilot and an Aegyptian borne: but known he was not to many of them in the ship by that name. At the two first calles, he made no answer; but at the third time he obeyed the voice, and answered: Here I am. Then he who spake, strained his voice and said unto him: When thou art come to \* *Palodes*, publish thou and make it known: That the Great *Pan* is Dead. And as *Epitherses* made report unto us, as many as heard this voice were wonderfully amazed thereat, and entred into a discourse and disputation about the point, whether it were best to doe according to this commandement, or rather to let it passe and not curiously to meddle withall; but neglected it: As for *Thamus*, of this minde he was and relolved: If the winde served, to saile by the place quietly and say nothing; but if the windes were laid and that their ensued a calme, to crie and pronounce with a loud voice that which he heard. Well, when they were come to *Palodes* afore said the winde was downe and they were becalmed, so as the sea was very still without waves, 50 Whereupon

\* Some take it to be a place of manie shelter and small-waves.

Whereupon *Thamus* looking from the poupe of the ship toward the land, pronounced with a loud voice that which he had heard, and said: *The great Pan is Dead*. He had no sooner spoken the word but there was heard a mighty noise, not of one but of many together, who seemed to groane and lament, and withall to make a great wonder. And as it falleth commonly out when as many be present, the newes thereof was soone spread and divulged through the city of *Rome*, in such sort as *Tiberius Caesar* the emperor sent for *Thamus*: and *Tiberius* verily gave so good credit unto his wordes, that he searched and enquired with all diligence who that *Pan* might be. Now the great clerks and learned men (of whom he had many about him) gave their conjecture that it might be he, who was the sonne of *Mercurie* by *Penelope*. And verily *Philippus* had some of the companie present to beare witnesse with him, such as had bene *Ac- 01* *milianus* scholars and heard as much. Then *Demetrius* made report, that many little desert and desolate Isles there were lying disperfed and scattering in the sea about *Britaine*, like unto those which the Greeks call *Sporades*; whereof some were named the Isles of *Dæmons*, and *Heroes* or *Demi-gods*: also that himselve by commission and commandement from the emperor, failed toward the nearest of those desert Isles for to know and see somewhat; which he found to have very few inhabitants, and those all were by the Britaines, held for sacrosanct and inviolable. Now within a while after he was arrived thither, the aire and weather was mightily troubled, many portentous signes were given by terrible tempests and stormes, with extraordinary windes, thunders, lightnings, and fire impressions: but after that these tempests were ceased, the Ilanders assured him, that one of those *Dæmons* or *Demi-gods* (who surmounted the na- 20 ture of man) was departed. For like as a lampe (say they) or candle, so long as it burneth light offendeth no bodie; but when it is put out or goeth forth, it maketh a stinke offensive unto many about it: even so, these great Soules whiles they shine and give light, be milde, gracious, and harmlesse; but when they come to be extinct or to perish, they raise (even as at that present) outrageous tempests, yea and oftentimes infect the aire with contagious and pestilent maladies. They reported moreover, that in one of those Ilands *Briareus* kept *Saturne* prisoner in a sound sleepe (for that was the devise to hold him captive) about whose person there were many other *Dæmons* of his traine and his servitours. *Cleombrotus* then taking occasion for to speake: I am able my selfe also (quoth he) to alledge many such examples if I list; but it may suffice for this present matter in hand, that this is nothing contrary nor opposit unto that 30 which by us hath bene delivered. And verily we know full well, that the Stoicks hold the same opinion not onely of *Dæmons* that we doe, but also of the gods: that there being so great a multitude of them, yet there is but one alone immortall and eternall; whereas all the rest had their beginning by nativity and shall have an end by death. And as for the scoffes, scornes, and mockeries that the Epicureans make, we ought not to regard them, nor be affraid of them: for so audacious they are, that they use the same even in the divine providence, terming it a very fable and oldwives tale. But we contrariwise hold, that their infinity of worldes is a fable indeed: as also to say, that among those innumerable worlds, there is not so much as one governed by reason or the providence of God; but that all things were first made and afterwards maintained by mere chance and fortune. Certes, if it be lawfull to laugh, and that we must needs make 40 game in matters of Philosophy, we should rather mocke those who bring into their disputations of naturall questions, I wot not what deafe, blinde, dumbe and inanimate images; retaining I know not where, and continuing in appearance infinit revolutions of yeeres, wandering round about and going to and fro: which say they, issue and flowe from bodies partly yet living, and partly from those who long agoe were dead, burnt, yea and rotten and putrified to nothing. These men (I say) we should doe well to laugh at, who draw such ridiculous toies and vaine shadowes as these, into the serious disputations of nature.

Meanwhile forsooth, offended they are and angry, if a man should say there be *Dæmons*; and that not onely in nature but in reason also it standeth with good congruity, they should continue and endure a long time. These speeches thus passed, *Ammonius* began in this wise: \**Cleombrotus* 50 in mine opinion (quoth he) hath spoken very well: and what should impeach us, but that we may admit and receive his sentence, being so graves as it is, and most befitting a Philosopher? For reject it once, we shall be forced to reject also and denie many things which are, and usually happen, whereof no certaine cause and reason can be delivered: and if it be admitted, it draweth after it no traine and consequence of any impossibility whatsoever, nor of that which is not subsistent. But as touching that one point, which I have heard the Epicureans alledge against

*Empedocles*

*Empedocles*, and the *Dæmons* which he bringeth in, namely: That they cannot possibly be happy and long lived, being evill and finfull as they are, for that vice by nature is blind, and of it selfe falleth ordinarily headlong into perils and inconveniences which destroy the life; this is a very foolish opposition: for by the same reason they must confesse, that *Epicurus* was worse than *Gorgias* the Sophister; and *Metrodorus*, than *Alexis* the Comickall Poet: for this Poet lived twice as long as *Metrodorus*; and that Sophister, longer than *Epicurus*, by a third part of his age. For it is in another respect, that we say Vertue is puissant, and vice feeble, not in regard of the lasting continuance or dissolution of the bodie: for we see, that of beafts there be many dull, slow and blockish of spirit; many also by nature libidinous, unruly and disordered, which live longer 10 than those that are full of wit, wily, wary and wise. And therefore they conclude not aright, in saying, that the divine nature enioieth immortality, by taking heed and avoiding those things that be noisome and mischievous. For it behooved, in the divine nature which is blessed and happy, to have set downe an impossibility of being subject to all corruption and alteration, and that it standeth in no need of care and labour to maintaine the said nature. But peradventure it seemeth not to stand with good maners and civility, to dispute thus against those that are not present to make answer for themselves: it were meet therefore, that *Cleombrotus* would resume and take in hand that speech againe, which he gave over and laied aside of late, as touching the departure and translation of these *Dæmons* from one place to another. Then *Cleombrotus*: Yes mary, quoth he: but I would marvell, if this discourse of mine would not seeme unto you 20 much more absurd than the former delivered already: and yet it seemeth to be grounded upon naturall reason, and *Plato* himselve hath made the overturre thereto, not absolutely pronouncing and affirming so much; but after the maner of a doubtfull opinion and under covert words, casting out a certaine wary conjecture tending that way, although among other Philosphers it hath bene disclaimed and cried out against. But forasmuch as there is set a cup on the boord, full of reasons and tales mingled together, and for that a man shall hardly meet in any place againe with more courteous and gracious hearers, among whom he may passe and put away such narrations, as pieces of forren coine, and strange money: I will not dunke much to gratifie you this farre forth, as to acquaint you with a narration that I heard a stranger and a Barbarian relate: whom (after many a journey made to and fro for to finde him out, and much money given 30 by me for to heare where he was) I met with at length by good hap, neere unto the Red Sea. His maner was to speake and converse with men but once in the yeere; all the rest of his time (as he said himselve) he spent among the Nymphs, Nomades and *Dæmons*. Well, with much adoe I light upon him, I communed with him, and he used me courteously. The fairest man he was to see to, of all that ever I set eie on: neither was he subject to any discale: once every moneth he fed upon a medicinable and bitter fruit of a certaine herbe: and this was the fare he lived upon. A good linguist he was, and used to speake many languages; but with me he talked commonly in Greeke, after the Doricke dialect. His speech differed not much from song and mee- 40 ter: and whensoever he opened his mouth for to speake, there issued forth of it sweet and fragrant a breath, that all the place about was filled therewith and smelled most pleasantly. As for his other learning and knowledge, yea, the skill of all histories, he had the same all the yeere long: but as touching the gift of divination, he was inspired therewith one day every yeere, and no more; and then he went downe to the sea side and prophesied of things to come: and thither resorted unto him the Princes and great Lords of that country, yea and Secretaries of forren kings, who there attended his coming at a day prefixed: which done, he returned. This performance then attributed unto *Dæmons* the spirit of divination and prophesie: most pleasure tooke he in hearing and speaking of *Delphi*: and looke whatsoever we hold here as touching *Bacchus*, what adventures befall unto him, & what sacrifices are performed by us in his honor, he had bene informed thereof, and knew all well enough, saying withall: That as these were great accidents, that hapned to *Dæmons*; so likewise was that, which men reported of the serpent *Python*: whom 50 he that slew, was neither banished for nine yeeres, nor fled into the valley of *Tempe*, but was chased out of this world, and went into another; from whence (after nine revolutions of the great yeeres) being returned all purified and *Phœbus* indeed, that is to say, cleere and bright, he recovered the superintendence of the Delphicke Oracle, which during that while was left to the custody of *Themis*. The same was the case (said he) of the *Titons* and *Typhons*. For he affirmed, they were the battels of *Dæmons* against *Dæmons*: the flights and banishments also of those who were vanquished: or rather the punishments inflicted by the gods upon as many as had

VVVVV

COMMENTS



<sup>1</sup> O, Caelum, committed such outrages as *Typhon* had done against *Osiris*, and *Saturne* against <sup>2</sup> *Cælus* or the heaven: whose honours were the more obscure or abolished altogether, by reason that themselves were translated into another world. For I understand and heare, that the *Solymanians* who border hard upon the *Lycians*, highly honoured *Saturne* when the time was: but after that he having slain their princes, *Aspalus*, *Dryus*, and *Trofolobus*, fled & departed into some other country (for whither he went they knew not) they made no more any reckoning of him: but *Aspalus* and the other, they termed by the name of *Scleroi*, that is to say, severe gods: and in truth, the *Lycians* at this day, as well in publicke as private, utter and recite the forme of all their curses and execrations in their names.

Many other semblable examples a man may draw out of Theologicall writings, as touching the gods. Now if we call some of these Demons by the usuall and ordinary names of the gods, we ought not to marvell thereat (quoth this stranger unto me:) for looke unto which of the gods they do receive, upon whom they depend, and by whose means they have honour and puissance; by their names they love to be called: like as heere among us men, one is called *Jovius* of *Jupiter*; another, *Palladius* or *Athenus* of *Minerva*; a third, *Apollonius* of *Apollon*; or *Dionysius* and *Hermæus* of *Bacchus* and *Mercurie*. And verily, some there be who although they be named thus at adventure, yet answer very fitly to such denominations; but many have gotten the denominations of the gods, which agree not unto them, but are transposed wrong and misgiven. Herewith *Cleombrotus* paused: and the speech that he had delivered seemed very strange unto all the company. Then *Heracleon* demanded of him, whether this doctrine concerned *Plato*? <sup>10</sup> *Plato* had given the overture and beginning of such matter? You doe well (quoth *Cleombrotus*) to put me in minde heereof, and to reduce it into my memory. First and foremost therefore, he condemneth evermore the infinity of worlds: many about the just and precise number of them he doubteth; and howsoever he seemes to yeeld a probability and appearance of truth unto those who have set downe five, and attributed to every element one; yet himselfe sticketh still to one, which seemeth indeed to be the peculiar opinion of *Plato*: whereas other Philosophers also have alwaies mightily feared to admit a multitude of worlds; as if necessarie it were, that those who staid not by the means of matter in one, but went out of it once, could not chuse but fall presently into this indeterminate and troublefoule infinity. But this your stranger, (quoth I) determined he nothing of this multitude of worlds, otherwise than *Plato*? <sup>20</sup> *Plato* did? or all the whiles that you conversed with him, did you never move the question thereof unto him, to know what his opinion was thereof? Think you (quoth *Cleombrotus*) that I failed herein, and was not (howsoever otherwise I behaved my selfe) a diligent scholar and affectionate auditor of his in these matters, especially seeing he was so affable, and shewed himselfe so courteous unto me? But as touching this point, he said: That neither the number of the worlds was infinit, nor yet true it was, that there were no more but one, or five in all: for there were 183, and those ordeined and ranged in a forme triangular; of which triangle, every side contained threecore worlds; and of the three remaining still, every corner thereof had one: that they were so ordered, as one touched and inteiined another round, in manner of those who are in a ring dance: that the plaine within the triangle, is as it were the foundation and altar <sup>30</sup> common to all the worlds, which is called The Plaine or Field of Truth: and within it lie immovable the designes, reasons, formes, ideas and examples of all things that ever were or shall be: and about them is eternitie, wherof time is a portion, which as a river runneth from thence to those things that are done in time. Now the sight and contemplation of these things was presented unto the foules of men, if they lived well in this world, and that but once in ten thousand yeeres: as for our mysteries heere beneath, and all our best and most sacred ceremonies, they were but a dramatic in comparisn of that spectacle and holy ceremonies. Moreover, he said: That for the good things there, and for to enjoy the sight of those beauties, men employed their study in Philosophy here: or els all their paines taken was but in vaine, and their travellost. And verily (quoth he) I heard him discourse of these matters plainly and without any art, no <sup>40</sup> otherwise than if it had beene some religion wherein I was to be professed, in which he instructed me without using any prooffe and demonstration of his doctrine. Then I (turning to *Demetrius*) called unto him, and asked what were the words that the woers of *Penelope* spake, when they beheld with admiration *Ulysses* handling his bow? And when *Demetrius* had prompted unto me the verse out of *Homer*: Surely (quoth I) it comes into my minde to say the very same of this stranger:

Surely

Surely, this fellow as I weene,  
Some\* prying spie or theefe hath bene,

not of bowes, as he said of *Ulysses*, but of sentences, resolutions and discourses of Philosophie: he hath bene conversant, I say, no doubt in all manner of literature: and I want you, no stranger nor Barbarian borne, but a Grecian, thorowly furnished with all knowledge and doctrine of the Greeks. And verily, this number of the worlds whereof he talketh, bewraieih not an Aegyptian nor an Indian, but favoureth of some Dorian out of *Sicilie*, and namely, of *Peiron*, borne in the city of *Himera*, who wrote a little booke of this argument; which I have not read my selfe, neither doe I know whether it be now extant: but *Hippys* the Rhegine (of whom *Phariss* the E-<sup>10</sup> restian maketh mention) writeth, that this was the opinion and doctrine of *Peiron*; namely, that there were 183 worlds, which taught one another in order and traine: but what he meant by this Reaching one another in order or traine, he declared not; neither annexed he any other probable reason thereof. Then *Demetrius*: And what likelihood or probability (quoth he) may there be in such matters, considering that *Plato* himselfe alledging no argument or conjecture that carrieth with it any shew of truth and reason, hath by that meanes overthrowen that opinion? And yet (quoth *Heracleon*) we have heard you Grammarians say, that *Homer* was the first authour of this opinion, as if he divided the universall frame of All into five worlds; to wit, Heaven, Water, Aire, Earth, and Olympus: of which, he leaveth two to be common, namely, Earth, to All beneath; and Olympus, to All above: but the three in the mids betwene them, hee attributeth unto three gods. Semblably, it seemeth that *Plato* allotting unto the principall parts and members of the said universall nature, the first formes and most excellent figures of the bodies, called them five worlds; to wit, of the Earth, the Water, the Aire, the Fire, and finally, of that which comprehendeth the other; and that hee called the forme of *Dodecaedron*, that is to say, with twelve bales or faces, which amply extendeth it selfe, is very capable and mooveable, as being a figure proper and meet for the animall motions and revolutions of the foules. What need we at this present (quoth *Demetrius*) to meddle with *Homer*? wee have had fables enough already, if that be good. As for *Plato*, hee is farre enough off from naming those five different substances of the world, five worlds: considering that even in that very place where he disputeth against those who maintain an infinit number of worlds, he affirmeth there is but one created by God, and beloved by him, as his onely begotten <sup>20</sup> childe, composed of all nature, having one entier bodie, sufficient in it selfe, and standing in need of nothing else. Whereupon a man may very well wonder and thinke it strange, that having himselfe delivered a truth, he should give occasion to others thereby, to take hold of a false opinion, and wherein there is no apparence of reason. For, if he had not stucke hard to this unity of the world, in some sort he might have laid the foundation for those who hold them to be infinit: but that he should precisely affirme there were five, and neither more nor fewer, is exceeding absurd, and farre from all probabilitie; unlesse haply, you (quoth he, casting his eie upon me) can say somewhat to this point. How now (quoth I then) are you minded thus to leave your first disputation of Oracles, as if it were fully finished and ended, and to enter upon another matter of such difficulty? Nay (quoth *Demetrius*) we will not passe it over so; but this here <sup>30</sup> that presenteth it selfe now, and taketh us as it were by the hand, we cannot put by: for we will not dwell long upon it, but onely touch it so, and handle it by the way, as that we may finde out some probability, and then will we presently returne unto our former question proposed in the beginning. First and foremost therefore, I say: The reasons which permit us not to allow an infinit number of worlds, impeach us not, but that we admit more than one. For as well in many worlds as in one, there may be divination, there may be providence, and the least intercur-<sup>40</sup> rence of fortune: but the most part of the greatest and principall things shall have and take their generations, changes and mutations ordinarily: which cannot possibly be in that infinity of worlds. Over and besides, more consonant it is to reason, and accordeth better with the nature of God, to say, that the world is not created by him, one onely and solitary: for being (as he is) perfectly and absolutely good, there is no vertue wanting in him, and least of all others that which concerneth justice and amity; which as they be of themselves most beautifull, so they are best besitting the gods. Now such is the nature of God, that he hath nothing either unprofitable or in vaine and without use: and therefore needs there must be beside and without him, other gods and other worlds, unto whom and which he may extend those sociall vertues that he hath. For neither in regard of himselfe, nor of any part in him, needeth he to use, justice,

Vvvvv 2

stice,

stice, gracious favour and bounty, but unto others. So that it is not likely that this world do  
 teeth and mooveth without a friend, without a neighbour, and without any societie and com-  
 munication, in a vast and infinit voidnesse; especially seeing we behold how nature enloseth,  
 environeth, and comprehendeth all things, in their severall genders and distinct kinds, as it  
 were within vessels or the husks and covertures of their feeds. For looke throughout the uni-  
 versall nature, there is nothing to be found one in number, but it hath the notion and reason of  
 the essence and being thereof, common to others: neither hath any thing such and such a de-  
 nomination, but beside the common notion it is by some particular qualities distinct from  
 others of the same kind. Now the world is not called so in common: then must it be such in par-  
 ticular: and qualified it is in particular, and distinguished by certaine differences, from other 10  
 worlds of the same kinde, and yet hath a peculiar forme of the owne. Moreover, considering  
 there is in the whole world, neither man alone, nor horse, nor starre, ne yet God or Dæ-  
 mon solitarie: what should hinder us to say, that nature admitteth not one onely world, but hath  
 many? Now if any man shall object unto me and say, that in nature there is but one earth, or  
 one sea: I answer, that he is much deceived and overseene, in not perceiving the evidence that  
 is of similitude parts: for we divide the earth into parts similitude, that it is to say, of the semblable  
 and the same denomination, like as we doe the sea also; for all the parts of the earth are called  
 earth, and of the sea likewise: but no part of the world is world, for that it is composed of divers  
 and different natures. For as touching that inconvenience which some especially feare, who  
 spend all matter within one world, lest forsooth if there remained any thing without, it should 20  
 trouble the composition and frame thereof, by the juries and resistances that it would make:  
 surely there is no such cause why they should feare; for when there be many worlds, and ech of  
 them particularly having one definite and determinate measure and limit of their substance and  
 matter, no part thereof will be without order and good disposition, nothing will remaine su-  
 perfluous, as an excrement without, to hinder or impeach; for that the reason which belongeth  
 to ech world, being able to rule and governe the matter that is allotted thereto, will not suf-  
 fer any thing to goe out of course and order, and wandering to and fro, for to hit and run upon  
 another world; nor likewise that from another ought should come for to rush upon it because in  
 nature there is nothing in quantity infinit & inordinate, nor in motion without reason & order. 30  
 But say there should happily be some fluxus or effluence that passeth from one world to ano-  
 ther, the same is a brotherly sweet and amiable communication, and such as very well agreeth  
 to all: much like unto the lights of starres, and the influences of their temperatures, which are  
 the cause that they themselves doe joy in beholding one another with a kinde and favourable  
 aspect; yea and yeeld unto the gods, which in every starre be many (and those good) meanes to  
 intertaine and embrace one another most friendly. For in all this, verily, there is nothing im-  
 possible, nothing fabulous nor contrary unto reason: unlesse peradventure some there be who  
 will suspect and feare the reason and sentence of *Aristotle*, as consonant unto nature. For if  
 as he saith, every body hath a proper and naturall place of the owne; by reason thereof necessa-  
 rily it must be, that the earth from all parts should tend toward the midst, and the wat. after- 40  
 wards upon it, serving (by meanes of their weight and ponderosity) in stead of a foundation to  
 other elements of a lighter substance. And therefore (quoth he) if there were many worlds, it  
 would fall out oftentimes that the earth should be found situate above aire and fire, and as often  
 under them: likewise the aire and fire sometime under, otherwhiles in their naturall places, and  
 againe in others contrary to their nature. Which being impossible, as he thinketh, it must fol-  
 low of necessity, that there be neither two nor more worlds, but one alone, to wit, this which we  
 visibly see composed of all sorts of substance, and disposed according to nature, as is meet and  
 convenient for diversity of bodies. But in all this there is more apparent probability than veri-  
 ty indeed. For the better prooffe hereof, consider I pray you my good friend *Demetrius*, that  
 when he saith, among simple bodies some bend directly to the midst, that is to say downward:  
 others from the midst that is to say upward: and a third sort move round about the midst and 50  
 circularly: in what respect taketh he the midst? Certaine it is, not in regard of voidnesse, for  
 there is no such thing in nature, even by his owne opinion: againe, according unto those that  
 admit it, middle can it have none, no more than first or last: For these be ends and extremities:  
 and that which is infinite must consequently be also without an end. But suppose, that some  
 one of them should enforce us to admit a middle in that voidnesse; impossible it is to conceive  
 and imagine the difference in motions of bodies toward it: because there is not in that void-  
 nesse

nesse any puiffance attractive of bodies; nor yet within the same bodies, any deliberation or in-  
 clination and affection to tend from all sides to this middle. But no lesse impossible is it to ap-  
 prehend, that of bodies having no soule any should moove of themselves to an incorporall  
 place, and having no difference of situation; than it is that the same should draw them or give  
 them any motion or inclination to it. It remaineth then, that this middle ought to be under-  
 stood not locally but corporally, that is to say not in regard of place, but of body. For, seeing  
 this world is an union, or masse compounded of many bodies different and unlike conjoined  
 together; it must needs be, that their diversities engender motions discrepant and differing  
 one from the other: which appeereth by this; that every of these bodies changing substance,  
 change their place also withall. For the subtilization and rarefaction distributeth round about  
 the matter which ariseth from the midst and ascendeth on high: contrariwise, condensation  
 and confipation depresseth and driveth it downward to the middle. But of this point, we need  
 not discourse any more in this place. For what cause soever a man shall suppose to produce  
 such passions and mutations, the same shall containe in it a severall world: for that each of them  
 hath an earth and sea of the owne, each one hath her owne proper middle, as also passions and  
 alterations of bodies, together with a nature and power which preserveth and maintaineth eve-  
 ry one in their place and being. For that which is without, whether it have nothing at all, or else  
 an infinite voidnesse, middle can it afford none, as we have said before: but there being many  
 worlds, each of them hath a proper middle apart; in such sort, as in every one there shall be  
 motions proper unto bodies, some falling downe to the midst, others mounting aloft from the  
 midst, others mooving round about the midst, according as they themselves doe distinguish  
 motions. And he who would have, that there being many middles, weighty bodies from all  
 parts should tend unto one alone; may very well be compared unto him, who would have the  
 blood of many men to run from all parts into one vaine: likewise that all their braines should  
 be contained within one and the same membraine or pannicle; supposing it a great inconveni-  
 ence and absurdity, if of naturall bodies all that are solide be not in one and the same place, and  
 the rare also in another. Absurd is he that thus saith; and no lesse foolish were the other, who  
 thinketh much and is offended, if the whole should have all parts, in their order, range and situ-  
 ation naturall. For it were a very grosse absurdity for a man to say, there were a world, which  
 had the Moone in it so situate, as if a man should carry his braine in his heeles, and his heart in  
 the temples of his head: but there were no absurdity nor inconvenience, if in setting downe ma-  
 ny distinct worldes and those separate one from another, a man should distinguish withall and  
 separate their parts. For in every of them, the earth, the sea, and the skie, shall be so placed and  
 situate in their naturall seats, as it is meet and appertaineth: and each of those worlds shall have  
 superior, inferiour, circular, and a centre in the midst; not in regard of another world nor of that  
 which is without, but in it selfe and in respect of it selfe. And as for the supposition which some  
 make of a stone without the world, it cannot be imagined how possibly it should either rest or  
 moove: for how can it hang still, seeing it is ponderous and waighy? or moove toward the  
 midst of the world as other heavy bodies, considering it is neither part of it, nor counted in the  
 substance thereof?

As concerning that earth which is contained in another world and fast bound, we need not  
 to make doubt and question, how it should not fall downe hither by reason of the weight, nor  
 be plucked away from the whole; seeing as we doe, that it hath a naturall strength to containe  
 every part thereof. For if we shall take high and low, not within and in respect of the world,  
 but without forth, we shall be driven unto the same difficulties and distresses, which *Epicurus*  
 fallen into, who maketh his little Atomes or indivisible bodies to move and tend toward those  
 places which are under foot: as if either his voidnesse had feet, or the infinity which he spea-  
 keth of, permit a man to imagine either high or low. And therefore some cause there is to  
 marvel at *Chrysippus*, or rather to enquire and demand what fantasie hath come into his head, and  
 moved him to say, that this world is seated and placed directly in the midst; and that the sub-  
 stance thereof, from all eternity having taken up and occupied the place of the midst, yet ne-  
 verthelesse it is so compact and tied together that it endureth alwaies and is (as one would say)  
 immortalized: for so much hath he written in his fourth booke *de divinatione*, that is to say, Of pos-  
 sible things; dreaming (to no purpose) of a middle place in that vast emptinesse: and yet worse  
 absurdly attributing unto that middle (which is not, nor hath any subsistence) the cause of the  
 worlds continuance and stabilitie; especially having written thus much many times in other  
 places,

places, that the substance is governed and maintained partly by the motions tending to the mids, and partly by others from the mids of it. As for other oppositions besides, that the Stoicks make, who is there that feareth them? as namely, when they demand, How it is possible to mainteine one fatall necessity, and one divine providence? and how it can otherwise be, but that there should be many *Dies* and *Zenes*, that is to say, *Joves* and *Jupiters*, if we grant that there be many worlds? For to begin withall, if it be an inconvenience, to allow many such *Joves* and *Jupiters*, their opinions verily be farre more absurd: for they devise an infinit sort of Sunnes, Moones, *Apolloes*, *Dianaes* and *Neptunes*, in innumerable conversions & revolutions of worlds. Moreover, what necessity is there, to enforce us to avow many *Jupiters*, if there be many worlds? and not rather, in every of them a severall god, as a soveraigne governor and ruler of the whole, to furnished with all understanding and reason, as he whom we furname the Lord and Father of all things? Or what should hinder, but that all worlds might be subject to the providence & destiny of *Jupiter*: and he reciprocally have an eie to oversee all, to direct, digest and conduct all, in ministering unto them the principles, beginnings, seeds and reasons of all things that are done and made? For it being so that we do see even here many times, a bodie composed of many other distinct bodies; as for example, the assembly or congregation of a city, an armie, and a daunce; in every one of which bodies there is life, prudence, and intelligence, as *Chrysippus* thinketh: impossible it is not likewise, that in this universall nature, there should be ten, fifty, yea and a hundred worlds, using all one and the same reason, and correspondent to one beginning. But contrariwise, this order and disposition is best becoming the gods. For we ought not to make the gods like unto the kings of a swarme of bees, which go not forth, but keepe within the hive; nor to holde them enclosed and imprisoned (as it were) rather, and shut up fast within Matter, as these men do, who would have the gods to be certaine habitudes or dispositions of the aire; and supposing them to be powers of waters and of fire infused and mixed within, make them to arise and be engendered together with the world, and so afterwards, to be burnt likewise with it, not allowing them to be loose and at libertie, like as coach-men and pilots are; but in manner of statues or images are set fast unto their bases with nailes, and sodered with lead: even so they enclose the gods within bodily matter, and pin them hard thereto; so as being jointed (as it were) fure unto it, they participate therewith all changes and alterations, even to finall corruption and dissolution. Yet is this opinion fare more grave, religious and magnificent, in my conceit: to holde that the gods be of themselves free, and without all command of any other power. And like as the fiery light *Castor* and *Pollux* succour those who are tossed in a tempest, and by their comming and presence

*Ally the surging waves of sea below,*

*And still the blustering winds aloft that blow;*

and not failing themselves, nor partaking the same perils with the mariners, but onely appearing in the aire above, save those that were in danger: even so the gods for their pleasure goe from one world to another, to visit them; and together with nature, rule and governe every one of them. For *Jupiter* verily in *Homer*, call not his eies far from the city of *Troy*, either into *Thracia*, or the *Nomades* and vagrant *Scythians* along the river *Ister* or *Daunie*: but the true *Jupiter* indeed hath many faire passages & goodly changes becoming his majesty out of one world into another, neither looking into the infinit voidnesse without, nor beholding himselfe and nothing els, as some have thought; but considering the deeds of men and of gods, the motions also and revolutions of the starres in their spheres. For surely, the deity is not offended with variety, nor hateth mutations: but taketh much pleasure therein, as a man may guesse by the circulations, conversions and changes which appeare in the heaven. I conclude therefore, that the infinitie of worlds is a very senselesse and false conceit, such as in no wise will beare and admit any god, but employeth fortune and chance in the managing of all things: but contrariwise, the administration and providence of a certaine quantity and determinate number of worlds, seemeth unto me neither in majestie and worthinesse inferior, nor in travell more laborious, than that which is employed and restrained to the direction of one alone; which is transformed, renewed and metamorphozed (as it were) an infinit sort of times. After I had delivered this speech, I paused and held my peace. Then *Philippus*, making no long stay: As for me, I will not greatly strive nor stand upon it (quoth he) whether the truth be so or otherwise: but in case we force God out of the superintendence of one onely world, how is it, that we make him to be Creatour of five worlds, neither more nor lesse? and what the peculiar and speciall reason is of this number to

a plurality of worlds, rather than of any other, I would more willingly know, than the occasion or cause, why this Mot [E1] is so consecrated in this Temple. For it is neither a triangular, nor a quadrat, nor a perfect, ne yet a cubique number: neither seemeth it to represent any other elegance unto those, who love and esteeme such speculations as these.

And as for the argument inferred from the number of elements, which *Plato* himselfe obscurely and under covert tearmes touched, it is very hard to comprehend; neither doth it carie and shew any probabilitie, whereby he should be induced to conclude, and draw in a consequence: that like it is, considering in matter there be engendered five sorts of regular bodies, having equall angles, equall sides, and environed with equall superficies; there should seemably of these five bodies, be five worlds made and formed, from the very first beginning. And yet (quoth I) it should seeme, that *Theodorus* the Solian, expounding the Mathematicks of *Plato*, handleth this matter not amisse, nor misinterpreteth the place; and thus goeth he to worke: The *Pyramis*, *Octaedron*, *Dodecaedron*, and *Icosaedron* (which *Plato* setteth downe for the first bodies) are right beautiful all, both for their proportions, and also for their equalities: neither is there left for nature any other, to devise and forme better than they, or indeed answerable and like unto them. Howbeit, they have not all either the same constitution, nor the like originall: for the least verily and smallest of the five is the *Pyramis*; the greatest and that which consisteth of most parts, is *Dodecaedron*; and of the other two behind, the *Icosaedron* is bigger by two fold and more, than *Octaedron*, if you compare their number of triangles. And therefore impossible it is, that they should be all made at once of one and the same matter; for the small and subtilie, and such as in composition are more simple than the rest, were more pliable no doubt, and obedient unto the hand of workemen, who mooved and formed the matter, and therefore by all consequence sooner made and brought into subsistence, than those which had more parts and a greater masse of bodies: of which, and namely of such as had more laborious making, and a busier composition, is *Dodecaedron*. Whereupon it followeth necessarily, that the *Pyramis* onely was the first body, and not any of the other as being by nature created and produced afterwards. But the remedie and meane to save and avoid this absurditie also, is to separate and divide the matter into five worlds: for here the *Pyramis* came fourth first; there the *Octaedron*, and elsewhere the *Icosaedron*; and in every of these worlds, out of that which came first into esse, the rest drew their originall, by the concretion of parts, which causeth them all to change into all, according as *Plato* doth insinuate, discoursing by examples in maner throughout all: but it shall suffice us briefly to learne thus much. For aire is engendered by the extinction of fire: and the same againe being subtilized and rarified, produceth fire. Now in the seeds of these two, a man may know their passions, and the transmutations of all. The feminary or beginning of fire is the *Pyramis*, composed of foure & twenty first triangles: but the feminary of the aire is *Octaedron*, consisting of triangles of the same kind, in number fortie eight. And thus the one element of aire, standeth upon two of fire, composed and conjoined together: and againe, one body or element of the aire, is divided and parted into twaine of fire; which becomming to be thickned and conspire more still in it selfe, turneth into the forme of water; in such sort, as throughout, that which cometh first into light, giveth alwaies a ready and easie generation unto all the rest, by way of change and transmutation: and so, that never remaineth solitary and alone which is first; but as one masse and constitution hath the primitive & antecedent motion in another of originall beginning: so in all there is kept one name and denomination. Now surely (quoth *Ammonius*) it is stoutly done of *Theodorus*, and he hath quit himselfe very well, in fetching about this matter so industriously. But I would much marvel if these presuppositions of his making, do not overthrow and refuse one another: for he would have, that these five worlds were not composed all at once together; but that the smallest and most subtilie which required least workmanship in the making, came fourth first: then as a thing consequent, and not repugnant at all, he supposed that the matter doth not thrust fourth alwaies into essence, that which is most subtilie and simple; but that otherwhiles the thickest, the most grosse and heaviest parts, shew first in generation. But over and besides all this, after a supposall made, that there be five primitive bodies or elements, and consequently thereupon five worlds; he applieth not his prooffe and probabilitie but unto foure onely, For as touching the cube, he subtracteth and remooveth it quite away, as they doe who play at nine holes, and who trundle little round stones: for that such a square & quadrate body every way is naturally unfit, either to turne into them, or to yield them

any meanes to turne into it for that the triangles of which they be composed, are not of the same kind: for all the rest do in a common consist of a demi-triangle, as the base; but the proper subject whereof this cube particularly standeth, is the triangle Ilofcoetes, which admitteth no inclination unto a demi-triangle, nor possibly can be conporate or united to it. Now if it be so, that of those five bodies there be consequently five worlds, & that in each one of those worlds the beginning of their generation and constitution, is that body which is first produced and brought to light: it would come to passe, that where the cube cometh fourth first for the generation of the rest, none of the other bodies can possibly be there, forasmuch as the nature of it is not to turne or change into any one of them. For I let passe heere to alledge, that the element or principle whereof Dodecaedron is composed, is not that triangle which is called Scalenen, with three unequal sides, but some other as they say, how ever *Plato* hath made his Pyramis, Octaedron, and Icosaedron of it: And therefore (quoth *Ammonius*, smiling thereat) either you must dissolve these objections, or else alledge some new matter as touching the question now presently in hand. Then answered I: For mine owne part I alledge I am not able at this time any thing that carrieth more probability: but peradventure it were better for a man to yeeld reasons of his owne opinion rather, than of anothers. To begin againe therefore I say, that nature being parted and divided at the first in two parts, the one sensible, mutable, subject to generation and corruption, and varieth every way; the other spirituall and intelligible, and continuing evermore in one and the same state, it were very strange and absurd my good friends, first to say that the spirituall nature receiveth division, and hath diversity and difference in it: and then to thinke much and grow into heat of choler and anger, if a man allow not the passible and corporall nature wholly united and conporate in it selfe, without dividing or separating it into many parts. For more meet it were yet, and reasonable, that natures permanent and divine should cohere unto themselves inseparably, and avoid as much as is possible all distraction and divulsion: and yet this force and power of *The Other*, meddling also even with these, causeth in spirituall and intellectuall things, greater dissociations and dissimilitudes in forme and essentiall reason, than are the locall distances in those corporall natures. And therefore *Plato* confuting those who hold this position, that all is one, affirmeth these five grounds and principles of all, to wit, *Effence* or *feeing*, *The same*, *The other*, and after all, *Motion*, and *Station*. Admit these five, no marvell is it, if nature of those five bodily elements hath framed proper figures and representations for every one of them, not simple and pure, but so, as every one of them is most participant of each of those properties and puissances. For, plaine and evident it is that the cube is most meet and fortible unto station and repose, in regard of the stability and stedy firmitude of those broad and flat faces which it hath. As for the *Pyramis* who seeth not and acknowledgeth not incontinently in it the nature of fire, ever moving in those long and slender sides and sharpe angles that it hath. Also the nature of Dodecaedron apt to comprehend all other figures, may seeme properly to be the image representing *Ens*, or That which is, in respect of all corporall effence. Of the other twaine, Icosaedron resembleth *The Other*, or *Diverse*: but Octaedron, hath a principall reference to the forme of *The same*. And so by this reckoning, the one of them produceth fourth Aire, capable of all substance in one forme; and the other exhibiteth unto us Water, which by temperature may turne into all sorts of qualities. Now it so be that nature requirereth in all things and throughout all, an equal and uniforme distribution, very probable it is, that therbe also five worlds, and neither more nor fewer, than there be moulds or patterns: to the end that each example or patterne may hold the first place and principall puissance in each world, like as they have in the first constitution and composition of bodies. And this may stand in some fort for an answer, and to satisfie him who marvelleth, how we devide that nature which is subject to generation and alteration, into so many kinds: but yet I beseech you, consider and weigh with me more diligently this argument. Certaine it is, that of those two first and supreme principles, I meane *Unity*, and *Binary* or *Duality*; this latter being the element and originall primitive of all difformity, disorder and confusion, is called *Infinity*: but contrariwise the nature of *Unitie*, determining and limiting the void infinity, which hath no proportion nor termination, reduceth it into a good forme, and maketh it in some fort capable and apt to receive a denomination, which alwaies accompanieth sensible things. And verily these two generall principles shew themselves; first in number, or rather indeed to speake generally, no multitude is called number, untill such time as unitie comming to be imprinted as the forme in matter, cutteth off from indeterminate infinity, that which is superfluous,

superfluous, heere more and there lesse; for then each multitude becommeth and is made number, when as it is once determined and limited by unitie: but if a man take unitie away, then the indefinite and indeterminate *Duality*, comming againe in place to confound all, maketh it to be without order, without grace, without number, and without measure. Now considering it is so, that the forme is not the destruction of matter, but rather the figure, ornament and order thereof; it must needs be, that both these principles are within number, from which proceedeth the chiefe dissimilitude and greatest difference. For the indefinite and indeterminate principle, to wit, *Duality*, is the author and cause of the even number: but the better, to wit, *unitie* is the father (as one would say) of the odde number; so as the first even number is two, and the first odde number three, of which is compounded five, by conjunction common to both, but in the owne puissance odde. For it behooved, & necessary it was, in as much as that which is corporall & sensible for composition sake, is divided into many parts by the power and force of *The Other*, that is to say, of *Diversity*, that it should be neither the first even number, nor yet the first uneven or odde, but a third consisting of both: to the end that it might be procreate of both principles, to wit, of that which engendreth the even number, and of that which produceth the odde; for it could not be, that the one should be parted from the other, because that both of them have the nature & puissance of a principle. These two principles then being conjoinct together, the better being the mightier, is opposed unto the indeterminate infinity, which divideth the corporal nature; & so the matter being divided, the unitie interposing it selfe between, impeacheth the universall nature, that it was not divided and parted into two equal portions: but there was a pluralitie of worlds caused by *The Other*, that is to say, by *Diversity*, and difference of that which is infinit and determinate; but this pluralitie was brought into an odde and uneven number, by the vertue and puissance of *The same* and that which is finite, because the better principle suffred not nature to extend farther than was expedient. For if one had beene pure and simple without mixture, the matter should have had no separation at all; but in as much as it was mixed with *Duality*, which is a divisive nature, it hath received indeed and suffred by this meanes separation and division: howbeit, staied it hath in good time, because the odde was the master and superior over the even. This was the reason that our ancients in old time were wont to use the verbe *Pempsesthai*, when they would signifie to number or to reckon: And I thinke verily that this word *πεντα*, that is to say, All, was derived of *Pente*, that is to say, Five, & not without good reason, because that five is compounded of the two first numbers; and when other numbers afterwards be multiplied by others, they produce divers numbers: whereas five if be multiplied by an even number and doubled, bringeth forth Ten, a perfect number; but if by the odde, it representeth it selfe againe. Heere I omit to say, that it is compounded of the two first quadrate numbers, to wit of *Unity* and *Four*; and that it is the first number which is equivalent to the two before it, in such fort as it compoundeth the fairest triangle of those that have right angle, and is the first number that containeth the sesquialterall proportion. For haply these reasons be not well suitable nor proper unto the discourse of this present matter: but this rather is more convenient to alledge, that in this number, there is a naturall vertue and facultie of dividing, and that nature divideth many things by this number. For even in our owne selves she hath placed five exterior senses, as also five parts of the soule, to wit, naturall, sensitive, concupiscible, irascible, and reasonable: likewise so many fingers in either hand. Also the generall seed is at the most distributed into five portions: for in no history is it found written, that a woman was delivered of more than five children at one birth. The Egyptians also in their fables doe report, that the goddesse *Rhea* brought forth five gods and goddeses: signifying heereby under covert words, that of one and the same matter five worldes were procreated. Come to the universall fabricke and frame of nature, the earth is divided into five zones: the heaven also in five circles, two Arctiques, two Tropiques, and one Aequinoctiall in the midle. Moreover five revolutions there be of the Planets or wandring starres: for that the Sunne, *Venus* and *Mercurie* run together in one race. Furthermore the very world it selfe is composed harmonically respective to five, like as even among us our musickall accord and concert consisteth of the posture of five tetrachords, ranged orderly one after another, to wit, of *Hypates*, *Meses*, *Synnemene*, *Diezeugmene*, and *Hyperbolize* likewise. The intervals likewise in song which we use be five in number, *Dresis*, *Semitonion*, *Tonus*, *Tricimtonion*, and *Diatonon*. So as, it seemeth that nature taketh more pleasure in making all things according to the number of five, than after a Spharicall or round forme; as *Aristotle* writeth. But what is the

the cause will some one say, that *Plato* hath reduced the number of five worldes to the five primitive figures of regular bodies, saying, that God in ordaining and describing the whole world used the *Quinarie* construction? and yet afterwards having proposed the doubtfull question of the number of worldes (to wit, whether we should hold, there was but one, or rather that there were five in truth?) he sheweth plainly that his conjecture is grounded upon this very argument. If therefore we ought to apply the probability to his minde and opinion, then of necessity with the diversity of these figures and bodies there must ensue presently a difference also of motions, according as he himselfe teacheth, affirming: Whatsoever is subtilized or thickened, with the alteration of substance changeth withall the place. For so, if of the aire is ingendered fire, namely when the *Octaedron* is dissolved and parted into *Pyramides*: and contrariwise 10  
 aire of fire being driven close and thrust together into the force of *octaedron*: it is not possible that it should be in the place where it was afore, but flee and runne into another, as being forced and driven out of the former, and so fight against whatsoever standeth in the way and maketh resistance. And yet more fully and evidently declareth he the same by a similitude and example of such things, as by fannes or such like instruments whereby come is clenfed, & shaken out, or winowed and tried from the rest: saying that even so the elements shaking the matter, and likewise shaken by it, went alwaies to bring like to like, and some tooke up this place, others that, before the universall world was of them composed as now it is. The general matter therefore being in such estate then (as by good likelihood All must needs be where god is away) presently 20  
 the first five qualities, or rather the first five bodies, having every one of them their proper inclinations and peculiar motions, went apart: not wholly and altogether, nor severed sincerely afunder one from another, for that when all was huddled pell-mell confusedly, such as were surmounted and vanquished, went evermore even against their nature with the mightier and those which conquered. And therefore when some were haled one way, and others caried another way, it hapned that they made as many portions and distinctions in number just as there were divers kinds of those first bodies: the one of fire, and yet the same not pure, but carying the forme of fire: another of a celestiall nature, not sincere heaven indeed, but standing much of the skie: a third of earth, and yet not simply and wholly earth, but rather earthie. But principally, there was a communication of aire and water, as we have said heeretofore, for that these went their waies filled with many divers kinds. For it was not God who separated and disposed the 30  
 substance, but having found it so rashly and confusedly dissipated of it selfe, and ech part caried diversly in so great disorder, he digested and arranged it by Symmetrie and competent proportion. Then, after he had set over every one, Reason as a guardian and governesse, he made as many worldes as there were kinds of those first bodies subsistent. And thus let this discourse for *Ammonius* sake, be dedicated as it wereto the grace and favour of *Plato*. For mine owne part, I will never stand so precisely upon this number of worldes: many of this minde I am rather, that their opinion who hold that there be more worldes than one (howbeit not infinit but determinate) is not more absurd than either of the other, but founded upon as much reason as they: seeing as I doe, that Matter of the owne nature is spread and diffused into many parts, not resting in one, and yet not permitted by reason, to runne in infinitum. And therefore, especially heere 40  
 (if else where) putting our selves in minde of the Academie and the precepts thereof, let us not be over-credulous, but as in a slippery place restrain our assent and beleefe: onely in this point of infinity of worldes, let us stand firme and see we fall not but keepe our selves upright. When I had delivered these reasons above said: Beleefe me (quoth *Demetrius*) *Lamprius* giveth us a good and wise admonition, For

*The gods, for so deceive us men, devise  
 Right many means, not of false Sophistries*

as *Euripides* saith: but of their deeds & works, when we presume and dare pronounce of so high and great matters, as if we knew them certainly. But as the man himselfe said even now, we must recall our speech unto the argument which was first proposed. For that which heeretofore 50  
 hath beene said, namely that the Oracles are become mute and lie still without any validity, because the Demons which were wont to governe them, be retired and gone, like as instruments of musick yeeld no found and harmonic when the Musicians handle them not: this (I say) giveth occasion to move another question of greater importance, as touching the cause and power, by which the Demons use to make their prophets and prophetes to be ravished with an Enthusiasme or divine fury and full of fantasticall visions, For it is to no purpose to say, that the

the Oracles are silent, because they be abandoned and forsaken of the Demons; unless we be first perswaded, that when they be present and president over them, they let them a worke, and cause them to speake and prophesie. Then *Ammonius* taking his turne to speake: Thinke you (quoth he) that these Demons be called any thing els,

*Then spirits clad with substance of the aire,  
 Which walke about the earth, now here now there,*

as saith *Hesiodus*? For it seemeth unto me, that looke how one man differeth from another, playing either in a Comedie or a Tragedie: the same difference sheweth in the soule, which is attired and clothed within a bodie during this life. There is nothing therefore herein, either strange 01  
 or without appearance of reason, if soules meeting with other soules, imprint in them visions and fantasies of future things: like as we also shew many accidents done and past, yea and foretell and prognosticate of such as are to come, not all by lively voice, but some by letters and writings, may by touching onely and the regard of the eie; unless peradventure, you have somewhat els (o *Lamprius*) to say against this. For it was not long since told us, that you had much disputation and conference with certaine strangers in *Lebada*; but he who related this newes unto us, could not call exactly to minde what talke passed betweene you, Marvell not thereat (quoth I:) for many affaires and occurrents fell out at once betweene, by occasion that the Oracle was open, and a sacrifice solemnized, which caused our speeches to be dispersed, distracted and scattered disorderly. But now (quoth *Ammonius*) your auditors be at good leisure, willing also 20  
 to aske questions and to learne, not desirous to contest and contradict in a litigious and quarrellsome humor; before whom you may have good leave to speake what you will, and for that liberty of speech have pardon at their hands and be held excused, as you see. Now when the rest of the company invited and exhorted me likewise, after some pause made and silence for a while, I began againe in this manner: Certes (quoth I,) o *Ammonius* it fortuneth so, I wot not how, that even your selfe gave the overture and first occasion of those discourses which then and there were held. For if Demons be spirits and soules separate from bodies, and having no fellowship with them (as your selfe said, following heerein the divine Poet *Hesiodus* who calleth them:

*Pure spirits, heere walking on the earth at large:  
 Of mortall men, who have the care and charge)*

30 why deprive we those spirits and soules which are within the bodies, of this same puissance, whereby the Demons are able to foresee and foretell things to come? For it is not like, that the soules acquired any new propriety or power, when they have abandoned the bodies, where-with they were not endued before: but thinke we must that they had the same parts and faculties alwaies, although worse I must needs say, when they be mixed with bodies. And some of them verily appeare not at all, but be hidden: others are but obscure and feeble, such as heavily and slowly performe their operations (much like unto those who see through a thicke mist, or move in some moist and waterish substance) desiring greatly to be cured, and to recover that facultie which is their owne; to be discharged also and clenfed of that which hindreth and de- 40  
 fraudeth them of it. For the soule, even while it is bound and tied to the body, hath indeed a power to foresee and know future things: but blinded it is with the terrestriall mixture of corporall substance; for that, like as the Sunne becometh not then to be cleere, and not afore, when he is past the clouds; but being of himselfe alwaies shining, he seemeth unto us darke and troubled through a mist: even so the soule, getteth not then a new power of divination and prophesie, when she departeth out of the body, as if she were escaped out of a cloud; but having the same before; is dimmed and obscured by the commixtion and confusion with that which is mortall and corruptible. Neither ought we to make a wonder heereat, and thinke it incredible, seeing as wedo (if there were nothing else in the soule) how that facultie which we call Memory, is equippollent and answerable in an opposite respect unto the puissance of divination; and con- 50  
 sidering the great effect thereof, in preserving and keeping things past or rather indeed keeping them whiles they be. For to say truly, of that which is once passed nothing remaineth nor subsisteth in esse, were they actions, wordes, or passions: for all things be transitory and passe away as soone as they are, because time, in manner of a current or streame, carrieth all away before it: but this memorative facultie of the soule catching hold thereof I know not how, and staying it for slipping away, giveth an imagination of essence and being to those things, which in truth are not. For the Oracle verily which was given to the Thessalians as touching the city *Arna*, willed them to utter and speake



*That which the blinde see cleare,  
And what the deafe doe heare.*

But memory is unto us the hearing of the deafe, and the sight likewise of the blinde; in such sort, as no marvell it is (as I have already said) if our soule in retaining still things which are no more, doth anticipate many of those also, which are not yet. And such objects indeed concerne it rather, and therewith it is affected more. For she bendeth and inclineth towards things that are to come: whereas of such as be already past and come to their end, she is freed and delivered, but onely that she remembreth them. Our soules then having this puissance in them inbred and naturall, though feeble, obscure, and hardly able to expresse and represent their imaginations; yet neverthelesse some of them shew and put them forth many times in dreames 10 and in certaine sacred ceremonies and mysteries: namely, when the body is well purified, or receiveth a fit temperature therefore, or else for that the reasonable and speculative faculty being then freed from the cares of things present, joineth with the unreasonable and imaginative part, and turneth it to thinke upon the future. For I approve not that which *Enripides* saith:

*I hold him for Diviner best,  
Who in conjectures must be left.*

but he verily who is directed by the reasonable and intelligent part of the soule, and followeth the conduct and leading there of by all probability. Now that power or facultie of divination (like unto a paire of blanke writing tables, wherein there is nothing written) void of reason and not determinate of it selfe, but onely apt and meet to receive fancies, affections, and preferences, without any discourse of reason, or ratiocination, hitteth upon that which is to come, at what time as it is most removed from that which is present; and in this extasie it is transfused, by a certaine temperature and disposition of the body, which we call *Enthusiasme* or inspiration. Now such a disposition as this, many times the body of it selfe hath; but the earth putteth forth and yeeldeth unto men the sources and fountaines of many other powers and faculties: some of which transport them out of their wits, bringing maladies, contagions, and mortalities: others againe be sometime good, kinde, and profitable, as they know full well who make experience thereof. But this spring, this winde, or propheticall spirit of divination, is most divine and holy, whether it arise and breath up alone by it selfe through the aire, or be drawn up with some liquid humour. For comming once to be infused and mixed within the body, it causeth a strange temperature and unuall disposition in the soules: the property whereof, a right hard matter it is to declare exactly, and expresse certainly; but a man in reason may attaine thereto by conjecture sundry waies: for by heat and dilatation, it openeth (I wot not what) little holes, by which in a likelihood the imaginative facultie is set on worke about future things; much like as wine which working and boiling in the body fureth up, and among other motions, it revealeth and discoveth many hidden secrets. For the fury of *Bacchus* and of drunkennesse, if we may beleeve *Enripides*, containeth much divination: when the soule being enchaufed and enflamed, expelleth all feare, which humane wisdom bringeth in, and by that means many times averteeth and quencherh the divine inspiration. And heerewithall a man may alledge very well, and not without great reason, that sicke comming intermingled with heat, subtilizeth the spirit, and maketh it pure, and of the nature of fire (for according to *Heraclitus*, the soule it selfe is of a dry constitution: ) whereas humiditie doth not onely dim the sight, and dull the hearing, but also being mingled with the aire, and touching the superficies of mirrors, dusketh the brightnesse of the one, and taketh away the light of the other. On the contrary side, it is not impossible that by some refrigeration and condensation of this spirit, after the manner of the tincture and hardnesse of iron, this part of the soule which doth prophesie, should shew it selfe and get a perfect edge. And like as tinne being melted with brasile (which of it selfe is a metall in the oare, rare, spongiouse, and full of little holes) doth drive it neerer, and maketh it more massie and solid, and withall, causeth it to looke more bright and resplendent: even so, I see no inconvenience to hinder, but that this propheticall exhalation having some congruence and affinity with the soules, should fill up that which is lax and empty, and drive it close together more inwardly. For many things there be, that have a reference and congruence one unto the other: thus the beane is forthable unto the purple die; Sal-nitre likewise helpeth much the tincture of a rich scarlet or crimfon colour, if it be mixed therewith, according also as *Empedocles* said:

*And with the flower of Saffron red,  
Fine flax and silke are coloured.*

And

And we have heard you speake (good friend *Demetrius*) of the river *Cydanus*, and the sacred cutting knife of *Apollo* in *Tarsus*; and namely, how the said river onely cleneth that iron whereof the knife is made, neither is there any other water in the world able to scoure that knife: like as in the city *Olympia*, they temper the axes that commeth of the sacrifices, with the water of the river *Alpheus*, and make thereof a mortar, wherewith they plaister the altar there; but if they assay to doe it with the water of any other river else, it will not sticke to, nor binde one jot. No marvell therefore it is, if the earth sending up out of it many exhalations, these onely are found to transport the soules with an enthusiasme or divine fury, and represent the imaginations and fancies of future things. But without all question and contradiction, the report that goeth of the Oracle in this place, accordeth well to this purpose. For it is said, that this propheticall and divining power heret, shewed it selfe first, by occasion of a certeine heardman, who chanced heereto fall; who thereupon began to call forth certaine fanaticall cries and voices, as if he had bene possessed with such a divine inspiration. Whereof the neighbors and those that came about him, at first made no account; but afterwards, when they saw that it fell out so indeed, as he had foretold, they had the man in great admiration: and the greatest clerks and wisest men of all the Delphians, calling to remembrance his name, gave out that it was *Coretus*. So that, it seemeth to me, that the soule admitteth this temperature and mixtion with this propheticall spirit, as the sight of the eie is affected with the light. For albeit the eie hath naturally a property and power to see, yet the same is not effectually without the light: even so the soule having this puissance and facultie, to foresee future things, like unto the eie had need of some proper and convenient thing to kindle it as it were, and let an edge upon it. And heerupon it is, that many of our ancients have thought *Apollo*, and the Sunne, to be one and the same god. They also who know what this beautifull and wise proportion is, and withall doe honour it: looke what reference or respect there is of the body to the soule, of the sight to light, and of the \* understanding to the truth; the same force and power they esteeme there is of the Sunnes power unto the nature of *Apollo*: saying, that he is the issue and geniture proceeding from *Apollo* who is eternall, and who continually bringeth him forth. For like as the one kindles, bringeth forth and stirreth up the visuall power and verue of the sense: even so doth the other by the propheticall verue of the soule. They therefore who thought that it was one and the selfe same god, by good right dedicated and consecrated this Oracle unto *Apollo*, and unto the Earth: judging, that the Sunne it was which wrought that temperature and imprinted this disposition in the earth, whereof arose this propheticall evaporation. And verily as *Hesiodus* upon good consideration, and with much more reason than some Philosophers, called the Earth:

*The ground-worke sure  
Of all nature:*

even so we deeme it to be eternall, immortal, and incorruptible: many of the vertues and faculties which are in it, we hold that some faile in one place, and others breed a new and engender in another: and great probability there is, that there be transmutations and changes from one place to another, and that such revolutions as these, in the course and proceesse of long time turne and returne circularly often in it; as a man may conjecture and certainly collect by such things as manifestly do appeere. For in divers and sundry countries, we see that lakes and whole rivers, yea and many more fountaines and springs of hot waters, have failed and beene quite lost, as being fled out of our sight, and hidden within the earth; but afterwards in the very same places they have in time shewed themselves againe, or else run hard by. And of metall mines, we know that some have beene spent cleane and emptied; as namely, those of silver about the territory of *Attica*: semblably the vaines of brasile oare in *Eubaea*, out of which they forged sometime the best swords, that were hardened with the tincture of cold water: according to which the Poet *Aeschylus* said:

*He tooke in hand the keene and doury blade,  
Which of Euboean steel sometime was made.*

The rocke also and quarry in *Carystia*, it is not long since it gave over to bring forth certeine balls or bottomes of lost stone, which they use to spin and draw into thred, in manner of flax: for I suppose that some of you have seene towels, napkins, nets, caules, kerchieves and coifes woven of such thred, which would not burne and consume in the fire; but when they were soule and soiled with occupying, folke flung them into the fire, and tooke them forth againe cleane and faire: but now al this is quite gone, and hardly within the said delie shall a man meet

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with

with some few hairie threds of that matter, running here & there among the hard stones digged out from thence. Now of all these things *Aristotle* and his sectaries hold : That an exhalation within the earth, is the onely efficient cause, with which of necessity such effects must faile and passe from place to place; as also otherwhiles, breed againe therewith. Semblably are we to thinke of the spirits and exhalations propheticall which issue out of the earth; namely, that they have not a nature immortall, and such as can not age or waxe olde, but subject to change and alteration. For probable it is, that the great gluttes of raine and extraordinary fouds, have extinguished them quite, and that by the terrible fall of thunder-bolts the places were smitten, and they withall dissipated and dispatched: but principally, when the ground hath beene shaken with earthquakes, and thereupon settled downward and fallen in; with trouble and confusion of what, or soever was below; it cannot chuse but such exhalations contained within the hollow caves of the earth, either changed their place and were driven forth, or utterly were stifled and choked. And so in this place also, there remained and appeared some tokens of that great earth-quake, which overthrow the city and staid the Oracle here: like as, by report in the city *Orchomenos*, there was a plague which swept away a number of people; and therewith the Oracle of *Tiresias* the prophet, failed for ever, & so continueth at this day mute and to no effect. And whether the like befell unto the Oracles which were wont to be in *Cilicia*, as we heare say, no man can more certainly enforme us than you *Demetrius*. Then *Demetrius*: How things stand now at this present, I wot not; for I have beene a traveller and out of my native country a long time, as yee all know: but when I was in those parts, both that of *Mopsus*, and also the other of *Amphichus*, flourished and were in great request. And as for the Oracle of *Mopsus*, I am able to make report unto you of a most strange and wonderfull event thereof, for that I was my selfe present. The Governour of *Cilicia* is of himselfe doubtfull and wavering, whether there be gods or no? upon infirmity, as I take it, of miscredence and unbelieve (for otherwise he was a naughty man, a violent oppressour, and scorner of religion.) But having about him certaine Epicureans, who standing much upon this their goodly and beautifull Physiologie forsooth (as they terme it) or else all were marred, scoffe at such things; he sent one of his enfranchised or freed servants unto the Oracle of *Mopsus* indeed, howbeit, making semblance as if he were an espiall, to discover the campe of his enemies: he sent him (I say) with a letter surely sealed, wherein he had written without the privy of any person whatsoever, a question or demaund to be presented unto the Oracle. This messenger, after the order and custome of the place, remaining all night within the sanctuary of the temple, fell there asleepe, and rehearsed the morrow morning what a dreame he had; and namely, that he thought he saw a faire and beautifull man to present himselfe unto him, and say unto him this onely word *Blacke*, and no more: for presently he went his way out of his sight. Now wee that were there, thought this to be a foolish and absurd toy, neither wist we what to make of it. But the governour afore said was much astonied thereat, and being stricken with a great remorse and pricke of conscience, worshipped *Mopsus* and held his Oracle most venerable; for opening the letter, he shewed publickly the demaund contained therein, which went in these words: *Shall I sacrifice unto thee a white Bull, or a blacke?* inasmuch as the very Epicureans themselves who conversed with him, were much abashed and ashamed. So he offered the sacrifice accordingly, and ever afterwards to his dying day honoured *Mopsus* right devoutly.

*Demetrius* having thus said, held his peace: but I desirous to conclude this whole disputation with some corollary, turned againe and cast mine eye upon *Philippus* and *Ammonius* who sat together. Now they seemed as if they had somewhat to speake unto me, and thereupon I staid my selfe againe. With that, *Ammonius*: *Philip* (quoth he) *o Lamprias*, hath somewhat yet to say of the question which hath bene all this while debated. For he is of opinion, as many others beside him are, that *Apollo* is no other god than the Sunne, but even the very same. But the doubt which I moove, is greater and of more important matters. For I wot not how ere while, in the traine of our discourse, we tooke from the gods all divination and ascribed the same in plaine termes to Demons and angels: and now we will seeme, to thrust them out againe from hence, and to disleize them of the Oracle and three footed table of which they were possessed; conferring the beginning and principall cause of prophesie, or rather indeed the very substance and power it selfe, upon winds, vapours, and exhalations. For even those temperatures, heats, tinctions, and consolidations (if I may so say) which have beene talked of, remove our minde and opinion farther off still from the gods, and put into our heads this imagination

and

and conceit of such a cause, as *Enripides* deviseth Cyclops to alledge in the Tragoedie bearing his name:

*The earth must needs bring forth grasse, this is flat,  
Will he or will she, and feed my cattell fatter.*

This onely is the difference, because he saith not that he sacrificed his beasts unto the gods, but unto himselfe and his belly, the greatest of all the Demons: but we both sacrifice and allow powre forth our praies unto them, for to have their answer from the Oracles: and to what purpose I pray you, if it be true, that our owne soules bring with them a propheticall facultie and vertue of divination, and the cause which doth excite and actuate the same, be some temperature of the aire, or rather of winde? What means then, the sacred institutions and creations of these religious prophetesses ordained for the pronouncing of answers? And what is the reason that they give no answer at all, unlesse the host or sacrifice to be killed, tremble all over even from the very feet, and shake whiles the libaments & effusions of hallowed liquors be poured upon it. For it is not enough to wag the head, as other beasts doe which are flaine for sacrifice, but this quaking, panting and shivering must be throughout all the parts of the body, and that with a trembling noise. For if this be wanting, they say the Oracle giveth no answer, neither doe they so much as bring in the religious priestesse *Pythia*. And yet it were probable that they should both doe and thinke thus, who attribute the greatest part of this propheticall inspiration, either to God or Demon. But according as you say, there is no reason or likelihood therof: for the exhalation that ariseth out of the ground, whether the beast tremble or no, will alwaies if it be present, cause a ravishment and transportation of the spirit, and evermore dispose the soule alike, not onely of *Pythia*, but also of any body else that first cometh or is presented. And thereupon it followeth, that a meere folly it is, to employ one silly woman in the Oracle, and to put her to it (poore soule) to be a votary and live a pure maiden all the daies of her life, sequestred from the company of man. And as for that *Coretas*, whom the Delphians name to have beene the first that chancing to fall into this chinke or crevasse of the ground, gave the hansell of the vertue and property of the place, in mine opinion he differed nothing at all from other goateheards, or shepheards, nor excelled them one whit: at least wile if this be a truth that is reported of him, and not a meere fable and vaine fiction, as I suppose it is no better.

And verily when I consider and discourse in my selfe, how many good things this Oracle hath bene cause of unto the Greeks, as well in their warres and martiall affaires, as in the foundations of cities, in the distresses of famine and pestilence, me thinks it were a very indignity and unworthy part, to attribute the invention and originall thereof unto meere fortune and chance, and not unto God and divine providence. But upon this point, I would gladly, *o Lamprias*, (quoth he) have you to dispute and discourse a little: how say you *Philippus*, may it please you to have patience the while? Most willingly (quoth *Philippus*) for my part: and so much I may be bold also to promise in the behalfe of all the company, for I see well that the question by you proposed hath moved them all. And as for my selfe (quoth I) *o Philippus*, it hath not onely moved, but also abashed and dismaied me, for that in this so notable assembly and conference of so many worthy parsonages, I may seeme above mine age, in bearing my selfe and taking pride in the probability of my wordes, to overthrow or to call into question any of those things, which truly have bene delivered, or religiously beleaved as touching God and divine matters. But satisfie you I will, and in the defence of my selfe produce for my witnesse and advocate both, *Plato*. For this Philosopher reprooved old *Anaxagoras*, in that being to much addicted to naturall causes and entangled with them; following also and pursuing alwaies that which necessarily is effected in the passions and affections of naturall bodies, he overpassed the finall and efficient causes, for which and by which things are done, and those are indeed the better causes and principles of greater importance: whereas himselfe either before, or else most of all other Philosophers hath profecuted them both: attributing unto God the beginning of all things wrought by reason: and not depriving in the meane while the matter of those causes which are necessary unto the worke done: but acknowledging heerein, that the adorning and dispose of all this world sensible, dependeth not upon one simple cause alone, as being pure and uncompounded, but was engendered and tooke essence, when matter was coupled and conjoined with reason. That this is so, doe but consider first the workes wrought by the hand of Artisans: as for example (not to goe farther for the matter) that same foot heere and basis so much renowned, of the standing cup, among other ornaments and oblations of this temple (which *Herodotus*

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called,

called, *Hypocretation*) this hath for the materiall cause verily, fire, iron, the mollesying by the meanes of fire, and the tincture or dipping in water, without which this peece of worke could not possibly have bene wrought. But the more principall cause and mistresse indeed, which mooved all this, and did worke by all these, was art and reason applied unto the worke. And verily we see that over such peeces, whether they be pictures or other representations of things, the name of the artificer and workman is written, as for example:

*This picture Polygnotus drew,  
of Troy won long before,  
Who father had Aglaophon,  
and was in Thalos borne.*

And verily he it was indeed as you see, who painted the destruction of *Troy*; but without colours ground, confused and mingled one with another, impossible had it bene for him to have exhibited such a picture, so faire and beautifull to the eye as it is. If then some one come now and will needs meddle with the materiall cause, searching into the alterations and mutations thereof, particularizing of Sinopre mixed with Ochre, or Cerusse with blacke, doth he impair or diminish the glory of the painter *Polyctus*? He also, who discoureteth how iron is hardened, and by what meanes mollified: and how being made soft and tender in the fire, it yeeldeth and obaith them who by beating and knocking drive it out in length and breadth: and afterwards being dipped and plunged into fresh waters till, by the actual coldnesse of the said water (for that the fire heats had softened and rarefied it before) it is thrust close together and condensate: by means whereof it getteth that stiffe, compact and hard temper of Steele, which *Homer* calleth the very force of iron; reserveth he for the workman any thing lesse heereby, in the principall cause and operation of his worke? I suppose he doth not. For some there be who make prooffe and triall of Physicke drogues, and yet I trow they condemne not thereby the skill of Physicke: like as *Plato* also himselfe, when he saith: That we doe see, because the light of our eye is mixed with the cleerenesse of the Sunne; and heare by the percussio and beating of the aire, doth not deny that we have the facultie of seeing and power of hearing by reason and providence. For in summe, as I have said and doe still averre, whereas all generation proceedeth of two causes, the most ancient Theologians and Poets, vouchsafed to set their minde upon the better onely and that which was more excellent, chaunting evermore this common refrain and foot 30 (as it were) of the song in all things and actions whatsoever:

*Jove is the first, the midst, the last;  
all things of him depend:  
By him begin they, and proceed;  
in him they come to end.*

After other necessary and naturall causes they never fought farther, nor came neere unto them: whereas the moderne Philosophers who succeeded after them and were named naturalists, tooke a contrary course; and turning cleane aside from that most excellent and divine principle, ascribed all unto bodies, unto passions also of bodies, and I wot not what percussions, mutations and temperatures. And thus it is come to passe, that as well the one sort as the other, are in their 40 opinions defective and come short of that which they should. For as these either of ignorance know not, or of negligence regard not to set downe the efficient principall cause, whereby, and from which: so the other before, leave out the materiall causes, of which; and the instrumentall meanes, by which things are done. But he who first manifestly touched both causes, and coupled with the reason that freely worketh and moveth, the matter which necessarily is subject and suffereth; he (I say) for himselfe & us, answereth all calumnies, and putteth by all surmizes and suspitions whatsoever. For we bereave not divination either of God, or of reason: for as much as we graunt unto it for the subject matter, the soule of man; and for an instrument and plectre (as it were) to set it a worke, we allow a spirit or winde, and an exhalation enthusiasticke. First and formost, the earth it is that engendreth such exhalations: then, that which gi- 50 veth unto the earth all power and vertue of this temperature and mutation is the Sunne, who (as we have learned by tradition from our forefathers) is a god. After this we adjoine thereto, the Daemons as superintendants, overseers and keepers of this temperature (as if it were some harmony and consonance) who in due and convenient time let downe and slacke, or else set up and stretch hard the vertue of this exhalation: taking from it otherwhiles the over-active efficacy that it hath to torment the soule and transport it beside it selfe: tempering therewith a motive

vertue

vertue without working any paine, or hurt and damage to them that are inspired and possessed therewith. Wherein he thinkes, we doe nothing that seemeth either absurd or impossible: neither in killing sacrifices before we come to moove the Oracle, and adorning them with coronets of flowers, and powring upon them sacred liquors and libations, doe we ought that is contrary to this discourse and opinion of ours. For the priests and sacrificers, and whosoever have the charge to kill the beast, and to powre upon it the holy libations of wine or other liquors; who also observe and consider the motion, trembling and the whole demeanour thereof, doe the same for no other end or cause but to have a signe, that God giveth care unto their demand. For necessary it is that the beast sacrificed unto the gods be pure, found, entier, im- 10 maculate, and uncorrupt both in soule and bodie. And verily, for the body it is no hard matter to judge and know the markes: as for the soule they make an experiment, by setting before bulles, meale: by presenting unto swine, eich-peale: for if they will not fall to, nor tast thereof, it is a certaine token that they be not right. For the goat, cold water is the triall. Now if the beast make no shew and semblance of being mooved or affected, when as the said water is powred aloft on it, be sure the soule thereof is not disposed as it ought to be by nature.

Now, say it go for currant and be constantly beleevd, that it is an undoubted and infallible signe, that the God will give answer, when the host or sacrifice thus drenched doth stire; and contrariwise, that he will not answer, if the beast queetch not: I see nothing herein repugnant 20 to that, which we have before delivered. For every natural power produceth the effect for which it is ordained, better or worse, according as the time and season is more or lesse convenient: and probable it is, that God giveth us certaine signes, whereby we may know when the opportunity is past. For mine owne part, I am of this minde, that the very exhalation it selfe which ariseth out of the earth, is not alwaies of the same sort; but at one time is slacke and feeble, at another stretched out and strong. And the argument which maketh me thus to judge, I may easily con- 30 firme and verifie by the testimonie of many strangers and of all those ministers who serve in the temple. For the chamber or rounge, wherein they are set and give attendance who come to demand the answer of the Oracle, is filled thorow (not often, nor at certaine set times, but as it falleth out after some space betwene) with so fragrant an odour and pleasant breath, as the most pretious ointments and sweetest perfumes in the world can yeeld no better. And this ariseth from the sanctuarie and vault of the temple, as out of some fource and lively fountain: and verily 40 like it is, that it is heat, or at leastwise some other puissance, that sendeth it forth. Now if per-adventure, this may seeme unto you not probable nor to found of truth: yet will ye at leastwise confesse unto me, that the Prophetesse *Pythia* hath that part of the soule, unto which this winde or prophetical spirit approacheth, disposed some time in this sort and otherwhiles in that, and keepeth not alwaies the same temperature, as an harmonic immutable. For many troubles and passions there be that possesse her body, and enter likewise in her soule, some apparent; but more, secret and unseene: with which (she finding herselfe seized and replenished, better it were 50 for her not to present and exhibit herselfe to this divine inspiration of the god, being not altogether cleane and pure from all perturbations; like unto an instrument of Musicke well set in tune and sounding sweetly, but passionate and out of order. For neither wine doth surprize the drunken man alwaies alike, and as much at one time as at another; nor the sound of the flute or shaulme affecteth after one and the same sort at all times, him who naturally is given to be soone ravished with divine inspiration: but the same persons are one time more, and another while lesse transported beside themselves; and drunken likewise, more or lesse. The reason is, because in their bodies there is a divers temperature: but principally, the imaginative part of the soule, and which receiveth the images and fantasies, is possessed by the body, and subject to change with it, as appeareth evidently by dreames: for sometimes there appeare many visions and fantasies of all sorts in our sleeps; otherwhiles againe, we are free from all such illusions, and rest in great quietnesse and tranquillitie. We our selves know this *Cleom* here of *Daulis*, who all his life time 50 (and many yeeres he lived) never (as he said himselfe) dreamed nor saw any vision in his sleeper: and of those in former times, we have heard as much reported of *Thrasymedes* the Hecerean. The cause whereof, was the temperature of the bodie: whereas contrariwise it is seene, that the complexion of melancholicke persons is apt to dreame much, and subject to many illusions in the night; although it seemeth their dreames and visions be more regular, and fall out truer than others, for that such persons touching their imaginative faculty with one fanisie or other, it can not chuse but they meet with the truth otherwhiles: much like as when a man shoots many

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shafts,

shafts, it goeth hard if he hit not the marke with one. When as therefore the imaginative part and the propheticall faculty is well disposed and futable with the temperature of the exhalation, as it were with some medicinable potion, then of necessitie there must be engendred within the bodies of Prophets an Enthusiasme or divine furie: contrariwise, when there is no such proportionate disposition, there can be no propheticall inspiration; or if there be, it is fanaticall, unreasonable, violent and troublefome: as we know, how of late it befel to that *Pythias* or Prophetesse, who is newly departed. For there being many pilgrims and strangers come from forren parts to consult with the Oracle, it is said, that the host or beast to be sacrificed, did endure the first libaments and liquors that were powred upon it, never stirring thereat nor once quenching for the matter: but after that the Priests and Sacrificers powred still, and never gave over to cast liquor on, beyond all measure; at length (after great laving and drenching of it) hardly and with much adoe it yielded and trembled a little. But what hapned hereupon to the Prophetesse or *Pythias* aforesaid? Went she did indeed downe into the cave or hole, against her will (as they said) and with no alacrity at all: but incontinently, when she was come up againe, at the very first words and answers that she pronounced, it was well known by the horfencesse of her voice, that she could not endure the violence of possession, being replenished with a maligne and mite spirit, much like unto a ship caried away under full sailes with a blustering gale of wind. Inso-much as in the end being exceedingly troubled, and with a fearefull and hideous crie, making haste to get out, she flung herselfe downe, and fell upon the earth: so that not onely the foresaid pilgrims fled for feare, but *Nicander* also the High-priest, and other Sacrificers and religious ministers that were present. Who notwithstanding afterwards taking heart unto them, and entring againe into the place, tooke her up lying still in an extasie besides herselfe: and in very trueth, she lived not many daies after. And therefore it is, that the said *Pythias* keepeth her bodie pure and cleane from the company of man, and forbidden she is to converse or have commerce all her life time with any stranger. Also, before they come to the Oracle, they observe certaine signes; for that they thinke it is known unto the God, when her bodie is prepared and disposed to receive (without danger of her person) this Enthusiasme. For the force and vertue of this exhalation, doth not move and incite all sorts of persons, nor the same alwaies after one maner, nor yet as much at one time as at another: but giveth onely a beginning, and setteth to (as it were) a match to kindle it, as we have said before; even unto those onely who are prepared and framed aforehand to suffer and receive this alteration. Now this exhalation (without all question) is divine and celestially: howbeit for all that, not such as may not faile and cease, not incorruptible, not subject to age and decay, nor able to last and endure for ever: and under it, all things suffer violence, which are betwene the earth and the moone, according to our doctrine: however others there be who affirme, that those things also which are above, are not able to resist it; but being wearied an eternall and infinite time, are quickly changed and renewed (as one would say) by a second birth & regeneration. But of these matters (quoth I)

advise you I would and my selfe also, elsedones to call to minde, and consider often this discourse, for that they be points exposed to many reprehensions, and sundry objections may be alledged against them. All which, the time will not suffer us now to prosecute at large: and therefore let us put them off unto another opportunity, together with the doubts and questions which *Philippus* moved as touching *Apollo* and the Sunne.



WHAT



# WHAT SIGNIFIETH THIS WORD *EI*, ENGRA- VEN OVER THE DORE OF *APOL-* *LOES* TEMPLE IN THE CI- TIE OF *DELPHI*.

The Summarie.

**A**mong infinite testimonies of the fury of maligne spirits and evil angels (who having beene created at first good, kept not their originall, but fell from the degree and state of happinesse, wherein continue by the grace and favour of God the good angels, who minister and attend upon those who shall receive the inheritance of salvation and everlasting life) these may bereckoned for the chiefe and principall, that such reprobate spirits and accursed fiends, endeavour & practise by all meanes possible to make themselves to be adored by men: and faine would they be set in the throne of him, who having imprisoned and tied them fast in a deepe dungeon, with the chaine of darknesse, reserveth them to the judgement of that great day of doome. And so farre proceeded they in pride and presumption, as to cause themselves to be stiled by the name of God; yea, and to be adorned with those titles, which are due and appertine unto the Aeternall, their soveraigne judge. Their devices and artificall meanes to bring this about, be wonderfull, and of exceeding variety: according as the infinit numbers of idols swarming in all parts, and so many strange and uncouth superstitions, wherewith the world hath beene diffamed unto this present day, doe testifie and give evident prooffe. But if there be any place in the whole earth, wherein Satan hath actually shewed his furious rage against God and man, it is Greece: and above all, in that renowned temple of Delphi, which was the common seat, upon which this cursed enemy hath received the homages of an infinit number of people of all sorts and qualities, under the colour and pretence of resolving their doubtfull questions. Heere then especially presumed he and was so bold, as to take upon him the name of God: and for to reacht thereto, hath set out and garnished his Oracles, with ambiguous speeches, short and sententious, intermingling some trueris among lies: even as it pleased the just judge of the world, to let the reines loose unto this notorious seducer, and to give him power for to deceive and abuse the world: as also by certaine notable sayings (as these: Know thy selfe. Nothing too much: and such like) he hath kept bound unto him, persons of highest spirit and greatest conceit: causing them to thinke, that in delivering so goodly precepts for the rule and direction of this life, it must needs be the true friend of mankind, yea and the very heavenly wisdom, that spake by these Oracles. But his audacious pride, together with most intolerable impudence, hath appeared in the inscription of this bare word, *EI*, upon the porch of the temple of *Apollo* in Delphi, in that he pretended title and claimed thereby (according to the last interpretation thereof in this present discourse) to put himselfe in the place of the eternall God: who onely is, and evereth Being unto all things. And that which worse is, the blindness was so horrible, even of the wisest Sages, that this opinion hath beene seated in their heads whilst this tyrant possessed them, in such sort, as they tooke pleasure to suffer themselves so to be confused by him. But hereby good cause have we to praise our God, who hath discovered and laid open to us such impostures, and maketh his majestie known unto us by his word, to be the onely true and eternall deitie, in adoring and worshipping whom, we may safely and truly say *EI*, that is to say, Thou art: as contrariwise, the deceitfull wiles and illusions of Satan and his complices, do declare how fearefull and horrible the judgement of God is upon such rebellious spirits. Now if some over-busy and curious head, will heere dispute and reason against the justice of him who is the disposer of all things, and enterprise to controule that eternall wisdom which governeth the world, for having mercy upon such as it pleaseth him, and suffering

suffering to fall from so excellent an estate, the Apostate and disobedient angels, and yet permitting them to have such a powerfull hand over the most part of Adams children; we answer in one word: Man, what art thou, that thou wilt plead against God? Shall the thing formed, say unto him who formed it, Why hast thou made me so? Hath not the potter full power to make of the same masse of earth or clay, one vessel for honor, and another for dishonor? The judgements of God are unsearchable, they have neither bottom nor brinke: the riches of his wisdom and knowledge are inscrutable, and beyond all computation: his waies are hidden and impossible to be found out. If then there be any place in the consideration of the secrets of God, where we ought to be retentive, warie and discret, it is in this, where every man hath just occasion to thinke upon this notable lesson and advertisement: Not to presume for to know over and above that which he should, but to be wise unto sobriety: and that no man ought to be puffed up with pride, but rather to feare. Moreover, as touching the contents of this discourse, the author having used an honest and decent Preface, faith in general: That by this present inscription, Apollo intended to make himselfe knowne, and to incite every man to inquire into time. But heerein the enemy of mankind sheweth his audacity and boldnesse sufficiently, as also how he deludeth and mocketh his slaves; in that after he had deprived them of right and sound judgement, he stirreth them up to know, who he is: which is as much as if one should plucke out the eyes, and cut in twaine the hamstrings of a traveller or wayfaring man; and then bid him seeke out his way, and goe onward on his journey. Now he brings in foure drivers perfonages, delivering their minds as touching this Ad<sub>1</sub>, E<sub>1</sub>. Lamprias opining in the first place, thinketh that the first and principall wise Sages of Greece devised it, for that they would be knowne and discerned from others. Ammonius secondly, 20 referreth and applieth it to the Wishes and Questions of those who resort unto the Oracle. Theon the third, attributeth this mysterie unto Logicke, and doth all that possibly he can to maintaine his opinion. Eustrophus the Mathematician speaking in the fourth place, and seconded by Plutarch, Philosophizeth at large upon the number of 5. represented by the letter E: he discoureth and runneth through all the Mathematickes, and divers parts of Philosophy, and all to approve and make good his conceit: but his drift and end is, to shew under the myssicall sense of numbers, the perfection of his Apollo, which he draweth and fetcheth also from the consideration of his titles, epithets and attributes. But Ammonius gathering together their voices, and closing or stopping up the disputation, seemeth to hit the marke: proving by most strong and learned reasons, that Apollo would by this word instruct pilgrims, how they ought to salute and call him, so wit in saying thus, E<sub>1</sub> it that is so say, 30 Thou art he: which is opposite unto that salutation which this false god (usurping the name of the true Jehovah, or alwaies Existent) greeteth men with, in setting just before their eyes, in the emrie and forefront of his temple, these two words, *Γνωθι σεαυτον*: that is to say, Know thy selfe. Having enriched this with two evident proofs, the one taken from the uncerteine condition of creatures; the other from the firmitude and true estate or being of the Creator; he exhorteth his followers to lift up themselves to the contemplation of the essence of God, and to honour the Sunne, his expresse image. Which done, he refuteth certaine contrary opinions: and after a new confirmation of his discourse, he endeth where he first began; to wit, that the knowledge of God and our selves, are opposite in such sort, as yet neverthelesse they must meet and concur in us. But all the application of this discourse unto Apollo (whom you must take for the very diuell) in no wise is 40 fit and agreeable. And heerein a man may see better yet, what madnesse and folly is the wisdom of man: and in how thicke and palpable darknesse they goe groping with their hands before them, who are no otherwise guided than by the discourse of their owne reason. Which teacheth us once againe to adore the secrets of God: to recognize and apprehend his mercies in the matter of our salvation: to dread also his justice, which sheweth it selfe in the deplorable and piteous blindness of so many nations; even from the time that some first entered into the world, unto this present day.



WHAT

## WHAT SIGNIFIETH THIS

word E<sub>1</sub>, engraven over the dore of

Apolloses temple in the city of Delphi.



Light of late in my reading (friend *Sarapion*) upon certaine pretie [Iambique] verses, not unelegantly endited, which *Dicaearchus* supposeth that the Poet *Euripides* delivered unto king *Archelaus*, to this effect:

No gifts will I to you present,  
Since poore I am, and wealth you have:  
Left I for folly of you be shent,  
Or by such giving seeme to crave.

For he, who of that little meanes which he hath, bestoweth some small present upon them that are rich and possesse much, gratifieth them nothing at all, nor deserveth any thanks: and that which worke is, because no man will believe that he giveth (be it never so little) for nothing, he incurreth the suspition and obloquie of being cautelous, illiberal, and simply naught. But forasmuch as the gifts that be in the nature 20 of silver, gold and temporall goods, be in regard of beautie and liberall courtesie, farre inferiour to those which go in the kinde of good letters, and proceed from learning: it standeth well with honesty, both to give such, and also to demand the like of those who receive the same. And therefore, in sending presently unto you, and for your sake unto those friends about you in those parts, certaine discourses gathered together as touching the Temple and Oracle of *Apollo Pythius*, as an offering of first fruits; I confesse that I expect from you others againe, both more in number and better in value, considering that you live in a great city, have more leasure, and enjoy the benefit of more books, and all sort of scholasticall conferences and learned exercises. And verily it seemeth, that our good and kinde *Apollo* doth indeed remedy, ease and assaile the doubtfull difficulties ordinarily incident to this life of ours, by giving answer unto those who re- 30 paire unto his Oracle: but such as concerne matter of learning, he putteth forth and propoeth himselfe unto that part of our minde, which naturally is given to Philosophize and study wisdom, imprinting therein a covetous desire to know and understand the truth: as may appeare by many other examples, and namely, in this petie mot, E<sub>1</sub>, consecrated in his temple. For it is not like, that it was by mere chance and adventure, nor by a lotterie (as it were) of letters shuffled together, that this word alone should have the preeminence with this god, as to precede and goe before all others; ne yet, that it should have the honour to be consecrated unto God, or dedicated in the temple as a thing of speciall regard for to be seene and beheld: but it must needs be, that either the first learned men (who at the beginning had the charge of this temple) knew some particular and exquisite propertie in this word, or els used it as a device to 40 symbolize some matter of singularity, or covertly to signifie a thing of great consequence. Having therefore many times before, clearly put by and avoided, or passed over this question proposed in the schooles for to be discussed and discoursed upon; of late I was surprized and set upon by mine owne children, upon occasion that I was debating with certaine strangers, as desirous to satisfie them: whom being ready to depart out of the city of *Delphi*, it was no part of civility either to detaine long, or altogether to reject, having so earnest a minde to heare me say somewhat. When therefore, as we were set about the temple, I beganne partly to looke unto some things my selfe, and partly to demand and enquire of them; I was put in minde and admonished by the place and matters then handled, of a former question which before time (when 50 *Xerxes* passed thorow these parts) I heard *Ammonius* to discourse, and others besides, in this variety place; and as touching a question of the same difficultie likewise propounded. For, considering that this god *Apollo* is no lesse a Philosopher than a Prophet, *Ammonius* then delivered, that in regard thereof the surnames might very well be fitted and applied, which were attributed unto him very rightly and with good reasons (showing and declaring, that he is *Pythius*, a Questionist to those who begin to learne and enquire; *Delius* and *Phaneus*, that is to say, cleere and light some unto such as have the truth a little thining and appearing unto them; *Ammonius*, that is to say, skillfull and learned unto as many as have attained unto knowledge already; and *Leistes*, that

NOTING



*notus*, as one would say, Eloquent or Discourfing, when they put their fciencie in praftice and make ufe thereof, proceeding for to conferre, difpute and difcoursfe one with another. And for that it appertaineth unto Philofophers, to enquire, admire and caft doubts, by good right the moft part of divine matters belonging to the gods, are couched & hidden under darke enigmes and covert fpeeches, and thereupon require that a man fhould demand, why? and whether? as alfo to be instructed in the caufe. As for example, about the maintenance of the immortall or eternal fire, Why of all kinds of wood they burne the Firre only? Alfo, Wherefore they never make any perfume but of the Laurell? Likewife, What is the reafon, that in this temple there be no more but two images of two deftinies or fatall fifters, named *Parce*, whereas in all places els there be three of them? Semblably, What fhould be the caufe, that no woman (whatsoever she be) is permitted to have accesse unto this Oracle for counsell or refolution? Againe, What is the reafon of that fabricke or three footed table? and fuch other matters which invite, allure and draw thofe who are not altogether witleffe, void of fenfe and reafon, to afke, to fee and heare fomewhat, yea and to difpute about them, what they fhould meane? And to this purpofe, doe but marke and confider thefe infcriptions ftanding in the forefront of this Temple: *Know thy felfe, and Nothing too much*: what a number of questions and learned difputations they have moved: alfo, what a multitude of goodly difcourfes have fprung & proceeded from fuch writings, as out of fome feed or graine of corne. And this will I fay unto you, that the matter now in question, is no leffe fertile and plentifull, than any one of the other.

When *Ammonius* had thus faid, my brother *Lamprias* began in this wife: And yet (quoth he) the reafon which we all have heard as touching this question, is very plaine and fhort. For reported it is, that thofe ancient Sages or wife men, who by fome are named Sophifters, were indeed of themfelves no more than five: to wit, *Chilon*, *Thales*, *Solon*, *Bias*, and *Pittacus*. But when firft *Cleobulus* the tyrant of the Lindians, and then *Periander* the tyrant likewife of *Corinth* (who had neither of them any one jot of vertue or wifdome) by the greatneffe of their power, by the number of their friends, and by many benefits and demerits whereby they obliged their adherents, acquired forcibly this reputation, in despite of all ufurped the name of Sages: and to this purpofe caufed to be fpredd fowen and divulged throughout all *Greece* certaine odde fentences and notable fayings, as well as thofe of the others, wherewith the former Sages above named were difcontented. Howbeit for all this, thefe five wifemen would in no hand difcover and convince their vanity, nor yet openly conteft and enter into termes of quarell with them about this reputation, ne yet debate the matter againft fo mighty perfonages, who had fo great meanes of countenance in the world: but being affembled upon a time in this place, after conference together they confecrated and dedicated here the letter [E] which as it ftandeth fifth in the order of the Alphabet, fo in number it fignifieth five: as if they testified and depofed here before the god, that they were but five; protefting that the fixth and the feventh they rejected and excluded out of their focietie, as who had no right to belong unto them. Now that this conjecture is not befide the purpofe, a man may know, who hath but heard them fpeake who have the charge and fuperintendence of this temple; namely, how they call that E1, which is written in gold, the E1 of *Livia Augusta* the emperrefe and wife of *Augustus Caesar*: the other in braffe, the E1 of the Athenians: and the firft, which is moft ancient, and for the matter and fubftance thereof no better than cut in wood, at this very day they name, the E1 of the Sages; as being dedicated not by one of them alone, but by all together. Heereat *Ammonius* pleafantly fmiled, as fuppofting this to be the proper and peculiar conceit of *Lamprias* himfelfe, howsoever befemed to father it upon others, feigning that he heard it elfe where, to the end that he might not be called to account, and put to the maintenance and defence thereof. Then another of the company who were there prefent, faid that this was much like unto a foolifh toy which a Chaldaean ftanger, and by profeflion an Aftrologer, not long fince fet abroad: That feven letters there were forfooth in all the Alphabet, which were vocall and of themfelves rendered a voice: like as feven ftarres there were in the heaven, which had their proper motions apart, at liberty, and not bound and linked to others. Alfo that among thofe vocall letters or vowels, E was the fecond; even as the Sunne of all the Planets was next unto the Moone: and that all the Greeks in manner, with one accord, hold *Apollo* and the Sunne, to be both one. But this, when all is done, favourerth altogether of his counting table of judiciall Aftronomie, and of his triviall difcourfing head. Moreover it feemeth that *Lamprias* taketh not heed, but ere he is aware, ftirreth up all thofe who have the charge of the temple, againft this reafon of his. For there is not a man

man in all the citie of *Delphi*, who knoweth ought of that which he hath faid, but they alledge the common opinion, & that which runneth currant throughout the world, which is: That it is neither the outward forme and fhew, nor the found; but the very Mot only as it is written, conteineth fome fecret fignification: for it is as the Delphians doe conceive of it. And with that the high prieft *Nicander* himfelfe (who was prefent) faid, that this E1 is the forme and maner that they ufe, who come to confult with the god *Apollo*, and to conver their questions unto him: and ordinarily, it carrieth the firft place in all their interrogatories. For ufuall it is with them thus to demaund: *E1* *νικάνω*; *E1* *ζωοποιώ*, &c. that is to fay, If, or whether they fhall have victory? if they fhall marry? if it will be expedient for them to goeto fea? if they were beft to till the ground? or if they fhould do well to make a voiage and travell into forren parts? And here-in the God (who is wife and learned, mocking the Logicians, bidding them farewell who hold, that of this participle or Conjunction E1, that is to fay, If, and of what Subjunctive propofition foever following after it, nothing can be made, nor categorically affirmed) both underftandeth all interrogations annexed unto E1, as reall things in effe, and fo accepteth of them. And for as much as this E1 is proper for an interrogation propofed unto him as a Divinor or Prophet: and common it is with us, by it to pray unto him, as to a god; they thinke that this word E1 is of no leffe validity to pray and with by, than it is to demaund or afke a question: for everie one that praith, ufeth ordinarily this forme: *E1* *ἐπιτελόν*, that is to fay, O if it might pleafe god. And thus *Archichelmus* wrote:

*E1* *δε, ἡμῶν ὅλως ἔργα Νεοβούλου θεῶν:*  
O if my lucke and hap were fuch,  
As Neobules hand to touch.

And it is faid, that in the adverb of wifhing *ΕΙΘΕ*, which fignifieth, Would God; the fecond fyllable *θ*, is an adjunction idle and fuperfluous, for that *ΕΙ* alone fignifieth as much: like as *Εἰ* in this verfe of the Poet *Sophron*:

*αἴμα τέκνον θέλῃ δ' ἀποδόναι:*  
Deftious alfo in their need  
Of children, for their joy and need:

as alfo in *Homer*:

*Εἰς βλάσιν ὅντιν ἔγὼ λήσω πόλεος:*  
As I will now, even thee difgrace,  
And foile thy ftrengh in prefent place.

Where *Εἰ* fignifieth juft nothing. Thus you fee, how in this little word E1 there is an optative power fufficiently declared. When *Nicander* had delivered thefe words, *Theon* (for I prefuppofe you know him, being a familiar friend of ours) demaunded of *Ammonius*, whether Logike might have the libertie to fpeake in her owne defence, being thus wronged and troden under foote? when *Ammonius* willed him to fpeake hardly, and to fay all that he could, and for to helpe her out of the mire: Certes, quoth he then, there be many Oracles which beare witneffe & evidently fhew, that god *Apollo* is a moft skilful Logician. For in fome fort it belongeth to one and the fame artift, both to move doubtfull ambiguities, and alfo to affoile and cleere the fame. Moreover, according as *Plato* faid, that there being in old time an Oracle given unto the Greeks, that they fhould double the altar within the temple of *Delos*, (which is a piece of worke for an expert Geometrician to performe, and who had the very habie and perfection of that Art) it was not that indeed which the god commanded the Greeks to doe, but he enjoined them to ftudie Geometrie: even fo, in giving otherwhiles ambiguous answers, and doubtfull Oracles, he recommendeth thereby and augmenteth fo much the more, the credit of Logike, as being a fciencie right neceffary for as many as would gladdly underftand his fpeech. Now in Logike this Conjunction E1, that is to fay, If (which is fo apt to continue a fpeech and propofition) hath a great force, as being that which giveth forme unto that propofition, which is moft agreeable to difcoursfe of reafon and argumentation. And verily of this nature be all thefe Hypotheticall propofitions, copulative, difjunctive, &c. And who can deny it? confidering that the very brute beafts themfelves have in fome fort a certaine knowledge and intelligence of the fubfiftence of things: but nature hath given to man alone the notice of confequence, and the judgement for to know how to difcerne that which followeth upon every thing. For, that it is day; and, that it is light, the very wolves, dogs, and cocks doe perceive: but that, if it be day of neceffitie it muft make the aire light, there is no creature fave onely man, that knoweth: for

for he alone hath intelligence of the beginning and of the end, of the antecedent and the consequent, of the proceeding and finishing of things: as also of the coherence and bringing together of both ends and extremes, of the conference of one to another; what habitude, Correspondence, or difference there is betweene: and this is it whereof all demonstrations take their chiefe originall and beginning. Now since it is so, that all Philosophie whatsoever, consisteth in the knowledge of the truth; and the light which cleareth the truth, is demonstration; and the beginning of demonstration, is the coherence and knitting of propositions together: by good right that power which maketh and maintaineth this, was dedicated and consecrated by the Sages and wise men unto this god, who above all others loveth the truth. Again, this god is a Divinor and Prophet; but the arte of Divining is as touching future things, by the means of such as are either present or past. For as nothing is done or made without cause; so there is nothing foreknown without a precedent reason: but so far as that is, dependeth and followeth upon that which hath beene; and consequently all that shall be, hath a first and dependance of that which is, by a certaine continuitie, which proceedeth from the beginning to the end: he who hath the skill to see into causes, and by naturall reason how to compose and joine them together, knoweth and is able to discourse

*What things are now, what shall hereafter come,*

*As also what are past, both all and some,*

according as *Homer* saith: who very well and wisely setteth in the first place the present, then the future, and that which is past. For of the present dependeth all Syllogisme and reasoning, and that by the vertue & efficacie of a conjunction: for that if this thing be, such a thing went before; and conversim, if this be; that shall be. For all the artificiall feat and skill of discourse and argument, is the knowledge of consequence, as hath beene said already: but it is the sense, that giveth anticipation unto the discourse of reason. And therefore although haply it may seeme to stand little with decent honesty, yet I will not be afraid to affirme that this reason properly is the Tripode or three footed table as one would say, and Oracle of truth: namely, when the disputer supposeth a consequence upon that which was premised and went before: and then afterwards assuming that which is extant and subsistent, commeth in the end to induce and inferre a finall conclusion of his demonstration. Now if it be so, that *Apollo Pythius*, as the report goeth, loveth musick, and be delighted in the singing of swans, and sound of lute and harpe; what marvel is it then, if for the affection that he beareth unto logicke, he likewise embrace and love that part of speech, which he seeth Philosophers most willingly and oftentest to use? *Hercules* before that he had loosed the bonds wherewith *Prometheus* was tied, and having not as yet conferred and talked with *Chiron* and *Atlas* two great Sophisters and professors of disputation, but being a yong man still, and a plaine Boeotian, abolished all logicke at first, and scoffed at this little Mot E<sup>1</sup>: but soone after seemed as if he would plucke away by force the three footed table of *Apollo*, yea and contest with the god, about the art of divining; for that together with age and proceesse of time he proceeded so farre, as that he became by that means a most skillfull prophet, and as subtile and excellent a logician. When *Theon* had made an end of this speech, *Eustrophus* the Athenian, as I take it, directed his wordes unto us & said: See you not how valiantly *Theon* defendeth the art of logicke, & hath in manner gotten on the lions skin of *Hercules*? It is not therefore decent, that we who in one word referre all affaires, all natures and principles jointly together, as well of divine as of humane things into number, and making it the author, master, and ruler even of such matters as simply are most faire and precious, should sitte still and say never a word: but rather for our part, offer the fruits of the Mathematicks unto god *Apollo*. For we say and affirme that this letter E, of it selfe, neither in puissance, nor in forme, ne yet in name & pronounciation, hath any thing in it above other letters: howbeit we thinke, that preferred it hath beene before all the rest, in this regard that it is a character and mark of the number five, which is in all things of greatest vertue and validity, and is named *Pempas*. Whereupon our Sages and great clerks in times past, when they would expresse the verbe [to number] used *Pempas*, as one would say, to count and reckon by fives. And verily *Eustrophus* in saying thus, addressed his speech unto me, not merily but in good earnest, for that I was very affectionate and much addicted then unto the Mathematicks; but yet so, as in all things I observed and kept still the old rule: *To much of nothing*, as being a schollar of the Academic schoole. I answered therefore, that *Eustrophus* had solved passing well the difficulty of the question by this number. For seeing it is so (quoth I) that number in generality is divided into even and

and odde, unity is in power and efficacy common to them both: in such sort, as being put unto the even, it maketh it odde; and likewise added to the odde, causeth the same to be even. Now the beginning and ground of even numbers is Two; and of odde, Three is the first: of which being joined together is engendred Five, which by good right is highly honored as being the first compound of the first simple numbers, whereupon it is worthily named *Tetradis*, that is to say, Marriage; because the even number hath some resemblance to the female, and the odde, a reference to the male. For in the sections & divisions of numbers into equal parts, the even is altogether cleane parted and severed asunder, leaving a certaine void space betweene the parts, as a beginning of capacity apt to receive somewhat more: contrariwise in the odde number, if a man doe as much by it, and cut it into two numbers, there remaineth alwaies somewhat in the midst betweene, fit for subdivision, yea and generation of new numbers: whereby it appeareth that more generative it is than the other. And whensoever it commeth to be mixed with the other, it carrieth the preeminence, and is master alwaies, but never mastered. For what mixture soever you make of them twaine, you shall never come thereby to an even number: but mix and compose them as often and in what maner you will, there shall arise alwaies thereof an odde number. And that which more is, both the one and the other added to it selfe, or compounded with it selfe, sheweth the difference that is betweene them. For never shall you see an even number joined with another that is even, to produce an odde; for it goeth not out of his proper nature, as having not the power to beget any other than it selfe, so feeble it is and imperfect: but odde numbers coupled and mingled with others that be odde, bring forth many even numbers, so powerfull it is to engender every way. As for all the other properties and different puissances of numbers, the time will not now serve to discourse thoroughly of them all. But hereby you see, wherefore the ancient Pythagorean Philosophers called Five, the Marriage; as being compounded of the first male and of the first female. The same also is sometime named *Tetradis*; for that being multiplied by it selfe, it falleth out still to determine in it selfe. For like as nature taking a graine of wheat in the nature of seed, and so diffusing it, produceth many formes and divers kindes of things betweene, through which the passeth and proceedeth, until at last she bringeth her worke to an end; and when all is done sheweth a corne of wheat againe, rendering the first beginning, in the end of all: even so, when other numbers multiply themselves, and end by growing and multiplication in other numbers, only five & six, if they be multiplied by themselves, do bring forth and regenerate likewise themselves: for six times six, maketh thirty six; and five times five, ariseth to twenty five. But take thus much withall againe, that Six doth this but once and after one maner onely, when of it selfe it becommeth that four square number: but unto Five the same befalleth, when it is multiplied by it selfe; and besides particularly, it hath this property, that by addition of it selfe it produceth also it selfe, in as much as it maketh ten; which it doth alternatively, and holdeth on this course in infinite, as farre as any numbers will extend: so as this number resembleth, that principle or first cause, which doth conduct and governe this universall world. For like as it, of the owne selfe preserveth the world; and reciprocally, of the world returneth into it selfe, according as *Heraclitus* said of the fire:

*πῦρ εἰς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ*

*καὶ πῦρ ἀνθρώπων:*

*Fire into all things first doth turne,*

*And all things shall to fire returne:*

like as golde is exchanged for wares, and wares likewise for golde: even so the meeting of five with it selfe, howsoever it be, can engender and bring forth nothing either imperfect or strange, but all the changes that it hath, be limited and certaine. For either it begetteth it selfe, or els produceth ten; that is to say, that which is proper and familiar, or els perfect and accomplished.

Now if a man should come unto me and demand: What is all this (good sir) unto *Apollo*? I will answer againe: That this concerneth not *Apollo* alone, but *Bacchus* also, who hath no lesse to do with the city of *Delphos*, nor is of lesse authority there, than *Apollo* himselfe. For we have heard the Theologians (partly in verse and partly in prose) sing and say, That this god being of his owne nature incorruptible and immortal: yet, I wot not by what sentence and reason, he is transfused and changed in many sorts. Sometime he is all on a light fire, and causeth all things to be of the same nature, and like unto all things: otherwhiles most variable, in all manner of formes, passions & puissances all different, and becommeth (as now he is) the Worlds, so called by a most common and best known name. But the Sages and wiser sort, willing to

Yyyyy

conceale

\* For six times  
5 maketh 35.

\* That is 20  
say 36, made  
of 4 nines.

\* Alluding to  
the proverb,  
πῦρ εἰς ἀνθρώ-  
πους: where-  
upon a thing  
is said to be  
εἰς ἀνθρώπους,  
which is  
not to the  
purpose.

conceale and keepe these secrets hidden from common people, name this mutation & change of his into fire, *Apollo*; signifying thereby, a kinde of sole unity whereunto it reduceth all things, and negation of plurality: and *Phæbus* likewise; betokening thereby his purity and cleerenesse from filth and pollution. As for his conversion into winds, water, earth, starres, and into sundry kinds of plants and living creatures, together with the order and disposition thereof, such as we see; all this passion (I say) and mutation, they covertly do signifie under the name of a certaine distraction and dismembring: and in these regards, they call him selfe *Dionysus, Zagreus, Nyctelius, Iodætes*. They exhibit also and counterfet I wot not what deaths, destructions and dispartitions; regenerations also, and resurrections: which be fables all, and enigmaticall fictions, devised for to represent the foresaid mutations. And verily, to *Bacchus* they do chant in their songs 10 certaine Dithyrambicke ditties and tunes, full of passion and change, with motions and agitations to and fro. For according as *Aeschylus* saith:

*The Dithyrambe with clamours dissonant,  
Sorts well with Bacchus, where he is resant.*

But unto the other (that is to say, *Apollo*) they sing the *Pæan*, which is a setled kind of song, and Musicke modest and sober. Moreover, in all their pictures and portraictures of images and statues, they make *Apollo* alwaies with a yong face, and never aging: but the other, to wit, *Bacchus*, they represent in many shapés, and as many formes and visages. And in one word, to the one they attribute a constancy uniforme and evermore the same, a regular order, a serious and sincere gravity: but unto the other, mixed sports, games, wantonnesse and insolency; in summe, 20 such a gravity as is interlaced with fury, madnesse and inequality: they invoke and call upon him by the name of *Bacchus Eniuv*:

*Bacchus (I say) swayed Eniuv,  
Who women doth to rage incite:  
And in such service furious,  
And frantike worship, takes delight:*

noting hereby not unfittly and without good purpose that which is proper to the one and the other mutation. But for that the time of the revolutions in these changes is not equall and alike, but of the one (which is called *Coros*, and signifieth plenty or satiety) longer; and of the other (named *Chresmosyne*, which betokeneth want and necessity) shorter: observing even herein the 30 proportion, they use the canticle *Pæan*, during all the rest of the yeere, in their sacrifices: but in the beginning of winter, they stire up the Dithyrambe, and downe goeth *Pæan*; and so invoke this god for three moneths space in stead of the other, supposing that there is the same proportion of the conflagration of the world to the restoring and reparation thereof, as is of three to one. But peradventure we have dwelt longer upon this point than we should, considering the time: howbeit this is certaine, that they attribute the number of five unto this god *Apollo*, as proper and peculiar unto him; saying, that one while it begetteth it selfe by multiplication, as fire; and another while maketh of it selfe ten, as the world. Moreover, thinke we not, that this number hath no societie with Musicke, which is so agreeable unto this god, as nothing so much? Certes, harmonie is (to say at once) occupied most of all about accords, which we call Symphonies: and that those are in number five, and no more, reason prooveth, and experience will convince it to be so, even unto him who shall make the triall, either with strings or pipe-holes, by the very sense of hearing only, without any other reason. For all these accords take their generation by proportion in number. Now the proportion of the Musicke or Symphonie Diatessaron, is Epitritos or Sesquialterall, that is to say, the whole and a third part over: of Diapente, Hemolios or Sesquialterall, that is to say, the whole and halfe as much more: of Diapason, double: of Diapason with Diapente together, triple: & of Disdiapason, quadruple. And as for that which the Musicians bring in over and above these, to wit, Diapason and Diatessaron (for so they name it) they are not worthy to be admitted and received, as transcending all meane and measure to gratifie forsooth the unreasonable pleasure of the eare against all proportion, and 50 breaking as it were the ordinance of the law.

To let passe therefore the five positures of the Tetrachords, as also the first five tones, tropes, changes, notes or harmonies, (call them what you will) for that they change and alter by setting up or letting downe the strings, more or lesse, or by streining or easing the voice; all the rest are constituted as bases and trebles. For see you not that there being many, or rather infinit intervals, yet five there be onely used in song; namely, Diesis, Hemitonium, Tonos, Trifemitonium,

nion, and Ditonos? Neither is there any space or intervall greater or lesse in voices, distinguishing by base and treble, high and low, that can be expressed in long. But to passe by many other such things (quoth I) onely *Plato* I will alledge, who affirmeth, that there is indeed but one world: many if there were more in number, and not the same one alone; it must needs be that there are five in all, and not one more. But grant that there be no more in truth than one, as *Aristotle* holdeth; yet so it is, that the same seemeth to be composed and coagmented in some sort of five other worlds: whereof one is that of earth, another of water, the third of fire, the fourth of aire; as for the fifth, some call it heaven, others light, and some againe, the skie; and there be, who name it a quint-essence: unto which onely it is proper and naturall (of all other 10 bodies) to turne round, not by violent force, nor otherwise by chance and aventure. *Plato* therefore observing and knowing well enough, that the most beautifull and perfect figures of regular bodies which be in the world & within compass of nature, are five in number (namely, the Pyramis, the Cube, the Octaedron, Icosaedron & Dodecaedron) hath very fittly appropriated and attributed ech of these noble figures unto one or other of those first bodies. Others there be also who apply the faculties of the naturall senses, which likewise be in number five, unto the said primitive bodies: to wit, Touching, which is firme, solid and hard, to Earth; Tasting, which judgeth of the qualities of favours by the meanes of moisture, to Water; Hearing, to the Aire, for that the aire being beaten upon is the voice and found in the eares: of the other twaine, Smelling hath for the object Sent or odour, which being in maner of a perfume, is ingendred and 20 levated by heat, and therefore holdeth of the Fire; as for the Sight, which is cleere and bright, by a certaine affinitie and consanguinity which it hath with the heaven and with light, hath a temperature and complexion mingled of the one and the other: neither is there in any living creature other sense, nor in the whole world any other nature and substance simple and uncompound; but a marvellous distribution there is and congruity of five to five, as it evidently appeareth.

When I had thus said, and made a stop withall, after a little pause betweene: O what a fault (quoth I) *δ Eustrophus*, had I like to have committed: for I went within a litle of passing over *Homer* altogether, as if he had not bene the first that divided the world into five parts; allotting three of them which are in the middes unto three gods, and the other two which be the extremes (namely, heaven and earth, whereof the one is the limit of things beneath, the other the 30 bound of things above) in common and not distributed like the others. But our speech must remember to returne againe, as *Euripides* saith, from whence it hath digressed. For they who magnifie the quaternarie or number of foure, teach not amisse nor beside the purpose, that everie solide body hath taken the beginning and generation by reason of it. For it being so, that every solide consisteth in length and bredth, having withall a depth: before length there is to be supposed a posture and situation of a point or pricke, answerable to unitie in numbers; and longitude without bredth is called a line; and the moving of a line into bredth, and the procreation of a superficies thereby, consisteth of three: afterwards, when there is adjoined thereto profundity or depth, the augmentation groweth by foure, untill it become a perfect solidity. So 40 that every man seeth, that the quaternary having brought nature to this point, as to performe and accomplish a body, in giving it a double magnitude or masse with firme soliditie apt to make resistance, leaveth it afterwards destitute of the thing which is greatest and principall. For that which is without a soule, to speake plaine, is in maner of an Orphan, unperfect and good for nothing, so long as it is without a soule to use and guide it: but the motion or disposition which putteth in the soule, ingenerated by meanes of the number of five, is it that bringeth perfection and consummation unto nature. Whereby it appeareth that there is an essence more excellent than the foure, inasmuch as a living body endued with a soule, is of a more noble nature, than that which hath none: but more than so, the beauty and excellent power of this number five, proceeding yet farther, would not suffer a body animate to be extended into infinite kinds, but hath given unto us five divers sorts of animate and living natures in all. For there 50 be Gods; Demons, or Angels; Demi-gods, or Heroës: then after these, a fourth kind, of Men; and last of all, in the fifth place, is that of brute Beasts and unreasonable. Furthermore, if you come and divide the soule according to nature, the first and obscurest part or puissance thereof, is the vegetative or nutritive faculty: the second is the sensitive: then the appetitive: after it the irascible, wherein is engendred anger. Now when it is once come unto that power which discourseth by reason, and brought nature as it were to perfection, there it resteth in the fifth, as in

the very pitch & top of all. Since then this number hath so many, and those to great puifances & faculties, the very generation thereof is beautiful to be confidered; I meane not that whereof we have already heerefore difcoursed, when we faid, that compofed it was of two and three, but that which is made by the conjunction of the firft principle, with the firft fquare and quadrate number. And what is that principle or beginning of all numbers? even one or unitie, and that firft quadrat is Foure: and of thefe twaine (as a man would fay, of forme and of matter) being brought to perfection, is procreated this Quinarie or number of five. Now if it be true, as fome do hold, that unitie it felfe is quadrat and foure-square, as being that which is the power of it felfe, and determineth in it felfe, then five being thus compounded of the two firft quadrat numbers, ought fo much the rather to be efteemed fo noble and excellent as none can be comparable unto it. And yet there is one excellency behind, that paffeth all thofe which went before. But I feare me (quoth I) left if the fame be uttered, it would debate in fome fort the honor of our *Plato*, like as himfelfe faid, the honour and authority of *Anaxagoras* was deprefsed and put downe by the name of the Moone, who attributed unto himfelfe the firft invention of the Moones illuminations by the Sunne; whereas it was a very ancient opinion long before he was borne. How fay you, hath he not faid thus much in his Dialogue entituled *Cratylus*? Yes verily, answered *Euthyphrus*; but I fee not the like confequence for all that. But you know (quoth I) that in his booke entituled: *The Sophifter*, he fetteth downe five moft principall beginnings of all things: to wit, *That which is: The fame: The other: Motion*, the fourth: and *Reft* for the fifth. Moreover in his Dialogue *Philebus*, he bringeth in another kinde of partition and divifion of thefe principles, where he faith: That one is Infinite: another Finite, or the end: and of the mixture of thefe twaine, is made and accomplished all generation: as for the caufe whereby they are mixed, he putteth it for the fourth kinde: but leaveth to our conjecture the fifth: by the meanes whereof, that which is compofed and mixed is redivided, and feparate againe. And for mine owne part, I fuppofe verily, that thefe principles be the figures and images (as it were) of thofe before: to wit, of *That which is*, *The thing engendered*: of *Motion*, *Infinite*: of *Reft*, *The End* or *Finit*: of *The fame*, the Causethat mixeth: of *The other*, the Causethat doth feparate. But fay they be divers principles, and not the fame: yet howsoever it be, there are alwaies ftill five kinds, & five differences of the faid principles. Some of them before *Plato*, being of the fame opinion, or having heard fo much of another, confecrated two E. unto the god of this temple, as a very figne to fymbolize that number which comprehendeth all. And peradventure, having heard alfo, that Good appeareth in five kinds: whereof the firft is *Meane* or *Meafure*; the fecond, *Symmetrie* or *Proportion*; the third, *Underftanding*; the fourth, *The Sciences, Arts and True Opinions*, which are in the foule; the fifth, *Pure and Sincere Pleafure*, without mixture of any trouble and paine: they ftayed there, reciting this verfe out of *Orpheus*:

*But at the fixth age ceafe your fong:*

*It booteth not to chaunt fo long.*

After thefe difcourses paffed betwene us: Yet one briefe word more (quoth he) will I fay unto *Nicander*, and thofe about him;

*For fong I will*

*To men of skill.*

The fixth day of the moneth when you lead the Propheteffe *Pythia* into fome hal named *Prytanium*, the firft cafting of lots among you, of three, tendeth to five: for the cafteth three; and you, two: how fay you is it not fo? Yes verily, quoth *Nicander*: but the caufe heereof we dare not reveale and declare unto others. Well then (quoth I, fmiling thereat) untill fuch time as god permitteth us after we are become holy and confecrate, for to know the truth thereof, meane while let that alfo be added unto the praifes which have bene alledged in the recommendation of the number Five.

Thus ended the difcourfe as touching the commendations attributed unto the number of five, by the Arithmeticians and Mathematicians, as far as I can remember or call to mind. And so *Ammonius* (as he was a man who befetow not the worft and leaft part of his time in Mathematicke Philofophy) tooke no fmall pleafure in the hearing of fuch difcourses and faid: Needlefle it is and to no purpofe, to ftand much upon the precise and exact confutation of that which thefe yong men heere have alledged, unleffe it be that every number will afford you alfo fufficient matter and argument of praife, if you will but take the paines to looke into them: for, to fay nothing of others, a whole day would not be enough to exprefse in words all the virtues

ties and properties of the fared number Seven, dedicated to *Apollo*. And moreover we fhall feeme to pronounce againft the Sages and wifemen, that they fight both againft common law received, and all antiquity of time; if diffeizing the number of feven of that preeminence, whereof it is in poffeffion, they fhould confecrate Five unto *Apollo*, as more meet and becomming for him. And therefore mine opinion is, that this writing E<sub>1</sub> fignifieth neither number, nor order, nor conjunction, nor any other defective particle; but is an entier falutation of it felfe, and a compellation of the God: which together with the very utterance and pronuntiation of the word induceth the fpeaker to think of the greameffe & power of him, who feemeth to falute and greet every one of us when we come hither, with thefe words *Ἐὐχαρίστησον*, Know thy felfe, which fignifieth no leffe, than if he faid *χαίρει*, that is to fay, All haile or god fave you: and we againe to render the like, anfwer him E<sub>1</sub>, that is to fay, *Ἐὐχαρίστησον* unto him not a falfe, but a true appellation and title which onely and to him alone appertaineth, namely, that he is. For in very truth and to fpeake as it is, we who are mortall men, have no part at all of being indeed, becaufe that all humane nature being ever in the midft betwene generation and corruption, giveth but an obfcure appearance, a darke shadow, a weake and uncertaine opinion of it felfe. And if peradventure you bend your minde and cogitation for to comprehend a fubftance and effence thereof, you fhall doe as much good as if you would cluch water in your hand with a bent fift; for the more you feeme to gripe and preffe together that which of the owne nature is fluid and runneth out, fo much the more fhall you leefe of that which you will clafpe and hold: and even fo, all things being fubject to alteration, and to paffe from one change unto another, reafon seeking for a reall fubftitence is deceived, as not able to apprehend any thing fubftant in truth and permanent; for that every thing tendeth to a being before it is, or beginneth to die fofoone as it is engendered. For, as *Heraclitus* was wont to fay, a man cannot poffibly enter twice into one and the fame river: no more is he able to finde any mortall fubftance twice in one and the fame eftate. Such is the fuddenefle and celerity of change, that no fooner is it diflipated but it gathereth againe anon, or rather indeed not againe, nor anon, but at once it both fubfifteth and alfo ceafeth to be, it cometh and goeth together; in fuch fort, as that which beginneth to breed, never reacheth to the perfection of being, for that in very deed this generation is never accomplished, nor reflects as being come to a ful end and perfection of being, but continually changeth and moveth from one to another: even as of humane feed, firft there is gathered within the mothers wombe a fruit or maffe without forme; then an infant having fome forme and fhape; afterwards being out of the mothers belly it is a sucking babe, anon it proves to be a lad or boy, within a while a ftirling or fpringall, then a youth, afterwards a man grown, confequently an elderly & ancient perfon, & laft of all a crooked old man: fo that the former ages & precedent generations be alwaies abolifhed by the fubfequent & thofe that follow. But we like ridiculous fooles be affraid of one kinde of death, when as we have already died fo many deaths, and doe nothing daily and houely but die ftill. For not onely (as *Heraclitus* faith) the death of fire is the life of aire; and the end of aire, the beginning of water: but much more evidently we may obferve the fame in our felves. The floure of our yeeres dieth and paffeeth away when old age cometh: youth endeth in the floure of lufly and perfect age: childhood determineth in youth: infancy in childhood. Yesterday dieth in this day, and this day will be dead by to morrow: neither continueth any man alwaies one and the fame, but we are engendered many, according as the matter glideth, turneth and is driven about one image, mould or patterne common to all figures. For, were it not fo, but that we continued ftill the fame, how is it that we take delight now in thefe things, whereas we joied before in others? how is it that we love and hate, praife and difpraife contrary things? how cometh it to paffe that we ufe divers fpeeches, fal into different difcourses, & are in fundry affections; retaine not the fame vifage, one countenance, one minde and one thought? For there is no likelihood at all, that without change a man fhould entertaine other paffions; and looke who is changed, he continueth not the fame; and if he be not the fame, he is not at all: but together with changing from the fame, he changeth alfo to be fimplly, for that continually he is altered from one to another: and by confequence our fenfe is deceived miftaking that which appeareth, for that which is indeed; and all for want of knowledge, what it is to be. But what is it (in truth) to be? Surely to be eternall, that is to fay, which never had beginning in generation, nor fhall have end by corruption; and in which, time never worketh any mutation. For a moveable and mutable thing is time, appearing (as it were) in a shadow with the matter which runneth and floweth continually, never remain-  
ing

ning stable, permanent and solid, but may be compared unto a leaking vessell, containing in it (after a sort) generations and corruptions. And to it properly belong these teames: *for, and after: Hath bene, & shall be:* which presently at the very first sight do evidently shew, that time hath no being. For it were a great folly and manifest absurditie to say, that a thing is, which as yet commeth not into *esse*, or hath already ceased to be. And as for these words, *Present, Instant, Now, &c.* by which it seemeth that principally we ground and mainteine the intelligence of Time, reason discovereth the same, and immediatly overthroweth it; for incontinently it is thrust out & dispatched, into future, and past: so that it fareth with us in this case, as with those who would see a thing very farre distant; for of necessitie the visuall beames of his sight doe faile before they can reach thereto. Now if the same befall to nature which is measured, 10 that unto time which measureth it; there is nothing in it permanent nor subsistent, but all things therein be either breeding or dying, according as they have reference unto time. And therefore it may not be allowed to say of that which is, It hath bene, or it shall be: for these termes be certaine inclinations, passages, departures and chaunges of that which cannot endure nor continue in being. Whereupon, we are to conclude that God alone is (and that, not according to any measure of time, but respectiue to eternitie) immutable and unmoouable, not gaged within the compasse of time, nor subiect either to inclination or declination any way: before whom nothing ever was, nor after whom ought shall be, nothing future, nothing past, nothing elder, nothing younger; but being one really, by this one *Present* or *Now*, accomplisheth his eternitie and being alway. Neither is there any thing, that may truly be said to be, 20 but he alone, nor of him may it be verified: He hath bene, or shall be, for that he is without beginning and end. In this manner therefore we ought in our worship and adoration, to salute and invoke him, saying, E1, that is to say, Thou art; unless a man will rather, according as some of the ancients used to doe, salve him by this title E1 EN, that is to say, Thou art one: for god is not many, as every one of us, who are a confused heape and masse composed, or rather thrust together of infinit diuersities and differences proceeding from all sorts of alterations: but as that which is, ought to be one; so that which is one, ought to be: for alternative diuersitie being the difference of that which is, departeth from it, and goeth to the engendering of that which is not. And therefore very rightly agreeth unto this god, the first of his names, as also the second and the third: for *Apollo* he is called, as denying and disavowing *multitudo*, that is 30 to say, plurality & multitude: likewise, *Teios*, which is as much to say, as One, or alone: thirdly, *Phaebus*, by which name, they called in the olde time, All that was cleane and pure, without mixture and pollution. And seemably even at this day, the Thessalians (if I be not deceived) say, that their priests upon certaine vacant dayes, when they keepe forth of their temples and live apart privatly to themselves, *epithoroues*. Now that which is one, is also pure and sincere; for pollution commeth by occasion that one thing is mingled with another: like as *Homer* speaking in one place of *Yvorie* having a tincture of red, said it was polluted; and the word that he useth is *muireos*. Diets also, when they would expresse that their colours be medleies or mixed, use the word *despeides*, that is to say, to be corrupted; and the very mixture they tearme *psogos*, that is to say, Corruption. It behooveth therefore, that the thing which is sincere and incorruptible, 40 should be also one and simple, without all mixture whatsoever. In which regard, they who thinke that *Apollo* and the Sunne be both one god, are worthy to be made much of and loved for their good conceit and pleasant wit, because they repose the notion of god in that which of all things that they know and desire, they honour and reverence most. And now, so long as we are in this life, as if we dreamed the most beautifull dreame that a man could imagine of this god *Apollo*, let us excite and stirre up our mindes to passe yet farther and mount higher, for to contemplate and behold that which is above our selves, in adoring principally indeed his effluence: but yet honoring withall his image, to wit, the Sunne, and that generative vertue which he hath infused into it, for to produce and bring forth; representing in some sort, by his brightnesse some obscure resemblances and darke shewes of his clemency, benignity, and blessednesse, as 50 far forth as it is possible for a sensible nature, to shew an intellectuall; and for that which is immoveable, to expresse that which is stable and parmanent. Moreover, as touching I wot not what extasies and leapings forth of himselfe and his owne nature, certaine strange alterations likewise, as namely when he casteth fire and withall dismembred and teareth himselfe, as they say: as also that he stretcheth, dilareth and spreadeth forth; and contrariwise how he gathereth and draweth in himselfe heere below, into the earth, the sea, the windes, the starres, and uncouth accidents

cidents of beasts and plants; they be such absurdities, as are not to be named without impiety. Or else if we admit them, he will become worse than the little boy, whom the Poets feigne, playing upon the sea shore with an heape of sand, which he first raised, and then cast downe againe and scattered abroad: if (I say) he should continually play at this game like salt and loofe, namely in framing the world first, where before it was not; and then anon destroying it, so soone as it is made. For contrariwise, how much or how little soever of him is infused into the world, the same in some sort containeth and confirmeth the substance thereof, maintaining the corporall nature of it which otherwise by reason of infirmity and weaknesse tendeth alwaies to corruption. In my conceit therefore, against this opinion principally hath bene directly opposed this Mot and denomination of god, E1; that is to say, *Thou art*: as giving good testimony in 10 his behalfe, that in him there is never any change or mutation. But either to do, or suffer this, as is before said, belongeth to any other god or rather indeed to any other Dæmon, ordained to have the superintendence of that nature, which is subiect both to generation and corruption: as may appeare immediatly by the significations of their names, which are quite contrary and directly doe contradict one the other. For our god here is named *Apollo*, the other *Pluto*: as if one would say, *Not Many*; and *Many*. The one is cleped *Delius* that is, cleere and evident: the other *Aidonemus*, that is to say, obscure blinde and unseene. Again the former, is named *Phaebus*, which is as much as Shining or resplendent: but the latter *Scotius*, which is all one with Darke. About him are seated the Muses and *Mnemosyne*, that is to say, Memory: but nere 20 to this are *Lethe*, that is to say, Oblivion and silence. Our *Apollo*, is surnamed *Theonius* and *Phanous*, of Secing and shewing: but *Pluto* is

*The Lord of night so \* bleake and darke,  
Of idle sleeps that can not wake:*

who also is

*To gods and men most odious,  
And to them as malicious.*

Of whom *Pindarus* said not unpleasantly:  
*Condemn'd of all he was, for that  
He never any child begat.*

30 And therefore *Euripides* to this purpose spake right well:  
*Soule-songs, dirges, libations funerall  
Faire Phœbus please not, he takes them not at all.*

And before him, *Stesichorus*:

*Apollo joies in mery songs,  
in dances, sports and plaies:  
But Pluto takes delight in sighs,  
in groanes and plaints alwaies.*

And *Sophocles* seemeth evidently to attribute unto either of them their muscicall instruments, by these verses:

40 *The Psalterie and pleasant Lute,  
With dolefull mores do not well sute.*

For very late it was, and but the other day to speake of, that the pipe and hautboies durst presume to sound, and be heard in matters of mirth and delight: but in former times it drew folke to mourning and sorrow, to heaue funerals & convoies of the dead, and in such cases and services employed it was, as it were not very honourable nor jocund and delectable; howsoever after, it came to be intermingled in all occasions one with another. Mary they especially, who confusedly have hudled the worship of the gods with the service of Dæmons, brought those instruments in request and reputation.

But to conclude, it seemeth that this Mot E1, is somewhat contrary unto the precept *Tristes* 50 *numen*, and yet after a sort to accord and agree therewith. For as the one is a word of devout admiration and reverent worship directed to God, as eternall and everlasting: so the other is an advertisement given unto men mortall, to put them in minde of their fraile and weake nature.





# AN EXPLANATION OF SUNDRY TEARMES SOMEWHAT

obscure, in this translation of *Plutarch*, in favour  
of the unlearned Reader; after the order  
of the Alphabet.

**A.**  
**A.** *Ulu*, A forename among the Romans.  
**A.** *Abyrtsee*, A deintie kinde of meate, with the Medes & other Barbarous nations, sharpe & quicke of

taste to provoke and please the appetite, composed of Leeks, Garlike, Cresses, Senecio, Pomgranate kernels, and such like.

**Academie**, A shadowy place full of groves, a mile distant from *Athens*, where *Plato* the Philosopher was borne, and wherein hee taught. Of it, the Academicke Philosophers tooke their name; whose manner was to discourse and dispute of all questions, but to determine and resolve of nothing. And for the great frequency and concourse of scholars to that place, our Universities and great schooles of learning, be named Academies.

**Aediles**, Certaine magistrates or officers in *Rome*: who were of two sorts; *Plebeij* and *Curules*. *Plebeij*, of the Commons onely, two in number, more ancient than the other; chosen by the people alone, to second and assist the Tribunes of the Commons, as their right hands. This name they tooke of the charge which they had to mainteine temples and chapels: albeit they registred the Sanctions and Acts of the people, called *Plebiscita*, and kept the same in their owne custodie; were Clerks of the Market, and looked to weights and measures, &c. yea, and exhibited the games and playes named *Plebeij*. *Curules* were likewise twain, elected out of the order and degree of the *Patrij*: so called of the Yvorie chaire wherein they were allowed to sit, as officers of greater state; and by vertue whereof, in some cases, and at certain times they might exercise civill jurisdiction. It belonged un-

to these to set forth the solemnities, called *Ludi Magni* or *Romani*: overseers they were likewise of the buildings thoroughout the city, as well publike as private, in manner of the *Astynomi* in *Athens*: they had regard unto the publike vaults, sinks, conveniences, and conduits of the waters that served the city, as also to the Arsenall, &c. Moreover, they had power to attach the bodies of great persons: and were charged to see unto the provision of corne and victuals. At the first, none but of noble families or Patricians were advanced to this place: but in processe of time, Commoners also attained thereto. More of them; & how in *Julius Caesar's* time there were elected six *Aediles*, whereof two were named *Cereales*; See *Alexander* at *Alexander*, lib. 4. cap. 4. Genial. dieti.

**Aeginetteke**, *Mna* or *Mina*, Seemeth to be the ancient coine or money of *Greece*: for they were the first that coined money: and of them came *εμιστρα* *asynatov*, *Calius Rhodig.*

**Acolus** *Modus*, In Musicke a certaine simple, plaine and mild tune, apt to procure sleepe and bring folke to bed.

**Aequinox**, That time of the yeere, when the daies and nights be of equall length; which hapneth twice in the yeere, to wit, in March and September.

**Aestivall**, that is to say, Of the Summer: as the *Aestivall* Solstice or Tropicke of the Sunne, when he is come neerest unto us, and returneth Southward from us.

**Aloide** or *Alouade*, were *Othus* and *Ephialtes*, two giants, so named of *Aloeus* the giant their supposed father: for of his wife *Sphimodia*, *Neptune* begat them. It is said, that every moneth they grew nine fingers.

**Alphabet**, The order or row of Greeke letters as they stand; so called of *Alpha* and *Beta*, the two formost letters: and it answereth to our A. B. C.

Zzzzz

Alternative,

## An explanation of certaine obscure words.

*Alternative*, By course or turnes, one after another; going and coming, &c.

*Amphictyones*, Were a certain solemne councill of State in *Greece*, who held twice in the yeere a meeting, in the Spring and Autumne, at *Thermopyle*; being assembled from the 12 flourishing cities of *Greece*: there to consult of most important affaires.

*Amphitheatre*, A spacious shew-place; in forme round, and made as it were of two Theaters. See *Theater*.

*Amphora*, A measure in *Rome* of liquors only. It seemeth to take that name of the two eares it had, of either side one: it contained eight *Congius*, which are somewhat under as many of our wine gallons.

*Amnets*, Preservatives hung about the necke, or otherwise worn, against witchcraft, poison, eiebiting, sickness, or any other evils.

*Anarchie*, The state of a city or countrey without government.

*Andria*, A societie of men, meeting together in some publicke hall for to eat and drinke: Instituted first among the Thebans, like to the *Phiditia* in *Lacedemon*.

*Annales*, Histories, Records, or Chronicles, containing things done from yere to yere.

*Anniversarie*, Comming once every yeere, at a certaine time: as the Nativity of *Christ*, and *Sturbridge faire*, &c.

*Antarctike*, That is to say, Opposit unto the Arcticke. See *Arcticke*.

*Antidote*, A medicine, properly taken inwardly against a poison or some pestilent and venomous disease. A counterpoison or preservative.

*Antipathie*, A repugnance in nature, by reason of contrarie affections; whereby some can not abide the smell of roses, others may not endure the sight of a Cat, &c.

*Antiparistasis*, A cohibition or restraint on every side; whereby either colde or heat is made stronger in it selfe by the restraining of the contrary: as the naturall heat of our bodies in Winter, through the coldnesse of the aire compassing it about: likewise, the coldnesse of the middle region of the aire in Summer, by occasion of the heat on both sides causing thunder and haile, &c.

*Amiphonie*, A noise of contrarie sounds.

*Antipodes*, Those people who inhabit under and beneath our Hemisphere, and go with their feet full against ours.

*Apathie*, Impassibilitie, or voidnesse of all affections and passions.

*Apaturn*, A feast solemnized for the space of

four daies at *Athens* in the honour of *Bacchus*. So called of *Apare*, that is to say, Deceit: because *Xanthus* the Boeotian was in single fight slaine deceitfully by *Thimoetes* the Athenian. For the tale goeth, that while they were in combat, *Bacchus* appeared behind *Xanthus*, clad in a goats skinner: and when *Thimoetes* charged his concurrent for coming into the field with an assistant; as he looked backe, he was killed by *Thimoetes* abovenamed.

*Apologie*, A plea for the defence or excuse of any person.

*Apotegme*, A short sententious speech.

*Apoplexie*, A disease coming suddenly in manner of a stroke, with an universall astonishment and deprivation of sense and motion, which either causeth death quickly; or else endeth in a dead palsy.

*Archontes*, Were chiefe magistrates at *Athens*, at first every tenth yeere; and afterwards yeerely chosen by lot, unto whom the rule of the common-wealth in their popular state was committed: of whom the first was named *basileus*, that is to say, King: the second, *Archon*, that is to say, Ruler: the third, *Polemarchus*: and the other six, *Thesmothei*.

*Arctick*, that is to say, Northerly; so called of *Arctos* in Greeke, which signifieth the Beare, that is to say, those conspicuous seven starrs in the North, named *Charlemains* waine; neere unto which is that pole or point of the imaginarie axell-tree, about which the heavens turne, which thereupon is named, The pole Arctick: and over against it, underneath our Hemisphere, is the other pole, called *Antarctick*, in the South part of the world.

*Aristocratie*, A forme of Government, or a State wherein the nobles and best men be Rulers.

To *Aromatize*, that is to say, To season or make pleasant, by putting thereto some sweete and odoriferous spices.

*Astragale Masta*, A scourge or whip, the strings whereof are set and wrought with ankle-bones, called *Astragali*, thereby to give a more grievous lash.

*Atomi*, Indivisible bodies like to mores in the Sunne beames; of which *Democritus* and *Epicurus* imagined all things to be made.

*Atrocipure*, that is to say, The most fine and eloquent: for in *Athens* they spake the purest Greeke; inasmuch as *Thucydides* called

## An explanation of certaine obscure words.

led it *irada* *irada*, that is to say, Greece of Greece, as one would say, the very quintessence of Greece.

*Averruncus* or *Averruncani*, Were gods among the Romans, supposed to put by and chase away evils and calamities: such as *Hercules* and *Apollo* among the Greekes, called thereupon *Apotropai*.

*Augures*, *Plutarch* seemeth to take for *Augures*, that is to say, Certaine priests or soothsayers, who by the inspection and observation of birds did foretell future things.

*Axiomes*, Were principal propositions in Logick, of as great authoritie and force as *Maximes* in law: and it should seeme that those *Maximes* be derived corruptly from *Axiomes*.

### B

*Bacchanalia*, named also *Dionysia*, Certain licentious festivall solemnities in the honor of *Bacchus*, performed at the first by day light, and afterward in the night season, with all manner of filthy wantonnesse: instituted first in *Athens*, and other cities of *Greece* every three yeeres: in *Aegypt* also: at last they were taken vp in *Italy* and at *Rome*.

*Bacchiade*, A noble familie in *Corinth*, who for the space almost of 200. yeeres there ruled.

*Bacchylion*, A song or daunce, which seemeth to take the name of a famous Tragedian poet named *Bacchylus*, who devised and practised it like as *Pyladion*, of *Pylades*, as notable a Comedian.

*Barbarisme*, A rude and corrupt manner of speech, full of barbarous and absurd words.

*Basis*, The flat, piedfall or foote of a Colunne, pillar, statue, or such like, whereupon it standeth.

*Basarches*, or *Basarche*, The foueraigne magistrate or Ruler of the Boeotians.

*Beatus*, a kinde of Measure or Note in Musick used in *Boetia*.

### C

*Caius*, A common forename to many families in *Rome*, and *Caia* to the woman kinde: as usuall as *John* and *Jane* with us, as appeareth by this forme of speech ordinary in marriage; Where thou art *Caius*, I will be *Caia*.

*Calends*. See *Kalends*.

*Callosities*, Hardnesse in manner of brawn, as in the skinn of hands or feet, occasioned by much labour and travail.

*Cancerom*, that is to say, Resembling a certaine hard tumor or swelling; occasioned by melancholicke blood, named a *Cancer*, for the likenesse it hath to a crab-fish, (named in Latine *Cancer*) partly, for the swelling veins appearing about it, like unto the feet or cleis of the said fish: and in part, for that it is not easily removed, no more than the crab if it once settle to a place: & lastly, because the colour is not much unlike. This swelling if it breake out into an ulcer, hardly or unneeth admitteth any cure, and by some is called a *Wolfe*.

*Candyli*, A kind of dainty meat made with honny and milke.

*Candys*, an ornament of the Persians, Medians, and other East nations; much like to a *Diademe*.

*Catamite*, A boy abused against kinde: a baggage.

*Cataplasme*, A pulvisse or grosse maner of plaster.

To *Cauterize*, To burne or seare with a red hot iron or other metall.

*Cenotaph*, An emptie Tombe or Sepulcher, wherein no corps is interred.

*Censours*, Magistrates of State in *Rome*, whose charge was to valew and estimate mens goods, and enroll them accordingly in their severall ranges: Also to demite unto certaine farmers, called *Publicanes*, the publicke profits of the city for a rent, and to put forth the city works unto them; to be undertaken at a price. Likewise their office it was to oversee mens maners, whereby oftentimes they would deprive Senators of their dignitie: take from Gentlemen their horses of service and rings: displace commanders out of their owne tribe: disable them for giving voices; and make them *Exarij*.

*Centre*, The middle pricke of a circle or globe, equally distant from the circumference thereof.

*Centumviri*, A certaine Court of Judges in *Rome*, chosen three out of every tribe. And albeit there were 35. tribes, and the whole number by that account amounted to an hundred and five; yet in round reckoning, and by custome, they went under the name of an hundred, and therefore were called *Centumviri*.

*Cercopes*, Certaine ridiculous people inhabiting the land *Pithersa*, having tailed like monkeys, good for nought but to make sport.



## An explanation of certaine obscure words.

ther of the cause in a disease, or the constitution and nature of the patient, goe boldly to worke with those meanes and medicines whereof they had experience in others, fall it out as it would.

**Empusa.** A certaine vaine and fantastical illusion, sent by the diuell, or as the Painims say, by *Hecate*, for to fright infortunate folke. Appeare it doth in diuers formes, and seemeth to go with one legge (whereupon it tooke the name, *quasi le paruum*) for one foote or legge it hath of brasse, the other of an assey; and therefore it is named also *diuandus* or *diuandus*.

**Encomiasticall.** Pertaining to the praise of a thing or person.

**Endrome.** A kinde of bickering or conflict.

**Endymia.** A kinde of daunce or Muscical Note.

**Enharmonion.** one of the three generall sorts of Musicke: long of many parts, or a curious concent of sundry tunes.

**Enthymemes.** unperfect syllogismes, or short reasonings, when one of the premisses is not expressed, yet so understood, as the conclusion nevertheless is inferred.

**Epais.** The day put to, or set in, to make the leape yeere.

**Ephori.** Certaine Magistrates or Superintendents for the people in *Sparta*, in opposition to the kings, and to take downe their regall power: such as were the Tribunes of the Commons at *Rome*, ordeined for to abridge the Consuls absolute authoritie.

**Epiati.** Be fevers of the Quotidian kind, that is continuall: they have an unequal distemperature, both of colde and heat at once: but the heat seemeth to be milde and gentle at the first: whereupon they tooke that name. These fevers also, for the same reason be called *peripneumonia*.

**Epidemiall diseases.** Such as are occasioned by some common cause, and therefore spread, and take hold of all persons indifferently in a tract or city: as the pestilence.

To **Epitomize**, To relate or pen a thing briefly and by way of an abbreviary.

**Epitritos.** The proportion sesquitercion, whereby eight exceedeth sixe, namely by a third part.

**Etymologie.** the knowledge of the originall of words, and from whence they be derived.

**Evisation.** Gelding, or disabling for the act of generation.

**Exharmonians.** Discords or dissonances in Musicke.

**Exstase, or Ecstase.** A trauce or transportation of the minde, occasioned by rage, admiration, feare, &c.

## F

**Fatulent.** Windy, or engendering winde: as pease and beanes, be flatulent meat.

**Fomentations.** in *Physicke*, be properly devised, for to be applied unto any greived part: either to comfort and cherish it; or to allay the paine; or else to open the pores of the skinn, and to make way for plaisters and ointments to worke their effects the better. Laid to they are by the meanes of bladders, sponges, wollen clothes, or quilts and such like.

**Fungosity.** A light and holow substance, such as wee may perceiue, in sponges, mushrooms, fusse bals, elder pith, &c.

## G

**Galli.** The furious priests of dame *Cybele*, the great mother of the gods, honored in *Phrygia*: It is supposed that they tooke that name of *Gallus* the river; the water whereof if they dranke liberally, they fell into a furious rage, and cut off their owne genetours.

**Gracostasis.** A withdrawing gallerie or place in *Rome*, neere unto the Senate house *Curia Hostilia*: where Greeks and other foreigne Embassadors staid and gave attendance.

**Gymnasticall.** Belonging the publicke places of exercise, where youth was trained up to wrestling and other feates of activitie: the which places were called *Gymnasia*.

**Gymnick games or plaies.** performed or practised by those who were naked.

**Gymnopaedia.** or *Gymnopaedia*, a certaine daunce, that the Lacedaemonian children were trained in, barefoot; untill they proceeded to another more warlike, called *Pyrhica*.

**Gymnosophists.** Philosophers of *India*, who went naked, and led beside a most austere and precise life.

## H

**Habite.** In our bodies, is either the substantiall constitution thereof; whereby we terme the evill habite (in Greeke) *κακία*, whenas the bodie milliketh and thriveeth not; and the good habite *εὐία* (in Greeke) when it prospereth: or els the outward parts; and so we say sweats, pocks, me-

zels,

## An explanation of certaine obscure words.

zels, and scabs, are driven forth to the habite of the body by strength of nature.

**Harmonicall Musicke.** See *Enharmonia*.

**Hemioli.** Proportion sesquialterall: containing the whole & halfe; as twelve to eight.

**Hemisphaire.** that is to say, The halfe sphere or globe, used commonly for that part of the heaven which is in our sight.

**Hexameter.** A verse consisting of six measures, called feete.

**Hexatones.** Having six tones or six strings.

**Hieroglyphicks.** The Aegyptians sacred Philosophie, delivered not in characters and letters, but under the forme of living creatures and other things engraven.

**Holocaust.** A whole burnt sacrifice: whereas ordinarily they burnt upon the altar, onely the inward of the beast.

**Homonymie.** the double or manifold signification of a word or sentence, which is the occasion of ambiguity and doubts.

**Horizon.** That circle that determineth our sight, and divideth the one halfe of the sphere of heaven above, from that which is under, out of our sight.

**Horoscope.** the obseruation of the houre and time of ones nativitie, together with the figure of the heavens at that very instant; and that forth in the East.

**Hypate, hypaton.** Principall of principals. A base string in a Muscicall instrument: or a note in the scale of Musicke, *B, M.*

**Hypate Meson.** A meane string or note in Musicke: principall of meanes, *B, L, A, M.*

**Hypate.** The base string in a lute or other stringed instrument; so called, because it is feared highest & is principall. And yet it may seeme in vocall Musicke, as *Lambinus* taketh it in *Horace*, to be the small treble, by that which he writeth of *Tigellus*, who long *To Bacche, modo summa Voce, modo hac, resonat choridis quae quatuor ima:* where by *summa* he meaneth the treble, and *ima* the base. Also *Boetius* (as *Erasmus* upon the proverb *Di Diapason*, observeth) writeth the contrary, namely, that *Hypate* is the lowest or base; and *Nete* the highest or treble. Neither doth *Plutarch* seeme to agree alwaies with himselfe in these termes.

**Hyperbolyaum.** A traine in Musick, belonging to their scale, & appropriate to the trebles, that is to say, it signifieth Excellent or exceeding.

**Hyporchema.** An hymne and daunce unto *Apollo*, performed by children with a noise of pipes before them, in the time of pesti-

lence, and thereupon it was also called *Pain*.

**Hypotheticall propositions.** such as are pronounced with a supposition.

## I

**Iambus.** A measure or foote in verse, consisting of two syllables, the former short, the other long: it is put also for the verse made thereof.

**Iambic verses.** be they which stand upon such feete. If of foure, they be called *Quaternarii*: if of six, *Senarii*: if of eight, *Octonarii*. Now for that this kinde of foote runneth very quicke, two of them together be reckoned but for one measure: and therefore the said verses, be termed also *Dimetri*, *Trimetri*, and *Tetrametri*, as if they had but two, three, & foure feete or measures.

**Isoctadron.** A Geometrical solid body, representing twenty sides or faces, distinguished by their severall lines and angles.

**Idea.** The formes of things ferled in the divine intelligence or heavenly minde, according to which as paterns, by *Platoes* doctrine all things were made.

**Idai Dactyl.** were certaine servitours unto *Cybele*, brethren all, called otherwise *Corybantes* and *Cuertes*. But whether they were Daemons, fanaticall men, or couleing impostors, it is not agreed upon among writers: neither how many they were, or why so called. See *Natalis Comis Mytholog*.

\* But heere I must not forget to note, that in the Page 257 line 50, instead of *Idai* *Idai* *Idai* some read *Idai* *Idai* *Idai*, that is to say, of their owne fingers. *Calius Rhodig. Leis. Amig. lib. 17. cap. 12.*

**Identity.** that is to say, The samenesse, or being the very same.

**Idus or Ides.** Eight daies in every moneth, derived of an old word *Iduo* to divide, for that they commonly fall about the midst of the moneth, namely upon the thirteene or fiftene daies, according to *Horace*: *Idus tibi sunt agenda; Quid dies mensis veneris marinae, fudit Aprilis.*

To **Incaruate**, that is to say, to make flesh, or helpe that the flesh may grow: and so certaine salves or medicines be called incarnatives.

To **Incrassate**, that is to say, to make thicke and grosse.

**Intercalar daies.** that is to say, set or put betwene, as the odde daie in the leape yeere.

*Interstice,*

## An explanation of certeine obscure words.

*Interſpace*, that is to ſay, The ſpace or diſtance betweene.

*Inumbration*, that is to ſay, Shadowing.

*Ioniſke Muſicke*, Gallant and galliardlike: pleaſant or delectable.

*Iſonomie*, An æquability of government under the ſame lawes, indifferently miniſtred to all perſons: As alſo an æquality of right which all men doe enjoy in one ſtate: And an æquall diſtribution unto all perſons, not according to Arithmetically, but Geometrically proportion.

*Iſthmus*, A narrow banke of land lying betweene two ſeas, as namely, that of *Corinth* and *Peloponneſus*: and by analogie thereto, all ſuch are ſo called. By a metaphor alſo, other things that ſerve as partitions, be ſo termed.

*Iſthmick games*, Were thoſe which were performed nere *Corinth* upon the ſaide *Iſthmus*: inſtituted as ſome thinke, by *Teſſeus*, to the honour of *Melicerta*, otherwiſe named *Palæmon* and *Portamnus*.

### K

*Kalends*, Was among the Romans the firſt day of the Moneth, or the very day of the new Moone, which commonly did concurre and fall out together: *Næmenia* in Greeke. But ſo called ἀπὸ τῆς καλῆς, that is to ſay, a *Calando*, becauſe the Priſt ſtuffed then to call the people unto the court *Calabra*, and there to pronounce unto them how many daies there were to the *Nones*, &c.

### L

*Læcius*, A forename to divers families in *Rome*.

To *Læconize*, that is to ſay, To imitate the Lacedæmonians, either in ſhort and pithy ſpeech, or in hard life.

*Laſtitude*, that is to ſay, Wearineſſe.

*Lateral motions*, that is to ſay, Moovings to a ſide; for diſtinction of thoſe that be circular, mounting upright or deſcending downward.

*Libations*, or *Libaments*, Affaires of ſacrifices, or offerings to the gods; eſpecially of liquid things, as wine.

*Lichnes*, A ſtring of an inſtrument or note in Muſicke: Index: In an inſtrument: the forefinger ſtring or third: in the *GAM-UT*, or ſcale, *D*, *SOL*, *RE*, and *C*, *SOL*, *RE*, *UT*, according to the addition of Hypatôn or Meſôn.

*Liturgia*, Any publicke function: but more

particularly for the miniſterie in the church, about divine ſervice and worſhip of God.

*Lydiu Modus*, *Lydiu Muſicke*, dolefull and lamentable.

*Lyceum*, or *Lyceum*, A famous place nere to *Athens*, wherein *Ariſtote* taught Philoſophie. His followers, becauſe they conferred and diſputed walking in this *Lyceum*, were called *Peripatetici*.

*Lyrical poets*, Such as compoſed ditties and ſongs to be ſung unto the Lute or ſuch like ſtringed inſtruments.

### M

*M. Arcu*, *M. Manius*, with the note of apoſtrophus, Forenames of ſundry houſes in *Rome*.

*Medimnus*, A meſure containing fixe *Modj* Roman; and may goe with us for a buſhel and three pecks of London meſure, or thereabout.

*Megarian queſtions*, that is to ſay, Such as were propounded and debated among the Philoſophers *Megareſes*: for there was a ſect of them, taking name of the place; like as the *Cyrenaiks*: for *Euclides* and *Stilpo* were *Megarians*.

*Mercenarie*, that is to ſay, Hirelings, or ſuch as take wages.

*Meſe*, The middle ſtring or meane: it endeth on Eight, and beginneth the other in the ſcale of Muſicke. In the *GAM-UT*, *A*, *LA*, *MI*, *RE*.

*Metamorphoſed*, that is to ſay, Tranſmuted and changed.

*Metaphyſicks*, that is to ſay, Supernatural. The firſt and principall part of Philoſophy in the intention, although it be laſt attained unto, as unto which all other knowledge ſerveth, and is to be referred. The Philoſophers Theologie or Divinity, treating of intelligible and viſible things.

*Meteors*, Be impreſſions gathered in the aire above; as thunder, lightning, blaſting ſtars, and ſuch like.

*Mimi*, Were actors upon the ſtage, repreſenting ridiculouslly the ſpeech and geſture of others; jettlers and vices in a play: Alſo certeine Poemes or plaies, more laſcivious than Comœdies, and fuller of obſcene wantonneſſe. The authors of ſuch were called *Mimographi*, as *Luberius*.

*Mina*, or *Mna*, A weight, anſwering to *Libra*, that is to ſay, a pound. Alſo come valued at ſo much.

*Minervall*,

## An explanation of certeine obscure words.

*Minervall*, The ſtipend or wages paid unto a Schoole-maſter for the inſtitution and teaching of ſcholars; derived of *Minerva*, the preſident of learning and good arts.

*Mixolidian tune*, that is to ſay, Lamentable and pitfull: meet for Tragedies.

*Monarchie*, The absolute government of a ſtate, by one prince. Royalty.

*Mordacitive*, that is to ſay, Biting and ſtinging: as muſtard ſeed, Pelletary of Spaine.

*Muſcles*, The brawny or fleſhy parts of the bodie.

*Mythologie*, A fabulous Narration: or the delivery of matters by way of fables and tales.

### N

*Nemeia*, Certaine ſolemne games inſtituted in the honour of *Hercules* for killing a lion in the foreſt *Nemea*; or as ſome thinke, in the remembrance of *Archemorus* a yong babe killed by a ſerpent.

*Nete*, The loweſt or laſt ſtring in an inſtrument, anſwering to the treble, and oppoſite to Hypate. Some take it cleane contrary, for the baſe. See *Hypate*: and *Eraſmus* upon the Adage, *Dis diapſon*.

*Nete Diezeugmenon*; A treble ſtring or note of muſicke, laſt of diſjuncts. *E*, *LA*, *MI*.

*Nete Hyperbolaan*, the laſt of trebles: *A*, *LA*, *MI*, *RE*.

*Nete Synnemenon* or *Syzeugmenon*, The laſt of the conjuncts: a ſtring or note in muſicke, *D*, *LA*, *SOL*.

*Niglary*, Are thought to be notes or tunes in muſicke, powerfull to encourage. See *Schoolaſtin Ariſtoph*.

*Nones*, Were certeine daies in the moneth: ſo called, becauſe they began evermore the ninth day before the Ides, honored by the Romans both for the birth day of king *Servius*, and alſo for the chaſing out of the kings: for otherwiſe it was not feſtival; according as *Ovid* writeth, *NONARUM INTELLEO CARET*.

*Novenary number*, that is to ſay, Nine.

### O

*Obolus*, A certeine weight: halfe a ſcripſul or ſcripſul, the fixt part of a drachme or ſomewhat better in *Greece*: alſo a ſmall coine, current for eight chalci, which in ſilver is a peny and farthing.

*Oſtædæra*, A Geometricall body of eight baſes, ſides or faces, diſtinct by their angles.

*Oeconomie*, Houſe-government: or the Adminiſtration and diſpoſe of houſhold affaires.

*Oligarchie*, A ſtate of government, wherein a few, and thoſe properly of the wealthier fort, rule the common wealth.

*Olympiades*, were the ſpace of thoſe foure yeeres, according to which the Grecians reckoned the time: as the Romans did by their luſtra; and Chriſtians, by the yeere of our lord.

*Olympicke* or *Olympiani* games, were inſtituted firſt by *Hercules* in the honour of *Jupiter Olympius*; or of *Pelops*, as ſome thinke: and celebrated with a ſolemne affluence and concourſe from all parts of *Greece* every foure yeeres complet once, betwene *Piſa* and *Elis*, in a plaine called *Olympia*: where alſo ſtood the temple of *Jupiter Olympius*.

*Oracle*, An anſwer or ſentence given by the devil, or the ſuppoſed gods of the heathen: alſo the place where ſuch anſwers were delivered.

*Organe*, An Inſtrument. And our body is ſaid to be Organically, becauſe the ſoule performeth her operations by the parts thereof as inſtruments.

*Orthios Nomos*, In muſicke a tune or ſong exceeding high and incentive; which when *Timotheus* ſung before king *Alexander*, he was ſo moved and incited, that preſently he leapt forth and tooke armes.

*Orthographi*, That part of Grammar which teacheth the feat of writing truly: alſo, true writing it ſelfe.

*Oſtraciſme*, In *Athens* A condemnation and conſining for ten yeeres ſpace of that perſon, who was thought to grow greater in wealth, reputation and opinion of vertue or otherwiſe, than the democratic or free popular eſtate would well beare, ordained firſt by *Cliftenes*: who for his labour was himſelfe firſt condemned. It tooke the name of *Oſtratos*, a ſhell or little potherd, wherein his name was written, whom any of the people was in that behalfe offended with; and meant to expell the city. And if the major part of the people noted one in this maner, he was ſent away. It differed from baniſhment, becauſe no perſon loſt by *Oſtraciſme* goods or lands: againe the time was limited, and the certeine place ſet downe, where he ſhould abide. In this ſort *Ariſtides* the juſt, valiant *Themisto*cles and other good men were driven out.

*Oxyrynchos*,



## An explanation of certaine obscure words.

*Oxyrynchos*, A fish, so called, of a long sharpe beake or snout that it hath.

P

*Pæan* The name of *Apollo*. An hymne also to *Apollo* and *Diana* for to avert plague, warre, or any calamity: *ᾠδὴ πæαν*, which signifieth to strike or to heale, or of *παύω*, to stay or make to cease.

*Pæderasti*, The loving of yong boies: commonly taken in the ill part, as signifying the abuse of them against kinde.

*Pægnia*, Pleasant poems or merry ditties for delight.

*Pæon*, or *Pæon*, The name of *Apollo*; and of a metrical foot in verse, of which Pæans are composed: and it is duple, to wit of foure syllables, either the first long, and the other three short, or the first short and the other three long: it is named also *Pæan*: also an epithet of *Apollo*.

To *Palliat*, that is to say, To cover or hide: and so such cures be called Palliative, which search not to the roote or cause of the disease, but give a shew onely of a perfect cure; as when a fore is healed up aloft, and festereth underneath. And thus sweet pomanders doe palliat a stinking breath, occasioned by a corrupt stomacke or diseased lungs and such like.

*P. Publius*, A forename to some Romane families.

*Panathæna*, A solemnity held at *Athens*: wherein the whole city men, women and children were assembled. And such games, dances and plaies as were then exhibited; or what orations were then and there made, they called *Panathænai*. Of two sorts these solemnities were: once every yeere; and once every fifth yeere, which were called the greater.

*Paneratium*, *Plutarch* taketh for an exercise of activity or mixt game of fist-fight and wrestling. Howbeit other writers will have it to be an exercise of wrestling, wherein one indevoureth with hand and foot, and by all parts of his body to foile his adversary: as also the practise of all the five feats of activity, which is called *Pentathlon* and *Quinqueterium*: to wit, \*buffeting, wrestling, running leaping and coiting,

*Paneratist*, One that is skilfull and professed in the said Paneracion.

*Parame*, Next the meane or middle string. A note in musike: B, F, A, E, M, I, in space.

*Paranete Hyperbolaan*, A treble string or note

in musike: the last fave one of trebles: G, SOL, RE, UT.

*Panegyricke*, Feasts, games, faïres, matts, pompes, shewes, or any such solemnities, performed or exhibited, before the generall assembly of a whole nation: such as were the *Olympicke*, *Pythicke*, *Isthmicke*, and *Nemian* games in *Greece*. Orations likewise to the praise of any person at such an assembly, be called *Panegyricall*.

*Paradox*, A strange or admirable opinion held against the common conceit of men: such as the *Stoicks* maintained.

*Periode*, A circuit or compasse certainly kept: as we may observe in the course of *Sunne* and *Moon*, and in the revolution of times and seasons: in some ages also and other sicknesses, that keepe a just time of their returne, called therefore *Periodicall*. Also the traine of a full sentence to the end, and the very end it selfe, is named a *Periode*.

*Paranete Diezeugmenon*, A treble string or note in Musike: the last fave one of disjuncts: D, LA, SOL, RE.

*Paranete Symmenon* or *Syzeugmenon*: C, SOL, FA.

*Parhypate hypaton*, that is to say, Subprincipal of principals. A string or note in Musike: C, FA, UT.

*Parhypate Meson*, that is to say, Subprincipal of meanes: a string or note in Musike: F, FA, UT.

*Peripateticks*, A sect of Philosophers, the followers of *Aristotle*: See *Licium*.

*Phidritia*, Where publicke halls in *Lacedæmon*, where all sorts of citizens, rich and poore, one with another met to eat and drinke together, at the publicke charges and had equal parts allowed.

*Philippicks*, Were invective orations made by *Demosthenes* the Oratour, against *Philip* king of *Macedony*, for the liberty of *Greece*. And heereupon all invectives may be called *Philippicke*, as those were of *M. Tullius Cicero* against *Antonie*.

*Phrygius Modus*, *Phrygian* tune or musike, otherwise called *Barbaricus*: mooving to devotion, used in sacrifices and religious worship of the gods: for so some interpret *Entheon* in *Lucianus*: others take it for incensing and stirring to furie.

To *Pinguise*, that is to say, To make fat.

*Plethoricall plight*, that is to say, That state of the body, which being full of bloud and other humours, needeth evacuation: whether the said fulnesse be, *ad vasa*, as the Physicians

## An explanation of certaine obscure words.

Physicians say, when the said bloud and humours be otherwise commendable, but offending onely in quality: or, *ad vires*, when the same be distempered and offensive to nature, and therefore would be ridde away; which state is also called *Cacochymie*.

*Polemarchus*, One of the nine Archontes or head magistrates in the popular state of *Athens*, chosen as the rest yeerely. Who notwithstanding that he retained the name of *Polemarchus*, that is to say, a Captaine generall in the field, such as in the Sovereigne government of the kings, were employed in warres and martiall service under them: yett appeareth that they had civill jurisdiction, and ministred justice, between citizens & aliens, of who there were many in *Athens*; like as the Archon for the time being, was judge for the citizens onely. Assistants he had twaine, named *Paredri*, who sat in commission with him.

*Poliarches*, A surname of *Demetrius*, a valiant king of *Macedonie*, and sonne of king *Antigonus*: which addition was given unto him for beleeving of so many cities.

*Polypragmon*, A curious busie body, who loveth to meddle in many matters.

*Pores*, The little holes of the skinne, through which sweat passeth, and fumes breath forth.

*Positons*, Such sentences or opinions as are held in disputation.

*Prætor*, One of the superiour Magistrates of *Rome*. In the citie he ruled as L. chiefe justice, and exercised civill jurisdiction: Abroad in the province, he commanded as L. Governour, Deputie, or Lieutenant Generall: In the field, he was L. General, as well as the Consul. At first, the name of Consul, Prætor, and judge was all one.

*Primices*, First fruits.

*Problemes*, that is to say, Questions propounded to be discussed.

*Procatartickæ causes of sicknesses*, Be such as are evident and coming from without, which yeeld occasion of disease, but do not mainteine the same: as the heat of the *Sunne*, causing headach or the ague.

*Prognosticke*, that is to say, Foreknowing and foretelling: as the signes in a disease which forefigure death or recovery.

*Proscription*, an outlawing of persons in *Rome*, with confiscation of their goods, and selling the same in portsale: and depriving them of publicke protection.

*Proslambomene*, A, π, ε, a terme in Musike, signifying (a String or Note) taken in or to: for otherwise of two Heptachords, there would not arise 15. to admit a place in the middle for *Mele*; that is to say, the Meane, to take part of two Eights, or two Diapasons.

*Prophæia*, A certaine hymne or tune thereto, in manner of supplication to the gods, and namely to *Apollo* and *Diana*, at what time as a sacrifice was to be brought and presented before the altar.

*Protelcia*, The sacrifice before marriage: as also the gifts that ceremoniously went before.

*Prytanæum*, A stately place within the castell of *Athens*, wherein was a court held for judgement in certaine causes: where also they who had done the Common-wealth singular service, were allowed their diet at the cities charges, which was accounted the greatest honour that could be.

*Parhypate Hypaton*, A base string or note in musike, Subprincipal of principals: C, FA, UT.

*Parhypate Meson*, Subprincipal of meanes, a meane string or note, F, FA, UT.

*Pyladion*, In musike a kinde of note bearing the name of *Pylades*, a Poet comicall and skilfull master in musike.

*Pyramidal*, Formed like unto the *Pyramis*, which is a geometrical body, solid, broad beneath, and rising up one all sides which be flat and plaine, unto a sharpe point like a steeple. It taketh the name of *πυρ*, that is to say, Fire, which naturally hath that figure.

*Pythia*, or *Phæbas*, The priestesse or prophetesse, who pronounced the answers at the oracle of *Apollo Pythius* at *Delphos*: who tooke that name of *Pythion* there flaine by him and lying putrified: or of *πυθιεύς*, that is to say, To aske and demand; for the resort of people thither to be resolved by him of their doubts.

*Pythick*, or *Pythian* games, were celebrated to the honour of *Apollo Pythius*, neere the city *Delphos*, with greate solemnity: instituted first by *Diomedes* and yeerely renewed.

Q

*Quintus*, A fore name to divers Romanes.

*Quaternary*, the number of Four: called likewise *τετρας* and *τετράγνυς*, so highly celebrated by

\* Or lancing the dart.

## An explanation of certeine obscure words.

\* Calias Rhodig.

by the Pythagoreans, comprising in it the proportion Epitritos, whereof ariseth the musically harmonie\* Diatessaron; for it containeth three and the third part of three: also Diapason, because it comprehendeth two duple, whence ariseth the musick diapason: and Disdiapason, being doubled, which is an Eight & the perfect harmony, according to the proverbe *amur' boni*: also in that, it containeth all numbers within it; for, one, two, three and foure arise to Ten, beyond which we cannot ascend but by repetition of former numbers.

**Quaestors**, inferior officers in Rome in manner of Treasurers: whose charge was to receive and lay out the cities money and renewes of state: of which sort, there were urbani, for the city it selfe: Provinciales, for the provinces: and Castrenses, for the campe and their warres.

**Quinquerrum**, named in Greeke, Pentathlon. Five exercises or feats of activity among the greekes practised at their solemne games: namely \* launcing the dart, throwing the coit, running a race, wrestling and leaping. See Pancratium.

### R

**Radicall moisture**: Is the substantiall humidity in living bodies; which is so united with naturall heat, that the one maintaineth the other, and both preserve life.

**To Rarefie**, that is to say, To make more subtil, light and thin.

**Recidivation**, Is a relapse or falling backe into a sicknesse, which was in the way of recovery, and commonly is more dangerous than the former: *Recidiva peior radice*.

**Regens**, Professours in the liberal sciences and in Philosophie: a tearme usuall in the universities.

**Reverberation**, that is to say, A smiting or driving backe.

**Rhapsodie**, A sowing together or conjoining of those Poems and verses especially heroicke or hexametre, which before were loose and scattered: such as were those of *Homer*, when they were reduced into one entier body of *Ilias* and *Odyssea*. Those Poets also, who recite or pronounce such verses, were termed *Rhapsodi*.

**Rivals** and **Corrivals**, Counter-suitors: or those who make love together, unto one and the same woman.

**To Ruminare**, that is to say, To ponder and consider, or revolve a thing in the minde:

a borrowed speech from beaists that chew the cudde.

### S

**Satyri**, Woodwolves, or monstrous creatures with tailes, yet resembling in some sort, partly men & women, & in part goats, given much to venery and lasciviousnesse, whereupon they had that name: also to scurrill, trumping and jibing, for which they were also called *Silem*, especially when they grew aged; supposd by the rural herdsmen to be the faeries or gods (I would not else) of the woods.

**Satyræ** or **Satyrs** were certaine Poems received in place of *Comædia vetus*, detestling and reprooving the misdemeanours of people and their vices: at first by way of myrth and jest, not sharply and after a biting manner to the shame, disgrace or hurt of any person; such were they that *Horace* composd; howbeit they grew afterward to more diracity and licentiousnesse, noting in broad tearmes without respect all leandnesse, and sparing no degrees; as those were of *Juvenales* and *Persius* penning. Latine poets onely, handled this argument, both in the one sort and the other.

**Scammonie**, A medicinable plant, and the juice thereof issuing out of the roote when it is wounded or cut: it purgeth yellow choler strongly. The same juice or liquor being concrete or thickned and withall corrected is called *Dacrydium*; as one would say, the tears destilling from the roote: and is the same which the unlearned Apothecaries call *Diagridium*; as if forsooth it were some compound like their *Diaphanicon*.

**Scelet**, The dead body of a man artificially dried or tanned, for to be kept and seene a long time. It is taken also for a dead carcase of man or woman, represented with the bones onely, and ligaments.

**Scepticke philosophers**, VVho defended from *Pyrho*; so called, for that they would consider of all matters in question, but determine of none: and in this respect they were more precise than the Academicks.

**Scolia**, Were certeine songs and carols sung at feasts.

**Serutime**, A search, and properly a perusing of suffrages or voices, at elections or judiciall courts, for the triallor passing of any cause.

**Secundine**, The skinne that enwrappeth the childe or yong thing in the wombe: in women

## An explanation of certeine obscure words.

women the after-birth or later-birth; in beaists the heame.

**Senarie**, The number of fixe, also a kinde of verse. See *Iambus*.

**Septimane**, A weeke or seven-night. Also what soever falleth out upon the seventh daie, moneth, yeere, &c. as *Septimane setura*, in *Arnobius*, for children borne at the seventh month after conception; and *Septimane febres*, Agues returning with their fits every seventh day.

**Serg.** { *Servius* } Forenames to certeine families in Rome.  
**Serv.** { *Servius* }  
**Sex.** { *Sextus* }

**Sesquialteral**, A proportion, by which is ment that which containeth the whole and halfe againe, as 6. to 4. 12. to 8. It is also named *Hemilius*.

**Sesqui-tercian**, A proportion, whereby is understood as much as comprehendeth the whole, and one third part, as 12. to 9. and the same is called *Epiritos*.

**Sesqui-octave**, That which compriseth the whole and one 8 parts; as 9 to 8, 18 to 16: in Greeke *Epiogdos* or *Epogdos*.

**Solæisme**, Incongruity of speech, or defect in the purity thereof: It arose of those who being Athenians borne, and dwelling in *Soli*, a city in *Cilicia*, spake not pure *Attick*, but mixt with the *Solians* language.

**Solstice**, The Sunne-stead, which is twice in the yeere, in June & December, when the Sunne seemeth to stand for a while, at the very point of the Tropicks, either going from us, or coming toward us; as if hee returned from the end of his race, North and South.

**Sp. Spurius**, A forename to some Romans.

**Spasmer**, that is to say, Crampes, or painfull pluckings of the muskles and sinewes. See *Convulsions* and *Spasmatike*, full of such or given thereto.

**Spheres**, The circles or globs, of the seven planets: as also the compasse of the heaven above all.

**Spissitude**, Thicknesse or dimnesse.

**Spondæus**, An hymne sung at sacrifices and libations. Also a metrical foot in verse, consisting of two long syllables: whereof principally such hymnes or songs were composed.

**Stadium**, A race or space of ground, containing 625. foor, whereof eight make a mile, consisting of a thousand paces, which are five thousand foot, reckoning five foot for a pace; for so much commonly a man

taketh at once in his pace, that is to say, in his stepping forward, and remooing one foot before another.

**Stoicks**, Certeine Philosophers, whose first master was *Zeno*, who taught in a certeine spaciuous gallery at *Athens*, called *Stoicæ*, for the varietie of pictures wherewith *Poignotus* the excellent painter beautified it: And for that a gallery in Greeke is called *Stoa*, therefore those Philosophers who taught and disputed therein, tooke that name of Stoicks.

**Strophes**, that is to say, Conversions or turnings. In Comœdies and tragedies; when the *Chorus* first speaketh unto the actors; and then turneth to the spectators, and pronounceth certeine jambicks. In the rehearsing of Lyricall verses, when the Poet one while turneth to the right hand, and another while to the left, and to recite the certeine verses: which thereupon be called *Strophe*, and *Antistrophe*.

**Stypticke**, being such things, as by a certeine harsh taste, doe shew that they be astringent: as the fruit called *Medlars*, and *Alum* especially, which thereupon is called *Stypteria*. And *Stypticitie* is such a qualitye.

**Subitarie**, that is to say, Of a sudden, without premeditation.

**Subterranean**, that is to say, under the earth. **Superficies**, The upper face or outside of any thing. In Geometrie it is that, which is made of lines set together, like as a line of prickles united.

**Superfætation**, Conception upon conception.

**Suppuration**, A gathering to matter or attir: as in biles, impostumes, inflammations and such like.

**Sycophants**, Tale-bearers, false promoters, or slanderous informers, and such as upon small occasions brought men into trouble. The name arose upon this occasion, that whereas in *Athens* there was an act, That none should transport figges out of the territory *Attica*; such as gave information of those that contrarie to this law conveyed figges into other parts, were termed *Sycophants*: for that *Sycen* in Greeke, is a figge.

**Syllogismes**, Be certeine formes of arguing: when upon two propositions graunted, which are called Premisses, there is inferred a third, namely a Conclusion.

**To Symbolize**, that is, By certeine outward

Aaaaaa

fignes,

\* Some put in stead hereof Full-light.

## An explanation of certeine obscure words.

signes, to signifie some hidden things: Thus an eie symbolizeth vigilancy.  
*Sympathie*, that is to say, A fellow feeling, as is betwene the head and stomacke in our bodies: also the agreement and naturall amitie in divers senseless things, as between iron and the load-stone.  
*Symphonie*, Conccent and harmony, properly in vocall Musicke.  
*Symphonarch*, The master of a feast. The Romans called him *Rex*, that is to saie, a king.  
*Symptoms*, Be accidents accompanying sickness; as headach, the ague: stich, shortnesse of winde, spitting blood, cough and ague; the plurisie.  
*Synemmenon*, or *Synzeugmenon*, A tearme of art in musike, signifying strings or notes conjunct.  
*Syntaxis*, The construction and coherence of words and parts of speech by concord and regiment.

### T

**T.** *Titus*, A forename to many houses of the Romans.  
*Talent Attike* (as well ponderall which was weighed, as nummiall or nummarie, counted in mony) was of two fortes: The lesse, of sixty pound *Attick*, and every one of them consisted of one hundred *Drachma*. If *mina* then, be three pound two shillings six pence sterling in silver; this talent amounteth to one hundred eighty seven pound ten shillings of our english mony. The greater, or simply the great talent, is eighty *mina* and hath the proportion Epitritos, or sesquiterian to the lesse: so that it cometh to two hundred and fifty pound sterling.  
*Tautologies*, Vaine repetitions of the same things oftentimes.  
*Termarie*, The number of three.  
*Terpandrios*, A ferverall tune in musicke, or a song that *Terpander* devised.  
*Tetrachord*, An instrument in old time of foure strings: but now, it is taken for every fourth in the scale of Musicke or *GAM*, ut. whereof there be foure in fiftene strings: reckoning *Mese*, to end one octave and begin another.  
*Tetrarch*, A potentate or ruler over the fourth part of a country.  
*Theatre*, A shew place built with seates in manner of an halfe circle, for to behold games, plaies and pastimes; which if both

ends meet round, is called an *Amphitheatre*.  
*Theorems*, Principles or rules in any science.  
*Theriacal Trochisks*, Troches made of vipers flesh, to enter into the composition *Theriacs*, that is to say, *Triacle*.  
*Thesmotehela*, Were six of the nine Archontes or chiefe rulers in *Athens* during their free popular estate. They had civill jurisdiction and sat as judges in certeine causes:  
*Thesmothesium*, seemeth to be the court or commission of the said *Thesmotehela*.  
*Topicks*, That part of logicke which treateth of the invention of arguments, which are called *Topi*, as if they were places, out of which a man might redily have sufficient reasons to argue and dispute with *Pro & contra*.  
*Tribunes of the Commons*, Certeine officers or magistrats at *Rome*, as provosts and protectours of the cominaltie to restrain and keepe downe the excessive power of the consuls and nobility. Chosen they were and confirmed by the generall oth of the people, whereby they were *Sacerdotes*, that is to say, Inviolable, & no violence might be done to their persons. A negative voice they had and power of inhibition called *Intercessio*; whereby they might crosse and stop all proceedings of the Senate or any superiour magistrate (save onely the Dictator) even of the very consuls, whom in some case they might command. They resembled much the Ephory in *Sparta*.  
*Trite Diezeugmenon*, The third of disjuncts a string or note in the scale of musike C, SOL, FA, UT.  
*Trite Hyperbolaan*, A treble string; the third of Exceeding or treble; F, FA, UT.  
*Trite Synnemmenon*, or *Syzeugmenon*, The third of the Disjuncts, a string or note in musike, B, FA, B, MI in rule.  
*Triuall*, Common and ordinary as is the high way, stale and of no account.  
*Trochaans*, A metrical foot in verse, consisting of two syllables; the former long, and the other short.  
*Tropaeus* or *Trophaeus*, Were monuments in memoriall of victory, erected in marble, brasse, or in default thereof with heaps of stone or piles of wood, in the very place where any Generall had vanquished his enemies and put them to flight; whereupon they tooke that name: for that *reus* in greek signifies, Turning back and flight.  
*Tropes*, In speech the using of wordes otherwise than in their primitive and naturall signi-

## An explanation of certeine obscure words.

signification; which many times giveth a grace to the sentence.  
*Tutelar*, Protectours and defenders. So were the gods or goddeses among the *Painims* called, whom they beleevd to have a speciall charge of any city or country.  
*A Type*, that is to say, A figure under which is signified some other thing.

### V

**V.** *Half virgins*, were certeine Nunnes or Vocaries, instituted first by *Numa Pom-*

*pilus* king of *Rome*, in the honour of *Vesta* the goddesse: whose charge was to keepe the sacred fire that it went not forth. Chosen they were betwene the yeeres of fix and tene of their age: and were enjoined virginity for thirtie yeeres: after which time it was lawfull for them to be married: But if in the meane while they committed fornication, buried they were quicke.  
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the Worlds conflagration. 1328.10  
World created by god. 1032.40  
the Worlds generall conflagration held by the brutes. 1090.30  
Woſhip of brute beaſts excuſed. 1327.50  
Wrathfulneſſe what it is. 119.50  
Wreſtling whether it were the moſt ancient Gymnick exerciſe. 672.30

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Xanthians plagued by the names of Bellerophon. 489.40  
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Xenocrates his aureoles or bolters for the eares. 52.20  
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Yves, what it signifieth in computation. 726.50  
Ympetuous, what it signifieth. 726.50  
Ymperitors. 760.10  
Ymperious, what is to say. 760.10  
Ymperious. 684.30  
Yron, why it is not vocall and resonant. 770.20



## Errata.

## Errata.

Page, line, Reads  
 41. *D* winged  
 6. *the* violence of want  
 9. *to* many  
 11. *in* flame, *and* repose,  
 13. *examined*  
 16. *Take* a pitch against  
 17. *Supper*  
 18. *rule* and *figure*  
 19. *love* the beauty  
 20. *pure* of liquor  
 21. *to* *left* *all* which  
 22. *as* a picture drawn to  
 23. *unruled*, *thence*  
 24. *with* *spoke*, *for* the  
 25. *rage* and *pull*  
 26. *care* *where* or *pull*  
 27. *Naples*  
 28. *chole*, *life*  
 29. *Parus*  
 30. *How* *then* *I* *should*  
 31. *For* *God* *cause* *die*  
 32. *credit* of the will  
 33. *This* was the will  
 34. *in* *me* *meanth*  
 35. *teeth* for *roast*  
 36. *200* *Sec*, *and* *200*  
 37. *he* *hold*, *one* *father*  
 38. *What* *Glenn*, *You*  
 39. *that* *Pandora* *through*  
 40. *For* *Arms*  
 41. *Arms* *which* *gave*  
 42. *For* *Arms*  
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# Errata.

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1293 41. one Methide	1302. 31. with whose head having	1327. 2. Engellimythi	1340. 29. Essence or Being,
49. where they were honored	51. fonne of Ifis	42. The daughters verily	1344. 16. who in Conjectures middle
1297. <i>In the murg</i> , wicked or curst.	1309-41. founting it	1318. 32. in order from one : and	1354. 27. they usurped (call
<i>lupiter to blinuous.</i>	1317-4. Cypre	33. by foure every way,	1356. 13. hath a luice and
1298. 46. <i>Flake and Broyful.</i>	1319. 14. all thele speeres	<i>In the murg</i> by another, makech	1357. 36. <i>in mynnum</i> ,
1300. 29. O all yce	1321. 20. ouvertures	54. all furkianic	1362. 17. new subject either
1301. 10. religious Thyades	1323. 2. and taketh not up	1329. 2. aca a truchman	31. <i>flau</i> ,
21. sacred fury	1324. 33. <i>Adieu dame Covene,</i>	1335. 14. <i>the murg</i> , <i>Supers</i>	1363. 45. as were noe
	43. or els to looke	1339. 9. having equal angles,	

Those few faults which haply have escaped us besides, are such, as the Reader not altogether unlearned may correct of himselfe, and of his curtesie pardon us for considering the furra absence of our Author, and the matter of the booke not abstrates familiar.